

**THE  
UN-HOLY  
BIBLE**



**A COMPENDIUM OF  
ANCIENT MYTHS,  
LOST GOSPELS AND  
TRUE CONSPIRACIES**

**:: edited by ::  
Jonathan Barlow Gee**

# the Un-Holy Bible

:: includes ::

(B.C. Section)

## the Lost Book of Enki

*containing Sitchin's translation with appendix of diagrams and archeological articles by Gee.*

## Lost Gospels 1 : "Enoch"

*containing excerpts from Josephus, Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus, Louis Ginzberg, JP Mahe and Enoch.*

## Forbidden Gospels

*containing the Gospels of Salome, Judas, and Pilate; Sefer Toledoth Yeshu and excerpts from the Talmud.*

(A.D. Section)

## Lost Gospels 2 : "Atlantis"

*containing excerpts from Plato, Sir Thomas More, Francis Bacon and Johann Valentin Andeae.*

## Modern Gospels 1

*containing the Protocols of Zionism; Silent Weapons for Quiet Wars; Jim Jones' death-tape; Majestic debriefing; Project Blue Beam; and the Testimony of KSM.*

## Modern Gospels 2

*containing the Nuremberg Directives; the Cremation of Care ceremony of Bohemian Grove; quotes by and about the Illuminati and the New World Order; a speech by Pope Benedict XVI; a lecture by Myron Fagan; excerpts from Andrew Carnegie; "Constant Conflict;" H. Res. 1258 to Impeach George W. Bush; "Echelon" by Jim Keith; and FBI, FDLE and TPD documents about the "Finders."*

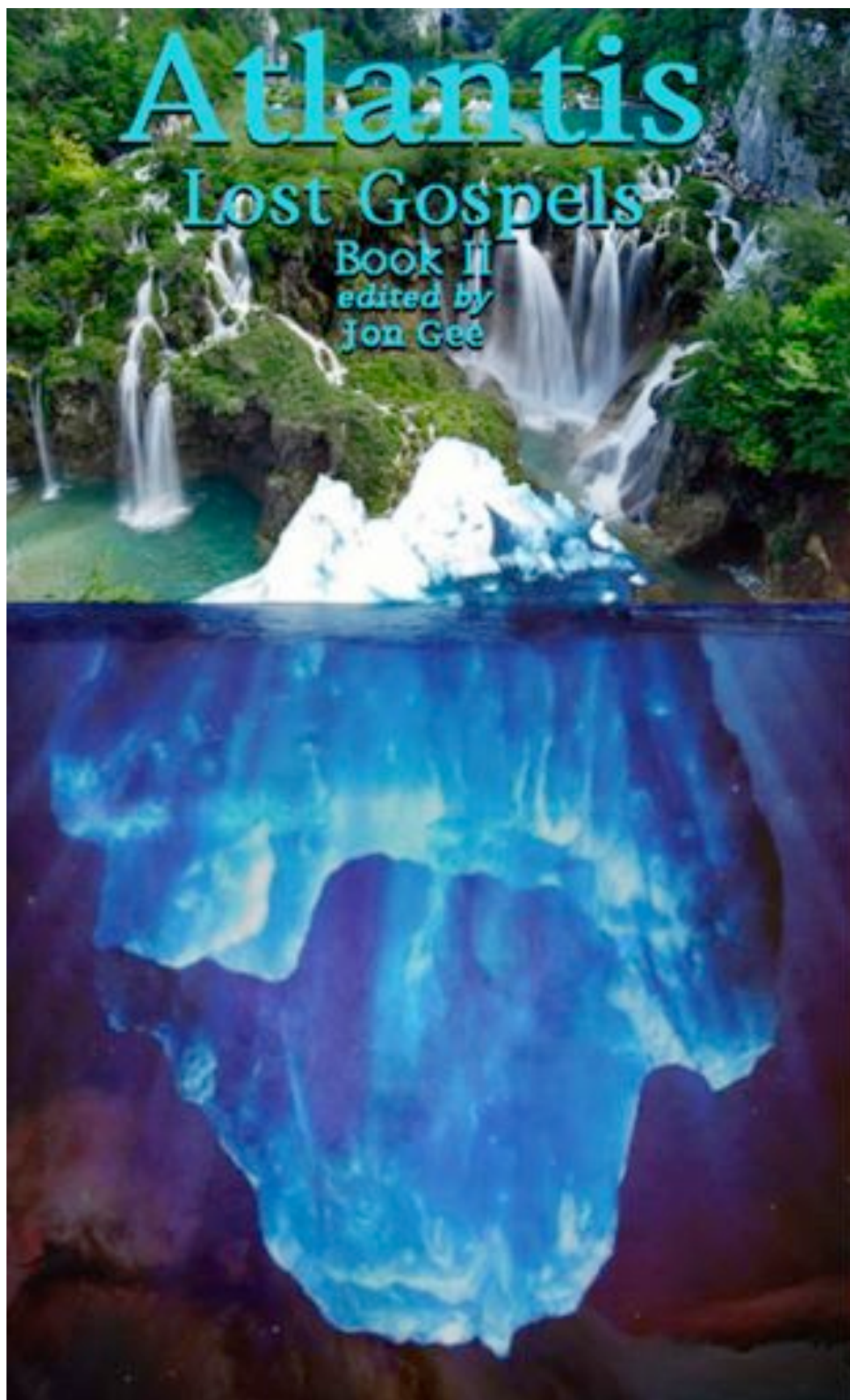
: for more information, visit online :  
[www.benpadiiah.com](http://www.benpadiiah.com)

"the Unholy Bible" ebook is hereby © copyright: Jonathan Barlow Gee (editor)  
on this Wednesday, December, 26th, 2012.

# Atlantis

## Lost Gospels

Book II  
edited by  
Jon Gee





**:: Lost Gospels (Books 1&2) ::**  
**: “Enoch” & “Atlantis” :**  
*edited by: Jonathan Barlow Gee*

resources for : Lost Gospels : Book I :: Enoch ::

HISTORIES OF THE JEWS: BOOK I (CHAPTERS 1 & 2) by JOSEPHUS  
(pg.'s 2)  
THE BOOK OF JASHER (CHAP.'S 1-4) by FLACCUS ALBINUS ALCUINUS  
(pg.'s 4, 55, 70)  
LEGENDS OF THE JEWS: BOOK 1 (CHAP.'S 2&3) by LOUIS GINZBURG  
(pg.'s 6, 19, 32, 49, 53)  
THE BOOK OF ENKI (TABLETS 7-11) by ENDUBSAR  
(pg.'s 15, 40, 57, 84)  
THE BOOK OF ADAM translated by J.P. MAHE  
(pg.'s 27, 34, 50)  
THE BOOK OF THE WATCHERS (FROM 1 ENOCH) by ENOCH  
(pg. 72)

resources for : Lost Gospels : Book II :: Atlantis ::

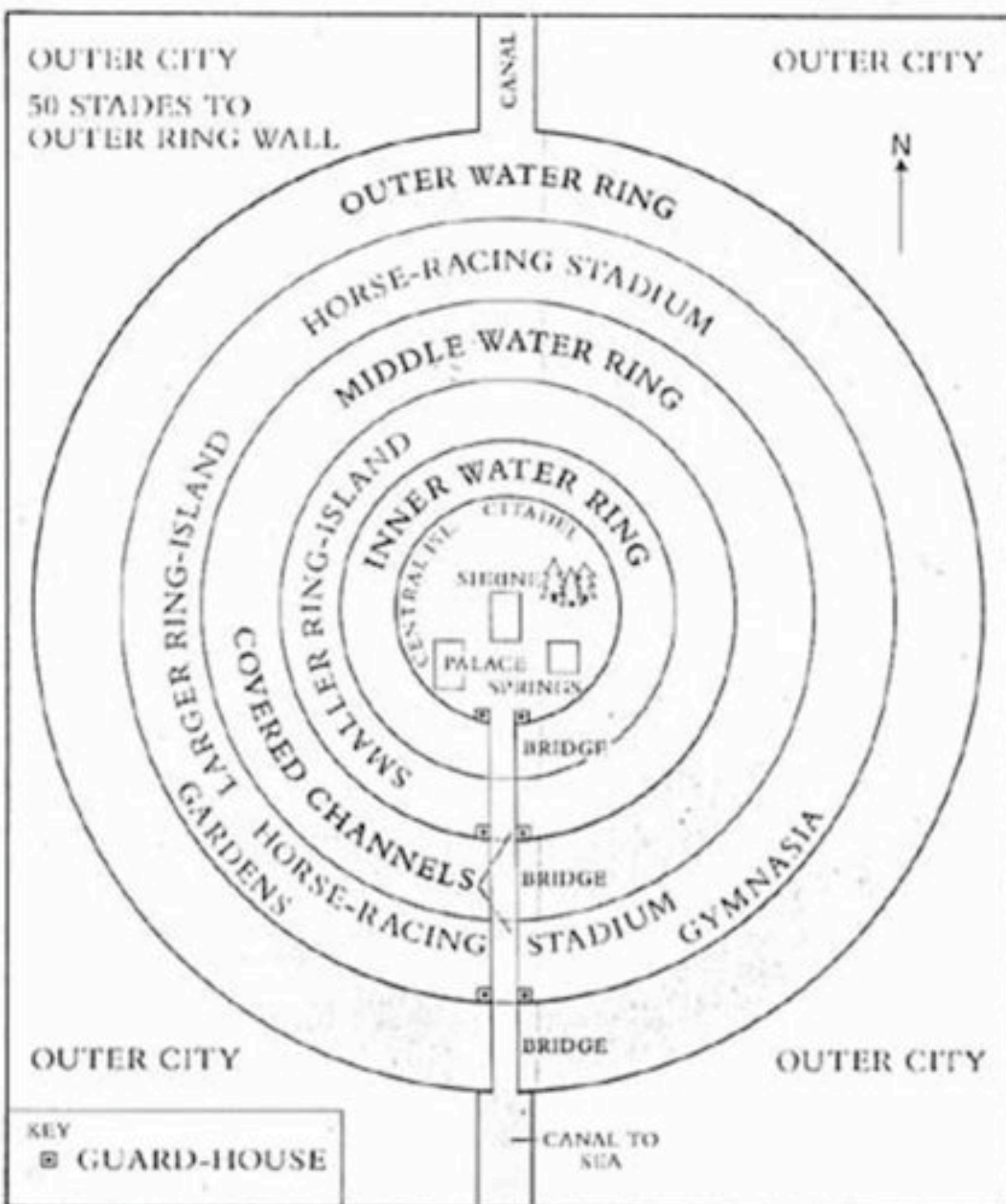
Critias by Plato  
(pg. 3)  
UTOPIA by SIR THOMAS MORE  
(pg. 13)  
NEW ATLANTIS by Francis Bacon  
(pg. 66)  
CHRISTIANOPOLIS by JOHANN VALENTIN ANDREAE  
(pg. 87)

**“Lost Gospels Books 1&2”**

are copyright by: Jonathan Barlow Gee, on this: December, 3, 2009.  
published on: [www.benpadijah.com](http://www.benpadijah.com)

**:: insanity clause #23 ::**

*Please do not share with others the web addresses for direct download from my site that are for sale there. However, once you have a copy of any one of my works, you are allowed, by Jonathan Gee, the author of said work, to copy it and distribute it freely. If you claim you wrote it, or that you came up with the ideas for it yourself, you should be challenged to determine if you can prove your claim with knowledge of the material superior to my own. If you can, I will concede the work to your credit, but if you cannot, then the work will remain both of ours to teach and give to whom we choose.*



**Critias**  
By **Plato**  
Written 360 B.C.E.  
*Translated by Benjamin Jowett*

*Persons of the Dialogue*

CRITIAS  
HERMOCRATES  
TIMAEUS  
SOCRATES

Timaeus. How thankful I am, Socrates, that I have arrived at last, and, like a weary traveller after a long journey, may be at rest! And I pray the being who always was of old, and has now been by me revealed, to grant that my words may endure in so far as they have been spoken truly and acceptably to him; but if unintentionally I have said anything wrong, I pray that he will impose upon me a just retribution, and the just retribution of him who errs is that he should be set right. Wishing, then, to speak truly in future concerning the generation of the gods, I pray him to give me knowledge, which of all medicines is the most perfect and best. And now having offered my prayer I deliver up the argument to Critias, who is to speak next according to our agreement.

Critias. And I, Timaeus, accept the trust, and as you at first said that you were going to speak of high matters, and begged that some forbearance might be shown to you, I too ask the same or greater forbearance for what I am about to say. And although I very well know that my request may appear to be somewhat and discourteous, I must make it nevertheless. For will any man of sense deny that you have spoken well? I can only attempt to show that I ought to have more indulgence than you, because my theme is more difficult; and I shall argue that to seem to speak well of the gods to men is far easier than to speak well of men to men: for the inexperience and utter ignorance of his hearers about any subject is a great assistance to him who has to speak of it, and we know how ignorant we are concerning the gods. But I should like to make my meaning clearer, if Timaeus, you will follow me. All that is said by any of us can only be imitation and representation. For if we consider the likenesses which painters make of bodies divine and heavenly, and the different degrees of gratification with which the eye of the spectator receives them, we shall see that we are satisfied with the artist who is able in any degree to imitate the earth and its mountains, and the rivers, and the woods, and the universe, and the things that are and move therein, and further, that knowing nothing precise about such matters, we do not examine or analyze the painting; all that is required is a sort of indistinct and deceptive mode of shadowing them forth. But when a person endeavours to paint the human form we are quick at finding out defects, and our familiar knowledge makes us severe judges of any one who does not render every point of similarity. And we may observe the same thing to happen in discourse; we are satisfied with a picture of divine and heavenly things which has very little likeness to them; but we are more precise in our criticism of mortal and human things. Wherefore if at the moment of speaking I cannot suitably express my meaning, you must excuse me, considering that to form approved likenesses of human things is the reverse of easy. This is what I want to suggest to you, and at the same time to beg, Socrates, that I may have not less, but more indulgence conceded to me in what I am about to say. Which favour, if I am right in asking, I hope that you will be ready to grant.

Socrates. Certainly, Critias, we will grant your request, and we will grant the same by anticipation to Hermocrates, as well as to you and Timaeus; for I have no doubt that when his turn comes a little while hence, he will make the same request which you have made. In order, then, that he may provide himself with a fresh beginning, and not be compelled to say the same things over again, let him understand that the indulgence is already extended by anticipation to him. And now, friend Critias, I will announce to you the judgment of the theatre. They are of opinion that the last performer was wonderfully successful, and that you will need a great deal of

indulgence before you will be able to take his place.

Hermocrates. The warning, Socrates, which you have addressed to him, I must also take to myself. But remember, Critias, that faint heart never yet raised a trophy; and therefore you must go and attack the argument like a man. First invoke Apollo and the Muses, and then let us hear you sound the praises and show forth the virtues of your ancient citizens.

Crit. Friend Hermocrates, you, who are stationed last and have another in front of you, have not lost heart as yet; the gravity of the situation will soon be revealed to you; meanwhile I accept your exhortations and encouragements. But besides the gods and goddesses whom you have mentioned, I would specially invoke Mnemosyne; for all the important part of my discourse is dependent on her favour, and if I can recollect and recite enough of what was said by the priests and brought hither by Solon, I doubt not that I shall satisfy the requirements of this theatre. And now, making no more excuses, I will proceed.

Let me begin by observing first of all, that nine thousand was the sum of years which had elapsed since the war which was said to have taken place between those who dwelt outside the Pillars of Heracles and all who dwelt within them; this war I am going to describe. Of the combatants on the one side, the city of Athens was reported to have been the leader and to have fought out the war; the combatants on the other side were commanded by the kings of Atlantis, which, as was saying, was an island greater in extent than Libya and Asia, and when afterwards sunk by an earthquake, became an impassable barrier of mud to voyagers sailing from hence to any part of the ocean. The progress of the history will unfold the various nations of barbarians and families of Hellenes which then existed, as they successively appear on the scene; but I must describe first of all Athenians of that day, and their enemies who fought with them, and then the respective powers and governments of the two kingdoms. Let us give the precedence to Athens.

In the days of old the gods had the whole earth distributed among them by allotment. There was no quarrelling; for you cannot rightly suppose that the gods did not know what was proper for each of them to have, or, knowing this, that they would seek to procure for themselves by contention that which more properly belonged to others. They all of them by just apportionment obtained what they wanted, and peopled their own districts; and when they had peopled them they tended us, their nurselings and possessions, as shepherds tend their flocks, excepting only that they did not use blows or bodily force, as shepherds do, but governed us like pilots from the stern of the vessel, which is an easy way of guiding animals, holding our souls by the rudder of persuasion according to their own pleasure;-thus did they guide all mortal creatures. Now different gods had their allotments in different places which they set in order. Hephaestus and Athene, who were brother and sister, and sprang from the same father, having a common nature, and being united also in the love of philosophy and art, both obtained as their common portion this land, which was naturally adapted for wisdom and virtue; and there they implanted brave children of the soil, and put into their minds the order of government; their names are preserved, but their actions have disappeared by reason of the destruction of those who received the tradition, and the lapse of ages. For when there were any survivors, as I have already said, they were men who dwelt in the mountains; and they were ignorant of the art of writing, and had heard only the names of the chiefs of the land, but very little about their actions. The names they were willing enough to give to their children; but the virtues and the laws of their predecessors, they knew only by obscure traditions; and as they themselves and their children lacked for many generations the necessities of life, they directed their attention to the supply of their wants, and of them they conversed, to the neglect of events that had happened in times long past; for mythology and the enquiry into antiquity are first introduced into cities when they begin to have leisure, and when they see that the necessities of life have already been provided, but not before. And this is reason why the names of the ancients have been preserved to us and not their actions. This I infer because Solon said that the priests in their narrative of that war mentioned most of the names which are recorded prior to the time of Theseus, such as Cecrops, and Erechtheus, and Erichthonius, and

Erysichthon, and the names of the women in like manner. Moreover, since military pursuits were then common to men and women, the men of those days in accordance with the custom of the time set up a figure and image of the goddess in full armour, to be a testimony that all animals which associate together, male as well as female, may, if they please, practise in common the virtue which belongs to them without distinction of sex.

Now the country was inhabited in those days by various classes of citizens; there were artisans, and there were husbandmen, and there was also a warrior class originally set apart by divine men. The latter dwelt by themselves, and had all things suitable for nurture and education; neither had any of them anything of their own, but they regarded all that they had as common property; nor did they claim to receive of the other citizens anything more than their necessary food. And they practised all the pursuits which we yesterday described as those of our imaginary guardians. Concerning the country the Egyptian priests said what is not only probable but manifestly true, that the boundaries were in those days fixed by the Isthmus, and that in the direction of the continent they extended as far as the heights of Cithaeron and Parnes; the boundary line came down in the direction of the sea, having the district of Oropus on the right, and with the river Asopus as the limit on the left. The land was the best in the world, and was therefore able in those days to support a vast army, raised from the surrounding people. Even the remnant of Attica which now exists may compare with any region in the world for the variety and excellence of its fruits and the suitableness of its pastures to every sort of animal, which proves what I am saying; but in those days the country was fair as now and yielded far more abundant produce. How shall I establish my words? and what part of it can be truly called a remnant of the land that then was? The whole country is only a long promontory extending far into the sea away from the rest of the continent, while the surrounding basin of the sea is everywhere deep in the neighbourhood of the shore. Many great deluges have taken place during the nine thousand years, for that is the number of years which have elapsed since the time of which I am speaking; and during all this time and through so many changes, there has never been any considerable accumulation of the soil coming down from the mountains, as in other places, but the earth has fallen away all round and sunk out of sight. The consequence is, that in comparison of what then was, there are remaining only the bones of the wasted body, as they may be called, as in the case of small islands, all the richer and softer parts of the soil having fallen away, and the mere skeleton of the land being left. But in the primitive state of the country, its mountains were high hills covered with soil, and the plains, as they are termed by us, of Phelleus were full of rich earth, and there was abundance of wood in the mountains. Of this last the traces still remain, for although some of the mountains now only afford sustenance to bees, not so very long ago there were still to be seen roofs of timber cut from trees growing there, which were of a size sufficient to cover the largest houses; and there were many other high trees, cultivated by man and bearing abundance of food for cattle. Moreover, the land reaped the benefit of the annual rainfall, not as now losing the water which flows off the bare earth into the sea, but, having an abundant supply in all places, and receiving it into herself and treasuring it up in the close clay soil, it let off into the hollows the streams which it absorbed from the heights, providing everywhere abundant fountains and rivers, of which there may still be observed sacred memorials in places where fountains once existed; and this proves the truth of what I am saying.

Such was the natural state of the country, which was cultivated, as we may well believe, by true husbandmen, who made husbandry their business, and were lovers of honour, and of a noble nature, and had a soil the best in the world, and abundance of water, and in the heaven above an excellently attempered climate. Now the city in those days was arranged on this wise. In the first place the Acropolis was not as now. For the fact is that a single night of excessive rain washed away the earth and laid bare the rock; at the same time there were earthquakes, and then occurred the extraordinary inundation, which was the third before the great destruction of Deucalion. But in primitive times the hill of the Acropolis extended to the Eridanus and Ilissus, and included the Pnyx on one side, and the Lycabettus as a boundary on the opposite side to the Pnyx, and was all well covered with soil, and level at the top, except in one or two places. Outside the Acropolis



and under the sides of the hill there dwelt artisans, and such of the husbandmen as were tilling the ground near; the warrior class dwelt by themselves around the temples of Athene and Hephaestus at the summit, which moreover they had enclosed with a single fence like the garden of a single house. On the north side they had dwellings in common and had erected halls for dining in winter, and had all the buildings which they needed for their common life, besides temples, but there was no adorning of them with gold and silver, for they made no use of these for any purpose; they took a middle course between meanness and ostentation, and built modest houses in which they and their children's children grew old, and they handed them down to others who were like themselves, always the same. But in summer-time they left their gardens and gymnasia and dining halls, and then the southern side of the hill was made use of by them for the same purpose. Where the Acropolis now is there was a fountain, which was choked by the earthquake, and has left only the few small streams which still exist in the vicinity, but in those days the fountain gave an abundant supply of water for all and of suitable temperature in summer and in winter. This is how they dwelt, being the guardians of their own citizens and the leaders of the Hellenes, who were their willing followers. And they took care to preserve the same number of men and women through all time, being so many as were required for warlike purposes, then as now—that is to say, about twenty thousand. Such were the ancient Athenians, and after this manner they righteously administered their own land and the rest of Hellas; they were renowned all over Europe and Asia for the beauty of their persons and for the many virtues of their souls, and of all men who lived in those days they were the most illustrious. And next, if I have not forgotten what I heard when I was a child, I will impart to you the character and origin of their adversaries. For friends should not keep their stories to themselves, but have them in common.

Yet, before proceeding further in the narrative, I ought to warn you, that you must not be surprised if you should perhaps hear Hellenic names given to foreigners. I will tell you the reason of this: Solon, who was intending to use the tale for his poem, enquired into the meaning of the names, and found that the early Egyptians in writing them down had translated them into their own language, and he recovered the meaning of the several names and when copying them out again translated them into our language. My great-grandfather, Dropides, had the original writing, which is still in my possession, and was carefully studied by me when I was a child. Therefore if you hear names such as are used in this country, you must not be surprised, for I have told how they came to be introduced. The tale, which was of great length, began as follows:-

I have before remarked in speaking of the allotments of the gods, that they distributed the whole earth into portions differing in extent, and made for themselves temples and instituted sacrifices. And Poseidon, receiving for his lot the island of Atlantis, begat children by a mortal woman, and settled them in a part of the island, which I will describe. Looking towards the sea, but in the centre of the whole island, there was a plain which is said to have been the fairest of all plains and very fertile. Near the plain again, and also in the centre of the island at a distance of about fifty stadia, there was a mountain not very high on any side.

In this mountain there dwelt one of the earth born primeval men of that country, whose name was Evenor, and he had a wife named Leucippe, and they had an only daughter who was called Cleito. The maiden had already reached womanhood, when her father and mother died; Poseidon fell in love with her and had intercourse with her, and breaking the ground, inclosed the hill in which she dwelt all round, making alternate zones of sea and land larger and smaller, encircling one another; there were two of land and three of water, which he turned as with a lathe, each having its circumference equidistant every way from the centre, so that no man could get to the island, for ships and voyages were not as yet. He himself, being a god, found no difficulty in making special arrangements for the centre island, bringing up two springs of water from beneath the earth, one of warm water and the other of cold, and making every variety of food to spring up abundantly from the soil. He also begat and brought up five pairs of twin male children; and dividing the island of Atlantis into ten portions, he gave to the first-born of the eldest pair his mother's dwelling and the surrounding allotment, which was the largest and best, and made him king over

the rest; the others he made princes, and gave them rule over many men, and a large territory. And he named them all; the eldest, who was the first king, he named Atlas, and after him the whole island and the ocean were called Atlantic. To his twin brother, who was born after him, and obtained as his lot the extremity of the island towards the Pillars of Heracles, facing the country which is now called the region of Gades in that part of the world, he gave the name which in the Hellenic language is Eumelus, in the language of the country which is named after him, Gadeirus. Of the second pair of twins he called one Ampheres, and the other Evaemon. To the elder of the third pair of twins he gave the name Mneseus, and Autochthon to the one who followed him. Of the fourth pair of twins he called the elder Elasippus, and the younger Mestor. And of the fifth pair he gave to the elder the name of Azaes, and to the younger that of Diaprepes. All these and their descendants for many generations were the inhabitants and rulers of divers islands in the open sea; and also, as has been already said, they held sway in our direction over the country within the Pillars as far as Egypt and Tyrrhenia.

Now Atlas had a numerous and honourable family, and they retained the kingdom, the eldest son handing it on to his eldest for many generations; and they had such an amount of wealth as was never before possessed by kings and potentates, and is not likely ever to be again, and they were furnished with everything which they needed, both in the city and country. For because of the greatness of their empire many things were brought to them from foreign countries, and the island itself provided most of what was required by them for the uses of life. In the first place, they dug out of the earth whatever was to be found there, solid as well as fusile, and that which is now only a name and was then something more than a name, orichalcum, was dug out of the earth in many parts of the island, being more precious in those days than anything except gold. There was an abundance of wood for carpenter's work, and sufficient maintenance for tame and wild animals. Moreover, there were a great number of elephants in the island; for as there was provision for all other sorts of animals, both for those which live in lakes and marshes and rivers, and also for those which live in mountains and on plains, so there was for the animal which is the largest and most voracious of all. Also whatever fragrant things there now are in the earth, whether roots, or herbage, or woods, or essences which distil from fruit and flower, grew and thrived in that land; also the fruit which admits of cultivation, both the dry sort, which is given us for nourishment and any other which we use for food-we call them all by the common name pulse, and the fruits having a hard rind, affording drinks and meats and ointments, and good store of chestnuts and the like, which furnish pleasure and amusement, and are fruits which spoil with keeping, and the pleasant kinds of dessert, with which we console ourselves after dinner, when we are tired of eating-all these that sacred island which then beheld the light of the sun, brought forth fair and wondrous and in infinite abundance. With such blessings the earth freely furnished them; meanwhile they went on constructing their temples and palaces and harbours and docks. And they arranged the whole country in the following manner:

First of all they bridged over the zones of sea which surrounded the ancient metropolis, making a road to and from the royal palace. And at the very beginning they built the palace in the habitation of the god and of their ancestors, which they continued to ornament in successive generations, every king surpassing the one who went before him to the utmost of his power, until they made the building a marvel to behold for size and for beauty. And beginning from the sea they bored a canal of three hundred feet in width and one hundred feet in depth and fifty stadia in length, which they carried through to the outermost zone, making a passage from the sea up to this, which became a harbour, and leaving an opening sufficient to enable the largest vessels to find ingress. Moreover, they divided at the bridges the zones of land which parted the zones of sea, leaving room for a single trireme to pass out of one zone into another, and they covered over the channels so as to leave a way underneath for the ships; for the banks were raised considerably above the water. Now the largest of the zones into which a passage was cut from the sea was three stadia in breadth, and the zone of land which came next of equal breadth; but the next two zones, the one of water, the other of land, were two stadia, and the one which surrounded the central island was a stadium only in width. The island in which the palace was situated had a diameter of

five stadia. All this including the zones and the bridge, which was the sixth part of a stadium in width, they surrounded by a stone wall on every side, placing towers and gates on the bridges where the sea passed in. The stone which was used in the work they quarried from underneath the centre island, and from underneath the zones, on the outer as well as the inner side. One kind was white, another black, and a third red, and as they quarried, they at the same time hollowed out double docks, having roofs formed out of the native rock. Some of their buildings were simple, but in others they put together different stones, varying the colour to please the eye, and to be a natural source of delight. The entire circuit of the wall, which went round the outermost zone, they covered with a coating of brass, and the circuit of the next wall they coated with tin, and the third, which encompassed the citadel, flashed with the red light of orichalcum.

The palaces in the interior of the citadel were constructed on this wise:-in the centre was a holy temple dedicated to Cleito and Poseidon, which remained inaccessible, and was surrounded by an enclosure of gold; this was the spot where the family of the ten princes first saw the light, and thither the people annually brought the fruits of the earth in their season from all the ten portions, to be an offering to each of the ten. Here was Poseidon's own temple which was a stadium in length, and half a stadium in width, and of a proportionate height, having a strange barbaric appearance. All the outside of the temple, with the exception of the pinnacles, they covered with silver, and the pinnacles with gold. In the interior of the temple the roof was of ivory, curiously wrought everywhere with gold and silver and orichalcum; and all the other parts, the walls and pillars and floor, they coated with orichalcum. In the temple they placed statues of gold: there was the god himself standing in a chariot-the charioteer of six winged horses-and of such a size that he touched the roof of the building with his head; around him there were a hundred Nereids riding on dolphins, for such was thought to be the number of them by the men of those days. There were also in the interior of the temple other images which had been dedicated by private persons. And around the temple on the outside were placed statues of gold of all the descendants of the ten kings and of their wives, and there were many other great offerings of kings and of private persons, coming both from the city itself and from the foreign cities over which they held sway. There was an altar too, which in size and workmanship corresponded to this magnificence, and the palaces, in like manner, answered to the greatness of the kingdom and the glory of the temple.

In the next place, they had fountains, one of cold and another of hot water, in gracious plenty flowing; and they were wonderfully adapted for use by reason of the pleasantness and excellence of their waters. They constructed buildings about them and planted suitable trees, also they made cisterns, some open to the heavens, others roofed over, to be used in winter as warm baths; there were the kings' baths, and the baths of private persons, which were kept apart; and there were separate baths for women, and for horses and cattle, and to each of them they gave as much adornment as was suitable. Of the water which ran off they carried some to the grove of Poseidon, where were growing all manner of trees of wonderful height and beauty, owing to the excellence of the soil, while the remainder was conveyed by aqueducts along the bridges to the outer circles; and there were many temples built and dedicated to many gods; also gardens and places of exercise, some for men, and others for horses in both of the two islands formed by the zones; and in the centre of the larger of the two there was set apart a race-course of a stadium in width, and in length allowed to extend all round the island, for horses to race in. Also there were guardhouses at intervals for the guards, the more trusted of whom were appointed to keep watch in the lesser zone, which was nearer the Acropolis while the most trusted of all had houses given them within the citadel, near the persons of the kings. The docks were full of triremes and naval stores, and all things were quite ready for use. Enough of the plan of the royal palace.

Leaving the palace and passing out across the three you came to a wall which began at the sea and went all round: this was everywhere distant fifty stadia from the largest zone or harbour, and enclosed the whole, the ends meeting at the mouth of the channel which led to the sea. The entire area was densely crowded with habitations; and the canal and the largest of the harbours were full of vessels and merchants coming from all parts, who, from their numbers, kept up a multitudinous

sound of human voices, and din and clatter of all sorts night and day.

I have described the city and the environs of the ancient palace nearly in the words of Solon, and now I must endeavour to represent the nature and arrangement of the rest of the land. The whole country was said by him to be very lofty and precipitous on the side of the sea, but the country immediately about and surrounding the city was a level plain, itself surrounded by mountains which descended towards the sea; it was smooth and even, and of an oblong shape, extending in one direction three thousand stadia, but across the centre inland it was two thousand stadia. This part of the island looked towards the south, and was sheltered from the north. The surrounding mountains were celebrated for their number and size and beauty, far beyond any which still exist, having in them also many wealthy villages of country folk, and rivers, and lakes, and meadows supplying food enough for every animal, wild or tame, and much wood of various sorts, abundant for each and every kind of work.

I will now describe the plain, as it was fashioned by nature and by the labours of many generations of kings through long ages. It was for the most part rectangular and oblong, and where falling out of the straight line followed the circular ditch. The depth, and width, and length of this ditch were incredible, and gave the impression that a work of such extent, in addition to so many others, could never have been artificial. Nevertheless I must say what I was told. It was excavated to the depth of a hundred feet, and its breadth was a stadium everywhere; it was carried round the whole of the plain, and was ten thousand stadia in length. It received the streams which came down from the mountains, and winding round the plain and meeting at the city, was there let off into the sea. Further inland, likewise, straight canals of a hundred feet in width were cut from it through the plain, and again let off into the ditch leading to the sea: these canals were at intervals of a hundred stadia, and by them they brought down the wood from the mountains to the city, and conveyed the fruits of the earth in ships, cutting transverse passages from one canal into another, and to the city. Twice in the year they gathered the fruits of the earth-in winter having the benefit of the rains of heaven, and in summer the water which the land supplied by introducing streams from the canals.

As to the population, each of the lots in the plain had to find a leader for the men who were fit for military service, and the size of a lot was a square of ten stadia each way, and the total number of all the lots was sixty thousand. And of the inhabitants of the mountains and of the rest of the country there was also a vast multitude, which was distributed among the lots and had leaders assigned to them according to their districts and villages. The leader was required to furnish for the war the sixth portion of a war-chariot, so as to make up a total of ten thousand chariots; also two horses and riders for them, and a pair of chariot-horses without a seat, accompanied by a horseman who could fight on foot carrying a small shield, and having a charioteer who stood behind the man-at-arms to guide the two horses; also, he was bound to furnish two heavy armed soldiers, two slingers, three stone-shooters and three javelin-men, who were light-armed, and four sailors to make up the complement of twelve hundred ships. Such was the military order of the royal city-the order of the other nine governments varied, and it would be wearisome to recount their several differences.

As to offices and honours, the following was the arrangement from the first. Each of the ten kings in his own division and in his own city had the absolute control of the citizens, and, in most cases, of the laws, punishing and slaying whomsoever he would. Now the order of precedence among them and their mutual relations were regulated by the commands of Poseidon which the law had handed down. These were inscribed by the first kings on a pillar of orichalcum, which was situated in the middle of the island, at the temple of Poseidon, whither the kings were gathered together every fifth and every sixth year alternately, thus giving equal honour to the odd and to the even number. And when they were gathered together they consulted about their common interests, and enquired if any one had transgressed in anything and passed judgment and before they passed judgment they gave their pledges to one another on this wise:-There were bulls who

had the range of the temple of Poseidon; and the ten kings, being left alone in the temple, after they had offered prayers to the god that they might capture the victim which was acceptable to him, hunted the bulls, without weapons but with staves and nooses; and the bull which they caught they led up to the pillar and cut its throat over the top of it so that the blood fell upon the sacred inscription. Now on the pillar, besides the laws, there was inscribed an oath invoking mighty curses on the disobedient. When therefore, after slaying the bull in the accustomed manner, they had burnt its limbs, they filled a bowl of wine and cast in a clot of blood for each of them; the rest of the victim they put in the fire, after having purified the column all round. Then they drew from the bowl in golden cups and pouring a libation on the fire, they swore that they would judge according to the laws on the pillar, and would punish him who in any point had already transgressed them, and that for the future they would not, if they could help, offend against the writing on the pillar, and would neither command others, nor obey any ruler who commanded them, to act otherwise than according to the laws of their father Poseidon. This was the prayer which each of them-offered up for himself and for his descendants, at the same time drinking and dedicating the cup out of which he drank in the temple of the god; and after they had supped and satisfied their needs, when darkness came on, and the fire about the sacrifice was cool, all of them put on most beautiful azure robes, and, sitting on the ground, at night, over the embers of the sacrifices by which they had sworn, and extinguishing all the fire about the temple, they received and gave judgment, if any of them had an accusation to bring against any one; and when they given judgment, at daybreak they wrote down their sentences on a golden tablet, and dedicated it together with their robes to be a memorial.

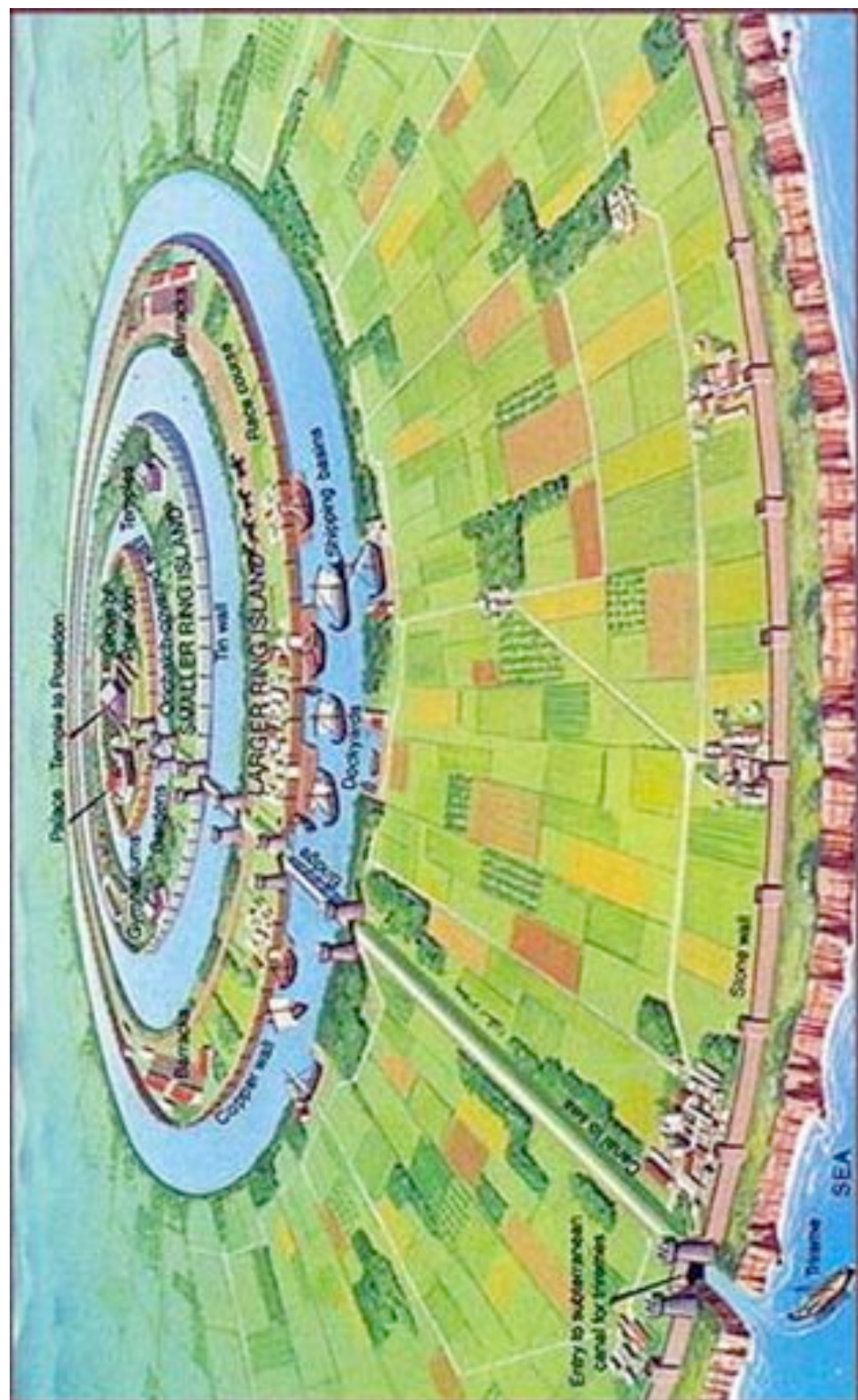
There were many special laws affecting the several kings inscribed about the temples, but the most important was the following: They were not to take up arms against one another, and they were all to come to the rescue if any one in any of their cities attempted to overthrow the royal house; like their ancestors, they were to deliberate in common about war and other matters, giving the supremacy to the descendants of Atlas. And the king was not to have the power of life and death over any of his kinsmen unless he had the assent of the majority of the ten.

Such was the vast power which the god settled in the lost island of Atlantis; and this he afterwards directed against our land for the following reasons, as tradition tells: For many generations, as long as the divine nature lasted in them, they were obedient to the laws, and well-affectioned towards the god, whose seed they were; for they possessed true and in every way great spirits, uniting gentleness with wisdom in the various chances of life, and in their intercourse with one another. They despised everything but virtue, caring little for their present state of life, and thinking lightly of the possession of gold and other property, which seemed only a burden to them; neither were they intoxicated by luxury; nor did wealth deprive them of their self-control; but they were sober, and saw clearly that all these goods are increased by virtue and friendship with one another, whereas by too great regard and respect for them, they are lost and friendship with them. By such reflections and by the continuance in them of a divine nature, the qualities which we have described grew and increased among them; but when the divine portion began to fade away, and became diluted too often and too much with the mortal admixture, and the human nature got the upper hand, they then, being unable to bear their fortune, behaved unseemly, and to him who had an eye to see grew visibly debased, for they were losing the fairest of their precious gifts; but to those who had no eye to see the true happiness, they appeared glorious and blessed at the very time when they were full of avarice and unrighteous power. Zeus, the god of gods, who rules according to law, and is able to see into such things, perceiving that an honourable race was in a woeful plight, and wanting to inflict punishment on them, that they might be chastened and improve, collected all the gods into their most holy habitation, which, being placed in the centre of the world, beholds all created things. And when he had called them together, he spake as follows-\*

The rest of the Dialogue of Critias has been lost.

**THE END**









UTOPIA  
by SIR THOMAS MORE

BOOK I

HENRY VIII, the unconquered King of England, a prince adorned with all the virtues that become a great monarch, having some differences of no small consequence with Charles, the most serene Prince of Castile, sent me into Flanders, as his ambassador, for treating and composing matters between them. I was colleague and companion to that incomparable man Cuthbert Tonsal, whom the King with such universal applause lately made Master of the Rolls, but of whom I will say nothing; not because I fear that the testimony of a friend will be suspected, but rather because his learning and virtues are too great for me to do them justice, and so well known that they need not my commendations unless I would, according to the proverb, "Show the sun with a lanthorn." Those that were appointed by the Prince to treat with us, met us at Bruges, according to agreement; they were all worthy men. The Margrave of Bruges was their head, and the chief man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was George Temse, the Provost of Casselsee; both art and nature had concurred to make him eloquent: he was very learned in the law; and as he had a great capacity, so by a long practice in affairs he was very dexterous at unravelling them.

After we had several times met without coming to an agreement, they went to Brussels for some days to know the Prince's pleasure. And since our business would admit it, I went to Antwerp. While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other, Peter Giles, born at Antwerp, who is a man of great honor, and of a good rank in his town, though less than he deserves; for I do not know if there be anywhere to be found a more learned and a better bred young man: for as he is both a very worthy and a very knowing person, so he is so civil to all men, so particularly kind to his friends, and so full of candor and affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two anywhere to be found that are in all respects so perfect a friend. He is extraordinarily modest, there is no artifice in him; and yet no man has more of a prudent simplicity: his conversation was so pleasant and so innocently cheerful, that his company in a great measure lessened any longings to go back to my country, and to my wife and children, which an absence of four months had quickened very much. One day as I was returning home from mass at St. Mary's, which is the chief church, and the most frequented of any in Antwerp, I saw him by accident talking with a stranger, who seemed past the flower of his age; his face was tanned, he had a long beard, and his cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that by his looks and habit I concluded he was a seaman.

As soon as Peter saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said: "Do you see that man? I was just thinking to bring him to you."

I answered, "He should have been very welcome on your account."

"And on his own too," replied he, "if you knew the man, for there is none alive that can give so copious an account of unknown nations and countries as he can do; which I know you very much desire."

Then said I, "I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a seaman."

"But you are much mistaken," said he, "for he has not sailed as a seaman, but as a traveller, or rather a philosopher. This Raphael, who from his family carries the name of Hythloday, is not ignorant of the Latin tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to philosophy, in which he knew that the Romans have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in Seneca and Cicero. He is a Portuguese by birth, and was so desirous of seeing the world that he

divided his estate among his brothers, ran the same hazard as Americus Vespucius, and bore a share in three of his four voyages, that are now published; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained leave of him almost by force, that he might be one of those twenty-four who were left at the farthest place at which they touched, in their last voyage to New Castile. The leaving him thus did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning home to be buried in his own country; for he used often to say that the way to heaven was the same from all places; and he that had no grave had the heaven still over him. Yet this disposition of mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five Castilians, had travelled over many countries, at last, by strange good-fortune, he got to Ceylon, and from thence to Calicut, where he very happily found some Portuguese ships, and, beyond all men's expectations, returned to his native country."

When Peter had said this to me, I thanked him for his kindness, in intending to give me the acquaintance of a man whose conversation he knew would be so acceptable; and upon that Raphael and I embraced each other. After those civilities were passed which are usual with strangers upon their first meeting, we all went to my house, and entering into the garden, sat down on a green bank, and entertained one another in discourse. He told us that when Vespucius had sailed away, he and his companions that stayed behind in New Castile, by degrees insinuated themselves into the affections of the people of the country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at last they not only lived among them without danger, but conversed familiarly with them; and got so far into the heart of a prince, whose name and country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully with all things necessary, and also with the conveniences of travelling; both boats when they went by water, and wagons when they travelled over land: he sent with them a very faithful guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other princes as they had a mind to see: and after many days' journey, they came to towns and cities, and to commonwealths, that were both happily governed and well-peopled. Under the equator, and as far on both sides of it as the sun moves, there lay vast deserts that were parched with the perpetual heat of the sun; the soil was withered, all things looked dismally, and all places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild beasts and serpents, and some few men that were neither less wild nor less cruel than the beasts themselves.

But as they went farther, a new scene opened, all things grew milder, the air less burning, the soil more verdant, and even the beasts were less wild: and at last there were nations, towns, and cities, that had not only mutual commerce among themselves, and with their neighbors, but traded both by sea and land, to very remote countries. There they found the conveniences of seeing many countries on all hands, for no ship went any voyage into which he and his companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their sails were made of reeds and wicker woven close together, only some were of leather; but afterward they found ships made with round keels and canvas sails, and in all respects like our ships; and the seamen understood both astronomy and navigation. He got wonderfully into their favor, by showing them the use of the needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great caution, and only in summer-time, but now they count all seasons alike, trusting wholly to the loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe; so that there is reason to fear that this discovery, which was thought would prove so much to their advantage, may by their imprudence become an occasion of much mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every place, it would be too great a digression from our present purpose: whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent institutions which he observed among civilized nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper occasion. We asked him many questions concerning all these things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no inquiries after monsters, than which nothing is more common; for everywhere one may hear of ravenous dogs and wolves, and cruel man-eaters; but it is not so easy to find States that are well and wisely governed.

As he told us of many things that were amiss in those new- discovered countries, so he reckoned

up not a few things from which patterns might be taken for correcting the errors of these nations among whom we live; of which an account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other time; for at present I intend only to relate those particulars that he told us of the manners and laws of the Utopians: but I will begin with the occasion that led us to speak of that commonwealth. After Raphael had discoursed with great judgment on the many errors that were both among us and these nations; had treated of the wise institutions both here and there, and had spoken as distinctly of the customs and government of every nation through which he had passed, as if he had spent his whole life in it, Peter, being struck with admiration, said: "I wonder, Raphael, how it comes that you enter into no king's service, for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable: for your learning and knowledge both of men and things, are such that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of great use to them, by the examples you could set before them and the advices you could give them; and by this means you would both serve your own interest and be of great use to all your friends."

"As for my friends," answered he, "I need not be much concerned, having already done for them all that was incumbent on me; for when I was not only in good health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my kindred and friends which other people do not part with till they are old and sick, when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themselves. I think my friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their sake I should enslave myself to any king whatsoever."

"Soft and fair," said Peter, "I do not mean that you should be a slave to any king, but only that you should assist them, and be useful to them."

"The change of the word," said he, "does not alter the matter."

"But term it as you will," replied Peter, "I do not see any other way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your friends, and to the public, and by which you can make your own condition happier."

"Happier!" answered Raphael; "is that to be compassed in a way so abhorrent to my genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few courtiers can pretend. And there are so many that court the favor of great men, that there will be no great loss if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my temper."

Upon this, said I: "I perceive, Raphael, that you neither desire wealth nor greatness; and indeed I value and admire such a man much more than I do any of the great men in the world. Yet I think you would do what would well become so generous and philosophical a soul as yours is, if you would apply your time and thoughts to public affairs, even though you may happen to find it a little uneasy to yourself: and this you can never do with so much advantage, as by being taken into the counsel of some great prince, and putting him on noble and worthy actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a post; for the springs both of good and evil flow from the prince, over a whole nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much learning as you have, even without practice in affairs, or so great a practice as you have had, without any other learning, would render you a very fit counsellor to any king whatsoever."

"You are doubly mistaken," said he, "Mr. More, both in your opinion of me, and in the judgment you make of things: for as I have not that capacity that you fancy I have, so, if I had it, the public would not be one jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most princes apply themselves more to affairs of war than to the useful arts of peace; and in these I neither have any knowledge, nor do I much desire it: they are generally more set on acquiring new kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess. And among the ministers of princes, there are none that are not so wise as to need no assistance, or at least that do not think themselves so wise that they imagine they need none; and if they court any, it is only those for whom the prince

has much personal favor, whom by their fawnings and flatteries they endeavor to fix to their own interests: and indeed Nature has so made us that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our own notions. The old crow loves his young, and the ape her cubs. Now if in such a court, made up of persons who envy all others, and only admire themselves, a person should but propose anything that he had either read in history or observed in his travels, the rest would think that the reputation of their wisdom would sink, and that their interest would be much depressed, if they could not run it down: and if all other things failed, then they would fly to this, that such or such things pleased our ancestors, and it were well for us if we could but match them. They would set up their rest on such an answer, as a sufficient confutation of all that could be said, as if it were a great misfortune, that any should be found wiser than his ancestors; but though they willingly let go all the good things that were among those of former ages, yet if better things are proposed they cover themselves obstinately with this excuse of reverence to past times. I have met with these proud, morose, and absurd judgments of things in many places, particularly once in England."

"Were you ever there?" said I.

"Yes, I was," answered he, "and stayed some months there not long after the rebellion in the west was suppressed with a great slaughter of the poor people that were engaged in it. I was then much obliged to that reverend prelate, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal, and Chancellor of England: a man," said he, "Peter (for Mr. More knows well what he was), that was not less venerable for his wisdom and virtues than for the high character he bore. He was of a middle stature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his conversation was easy, but serious and grave; he sometimes took pleasure to try the force of those that came as suitors to him upon business, by speaking sharply though decently to them, and by that he discovered their spirit and presence of mind, with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great resemblance to his own temper; and he looked on such persons as the fittest men for affairs. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, had a vast understanding and a prodigious memory; and those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him were improved by study and experience. When I was in England the King depended much on his counsels, and the government seemed to be chiefly supported by him; for from his youth he had been all along practised in affairs; and having passed through many traverses of fortune, he had with great cost acquired a vast stock of wisdom, which is not soon lost when it is purchased so dear.

"One day when I was dining with him there happened to be at table one of the English lawyers, who took occasion to run out in a high commendation of the severe execution of justice upon thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast that there were sometimes twenty on one gibbet; and upon that he said he could not wonder enough how it came to pass, that since so few escaped, there were yet so many thieves left who were still robbing in all places. Upon this, I who took the boldness to speak freely before the cardinal, said there was no reason to wonder at the matter, since this way of punishing thieves was neither just in itself nor good for the public; for as the severity was too great, so the remedy was not effectual; simple theft not being so great a crime that it ought to cost a man his life, no punishment how severe soever being able to restrain those from robbing who can find out no other way of livelihood. 'In this,' said I, 'not only you in England, but a great part of the world imitate some ill masters that are readier to chastise their scholars than to teach them. There are dreadful punishments enacted against thieves, but it were much better to make such good provisions by which every man might be put in a method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal necessity of stealing and of dying for it.'

"'There has been care enough taken for that,' said he, 'there are many handicrafts, and there is husbandry, by which they may make a shift to live unless they have a greater mind to follow ill courses.'



"That will not serve your turn," said I, "for many lose their limbs in civil or foreign wars, as lately in the Cornish rebellion, and some time ago in your wars with France, who being thus mutilated in the service of their king and country, can no more follow their old trades, and are too old to learn new ones: but since wars are only accidental things, and have intervals, let us consider those things that fall out every day. There is a great number of noblemen among you, that are themselves as idle as drones, that subsist on other men's labor, on the labor of their tenants, whom, to raise their revenues, they pare to the quick. This indeed is the only instance of their frugality, for in all other things they are prodigal, even to the beggaring of themselves: but besides this, they carry about with them a great number of idle fellows, who never learned any art by which they may gain their living; and these, as soon as either their lord dies or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of doors; for your lords are readier to feed idle people than to take care of the sick; and often the heir is not able to keep together so great a family as his predecessor did. Now when the stomachs of those that are thus turned out of doors grow keen, they rob no less keenly; and what else can they do? for when, by wandering about, they have worn out both their health and their clothes, and are tattered, and look ghastly, men of quality will not entertain them, and poor men dare not do it, knowing that one who has been bred up in idleness and pleasure, and who was used to walk about with his sword and buckler, despising all the neighborhood with an insolent scorn as far below him, is not fit for the spade and mattock: nor will he serve a poor man for so small a hire, and in so low a diet as he can afford to give him."

"To this he answered: 'This sort of men ought to be particularly cherished, for in them consists the force of the armies for which we have occasion; since their birth inspires them with a nobler sense of honor than is to be found among tradesmen or ploughmen.'

"You may as well say," replied I, "that you must cherish thieves on the account of wars, for you will never want the one as long as you have the other; and as robbers prove sometimes gallant soldiers, so soldiers often prove brave robbers; so near an alliance there is between those two sorts of life. But this bad custom, so common among you, of keeping many servants, is not peculiar to this nation. In France there is yet a more pestiferous sort of people, for the whole country is full of soldiers, still kept up in time of peace, if such a state of a nation can be called a peace: and these are kept in pay upon the same account that you plead for those idle retainers about noblemen; this being a maxim of those pretended statesmen that it is necessary for the public safety to have a good body of veteran soldiers ever in readiness. They think raw men are not to be depended on, and they sometimes seek occasions for making war, that they may train up their soldiers in the art of cutting throats; or as Sallust observed, for keeping their hands in use, that they may not grow dull by too long an intermission. But France has learned to its cost how dangerous it is to feed such beasts."

"The fate of the Romans, Carthaginians, and Syrians, and many other nations and cities, which were both overturned and quite ruined by those standing armies, should make others wiser: and the folly of this maxim of the French appears plainly even from this, that their trained soldiers often find your raw men prove too hard for them; of which I will not say much, lest you may think I flatter the English. Every day's experience shows that the mechanics in the towns, or the clowns in the country, are not afraid of fighting with those idle gentlemen, if they are not disabled by some misfortune in their body, or dispirited by extreme want, so that you need not fear that those well-shaped and strong men (for it is only such that noblemen love to keep about them, till they spoil them) who now grow feeble with ease, and are softened with their effeminate manner of life, would be less fit for action if they were well bred and well employed. And it seems very unreasonable that for the prospect of a war, which you need never have but when you please, you should maintain so many idle men, as will always disturb you in time of peace, which is ever to be more considered than war. But I do not think that this necessity of stealing arises only from hence; there is another cause of it more peculiar to England."

"What is that?" said the cardinal.

"The increase of pasture,' said I, 'by which your sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour men, and unpeople, not only villages, but towns; for wherever it is found that the sheep of any soil yield a softer and richer wool than ordinary, there the nobility and gentry, and even those holy men the abbots, not contented with the old rents which their farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they, living at their ease, do no good to the public, resolve to do it hurt instead of good. They stop the course of agriculture, destroying houses and towns, reserving only the churches, and enclose grounds that they may lodge their sheep in them. As if forests and parks had swallowed up too little of the land, those worthy countrymen turn the best inhabited places in solitudes, for when an insatiable wretch, who is a plague to his country, resolves to enclose many thousand acres of ground, the owners as well as tenants are turned out of their possessions, by tricks, or by main force, or being wearied out with ill-usage, they are forced to sell them. By which means those miserable people, both men and women, married and unmarried, old and young, with their poor but numerous families (since country business requires many hands), are all forced to change their seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell almost for nothing their household stuff, which could not bring them much money, even though they might stay for a buyer. When that little money is at an end, for it will be soon spent, what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so to be hanged (God knows how justly), or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in prison as idle vagabonds; while they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more occasion for country labor, to which they have been bred, when there is no arable ground left. One shepherd can look after a flock which will stock an extent of ground that would require many hands if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewise in many places raises the price of corn.

"The price of wool is also so risen that the poor people who were wont to make cloth are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle. For since the increase of pasture, God has punished the avarice of the owners by a rot among the sheep, which has destroyed vast numbers of them; to us it might have seemed more just had it fell on the owners themselves. But suppose the sheep should increase ever so much, their price is not like to fall; since though they cannot be called a monopoly, because they are not engrossed by one person, yet they are in so few hands, and these are so rich, that as they are not pressed to sell them sooner than they have a mind to it, so they never do it till they have raised the price as high as possible. And on the same account it is, that the other kinds of cattle are so dear, because many villages being pulled down, and all country labor being much neglected, there are none who make it their business to breed them. The rich do not breed cattle as they do sheep, but buy them lean, and at low prices; and after they have fattened them on their grounds sell them again at high rates. And I do not think that all the inconveniences this will produce are yet observed, for as they sell the cattle dear, so if they are consumed faster than the breeding countries from which they are brought can afford them, then the stock must decrease, and this must needs end in great scarcity; and by these means this your island, which seemed as to this particular the happiest in the world, will suffer much by the cursed avarice of a few persons; besides this, the rising of corn makes all people lessen their families as much as they can; and what can those who are dismissed by them do, but either beg or rob? And to this last, a man of a great mind is much sooner drawn than to the former.

"Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your poverty and misery; there is an excessive vanity in apparel, and great cost in diet; and that not only in noblemen's families, but even among tradesmen, among the farmers themselves, and among all ranks of persons. You have also many infamous houses, and, besides those that are known, the taverns and alehouses are no better; add to these, dice, cards, tables, foot-ball, tennis, and quoits, in which money runs fast away; and those that are initiated into them, must in the conclusion betake themselves to robbing for a supply. Banish these plagues, and give orders that those who have dispeopled so much soil, may either rebuild the villages they have pulled down, or let out their grounds to such as will do it: restrain those engrossings of the rich, that are as bad almost as monopolies; leave fewer occasions to idleness; let agriculture be set up again, and the manufacture of the wool be

regulated, that so there may be work found for those companies of idle people whom want forces to be thieves, or who, now being idle vagabonds or useless servants, will certainly grow thieves at last. If you do not find a remedy to these evils, it is a vain thing to boast of your severity in punishing theft, which though it may have the appearance of justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient. For if you suffer your people to be ill-educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make thieves and then punish them ?'

"While I was talking thus, the counsellor who was present had prepared an answer, and had resolved to resume all I had said, according to the formality of a debate, in which things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are answered; as if the chief trial to be made were of men's memories.

"You have talked prettily for a stranger,' said he, 'having heard of many things among us which you have not been able to consider well; but I will make the whole matter plain to you, and will first repeat in order all that you have said, then I will show how much your ignorance of our affairs has misled you, and will in the last place answer all your arguments. And that I may begin where I promised, there were four things--'

"Hold your peace,' said the cardinal; 'this will take up too much time; therefore we will at present ease you of the trouble of answering, and reserve it to our next meeting, which shall be to-morrow, if Raphael's affairs and yours can admit of it. But, Raphael,' said he to me, 'I would gladly know upon what reason it is that you think theft ought not to be punished by death? Would you give way to it? Or do you propose any other punishment that will be more useful to the public? For since death does not restrain theft, if men thought their lives would be safe, what fear or force could restrain ill men? On the contrary, they would look on the mitigation of the punishment as an invitation to commit more crimes.'

"I answered: 'It seems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life: and if it is said that it is not for the money that one suffers, but for his breaking the law, I must say extreme justice is an extreme injury; for we ought not to approve of these terrible laws that make the smallest offences capital, nor of that opinion of the Stoics that makes all crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man and the taking his purse, between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeness nor proportion. God has commanded us not to kill, and shall we kill so easily for a little money? But if one shall say, that by that law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the laws of the land allow of it; upon the same grounds, laws may be made in some cases to allow of adultery and perjury: for God having taken from us the right of disposing, either of our own or of other people's lives, if it is pretended that the mutual consent of man in making laws can authorize manslaughter in cases in which God has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the divine law, and so makes murder a lawful action; what is this, but to give a preference to human laws before the divine?

"And if this is once admitted, by the same rule men may in all other things put what restrictions they please upon the laws of God. If by the Mosaical law, though it was rough and severe, as being a yoke laid on an obstinate and servile nation, men were only fined and not put to death for theft, we cannot imagine that in this new law of mercy, in which God treats us with the tenderness of a father, he has given us a greater license to cruelty than he did to the Jews. Upon these reasons it is that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is absurd, and of ill-consequence to the commonwealth, that a thief and a murderer should be equally punished; for if a robber sees that his danger is the same, if he is convicted of theft as if he were guilty of murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the person whom otherwise he would only have robbed, since if the punishment is the same, there is more security, and less danger of

discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the way; so that terrifying thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.

"But as to the question, What more convenient way of punishment can be found? I think it is much more easier to find out that than to invent anything that is worse; why should we doubt but the way that was so long in use among the old Romans, who understood so well the arts of government, was very proper for their punishment? They condemned such as they found guilty of great crimes, to work their whole lives in quarries, or to dig in mines with chains about them. But the method that I liked best, was that which I observed in my travels in Persia, among the Polylerits, who are a considerable and well-governed people. They pay a yearly tribute to the King of Persia; but in all other respects they are a free nation, and governed by their own laws. They lie far from the sea, and are environed with hills; and being contented with the productions of their own country, which is very fruitful, they have little commerce with any other nation; and as they, according to the genius of their country, have no inclination to enlarge their borders; so their mountains, and the pension they pay to the Persians, secure them from all invasions.

"Thus they have no wars among them; they live rather conveniently than with splendor, and may be rather called a happy nation, than either eminent or famous; for I do not think that they are known so much as by name to any but their next neighbors. Those that are found guilty of theft among them are bound to make restitution to the owner, and not as it is in other places, to the prince, for they reckon that the prince has no more right to the stolen goods than the thief; but if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the goods of the thieves are estimated, and restitution being made out of them, the remainder is given to their wives and children: and they themselves are condemned to serve in the public works, but are neither imprisoned, nor chained, unless there happened to be some extraordinary circumstances in their crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the public. If they are idle or backward to work, they are whipped; but if they work hard, they are well used and treated without any mark of reproach, only the lists of them are called always at night, and then they are shut up. They suffer no other uneasiness, but this of constant labor; for as they work for the public, so they are well entertained out of the public stock, which is done differently in different places. In some places, whatever is bestowed on them, is raised by a charitable contribution; and though this way may seem uncertain, yet so merciful are the inclinations of that people, that they are plentifully supplied by it; but in other places, public revenues are set aside for them; or there is a constant tax of a poll-money raised for their maintenance. In some places they are set to no public work, but every private man that has occasion to hire workmen goes to the market-places and hires them of the public, a little lower than he would do a freeman: if they go lazily about their task, he may quicken them with the whip.

"By this means there is always some piece of work or other to be done by them; and beside their livelihood, they earn somewhat still to the public. They all wear a peculiar habit, of one certain color, and their hair is cropped a little above their ears, and a piece of one of their ears is cut off. Their friends are allowed to give them either meat, drink, or clothes so they are of their proper color, but it is death, both to the giver and taker, if they give them money; nor is it less penal for any freeman to take money from them, upon any account whatsoever: and it is also death for any of these slaves (so they are called) to handle arms. Those of every division of the country are distinguished by a peculiar mark; which it is capital for them to lay aside, to go out of their bounds, or to talk with a slave of another jurisdiction; and the very attempt of an escape is no less penal than an escape itself; it is death for any other slave to be accessory to it; and if a freeman engages in it he is condemned to slavery. Those that discover it are rewarded--if freemen, in money; and if slaves, with liberty, together with a pardon for being accessory to it; that so they might find their account, rather in repenting of their engaging in such a design, than in persisting in it.

"These are their laws and rules in relation to robbery, and it is obvious that they are as

advantageous as they are mild and gentle; since vice is not only destroyed, and men preserved, but they treated in such a manner as to make them see the necessity of being honest, and of employing the rest of their lives in repairing the injuries they have formerly done to society. Nor is there any hazard of their falling back to their old customs: and so little do travellers apprehend mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for guides, from one jurisdiction to another; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it, since, as they are disarmed, so the very having of money is a sufficient conviction: and as they are certainly punished if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape; for their habit being in all the parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unless they would go naked, and even then their cropped ear would betray them. The only danger to be feared from them is their conspiring against the government: but those of one division and neighborhood can do nothing to any purpose, unless a general conspiracy were laid among all the slaves of the several jurisdictions, which cannot be done, since they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture on a design where the concealment would be so dangerous and the discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their freedom, since by their obedience and patience, and by giving good grounds to believe that they will change their manner of life for the future, they may expect at last to obtain their liberty: and some are every year restored to it, upon the good character that is given of them.'

"When I had related all this, I added that I did not see why such a method might not be followed with more advantage than could ever be expected from that severe justice which the counsellor magnified so much. To this he answered that it could never take place in England without endangering the whole nation. As he said this he shook his head, made some grimaces, and held his peace, while all the company seemed of his opinion, except the cardinal, who said that it was not easy to form a judgment of its success, since it was a method that never yet had been tried.

"'But if,' said he, 'when the sentence of death was passed upon a thief, the prince would reprieve him for a while, and make the experiment upon him, denying him the privilege of a sanctuary; and then if it had a good effect upon him, it might take place; and if it did not succeed, the worst would be, to execute the sentence on the condemned persons at last. And I do not see,' added he, 'why it would be either unjust, inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of such a delay: in my opinion, the vagabonds ought to be treated in the same manner; against whom, though we have made many laws, yet we have not been able to gain our end.' When the cardinal had done, they all commended the motion, though they had despised it when it came from me; but more particularly commended what related to the vagabonds, because it was his own observation.

"I do not know whether it be worth while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous; but I shall venture at it, for as it is not foreign to this matter, so some good use may be made of it. There was a jester standing by, that counterfeited the fool so naturally that he seemed to be really one. The jests which he offered were so cold and dull that we laughed more at him than at them; yet sometimes he said, as it were by chance, things that were not unpleasant; so as to justify the old proverb, 'That he who throws the dice often, will sometimes have a lucky hit.' When one of the company had said that I had taken care of the thieves, and the cardinal had taken care of the vagabonds, so that there remained nothing but that some public provision might be made for the poor, whom sickness or old age had disabled from labor, 'Leave that to me,' said the fool, 'and I shall take care of them; for there is no sort of people whose sight I abhor more, having been so often vexed with them, and with their sad complaints; but as dolefully soever as they have told their tale, they could never prevail so far as to draw one penny from me: for either I had no mind to give them anything, or when I had a mind to do it I had nothing to give them: and they now know me so well that they will not lose their labor, but let me pass without giving me any trouble, because they hope for nothing, no more in faith than if I were a priest: but I would have a law made, for sending all these beggars to monasteries, the men to the Benedictines to be made lay-brothers, and the women to be nuns.'



"The cardinal smiled, and approved of it in jest; but the rest liked it in earnest. There was a divine present, who though he was a grave, morose man, yet he was so pleased with this reflection that was made on the priests and the monks, that he began to play with the fool, and said to him, 'This will not deliver you from all beggars, except you take care of us friars.'

"'That is done already,' answered the fool, 'for the cardinal has provided for you, by what he proposed for restraining vagabonds, and setting them to work, for I know no vagabonds like you.'

"This was well entertained by the whole company, who, looking at the cardinal, perceived that he was not ill-pleased at it; only the friar himself was vexed, as may be easily imagined, and fell into such a passion that he could not forbear railing at the fool, and calling him knave, slanderer, backbiter, and son of perdition, and then cited some dreadful threatenings out of the Scriptures against him. Now the jester thought he was in his element, and laid about him freely.

"'Good friar,' said he, 'be not angry, for it is written, "In patience possess your soul."'

"The friar answered (for I shall give you his own words), 'I am not angry, you hangman; at least I do not sin in it, for the Psalmist says, "Be ye angry, and sin not."'

"Upon this the cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his passions.

"'No, my lord,' said he, 'I speak not but from a good zeal, which I ought to have; for holy men have had a good zeal, as it is said, "The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up;" and we sing in our church, that those, who mocked Elisha as he went up to the house of God, felt the effects of his zeal; which that mocker, that rogue, that scoundrel, will perhaps feel.'

"'You do this perhaps with a good intention,' said the cardinal; 'but in my opinion it were wiser in you, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a contest with a fool.'

"'No, my lord,' answered he, 'that were not wisely done; for Solomon, the wisest of men, said, "Answer a fool according to his folly;" which I now do, and show him the ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it; for if the many mockers of Elisha, who was but one bald man, felt the effect of his zeal, what will become of one mocker of so many friars, among whom there are so many bald men? We have likewise a bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated.'

"When the cardinal saw that there was no end of this matter, he made a sign to the fool to withdraw, turned the discourse another way, and soon after rose from the table, and, dismissing us, went to hear causes.

"Thus, Mr. More, I have run out into a tedious story, of the length of which I had been ashamed, if, as you earnestly begged it of me, I had not observed you to hearken to it, as if you had no mind to lose any part of it. I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it to you at large, that you might observe how those that despised what I had proposed, no sooner perceived that the cardinal did not dislike it, but presently approved of it, fawned so on him, and flattered him to such a degree, that they in good earnest applauded those things that he only liked in jest. And from hence you may gather, how little courtiers would value either me or my counsels."

To this I answered: "You have done me a great kindness in this relation; for as everything has been related by you, both wisely and pleasantly, so you have made me imagine that I was in my own country, and grown young again, by recalling that good cardinal to my thoughts, in whose family I was bred from my childhood: and though you are upon other accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer, because you honor his memory so much; but after all this I cannot change my opinion, for I still think that if you could overcome that aversion which you have to the courts of princes, you might, by the advice which it is in your power to give, do a great deal of good to mankind; and

this is the chief design that every good man ought to propose to himself in living; for your friend Plato thinks that nations will be happy, when either philosophers become kings or kings become philosophers, it is no wonder if we are so far from that happiness, while philosophers will not think it their duty to assist kings with their councils.

"'They are not so base-minded,' said he, 'but that they would willingly do it: many of them have already done it by their books, if those that are in power would but hearken to their good advice.' But Plato judged right, that except kings themselves became philosophers, they who from their childhood are corrupted with false notions would never fall in entirely with the councils of philosophers, and this he himself found to be true in the person of Dionysius.

"Do not you think that if I were about any king, proposing good laws to him, and endeavoring to root out all the cursed seeds of evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his court or at least be laughed at for my pains? For instance, what could it signify if I were about the King of France, and were called into his Cabinet Council, where several wise men, in his hearing, were proposing many expedients, as by what arts and practices Milan may be kept, and Naples, that had so oft slipped out of their hands, recovered; how the Venetians, and after them the rest of Italy, may be subdued; and then how Flanders, Brabant, and all Burgundy, and some other kingdoms which he has swallowed already in his designs, may be added to his empire. One proposes a league with the Venetians, to be kept as long as he finds his account in it, and that he ought to communicate councils with them, and give them some share of the spoil, till his success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their hands. Another proposes the hiring the Germans, and the securing the Switzers by pensions. Another proposes the gaining the Emperor by money, which is omnipotent with him. Another proposes a peace with the King of Arragon, and, in order to cement it, the yielding up the King of Navarre's pretensions. Another thinks the Prince of Castile is to be wrought on, by the hope of an alliance; and that some of his courtiers are to be gained to the French faction by pensions. The hardest point of all is what to do with England: a treaty of peace is to be set on foot, and if their alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible; and they are to be called friends, but suspected as enemies: therefore the Scots are to be kept in readiness, to be let loose upon England on every occasion: and some banished nobleman is to be supported underhand (for by the league it cannot be done avowedly) who has a pretension to the crown, by which means that suspected prince may be kept in awe.

"Now when things are in so great a fermentation, and so many gallant men are joining councils, how to carry on the war, if so mean a man as I should stand up, and wish them to change all their councils, to let Italy alone, and stay at home, since the Kingdom of France was indeed greater than could be well governed by one man; that therefore he ought not to think of adding others to it: and if after this, I should propose to them the resolutions of the Achorians, a people that lie on the southeast of Utopia, who long ago engaged in war, in order to add to the dominions of their prince another kingdom, to which he had some pretensions by an ancient alliance. This they conquered, but found that the trouble of keeping it was equal to that by which it was gained; that the conquered people were always either in rebellion or exposed to foreign invasions, while they were obliged to be incessantly at war, either for or against them, and consequently could never disband their army; that in the meantime they were oppressed with taxes, their money went out of the kingdom, their blood was spilt for the glory of their King, without procuring the least advantage to the people, who received not the smallest benefit from it even in time of peace; and that their manners being corrupted by a long war, robbery and murders everywhere abounded, and their laws fell into contempt; while their King, distracted with the care of two kingdoms, was the less able to apply his mind to the interests of either.

"When they saw this, and that there would be no end to these evils, they by joint councils made an humble address to their King, desiring him to choose which of the two kingdoms he had the greatest mind to keep, since he could not hold both; for they were too great a people to be governed

by a divided king, since no man would willingly have a groom that should be in common between him and another. Upon which the good prince was forced to quit his new kingdom to one of his friends (who was not long after dethroned), and to be contented with his old one. To this I would add that after all those warlike attempts, the vast confusions, and the consumption both of treasure and of people that must follow them; perhaps upon some misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at last; therefore it seemed much more eligible that the King should improve his ancient kingdom all he could, and make it flourish as much as possible; that he should love his people, and be beloved of them; that he should live among them, govern them gently, and let other kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his share was big enough, if not too big for him. Pray how do you think would such a speech as this be heard?"

"I confess," said I, "I think not very well."

"But what," said he, "if I should sort with another kind of ministers, whose chief contrivances and consultations were, by what art the prince's treasures might be increased. Where one proposes raising the value of specie when the King's debts are large, and lowering it when his revenues were to come in, that so he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal: another proposes a pretence of a war, that money might be raised in order to carry it on, and that a peace be concluded as soon as that was done; and this with such appearances of religion as might work on the people, and make them impute it to the piety of their prince, and to his tenderness for the lives of his subjects. A third offers some old musty laws, that have been antiquated by a long disuse; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the subjects, so they had been also broken by them; and proposes the levying the penalties of these laws, that as it would bring in a vast treasure, so there might be a very good pretence for it, since it would look like the executing a law, and the doing of justice. A fourth proposes the prohibiting of many things under severe penalties, especially such as were against the interest of the people, and then the dispensing with these prohibitions upon great compositions, to those who might find their advantage in breaking them. This would serve two ends, both of them acceptable to many; for as those whose avarice led them to transgress would be severely fined, so the selling licenses dear would look as if a prince were tender of his people, and would not easily, or at low rates, dispense with anything that might be against the public good.

"Another proposes that the judges must be made sure, that they may declare always in favor of the prerogative, that they must be often sent for to court, that the King may hear them argue those points in which he is concerned; since how unjust soever any of his pretensions may be, yet still some one or other of them, either out of contradiction to others or the pride of singularity or to make their court, would find out some pretence or other to give the King a fair color to carry the point: for if the judges but differ in opinion, the clearest thing in the world is made by that means disputable, and truth being once brought in question, the King may then take advantage to expound the law for his own profit; while the judges that stand out will be brought over, either out of fear or modesty; and they being thus gained, all of them may be sent to the bench to give sentence boldly, as the King would have it; for fair pretences will never be wanting when sentence is to be given in the prince's favor. It will either be said that equity lies on his side, or some words in the law will be found sounding that way, or some forced sense will be put on them; and when all other things fail, the King's undoubted prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all law; and to which a religious judge ought to have a special regard.

"Thus all consent to that maxim of Crassus, that a prince cannot have treasure enough, since he must maintain his armies out of it: that a king, even though he would, can do nothing unjustly; that all property is in him, not excepting the very persons of his subjects: and that no man has any other property, but that which the King out of his goodness thinks fit to leave him. And they think it is the prince's interest, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his advantage that his people should have neither riches nor liberty; since these things make them less easy and less willing to submit to a cruel and unjust government; whereas necessity and

poverty blunt them, make them patient, beat them down, and break that height of spirit, that might otherwise dispose them to rebel. Now what if after all these propositions were made, I should rise up and assert, that such councils were both unbecoming a king, and mischievous to him: and that not only his honor but his safety consisted more in his people's wealth, than in his own; if I should show that they choose a king for their own sake, and not for his; that by his care and endeavors they may be both easy and safe; and that therefore a prince ought to take more care of his people's happiness than of his own, as a shepherd is to take more care of his flock than of himself.

"It is also certain that they are much mistaken that think the poverty of a nation is a means of the public safety. Who quarrel more than beggars? Who does more earnestly long for a change, than he that is uneasy in his present circumstances? And who run to create confusions with so desperate a boldness, as those who have nothing to lose hope to gain by them? If a king should fall under such contempt or envy, that he could not keep his subjects in their duty, but by oppression and ill-usage, and by rendering them poor and miserable, it were certainly better for him to quit his kingdom, than to retain it by such methods, as makes him while he keeps the name of authority, lose the majesty due to it. Nor is it so becoming the dignity of a king to reign over beggars, as over rich and happy subjects. And therefore Fabricius, a man of a noble and exalted temper, said, he would rather govern rich men than be rich himself; since for one man to abound in wealth and pleasure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to a gaoler and not a king. He is an unskilful physician, that cannot cure one disease without casting his patient into another: so he that can find no other way for correcting the errors of his people, but by taking from them the conveniences of life, shows that he knows not what it is to govern a free nation. He himself ought rather to shake off his sloth, or to lay down his pride; for the contempt or hatred that his people have for him, takes its rise from the vices in himself. Let him live upon what belongs to him, without wronging others, and accommodate his expense to his revenue. Let him punish crimes, and by his wise conduct let him endeavor to prevent them, rather than be severe when he has suffered them to be too common: let him not rashly revive laws that are abrogated by disuse, especially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted; and let him never take any penalty for the breach of them, to which a judge would not give way in a private man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjust person for pretending to it.

"To these things I would add that law among the Macarians, a people that live not far from Utopia, by which their King, on the day on which he begins to reign, is tied by an oath confirmed by solemn sacrifices, never to have at once above 1,000 pounds of gold in his treasures, or so much silver as is equal to that in value. This law, they tell us, was made by an excellent king, who had more regard to the riches of his country than to his own wealth, and therefore provided against the heaping up of so much treasure as might impoverish the people. He thought that a moderate sum might be sufficient for any accident, if either the King had occasion for it against rebels, or the kingdom against the invasion of an enemy; but that it was not enough to encourage a prince to invade other men's rights, a circumstance that was the chief cause of his making that law. He also thought that it was a good provision for that free circulation of money, so necessary for the course of commerce and exchange: and when a king must distribute all those extraordinary accessions that increase treasure beyond the due pitch, it makes him less disposed to oppress his subjects. Such a king as this will be the terror of ill men, and will be beloved by all the good.

"If, I say, I should talk of these or such like things, to men that had taken their bias another way, how deaf would they be to all I could say?"

"No doubt, very deaf," answered I; "and no wonder, for one is never to offer at propositions or advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Discourses so much out of the road could not avail anything, nor have any effect on men whose minds were prepossessed with different sentiments. This philosophical way of speculation is not unpleasant among friends in a free conversation, but there is no room for it in the courts of princes where great affairs are carried on

by authority."

"That is what I was saying," replied he, "that there is no room for philosophy in the courts of princes."

"Yes, there is," said I, "but not for this speculative philosophy that makes everything to be alike fitting at all times: but there is another philosophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper scene, accommodates itself to it, and teaches a man with propriety and decency to act that part which has fallen to his share. If when one of Plautus's comedies is upon the stage and a company of servants are acting their parts, you should come out in the garb of a philosopher, and repeat out of 'Octavia,' a discourse of Seneca's to Nero, would it not be better for you to say nothing than by mixing things of such different natures to make an impertinent tragi-comedy? For you spoil and corrupt the play that is in hand when you mix with it things of an opposite nature, even though they are much better. Therefore go through with the play that is acting, the best you can, and do not confound it because another that is pleasanter comes into your thoughts. It is even so in a commonwealth and in the councils of princes; if ill opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure some received vice according to your wishes, you must not therefore abandon the commonwealth; for the same reasons you should not forsake the ship in a storm because you cannot command the winds. You are not obliged to assault people with discourses that are out of their road, when you see that their received notions must prevent your making an impression upon them. You ought rather to cast about and to manage things with all the dexterity in your power, so that if you are not able to make them go well they may be as little ill as possible; for except all men were good everything cannot be right, and that is a blessing that I do not at present hope to see."

"According to your arguments," answered he, "all that I could be able to do would be to preserve myself from being mad while I endeavored to cure the madness of others; for if I speak truth, I must repeat what I have said to you; and as for lying, whether a philosopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am sure I cannot do it. But though these discourses may be uneasy and ungrateful to them, I do not see why they should seem foolish or extravagant: indeed if I should either propose such things as Plato has contrived in his commonwealth, or as the Utopians practise in theirs, though they might seem better, as certainly they are, yet they are so different from our establishment, which is founded on property, there being no such thing among them, that I could not expect that it would have any effect on them; but such discourses as mine, which only call past evils to mind and give warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is so absurd that they may not be used at any time, for they can only be unpleasant to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary way; and if we must let alone everything as absurd or extravagant which by reason of the wicked lives of many may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest part of those things that Christ hath taught us, though He has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the house-tops that which he taught in secret.

"The greatest parts of his precepts are more opposite to the lives of the men of this age than any part of my discourse has been; but the preachers seemed to have learned that craft to which you advise me, for they observing that the world would not willingly suit their lives to the rules that Christ has given, have fitted his doctrine as if it had been a leaden rule, to their lives, that so some way or other they might agree with one another. But I see no other effect of this compliance except it be that men become more secure in their wickedness by it. And this is all the success that I can have in a court, for I must always differ from the rest, and then I shall signify nothing; or if I agree with them, I shall then only help forward their madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling things so dexterously, that if they go not well they may go as little ill as may be; for in courts they will not bear with a man's holding his peace or conniving at what others do. A man must barefacedly approve of the worst counsels, and consent to the blackest designs: so that he would pass for a spy, or possibly for a

traitor, that did but coldly approve of such wicked practices: and therefore when a man is engaged in such a society, he will be so far from being able to mend matters by his casting about, as you call it, that he will find no occasions of doing any good: the ill company will sooner corrupt him than be the better for him: or if notwithstanding all their ill company, he still remains steady and innocent, yet their follies and knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing counsels with them, he must bear his share of all the blame that belongs wholly to others.

"It was no ill simile by which Plato set forth the unreasonableness of a philosopher's meddling with government. If a man, says he, was to see a great company run out every day into the rain, and take delight in being wet; if he knew that it would be to no purpose for him to go and persuade them to return to their houses, in order to avoid the storm, and that all that could be expected by his going to speak to them would be that he himself should be as wet as they, it would be best for him to keep within doors; and since he had not influence enough to correct other people's folly, to take care to preserve himself.

"Though to speak plainly my real sentiments, I must freely own that as long as there is any property, and while money is the standard of all other things, I cannot think that a nation can be governed either justly or happily: not justly, because the best things will fall to the share of the worst men; nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few (and even these are not in all respects happy), the rest being left to be absolutely miserable. Therefore when I reflect on the wise and good constitution of the Utopians--among whom all things are so well governed, and with so few laws; where virtue hath its due reward, and yet there is such an equality, that every man lives in plenty -- when I compare with them so many other nations that are still making new laws, and yet can never bring their constitution to a right regulation, where notwithstanding everyone has his property; yet all the laws that they can invent have not the power either to obtain or preserve it, or even to enable men certainly to distinguish what is their own from what is another's; of which the many lawsuits that every day break out, and are eternally depending, give too plain a demonstration; when, I say, I balance all these things in my thoughts, I grow more favorable to Plato, and do not wonder that he resolved not to make any laws for such as would not submit to a community of all things: for so wise a man could not but foresee that the setting all upon a level was the only way to make a nation happy, which cannot be obtained so long as there is property: for when every man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a nation may be, yet a few dividing the wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall into indigence.

"So that there will be two sorts of people among them, who deserve that their fortunes should be interchanged; the former useless, but wicked and ravenous; and the latter, who by their constant industry serve the public more than themselves, sincere and modest men. From whence I am persuaded, that till property is taken away there can be no equitable or just distribution of things, nor can the world be happily governed: for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best part of mankind will be still oppressed with a load of cares and anxieties. I confess without taking it quite away, those pressures that lie on a great part of mankind may be made lighter; but they can never be quite removed. For if laws were made to determine at how great an extent in soil, and at how much money every man must stop, to limit the prince that he might not grow too great, and to restrain the people that they might not become too insolent, and that none might factiously aspire to public employments; which ought neither to be sold, nor made burdensome by a great expense; since otherwise those that serve in them would be tempted to reimburse themselves by cheats and violence, and it would become necessary to find out rich men for undergoing those employments which ought rather to be trusted to the wise--these laws, I say, might have such effects, as good diet and care might have on a sick man, whose recovery is desperate: they might allay and mitigate the disease, but it could never be quite healed, nor the body politic be brought again to a good habit, as long as property remains; and it will fall out as in a complication of diseases, that by applying a remedy to one sore, you will provoke another; and that which removes the one ill symptom produces others, while the strengthening one part of



the body weakens the rest."

"On the contrary," answered I, "it seems to me that men cannot live conveniently where all things are common: how can there be any plenty, where every man will excuse himself from labor? For as the hope of gain doth not excite him, so the confidence that he has in other men's industry may make him slothful: if people come to be pinched with want, and yet cannot dispose of anything as their own; what can follow upon this but perpetual sedition and bloodshed, especially when the reverence and authority due to magistrates fall to the ground? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among those that are in all things equal to one another."

"I do not wonder," said he, "that it appears so to you, since you have no notion, or at least no right one, of such a constitution: but if you had been in Utopia with me, and had seen their laws and rules, as I did, for the space of five years, in which I lived among them; and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I should never have left them, if it had not been to make the discovery of that new world to the Europeans; you would then confess that you had never seen a people so well constituted as they."

"You will not easily persuade me," said Peter, "that any nation in that new world is better governed than those among us. For as our understandings are not worse than theirs, so our government, if I mistake not, being more ancient, a long practice has helped us to find out many conveniences of life: and some happy chances have discovered other things to us, which no man's understanding could ever have invented."

"As for the antiquity, either of their government or of ours," said he, "you cannot pass a true judgment of it unless you had read their histories; for if they are to be believed, they had towns among them before these parts were so much as inhabited. And as for those discoveries, that have been either hit on by chance, or made by ingenious men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in industry and application. They knew little concerning us before our arrival among them; they call us all by a general name of the nations that lie beyond the equinoctial line; for their chronicle mentions a shipwreck that was made on their coast 1,200 years ago; and that some Romans and Egyptians that were in the ship, getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their days among them; and such was their ingenuity, that from this single opportunity they drew the advantage of learning from those unlooked-for guests, and acquired all the useful arts that were then among the Romans, and which were known to these shipwrecked men: and by the hints that they gave them, they themselves found out even some of those arts which they could not fully explain; so happily did they improve that accident, of having some of our people cast upon their shore."

"But if such an accident has at any time brought any from thence into Europe, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not so much as remember it; as in after-times perhaps it will be forgot by our people that I was ever there. For though they from one such accident made themselves masters of all the good inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we should learn or put in practice any of the good institutions that are among them. And this is the true cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not short of them in point of understanding or outward advantages."

Upon this I said to him: "I earnestly beg you would describe that island very particularly to us. Be not too short, but set out in order all things relating to their soil, their rivers, their towns, their people, their manners, constitution, laws, and, in a word, all that you imagine we desire to know. And you may well imagine that we desire to know everything concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant."

"I will do it very willingly," said he, "for I have digested the whole matter carefully; but it will take up some time."

"Let us go then," said I, "first and dine, and then we shall have leisure enough."

He consented. We went in and dined, and after dinner came back and sat down in the same place. I ordered my servants to take care that none might come and interrupt us. And both Peter and I desired Raphael to be as good as his word. When he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this manner:

## BOOK II

THE island of Utopia is in the middle 200 miles broad, and holds almost at the same breadth over a great part of it; but it grows narrower toward both ends. Its figure is not unlike a crescent: between its horns, the sea comes in eleven miles broad, and spreads itself into a great bay, which is environed with land to the compass of about 500 miles, and is well secured from winds. In this bay there is no great current; the whole coast is, as it were, one continued harbor, which gives all that live in the island great convenience for mutual commerce; but the entry into the bay, occasioned by rocks on the one hand, and shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the middle of it there is one single rock which appears above water, and may therefore be easily avoided, and on the top of it there is a tower in which a garrison is kept; the other rocks lie under water, and are very dangerous. The channel is known only to the natives, so that if any stranger should enter into the bay, without one of their pilots, he would run great danger of shipwreck; for even they themselves could not pass it safe, if some marks that are on the coast did not direct their way; and if these should be but a little shifted, any fleet that might come against them, how great soever it were, would be certainly lost.

On the other side of the island there are likewise many harbors; and the coast is so fortified, both by nature and art, that a small number of men can hinder the descent of a great army. But they report (and there remain good marks of it to make it credible) that this was no island at first, but a part of the continent. Utopus that conquered it (whose name it still carries, for Abraxa was its first name) brought the rude and uncivilized inhabitants into such a good government, and to that measure of politeness, that they now far excel all the rest of mankind; having soon subdued them, he designed to separate them from the continent, and to bring the sea quite round them. To accomplish this, he ordered a deep channel to be dug fifteen miles long; and that the natives might not think he treated them like slaves, he not only forced the inhabitants, but also his own soldiers, to labor in carrying it on. As he set a vast number of men to work, he beyond all men's expectations brought it to a speedy conclusion. And his neighbors who at first laughed at the folly of the undertaking, no sooner saw it brought to perfection than they were struck with admiration and terror.

There are fifty-four cities in the island, all large and well built: the manners, customs, and laws of which are the same, and they are all contrived as near in the same manner as the ground on which they stand will allow. The nearest lie at least twenty-four miles distance from one another, and the most remote are not so far distant but that a man can go on foot in one day from it to that which lies next it. Every city sends three of its wisest Senators once a year to Amaurot, to consult about their common concerns; for that is the chief town of the island, being situated near the centre of it, so that it is the most convenient place for their assemblies. The jurisdiction of every city extends at least twenty miles: and where the towns lie wider, they have much more ground: no town desires to enlarge its bounds, for the people consider themselves rather as tenants than landlords. They have built over all the country, farmhouses for husbandmen, which are well contrived, and are furnished with all things necessary for country labor. Inhabitants are sent by turns from the cities to dwell in them; no country family has fewer than forty men and women in it, besides two slaves. There is a master and a mistress set over every family; and over thirty families there is a magistrate.

Every year twenty of this family come back to the town, after they have stayed two years in the country; and in their room there are other twenty sent from the town, that they may learn country work from those that have been already one year in the country, as they must teach those that come to them the next from the town. By this means such as dwell in those country farms are never ignorant of agriculture, and so commit no errors, which might otherwise be fatal, and bring them under a scarcity of corn. But though there is every year such a shifting of the husbandmen, to prevent any man being forced against his will to follow that hard course of life too long, yet many among them take such pleasure in it that they desire leave to continue in it many years. These husbandmen till the ground, breed cattle, hew wood, and convey it to the towns, either by land or water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinite multitude of chickens in a very curious manner; for the hens do not sit and hatch them, but vast numbers of eggs are laid in a gentle and equal heat, in order to be hatched, and they are no sooner out of the shell, and able to stir about, but they seem to consider those that feed them as their mothers, and follow them as other chickens do the hen that hatched them.

They breed very few horses, but those they have are full of mettle, and are kept only for exercising their youth in the art of sitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any work, either of ploughing or carriage, in which they employ oxen; for though their horses are stronger, yet they find oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not subject to so many diseases, so they are kept upon a less charge, and with less trouble; and even when they are so worn out, that they are no more fit for labor, they are good meat at last. They sow no corn, but that which is to be their bread; for they drink either wine, cider, or perry, and often water, sometimes boiled with honey or licorice, with which they abound; and though they know exactly how much corn will serve every town, and all that tract of country which belongs to it, yet they sow much more, and breed more cattle than are necessary for their consumption; and they give that overplus of which they make no use to their neighbors. When they want anything in the country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the town, without carrying anything in exchange for it. And the magistrates of the town take care to see it given them; for they meet generally in the town once a month, upon a festival day. When the time of harvest comes, the magistrates in the country send to those in the towns, and let them know how many hands they will need for reaping the harvest; and the number they call for being sent to them, they commonly despatch it all in one day.

## **BOOK II: OF THEIR TOWNS, PARTICULARLY OF AMAUROT**

HE that knows one of their towns knows them all, they are so like one another, except where the situation makes some difference. I shall therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as Amaurot; for as none is more eminent, all the rest yielding in precedence to this, because it is the seat of their Supreme Council, so there was none of them better known to me, I having lived five years altogether in it.

It lies upon the side of a hill, or rather a rising ground: its figure is almost square, for from the one side of it, which shoots up almost to the top of the hill, it runs down in a descent for two miles to the river Anider; but it is a little broader the other way that runs along by the bank of that river. The Anider rises about eighty miles above Amaurot, in a small spring at first, but other brooks falling into it, of which two are more considerable than the rest. As it runs by Amaurot, it is grown half a mile broad; but it still grows larger and larger, till after sixty miles course below it, it is lost in the ocean, between the town and the sea, and for some miles above the town, it ebbs and flows every six hours, with a strong current. The tide comes up for about thirty miles so full that there is nothing but salt water in the river, the fresh water being driven back with its force; and above that, for some miles, the water is brackish; but a little higher, as it runs by the town, it is quite fresh; and when the tide ebbs, it continues fresh all along to the sea. There is a bridge cast over the river, not of timber, but of fair stone, consisting of many stately arches; it lies at that part of the town which is farthest from the sea, so that ships without any hinderance lie all along the side of the town.

There is likewise another river that runs by it, which, though it is not great, yet it runs pleasantly, for it rises out of the same hill on which the town stands, and so runs down through it, and falls into the Anider. The inhabitants have fortified the fountain-head of this river, which springs a little without the town; so that if they should happen to be besieged, the enemy might not be able to stop or divert the course of the water, nor poison it; from thence it is carried in earthen pipes to the lower streets; and for those places of the town to which the water of that shall river cannot be conveyed, they have great cisterns for receiving the rain-water, which supplies the want of the other. The town is compassed with a high and thick wall, in which there are many towers and forts; there is also a broad and deep dry ditch, set thick with thorns, cast round three sides of the town, and the river is instead of a ditch on the fourth side. The streets are very convenient for all carriage, and are well sheltered from the winds. Their buildings are good, and are so uniform that a whole side of a street looks like one house. The streets are twenty feet broad; there lie gardens behind all their houses; these are large but enclosed with buildings that on all hands face the streets; so that every house has both a door to the street, and a back door to the garden. Their doors have all two leaves, which, as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own accord; and there being no property among them, every man may freely enter into any house whatsoever. At every ten years' end they shift their houses by lots.

They cultivate their gardens with great care, so that they have vines, fruits, herbs, and flowers in them; and all is so well ordered, and so finely kept, that I never saw gardens anywhere that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as theirs. And this humor of ordering their gardens so well is not only kept up by the pleasure they find in it, but also by an emulation between the inhabitants of the several streets, who vie with each other; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole town that is both more useful and more pleasant. So that he who founded the town seems to have taken care of nothing more than of their gardens; for they say, the whole scheme of the town was designed at first by Utopus, but he left all that belonged to the ornament and improvement of it to be added by those that should come after him, that being too much for one man to bring to perfection. Their records, that contain the history of their town and State, are preserved with an exact care, and run backward 1,760 years. From these it appears that their houses were at first low and mean, like cottages, made of any sort of timber, and were built with mud walls and thatched with straw. But now their houses are three stories high: the fronts of them are faced with stone, plastering, or brick; and between the facings of their walls they throw in their rubbish. Their roofs are flat, and on them they lay a sort of plaster, which costs very little, and yet is so tempered that it is not apt to take fire, and yet resists the weather more than lead. They have great quantities of glass among them, with which they glaze their windows. They use also in their windows a thin linen cloth, that is so oiled or gummed that it both keeps out the wind and gives free admission to the light.

## **BOOK II: OF THEIR MAGISTRATES**

THIRTY families choose every year a magistrate, who was anciently called the syphogrant, but is now called the philarch; and over every ten syphogrants, with the families subject to them, there is another magistrate, who was anciently called the tranibor, but of late the archphilarch. All the syphogrants, who are in number 200, choose the Prince out of a list of four, who are named by the people of the four divisions of the city; but they take an oath before they proceed to an election, that they will choose him whom they think most fit for the office. They give their voices secretly, so that it is not known for whom everyone gives his suffrage. The Prince is for life, unless he is removed upon suspicion of some design to enslave the people. The tranibors are new-chosen every year, but yet they are for the most part continued. All their other magistrates are only annual. The tranibors meet every third day, and oftener if necessary, and consult with the prince, either concerning the affairs of the State in general or such private differences as may arise sometimes among the people; though that falls out but seldom. There are always two syphogrants called into the council-chamber, and these are changed every day. It is a fundamental rule of their

government that no conclusion can be made in anything that relates to the public till it has been first debated three several days in their Council. It is death for any to meet and consult concerning the State, unless it be either in their ordinary Council, or in the assembly of the whole body of the people.

These things have been so provided among them, that the prince and the tranibors may not conspire together to change the government and enslave the people; and therefore when anything of great importance is set on foot, it is sent to the syphogrants; who after they have communicated it to the families that belong to their divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make report to the Senate; and upon great occasions, the matter is referred to the Council of the whole island. One rule observed in their Council, is, never to debate a thing on the same day in which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the heat of discourse, engage themselves too soon, which might bias them so much, that instead of consulting the good of the public, they might rather study to support their first opinions, and by a perverse and preposterous sort of shame, hazard their country rather than endanger their own reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted foresight in the expedients that they at first proposed. And therefore to prevent this, they take care that they may rather be deliberate than sudden in their motions.

## **BOOK II: OF THEIR TRADES, AND MANNER OF LIFE**

AGRICULTURE is that which is so universally understood among them that no person, either man or woman, is ignorant of it; they are instructed in it from their childhood, partly by what they learn at school and partly by practice; they being led out often into the fields, about the town, where they not only see others at work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides agriculture, which is so common to them all, every man has some peculiar trade to which he applies himself, such as the manufacture of wool, or flax, masonry, smith's work, or carpenter's work; for there is no sort of trade that is not in great esteem among them. Throughout the island they wear the same sort of clothes without any other distinction, except what is necessary to distinguish the two sexes, and the married and unmarried. The fashion never alters; and as it is neither disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is suited to the climate, and calculated both for their summers and winters. Every family makes their own clothes; but all among them, women as well as men, learn one or other of the trades formerly mentioned. Women, for the most part, deal in wool and flax, which suit best with their weakness, leaving the ruder trades to the men. The same trade generally passes down from father to son, inclinations often following descent; but if any man's genius lies another way, he is by adoption translated into a family that deals in the trade to which he is inclined: and when that is to be done, care is taken not only by his father, but by the magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good man. And if after a person has learned one trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former. When he has learned both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the public has more occasion for the other.

The chief, and almost the only business of the syphogrants, is to take care that no man may live idle, but that every one may follow his trade diligently: yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual toil, from morning to night, as if they were beasts of burden, which, as it is indeed a heavy slavery, so it is everywhere the common course of life among all mechanics except the Utopians; but they dividing the day and night into twenty-four hours, appoint six of these for work; three of which are before dinner, and three after. They then sup, and at eight o'clock, counting from noon, go to bed and sleep eight hours. The rest of their time besides that taken up in work, eating and sleeping, is left to every man's discretion; yet they are not to abuse that interval to luxury and idleness, but must employ it in some proper exercise according to their various inclinations, which is for the most part reading. It is ordinary to have public lectures every morning before daybreak; at which none are obliged to appear but those who are marked out for literature; yet a great many, both men and women of all ranks, go to hear lectures of one sort of

other, according to their inclinations. But if others, that are not made for contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves at that time in their trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as men that take care to serve their country. After supper, they spend an hour in some diversion, in summer in their gardens, and in winter in the halls where they eat; where they entertain each other, either with music or discourse. They do not so much as know dice, or any such foolish and mischievous games: they have, however, two sorts of games not unlike our chess; the one is between several numbers, in which one number, as it were, consumes another: the other resembles a battle between the virtues and the vices, in which the enmity in the vices among themselves, and their agreement against virtue, is not unpleasantly represented; together with the special oppositions between the particular virtues and vices; as also the methods by which vice either openly assaults or secretly undermines virtue, and virtue on the other hand resists it. But the time appointed for labor is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may imagine, that since there are only six hours appointed for work, they may fall under a scarcity of necessary provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this time is not sufficient for supplying them with plenty of all things, either necessary or convenient, that it is rather too much; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a part of all other nations is quite idle.

First, women generally do little, who are the half of mankind; and if some few women are diligent, their husbands are idle: then consider the great company of idle priests, and of those that are called religious men; add to these all rich men, chiefly those that have estates in land, who are called noblemen and gentlemen, together with their families, made up of idle persons, that are kept more for show than use; add to these, all those strong and lusty beggars, that go about pretending some disease, in excuse for their begging; and upon the whole account you will find that the number of those by whose labors mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagined. Then consider how few of those that work are employed in labors that are of real service; for we who measure all things by money, give rise to many trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support riot and luxury. For if those who work were employed only in such things as the conveniences of life require, there would be such an abundance of them that the prices of them would so sink that tradesmen could not be maintained by their gains; if all those who labor about useless things were set to more profitable employments, and if all they that languish out their lives in sloth and idleness, every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the men that are at work, were forced to labor, you may easily imagine that a small proportion of time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to mankind, especially while pleasure is kept within its due bounds.

This appears very plainly in Utopia, for there, in a great city, and in all the territory that lies round it, you can scarce find 500, either men or women, by their age and strength, are capable of labor, that are not engaged in it; even the syphogrants, though excused by the law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work, that by their examples they may excite the industry of the rest of the people. The like exemption is allowed to those who, being recommended to the people by the priests, are by the secret suffrages of the syphogrants privileged from labor, that they may apply themselves wholly to study; and if any of these fall short of those hopes that they seemed at first to give, they are obliged to return to work. And sometimes a mechanic, that so employs his leisure hours, as to make a considerable advancement in learning, is eased from being a tradesman, and ranked among their learned men. Out of these they choose their ambassadors, their priests, their tranibors, and the prince himself, anciently called their Barzenes, but is called of late their Ademus.

And thus from the great numbers among them that are neither suffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitless labor, you may easily make the estimate how much may be done in those few hours in which they are obliged to labor. But besides all that has been already said, it is to be considered that the needful arts among them are managed with less labor than anywhere else. The building or the repairing of houses among us employ many hands, because often a thriftless heir



suffers a house that his father built to fall into decay, so that his successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small charge: it frequently happens that the same house which one person built at a vast expense is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate sense of the beauties of architecture; and he suffering it to fall to ruin, builds another at no less charge. But among the Utopians all things are so regulated that men very seldom build upon a new piece of ground; and are not only very quick in repairing their houses, but show their foresight in preventing their decay: so that their buildings are preserved very long, with but little labor, and thus the builders to whom that care belongs are often without employment, except the hewing of timber and the squaring of stones, that the materials may be in readiness for raising a building very suddenly when there is any occasion for it.

As to their clothes, observe how little work is spent in them: while they are at labor, they are clothed with leather and skins. cast carelessly about them, which will last seven years; and when they appear in public they put on an upper garment, which hides the other; and these are all of one color, and that is the natural color of the wool. As they need less woollen cloth than is used anywhere else, so that which they make use of is much less costly. They use linen cloth more; but that is prepared with less labor, and they value cloth only by the whiteness of the linen or the cleanness of the wool, without much regard to the fineness of the thread: while in other places, four or five upper garments of woollen cloth, of different colors, and as many vests of silk, will scarce serve one man; and while those that are nicer think ten are too few, every man there is content with one, which very often serves him two years. Nor is there anything that can tempt a man to desire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer nor would he make one jot the better appearance for it. And thus, since they are all employed in some useful labor, and since they content themselves with fewer things, it falls out that there is a great abundance of all things among them: so that it frequently happens that, for want of other work, vast numbers are sent out to mend the highways. But when no public undertaking is to be performed, the hours of working are lessened. The magistrates never engage the people in unnecessary labor, since the chief end of the constitution is to regulate labor by the necessities of the public, and to allow all the people as much time as is necessary for the improvement of their minds, in which they think the happiness of life consists.

## **BOOK II: OF THEIR TRAFFIC**

BUT it is now time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this people, their commerce, and the rules by which all things are distributed among them.

As their cities are composed of families, so their families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the males, both children and grandchildren, live still in the same house, in great obedience to their common parent, unless age has weakened his understanding: and in that case, he that is next to him in age comes in his room. But lest any city should become either too great, or by any accident be dispeopled, provision is made that none of their cities may contain above 6,000 families, besides those of the country round it. No family may have less than ten and more than sixteen persons in it; but there can be no determined number for the children under age. This rule is easily observed, by removing some of the children of a more fruitful couple to any other family that does not abound so much in them.

By the same rule, they supply cities that do not increase so fast, from others that breed faster; and if there is any increase over the whole island, then they draw out a number of their citizens out of the several towns, and send them over to the neighboring continent; where, if they find that the inhabitants have more soil than they can well cultivate, they fix a colony, taking the inhabitants into their society, if they are willing to live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into their method of life, and conform to their rules, and this proves a happiness to both nations; for according to their constitution, such care is taken of the

soil that it becomes fruitful enough for both, though it might be otherwise too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the natives refuse to conform themselves to their laws, they drive them out of those bounds which they mark out for themselves, and use force if they resist. For they account it a very just cause of war, for a nation to hinder others from possessing a part of that soil of which they make no use, but which is suffered to lie idle and uncultivated; since every man has by the law of nature a right to such a waste portion of the earth as is necessary for his subsistence. If an accident has so lessened the number of the inhabitants of any of their towns that it cannot be made up from the other towns of the island, without diminishing them too much, which is said to have fallen out but twice since they were first a people, when great numbers were carried off by the plague, the loss is then supplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their colonies; for they will abandon these, rather than suffer the towns in the island to sink too low.

But to return to their manner of living in society, the oldest man of every family, as has been already said, is its governor. Wives serve their husbands, and children their parents, and always the younger serves the elder. Every city is divided into four equal parts, and in the middle of each there is a marketplace: what is brought thither, and manufactured by the several families, is carried from thence to houses appointed for that purpose, in which all things of a sort are laid by themselves; and thither every father goes and takes whatsoever he or his family stand in need of, without either paying for it or leaving anything in exchange. There is no reason for giving a denial to any person, since there is such plenty of everything among them; and there is no danger of a man's asking for more than he needs; they have no inducements to do this, since they are sure that they shall always be supplied. It is the fear of want that makes any of the whole race of animals either greedy or ravenous; but besides fear, there is in man a pride that makes him fancy it a particular glory to excel others in pomp and excess. But by the laws of the Utopians, there is no room for this. Near these markets there are others for all sorts of provisions, where there are not only herbs, fruits, and bread, but also fish, fowl, and cattle.

There are also, without their towns, places appointed near some running water, for killing their beasts, and for washing away their filth, which is done by their slaves: for they suffer none of their citizens to kill their cattle, because they think that pity and good-nature, which are among the best of those affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of animals: nor do they suffer anything that is foul or unclean to be brought within their towns, lest the air should be infected by ill-smells which might prejudice their health. In every street there are great halls that lie at an equal distance from each other, distinguished by particular names. The syphogrants dwell in those that are set over thirty families, fifteen lying on one side of it, and as many on the other. In these halls they all meet and have their repasts. The stewards of every one of them come to the market-place at an appointed hour; and according to the number of those that belong to the hall, they carry home provisions. But they take more care of their sick than of any others: these are lodged and provided for in public hospitals they have belonging to every town four hospitals, that are built without their walls, and are so large that they may pass for little towns: by this means, if they had ever such a number of sick persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious diseases may be kept so far from the rest that there can be no danger of contagion. The hospitals are furnished and stored with all things that are convenient for the ease and recovery of the sick; and those that are put in them are looked after with such tender and watchful care, and are so constantly attended by their skilful physicians, that as none is sent to them against their will, so there is scarce one in a whole town that, if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither than lie sick at home.

After the steward of the hospitals has taken for the sick whatsoever the physician prescribes, then the best things that are left in the market are distributed equally among the halls, in proportion to their numbers, only, in the first place, they serve the Prince, the chief priest, the tranibors, the ambassadors, and strangers, if there are any, which indeed falls out but seldom, and for whom there are houses well furnished, particularly appointed for their reception when

they come among them. At the hours of dinner and supper, the whole syphogranty being called together by sound of trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only such as are in the hospitals or lie sick at home. Yet after the halls are served, no man is hindered to carry provisions home from the market-place; for they know that none does that but for some good reason; for though any that will may eat at home, yet none does it willingly, since it is both ridiculous and foolish for any to give themselves the trouble to make ready an ill dinner at home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him so near at hand. All the uneasy and sordid services about these halls are performed by their slaves; but the dressing and cooking their meat, and the ordering their tables, belong only to the women, all those of every family taking it by turns. They sit at three or more tables, according to their number; the men sit toward the wall, and the women sit on the other side, that if any of them should be taken suddenly ill, which is no uncommon case among women with child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the nurses' room, who are there with the sucking children, where there is always clean water at hand, and cradles in which they may lay the young children, if there is occasion for it, and a fire that they may shift and dress them before it.

Every child is nursed by its own mother, if death or sickness does not intervene; and in that case the syphogrants' wives find out a nurse quickly, which is no hard matter; for anyone that can do it offers herself cheerfully; for as they are much inclined to that piece of mercy, so the child whom the nurse considers the nurse as its mother. All the children under five years old sit among the nurses, the rest of the younger sort of both sexes, till they are fit for marriage, either serve those that sit at table or, if they are not strong enough for that, stand by them in great silence, and eat what is given them; nor have they any other formality of dining. In the middle of the first table, which stands across the upper end of the hall, sit the syphogrant and his wife; for that is the chief and most conspicuous place: next to him sit two of the most ancient, for there go always four to a mess. If there is a temple within that syphogranty, the priest and his wife sit with the syphogrant above all the rest: next them there is a mixture of old and young, who are so placed, that as the young are set near others, so they are mixed with the more ancient; which they say was appointed on this account, that the gravity of the old people, and the reverence that is due to them, might restrain the younger from all indecent words and gestures. Dishes are not served up to the whole table at first, but the best are first set before the old, whose seats are distinguished from the young, and after them all the rest are served alike. The old men distribute to the younger any curious meats that happen to be set before them, if there is not such an abundance of them that the whole company may be served alike.

Thus old men are honored with a particular respect; yet all the rest fare as well as they. Both dinner and supper are begun with some lecture of morality that is read to them; but it is so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy to them to hear it: from hence the old men take occasion to entertain those about them with some useful and pleasant enlargements; but they do not engross the whole discourse so to themselves, during their meals, that the younger may not put in for a share: on the contrary, they engage them to talk, that so they may in that free way of conversation find out the force of everyone's spirit and observe his temper. They despatch their dinners quickly, but sit long at supper; because they go to work after the one, and are to sleep after the other, during which they think the stomach carries on the concoction more vigorously. They never sup without music; and there is always fruit served up after meat; while they are at table, some burn perfumes and sprinkle about fragrant ointments and sweet waters: in short, they want nothing that may cheer up their spirits: they give themselves a large allowance that way, and indulge themselves in all such pleasures as are attended with no inconvenience. Thus do those that are in the towns live together; but in the country, where they live at great distance, everyone eats at home, and no family wants any necessary sort of provision, for it is from them that provisions are sent unto those that live in the towns.

## BOOK II: OF THE TRAVELLING OF THE UTOPIANS

If any man has a mind to visit his friends that live in some other town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the country, he obtains leave very easily from the syphogrant and tranibors when there is no particular occasion for him at home: such as travel, carry with them a passport from the Prince, which both certifies the license that is granted for travelling, and limits the time of their return. They are furnished with a wagon, and a slave who drives the oxen and looks after them; but unless there are women in the company, the wagon is sent back at the end of the journey as a needless encumbrance. While they are on the road, they carry no provisions with them; yet they want nothing, but are everywhere treated as if they were at home. If they stay in any place longer than a night, everyone follows his proper occupation, and is very well used by those of his own trade; but if any man goes out of the city to which he belongs, without leave, and is found rambling without a passport, he is severely treated, he is punished as a fugitive, and sent home disgracefully; and if he falls again into the like fault, is condemned to slavery. If any man has a mind to travel only over the precinct of his own city, he may freely do it, with his father's permission and his wife's consent; but when he comes into any of the country houses, if he expects to be entertained by them, he must labor with them and conform to their rules: and if he does this, he may freely go over the whole precinct; being thus as useful to the city to which he belongs, as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle persons among them, nor pretences of excusing any from labor. There are no taverns, no alehouses nor stews among them; nor any other occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into corners, or forming themselves into parties: all men live in full view, so that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary tasks, and to employ themselves well in their spare hours. And it is certain that a people thus ordered must live in great abundance of all things; and these being equally distributed among them, no man can want, or be obliged to beg.

In their great Council at Amaurot, to which there are three sent from every town once a year, they examine what towns abound in provisions and what are under any scarcity, that so the one may be furnished from the other; and this is done freely, without any sort of exchange; for according to their plenty or scarcity they supply or are supplied from one another; so that indeed the whole island is, as it were, one family. When they have thus taken care of their whole country, and laid up stores for two years, which they do to prevent the ill-consequences of an unfavorable season, they order an exportation of the overplus, of corn, honey, wool, flax, wood, wax, tallow, leather, and cattle; which they send out commonly in great quantities to other nations. They order a seventh part of all these goods to be freely given to the poor of the countries to which they send them, and sell the rest at moderate rates. And by this exchange, they not only bring back those few things that they need at home (for indeed they scarce need anything but iron), but likewise a great deal of gold and silver; and by their driving this trade so long, it is not to be imagined how vast a treasure they have got among them: so that now they do not much care whether they sell off their merchandise for money in hand, or upon trust.

A great part of their treasure is now in bonds; but in all their contracts no private man stands bound, but the writing runs in the name of the town; and the towns that owe them money raise it from those private hands that owe it to them, lay it up in their public chamber, or enjoy the profit of it till the Utopians call for it; and they choose rather to let the greatest part of it lie in their hands who make advantage by it, than to call for it themselves: but if they see that any of their other neighbors stand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them: whenever they are engaged in war, which is the only occasion in which their treasure can be usefully employed, they make use of it themselves. In great extremities or sudden accidents they employ it in hiring foreign troops, whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own people: they give them great pay, knowing well that this will work even on their enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own side, or at least to desert it, and that it is the best means of raising mutual jealousies among them: for this end they have an incredible treasure; but they do not keep it as a treasure, but in such a manner as I am almost afraid to tell, lest you think it so extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more reason to apprehend, because if I had not seen it myself, I could not have been easily persuaded to have believed it upon any man's report.

It is certain that all things appear incredible to us, in proportion as they differ from our own customs. But one who can judge aright will not wonder to find that, since their constitution differs so much from ours, their value of gold and silver should be measured by a very different standard; for since they have no use for money among themselves, but keep it as a provision against events which seldom happen, and between which there are generally long intervening intervals, they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in proportion to its use. So that it is plain they must prefer iron either to gold or silver; for men can no more live without iron than without fire or water, but nature has marked out no use for the other metals, so essential as not easily to be dispensed with. The folly of men has enhanced the value of gold and silver, because of their scarcity. Whereas, on the contrary, it is their opinion that nature, as an indulgent parent, has freely given us all the best things in great abundance, such as water and earth, but has laid up and hid from us the things that are vain and useless.

If these metals were laid up in any tower in the kingdom, it would raise a jealousy of the Prince and Senate, and give birth to that foolish mistrust into which the people are apt to fall, a jealousy of their intending to sacrifice the interest of the public to their own private advantage. If they should work it into vessels or any sort of plate, they fear that the people might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the plate be run down if a war made it necessary to employ it in paying their soldiers. To prevent all these inconveniences, they have fallen upon an expedient, which, as it agrees with their other policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain belief among us, who value gold so much and lay it up so carefully. They eat and drink out of vessels of earth, or glass, which make an agreeable appearance though formed of brittle materials: while they make their chamber-pots and close-stools of gold and silver; and that not only in their public halls, but in their private houses: of the same metals they likewise make chains and fetters for their slaves; to some of which, as a badge of infamy, they hang an ear-ring of gold, and make others wear a chain or coronet of the same metal; and thus they take care, by all possible means, to render gold and silver of no esteem. And from hence it is that while other nations part with their gold and silver as unwillingly as if one tore out their bowels, those of Utopia would look on their giving in all they possess of those (metals, when there was any use for them) but as the parting with a trifle, or as we would esteem the loss of a penny. They find pearls on their coast, and diamonds and carbuncles on their rocks; they do not look after them, but, if they find them by chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their childhood; but when they grow to years, and see that none but children use such baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their parents, lay them aside; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterward as children among us, when they come to years, are of their puppets and other toys.

I never saw a clearer instance of the opposite impressions that different customs make on people, than I observed in the ambassadors of the Anemolians, who came to Amaurot when I was there. As they came to treat of affairs of great consequence, the deputies from several towns met together to wait for their coming. The ambassadors of the nations that lie near Utopia, knowing their customs, and that fine clothes are in no esteem among them, that silk is despised, and gold is a badge of infamy, used to come very modestly clothed; but the Anemolians, lying more remote, and having had little commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsely clothed, and all in the same manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vainglorious rather than a wise people, resolved to set themselves out with so much pomp, that they should look like gods, and strike the eyes of the poor Utopians with their splendor. Thus three ambassadors made their entry with 100 attendants, all clad in garments of different colors, and the greater part in silk; the ambassadors themselves, who were of the nobility of their country, were in cloth-of-gold, and adorned with massy chains, ear-rings, and rings of gold: their caps were covered with bracelets set full of pearls and other gems: in a word, they were set out with all those things that, among the Utopians, were the badges of slavery, the marks of infamy, or the playthings of children.

It was not unpleasant to see, on the one side, how they looked big, when they compared their rich habits with the plain clothes of the Utopians, who were come out in great numbers to see them make their entry: and, on the other, to observe how much they were mistaken in the impression which they hoped this pomp would have made on them. It appeared so ridiculous a show to all that had never stirred out of their country, and had not seen the customs of other nations, that though they paid some reverence to those that were the most meanly clad, as if they had been the ambassadors, yet when they saw the ambassadors themselves, so full of gold and chains, they looked upon them as slaves, and forbore to treat them with reverence. You might have seen the children, who were grown big enough to despise their playthings, and who had thrown away their jewels, call to their mothers, push them gently, and cry out, "See that great fool that wears pearls and gems, as if he were yet a child." While their mothers very innocently replied, "Hold your peace; this, I believe, is one of the ambassador's fools." Others censured the fashion of their chains, and observed that they were of no use; for they were too slight to bind their slaves, who could easily break them; and besides hung so loose about them that they thought it easy to throw them away, and so get from them.

But after the ambassadors had stayed a day among them, and saw so vast a quantity of gold in their houses, which was as much despised by them as it was esteemed in other nations, and beheld more gold and silver in the chains and fetters of one slave than all their ornaments amounted to, their plumes fell, and they were ashamed of all that glory for which they had formerly valued themselves, and accordingly laid it aside; a resolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in some free discourse with the Utopians, they discovered their sense of such things and their other customs. The Utopians wonder how any man should be so much taken with the glaring doubtful lustre of a jewel or a stone, that can look up to a star or to the sun himself; or how any should value himself because his cloth is made of a finer thread: for how fine soever that thread may be, it was once no better than the fleece of a sheep, and that sheep was a sheep still for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear that gold which in itself is so useless a thing, should be everywhere so much esteemed, that even men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its value, should yet be thought of less value than this metal. That a man of lead, who has no more sense than a log of wood, and is as bad as he is foolish, should have many wise and good men to serve him, only because he has a great heap of that metal; and that if it should happen that by some accident or trick of law (which sometimes produces as great changes as chance itself) all this wealth should pass from the master to the meanest varlet of his whole family, he himself would very soon become one of his servants, as if he were a thing that belonged to his wealth, and so were bound to follow its fortune. But they much more admire and detest the folly of those who, when they see a rich man, though they neither owe him anything nor are in any sort dependent on his bounty, yet merely because he is rich give him little less than divine honors, even though they know him to be so covetous and base-minded that notwithstanding all his wealth he will not part with one farthing of it to them as long as he lives.

These and such like notions has that people imbibed, partly from their education, being bred in a country whose customs and laws are opposite to all such foolish maxims, and partly from their learning and studies; for though there are but few in any town that are so wholly excused from labor as to give themselves entirely up to their studies, these being only such persons as discover from their childhood an extraordinary capacity and disposition for letters; yet their children, and a great part of the nation, both men and women, are taught to spend those hours in which they are not obliged to work, in reading; and this they do through the whole progress of life. They have all their learning in their own tongue, which is both a copious and pleasant language, and in which a man can fully express his mind. It runs over a great tract of many countries, but it is not equally pure in all places. They had never so much as heard of the names of any of those philosophers that are so famous in these parts of the world, before we went among them; and yet they had made the same discoveries as the Greeks, in music, logic, arithmetic, and geometry. But as they are almost in everything equal to the ancient philosophers, so they far exceed our modern

logicians; for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous niceties that our youth are forced to learn in those trifling logical schools that are among us; they are so far from minding chimeras, and fantastical images made in the mind, that none of them could comprehend what we meant when we talked to them of man in the abstract, as common to all men in particular (so that though we spoke of him as a thing that we could point at with our fingers, yet none of them could perceive him), and yet distinct from everyone, as if he were some monstrous Colossus or giant.

Yet for all this ignorance of these empty notions, they knew astronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the motions of the heavenly bodies, and have many instruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the course and positions of the sun, moon, and stars. But for the cheat, of divining by the stars by their oppositions or conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their thoughts. They have a particular sagacity, founded upon much observation, in judging of the weather, by which they know when they may look for rain, wind, or other alterations in the air; but as to the philosophy of these things, the causes of the saltiness of the sea, of its ebbing and flowing, and of the origin and nature both of the heavens and the earth; they dispute of them, partly as our ancient philosophers have done, and partly upon some new hypothesis, in which, as they differ from them, so they do not in all things agree among themselves.

As to moral philosophy, they have the same disputes among them as we have here: they examine what are properly good both for the body and the mind, and whether any outward thing can be called truly good, or if that term belong only to the endowments of the soul. They inquire likewise into the nature of virtue and pleasure; but their chief dispute is concerning the happiness of a man, and wherein it consists? Whether in some one thing, or in a great many? They seem, indeed, more inclinable to that opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief part of a man's happiness in pleasure; and, what may seem more strange, they make use of arguments even from religion, notwithstanding its severity and roughness, for the support of that opinion so indulgent to pleasure; for they never dispute concerning happiness without fetching some arguments from the principles of religion, as well as from natural reason, since without the former they reckon that all our inquiries after happiness must be but conjectural and defective.

These are their religious principles, that the soul of man is immortal, and that God of his goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed rewards for good and virtuous actions, and punishments for vice, to be distributed after this life. Though these principles of religion are conveyed down among them by tradition, they think that even reason itself determines a man to believe and acknowledge them, and freely confess that if these were taken away no man would be so insensible as not to seek after pleasure by all possible means, lawful or unlawful; using only this caution, that a lesser pleasure might not stand in the way of a greater, and that no pleasure ought to be pursued that should draw a great deal of pain after it; for they think it the maddest thing in the world to pursue virtue, that is a sour and difficult thing; and not only to renounce the pleasures of life, but willingly to undergo much pain and trouble, if a man has no prospect of a reward. And what reward can there be for one that has passed his whole life, not only without pleasure, but in pain, if there is nothing to be expected after death? Yet they do not place happiness in all sorts of pleasures, but only in those that in themselves are good and honest.

There is a party among them who place happiness in bare virtue; others think that our natures are conducted by virtue to happiness, as that which is the chief good of man. They define virtue thus, that it is a living according to nature, and think that we are made by God for that end; they believe that a man then follows the dictates of nature when he pursues or avoids things according to the direction of reason; they say that the first dictate of reason is the kindling in us of a love and reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have and all that we can ever hope for. In the next place, reason directs us to keep our minds as free from passion and as cheerful as we can, and that we should consider ourselves as bound by the ties of good-nature and



humanity to use our utmost endeavors to help forward the happiness of all other persons; for there never was any man such a morose and severe pursuer of virtue, such an enemy to pleasure, that though he set hard rules for men to undergo much pain, many watchings, and other rigors, yet did not at the same time advise them to do all they could, in order to relieve and ease the miserable, and who did not represent gentleness and good- nature as amiable dispositions. And from thence they infer that if a man ought to advance the welfare and comfort of the rest of mankind, there being no virtue more proper and peculiar to our nature, than to ease the miseries of others, to free from trouble and anxiety, in furnishing them with the comforts of life, in which pleasure consists, nature much more vigorously leads them to do all this for himself.

A life of pleasure is either a real evil, and in that case we ought not to assist others in their pursuit of it, but on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is most hurtful and deadly; or if it is a good thing, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why, then, ought not a man to begin with himself? Since no man can be more bound to look after the good of another than after his own; for nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the same time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves. Thus, as they define virtue to be living according to nature, so they imagine that nature prompts all people on to seek after pleasure, as the end of all they do. They also observe that in order to our supporting the pleasures of life, nature inclines us to enter into society; for there is no man so much raised above the rest of mankind as to be the only favorite of nature who, on the contrary, seems to have placed on a level all those that belong to the same species. Upon this they infer that no man ought to seek his own conveniences so eagerly as to prejudice others; and therefore they think that not only all agreements between private persons ought to be observed, but likewise that all those laws ought to be kept, which either a good prince has published in due form, or to which a people that is neither oppressed with tyranny nor circumvented by fraud, has consented, for distributing those conveniences of life which afford us all our pleasures.

They think it is an evidence of true wisdom for a man to pursue his own advantages as far as the laws allow it. They account it piety to prefer the public good to one's private concerns; but they think it unjust for a man to seek for pleasure by snatching another man's pleasures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a sign of a gentle and good soul, for a man to dispense with his own advantage for the good of others; and that by this means a good man finds as much pleasure one way as he parts with another; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that should fail him, yet the sense of a good action, and the reflections that he makes on the love and gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, gives the mind more pleasure than the body could have found in that from which it had restrained itself. They are also persuaded that God will make up the loss of those small pleasures, with a vast and endless joy, of which religion easily convinces a good soul.

Thus, upon an inquiry into the whole matter, they reckon that all our actions, and even all our virtues, terminate in pleasure, as in our chief end and greatest happiness; and they call every motion or state, either of body or mind, in which nature teaches us to delight, a pleasure. Thus they cautiously limit pleasure only to those appetites to which nature leads us; for they say that nature leads us only to those delights to which reason as well as sense carries us, and by which we neither injure any other person nor lose the possession of greater pleasures, and of such as draw no troubles after them; but they look upon those delights which men by a foolish though common mistake call pleasure, as if they could change as easily the nature of things as the use of words; as things that greatly obstruct their real happiness instead of advancing it, because they so entirely possess the minds of those that are once captivated by them with a false notion of pleasure, that there is no room left for pleasures of a truer or purer kind.

There are many things that in themselves have nothing that is truly delightful; on the contrary, they have a good deal of bitterness in them; and yet from our perverse appetites after forbidden objects, are not only ranked among the pleasures, but are made even the greatest designs of life.

Among those who pursue these sophisticated pleasures, they reckon such as I mentioned before, who think themselves really the better for having fine clothes; in which they think they are doubly mistaken, both in the opinion that they have of their clothes, and in that they have of themselves; for if you consider the use of clothes, why should a fine thread be thought better than a coarse one? And yet these men, as if they had some real advantages beyond others, and did not owe them wholly to their mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves to be more valuable, and imagine that a respect is due to them for the sake of a rich garment, to which they would not have pretended if they had been more meanly clothed; and even resent it as an affront, if that respect is not paid them. It is also a great folly to be taken with outward marks of respect, which signify nothing: for what true or real pleasure can one man find in another's standing bare, or making legs to him? Will the bending another man's knees give ease to yours? And will the head's being bare cure the madness of yours? And yet it is wonderful to see how this false notion of pleasure bewitches many who delight themselves with the fancy of their nobility, and are pleased with this conceit, that they are descended from ancestors who have been held for some successions rich, and who have had great possessions; for this is all that makes nobility at present; yet they do not think themselves a whit the less noble, though their immediate parents have left none of this wealth to them, or though they themselves have squandered it away.

The Utopians have no better opinion of those who are much taken with gems and precious stones, and who account it a degree of happiness, next to a divine one, if they can purchase one that is very extraordinary; especially if it be of that sort of stones that is then in greatest request; for the same sort is not at all times universally of the same value; nor will men buy it unless it be dismounted and taken out of the gold; the jeweller is then made to give good security, and required solemnly to swear that the stone is true, that by such an exact caution a false one might not be bought instead of a true: though if you were to examine it, your eye could find no difference between the counterfeit and that which is true; so that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind. Or can it be thought that they who heap up a useless mass of wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but merely to please themselves with the contemplation of it, enjoy any true pleasure in it? The delight they find is only a false shadow of joy. Those are no better whose error is somewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of losing it; for what other name can fit the hiding it in the earth, or rather the restoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being useful, either to its owner or to the rest of mankind? And yet the owner having hid it carefully, is glad, because he thinks he is now sure of it. If it should be stolen, the owner, though he might live perhaps ten years after the theft, of which he knew nothing, would find no difference between his having or losing it; for both ways it was equally useless to him.

Among those foolish pursuers of pleasure they reckon all that delight in hunting, in fowling, or gaming; of whose madness they have only heard, for they have no such things among them. But they have asked us, what sort of pleasure is it that men can find in throwing the dice? For if there were any pleasure in it, they think the doing of it so often should give one a surfeit of it: and what pleasure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of dogs, which seem rather odious than pleasant sounds? Nor can they comprehend the pleasure of seeing dogs run after a hare, more than of seeing one dog run after another; for if the seeing them run is that which gives the pleasure, you have the same entertainment to the eye on both these occasions, since that is the same in both cases: but if the pleasure lies in seeing the hare killed and torn by the dogs, this ought rather to stir pity, that a weak, harmless and fearful hare should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel dogs. Therefore all this business of hunting is, among the Utopians, turned over to their butchers; and those, as has been already said, are all slaves; and they look on hunting as one of the basest parts of a butcher's work: for they account it both more profitable and more decent to kill those beasts that are more necessary and useful to mankind; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an animal can only attract the huntsman with a false show of pleasure, from which he can reap but small advantage. They look on the desire of the bloodshed, even of beasts, as a mark of a mind that is already corrupted with cruelty, or that at least by the frequent returns of

so brutal a pleasure must degenerate into it.

Thus, though the rabble of mankind look upon these, and on innumerable other things of the same nature, as pleasures, the Utopians, on the contrary, observing that there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude that they are not to be reckoned among pleasures: for though these things may create some tickling in the senses (which seems to be a true notion of pleasure), yet they imagine that this does not arise from the thing itself, but from a depraved custom, which may so vitiate a man's taste, that bitter things may pass for sweet; as women with child think pitch or tallow tastes sweeter than honey; but as a man's sense when corrupted, either by a disease or some ill habit, does not change the nature of other things, so neither can it change the nature of pleasure.

They reckon up several sorts of pleasures, which they call true ones: some belong to the body and others to the mind. The pleasures of the mind lie in knowledge, and in that delight which the contemplation of truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful reflections on a well-spent life, and the assured hopes of a future happiness. They divide the pleasures of the body into two sorts; the one is that which gives our senses some real delight, and is performed, either by recruiting nature, and supplying those parts which feed the internal heat of life by eating and drinking; or when nature is eased of any surcharge that oppresses it; when we are relieved from sudden pain, or that which arises from satisfying the appetite which nature has wisely given to lead us to the propagation of the species. There is another kind of pleasure that arises neither from our receiving what the body requires nor its being relieved when overcharged, and yet by a secret, unseen virtue affects the senses, raises the passions, and strikes the mind with generous impressions; this is the pleasure that arises from music. Another kind of bodily pleasure is that which results from an undisturbed and vigorous constitution of body, when life and active spirits seem to actuate every part. This lively health, when entirely free from all mixture of pain, of itself gives an inward pleasure, independent of all external objects of delight; and though this pleasure does not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the senses as some of the others, yet it may be esteemed as the greatest of all pleasures, and almost all the Utopians reckon it the foundation and basis of all the other joys of life; since this alone makes the state of life easy and desirable; and when this is wanting, a man is really capable of no other pleasure. They look upon freedom from pain, if it does not rise from perfect health, to be a state of stupidity rather than of pleasure.

This subject has been very narrowly canvassed among them; and it has been debated whether a firm and entire health could be called a pleasure or not? Some have thought that there was no pleasure but what was excited by some sensible motion in the body. But this opinion has been long ago excluded from among them, so that now they almost universally agree that health is the greatest of all bodily pleasures; and that as there is a pain in sickness, which is as opposite in its nature to pleasure as sickness itself is to health, so they hold that health is accompanied with pleasure: and if any should say that sickness is not really pain, but that it only carries pain along with it, they look upon that as a fetch of subtilty, that does not much alter the matter. It is all one, in their opinion, whether it be said that health is in itself a pleasure, or that it begets a pleasure, as fire gives heat; so it be granted, that all those whose health is entire have a true pleasure in the enjoyment of it: and they reason thus--what is the pleasure of eating, but that a man's health which had been weakened, does, with the assistance of food, drive away hunger, and so recruiting itself recovers its former vigor? And being thus refreshed, it finds a pleasure in that conflict; and if the conflict is pleasure, the victory must yet breed a greater pleasure, except we fancy that it becomes stupid as soon as it has obtained that which it pursued, and so neither knows nor rejoices in its own welfare. If it is said that health cannot be felt, they absolutely deny it; for what man is in health that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any man that is so dull and stupid as not to acknowledge that he feels a delight in health? And what is delight but another name for pleasure?

But of all pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the mind, the chief of which

arises out of true virtue, and the witnesses of a good conscience. They account health the chief pleasure that belongs to the body; for they think that the pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other delights of sense, are only so far desirable as they give or maintain health. But they are not pleasant in themselves, otherwise than as they resist those impressions that our natural infirmities are still making upon us: for as a wise man desires rather to avoid diseases than to take physic, and to be freed from pain, rather than to find ease by remedies; so it is more desirable not to need this sort of pleasure, than to be obliged to indulge it. If any man imagines that there is a real happiness in these enjoyments, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all men if he were to lead his life in perpetual hunger, thirst, and itching, and by consequence in perpetual eating, drinking, and scratching himself; which anyone may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable state of life. These are indeed the lowest of pleasures, and the least pure; for we can never relish them, but when they are mixed with the contrary pains. The pain of hunger must give us the pleasure of eating; and here the pain out-balances the pleasure; and as the pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer; for as it begins before the pleasure, so it does not cease but with the pleasure that extinguishes it, and both expire together.

They think, therefore, none of those pleasures is to be valued any further than as it is necessary; yet they rejoice in them, and with due gratitude acknowledge the tenderness of the great Author of nature, who has planted in us appetites, by which those things that are necessary for our preservation are likewise made pleasant to us. For how miserable a thing would life be, if those daily diseases of hunger and thirst were to be carried off by such bitter drugs as we must use for those diseases that return seldomer upon us? And thus these pleasant as well as proper gifts of nature maintain the strength and the sprightliness of our bodies.

They also entertain themselves with the other delights let in at their eyes, their ears, and their nostrils, as the pleasant relishes and seasonings of life, which nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for man; since no other sort of animals contemplates the figure and beauty of the universe; nor is delighted with smells, any further than as they distinguish meats by them; nor do they apprehend the concords or discords of sound; yet in all pleasures whatsoever they take care that a lesser joy does not hinder a greater, and that pleasure may never breed pain, which they think always follows dishonest pleasures. But they think it madness for a man to wear out the beauty of his face, or the force of his natural strength; to corrupt the sprightliness of his body by sloth and laziness, or to waste it by fasting; that it is madness to weaken the strength of his constitution, and reject the other delights of life; unless by renouncing his own satisfaction, he can either serve the public or promote the happiness of others, for which he expects a greater recompense from God. So that they look on such a course of life as the mark of a mind that is both cruel to itself, and ungrateful to the Author of nature, as if we would not be beholden to Him for His favors, and therefore reject all His blessings; as one who should afflict himself for the empty shadow of virtue; or for no better end than to render himself capable of bearing those misfortunes which possibly will never happen.

This is their notion of virtue and of pleasure; they think that no man's reason can carry him to a truer idea of them, unless some discovery from heaven should inspire him with sublimer notions. I have not now the leisure to examine whether they think right or wrong in this matter: nor do I judge it necessary, for I have only undertaken to give you an account of their constitution, but not to defend all their principles. I am sure, that whatsoever may be said of their notions, there is not in the whole world either a better people or a happier government: their bodies are vigorous and lively; and though they are but of a middle stature, and have neither the fruitfulest soil nor the purest air in the world, yet they fortify themselves so well by their temperate course of life, against the unhealthiness of their air, and by their industry they so cultivate their soil, that there is nowhere to be seen a greater increase both of corn and cattle, nor are there anywhere healthier men and freer from diseases: for one may there see reduced to practice, not only all the arts that the husbandman employs in manuring and improving an ill soil, but whole woods plucked up by the roots, and in other places new ones planted, where there were none before.

Their principal motive for this is the convenience of carriage, that their timber may be either near their towns or growing on the banks of the sea or of some rivers, so as to be floated to them; for it is a harder work to carry wood at any distance over land, than corn. The people are industrious, apt to learn, as well as cheerful and pleasant; and none can endure more labor, when it is necessary; but except in that case they love their ease. They are unwearied pursuers of knowledge; for when we had given them some hints of the learning and discipline of the Greeks, concerning whom we only instructed them (for we know that there was nothing among the Romans, except their historians and their poets, that they would value much), it was strange to see how eagerly they were set on learning that language. We began to read a little of it to them, rather in compliance with their importunity, than out of any hopes of their reaping from it any great advantage. But after a very short trial, we found they made such progress, that we saw our labor was like to be more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write their characters and to pronounce their language so exactly, had so quick an apprehension, they remembered it so faithfully, and became so ready and correct in the use of it, that it would have looked like a miracle if the greater part of those whom we taught had not been men both of extraordinary capacity and of a fit age for instruction. They were for the greatest part chosen from among their learned men, by their chief Council, though some studied it of their own accord. In three years' time they became masters of the whole language, so that they read the best of the Greek authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think that they learned that language the more easily, from its having some relation to their own. I believe that they were a colony of the Greeks; for though their language comes nearer the Persian, yet they retain many names, both for their towns and magistrates, that are of Greek derivation.

I happened to carry a great many books with me, instead of merchandise, when I sailed my fourth voyage; for I was so far from thinking of soon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my books, among which were many of Plato's and some of Aristotle's works. I had also Theophrastus "On Plants," which, to my great regret, was imperfect; for having laid it carelessly by, while we were at sea, a monkey had seized upon it, and in many places torn out the leaves. They have no books of grammar but Lascares, for I did not carry Theodorus with me; nor have they any dictionaries but Hesichius and Dioscorides. They esteem Plutarch highly, and were much taken with Lucian's wit and with his pleasant way of writing. As for the poets, they have Aristophanes, Homer, Euripides, and Sophocles of Aldus's edition; and for historians Thucydides, Herodotus, and Herodian. One of my companions, Thricius Apinatus, happened to carry with him some of Hippocrates's works, and Galen's "Microtechne," which they hold in great estimation; for though there is no nation in the world that needs physic so little as they do, yet there is not any that honors it so much: they reckon the knowledge of it one of the pleasantest and most profitable parts of philosophy, by which, as they search into the secrets of nature, so they not only find this study highly agreeable, but think that such inquiries are very acceptable to the Author of nature; and imagine that as He, like the inventors of curious engines among mankind, has exposed this great machine of the universe to the view of the only creatures capable of contemplating it, so an exact and curious observer, who admires His workmanship, is much more acceptable to Him than one of the herd, who, like a beast incapable of reason, looks on this glorious scene with the eyes of a dull and unconcerned spectator.

The minds of the Utopians, when fenced with a love for learning, are very ingenious in discovering all such arts as are necessary to carry it to perfection. Two things they owe to us, the manufacture of paper and the art of printing; yet they are not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries but that a great part of the invention was their own. We showed them some books printed by Aldus, we explained to them the way of making paper, and the mystery of printing; but as we had never practised these arts, we described them in a crude and superficial manner. They seized the hints we gave them, and though at first they could not arrive at perfection, yet by making many essays they at last found out and corrected all their errors, and conquered every difficulty. Before this they only wrote on parchment, on reeds, or on the bark of trees; but now they have

established the manufacture of paper, and set up printing-presses, so that if they had but a good number of Greek authors they would be quickly supplied with many copies of them: at present, though they have no more than those I have mentioned, yet by several impressions they have multiplied them into many thousands.

If any man was to go among them that had some extraordinary talent, or that by much travelling had observed the customs of many nations (which made us to be so well received), he would receive a hearty welcome; for they are very desirous to know the state of the whole world. Very few go among them on the account of traffic, for what can a man carry to them but iron or gold or silver, which merchants desire rather to export than import to a strange country: and as for their exportation, they think it better to manage that themselves than to leave it to foreigners, for by this means, as they understand the state of the neighboring countries better, so they keep up the art of navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

## **BOOK II: OF THEIR SLAVES, AND OF THEIR MARRIAGES**

THEY do not make slaves of prisoners of war, except those that are taken in battle; nor of the sons of their slaves, nor of those of other nations: the slaves among them are only such as are condemned to that state of life for the commission of some crime, or, which is more common, such as their merchants find condemned to die in those parts to which they trade, whom they sometimes redeem at low rates; and in other places have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual labor, and are always chained, but with this difference, that their own natives are treated much worse than others; they are considered as more profligate than the rest, and since they could not be restrained by the advantages of so excellent an education, are judged worthy of harder usage. Another sort of slaves are the poor of the neighboring countries, who offer of their own accord to come and serve them; they treat these better, and use them in all other respects as well as their own countrymen, except their imposing more labor upon them, which is no hard task to those that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty-handed.

I have already told you with what care they look after their sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their ease or health; and for those who are taken with fixed and incurable diseases, they use all possible ways to cherish them, and to make their lives as comfortable as possible. They visit them often, and take great pains to make their time pass off easily: but when any is taken with a torturing and lingering pain, so that there is no hope, either of recovery or ease, the priests and magistrates come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the business of life, are become a burden to themselves and to all about them, and they have really outlived themselves, they should no longer nourish such a rooted distemper, but choose rather to die, since they cannot live but in much misery: being assured, that if they thus deliver themselves from torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after death. Since by their acting thus, they lose none of the pleasures but only the troubles of life, they think they behave not only reasonably, but in a manner consistent with religion and piety; because they follow the advice given them by their priests, who are the expounders of the will of God. Such as are wrought on by these persuasions, either starve themselves of their own accord, or take opium, and by that means die without pain. But no man is forced on this way of ending his life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, this does not induce them to fail in their attendance and care of them; but as they believe that a voluntary death, when it is chosen upon such an authority, is very honorable, so if any man takes away his own life without the approbation of the priests and the Senate, they give him none of the honors of a decent funeral, but throw his body into a ditch.

Their women are not married before eighteen, nor their men before two-and-twenty, and if any of them run into forbidden embraces before marriage they are severely punished, and the privilege

of marriage is denied them, unless they can obtain a special warrant from the Prince. Such disorders cast a great reproach upon the master and mistress of the family in which they happen, for it is supposed that they have failed in their duty. The reason of punishing this so severely is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant appetites, very few would engage in a state in which they venture the quiet of their whole lives, by being confined to one person, and are obliged to endure all the inconveniences with which it is accompanied.

In choosing their wives they use a method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but it is constantly observed among them, and is accounted perfectly consistent with wisdom. Before marriage some grave matron presents the bride naked, whether she is a virgin or a widow, to the bridegroom; and after that some grave man presents the bridegroom naked to the bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the folly of the men of all other nations, who, if they are but to buy a horse of a small value, are so cautious that they will see every part of him, and take off both his saddle and all his other tackle, that there may be no secret ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the choice of a wife, on which depends the happiness or unhappiness of the rest of his life, a man should venture upon trust, and only see about a hand's-breadth of the face, all the rest of the body being covered, under which there may lie hid what may be contagious as well as loathsome. All men are not so wise as to choose a woman only for her good qualities; and even wise men consider the body as that which adds not a little to the mind: and it is certain there may be some such deformity covered with the clothes as may totally alienate a man from his wife when it is too late to part from her. If such a thing is discovered after marriage, a man has no remedy but patience. They therefore think it is reasonable that there should be good provision made against such mischievous frauds.

There was so much the more reason for them to make a regulation in this matter, because they are the only people of those parts that neither allow of polygamy nor of divorces, except in the case of adultery or insufferable perverseness; for in these cases the Senate dissolves the marriage, and grants the injured person leave to marry again; but the guilty are made infamous, and are never allowed the privilege of a second marriage. None are suffered to put away their wives against their wills, from any great calamity that may have fallen on their persons; for they look on it as the height of cruelty and treachery to abandon either of the married persons when they need most the tender care of their comfort, and that chiefly in the case of old age, which as it carries many diseases along with it, so it is a disease of itself. But it frequently falls out that when a married couple do not well agree, they by mutual consent separate, and find out other persons with whom they hope they may live more happily. Yet this is not done without obtaining leave of the Senate, which never admits of a divorce but upon a strict inquiry made, both by the Senators and their wives, into the grounds upon which it is desired; and even when they are satisfied concerning the reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness in granting leave for new marriages would very much shake the kindness of married people. They punish severely those that defile the marriage-bed. If both parties are married they are divorced, and the injured persons may marry one another, or whom they please; but the adulterer and the adulteress are condemned to slavery. Yet if either of the injured persons cannot shake off the love of the married person, they may live with them still in that state, but they must follow them to that labor to which the slaves are condemned; and sometimes the repentance of the condemned, together with the unshaken kindness of the innocent and injured person, has prevailed so far with the Prince that he has taken off the sentence; but those that relapse after they are once pardoned are punished with death.

Their law does not determine the punishment for other crimes; but that is left to the Senate, to temper it according to the circumstances of the fact. Husbands have power to correct their wives, and parents to chastise their children, unless the fault is so great that a public punishment is thought necessary for striking terror into others. For the most part, slavery is the punishment



even of the greatest crimes; for as that is no less terrible to the criminals themselves than death, so they think the preserving them in a state of servitude is more for the interest of the commonwealth than killing them; since as their labor is a greater benefit to the public than their death could be, so the sight of their misery is a more lasting terror to other men than that which would be given by their death. If their slaves rebel, and will not bear their yoke and submit to the labor that is enjoined them, they are treated as wild beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a prison nor by their chains, and are at last put to death. But those who bear their punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure that lies so hard on them that it appears they are really more troubled for the crimes they have committed than for the miseries they suffer, are not out of hope but that at last either the Prince will, by his prerogative, or the people by their intercession, restore them again to their liberty, or at least very much mitigate their slavery. He that tempts a married woman to adultery is no less severely punished than he that commits it; for they believe that a deliberate design to commit a crime is equal to the fact itself: since its not taking effect does not make the person that miscarried in his attempt at all the less guilty.

They take great pleasure in fools, and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for people to divert themselves with their folly: and, in their opinion, this is a great advantage to the fools themselves: for if men were so sullen and severe as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous behavior and foolish sayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themselves to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used as they must otherwise be. If any man should reproach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any part of his body, it would not at all be thought a reflection on the person so treated, but it would be accounted scandalous in him that had upbraided another with what he could not help. It is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid mind not to preserve carefully one's natural beauty; but it is likewise infamous among them to use paint. They all see that no beauty recommends a wife so much to her husband as the probity of her life, and her obedience: for as some few are caught and held only by beauty, so all are attracted by the other excellences which charm all the world.

As they fright men from committing crimes by punishments, so they invite them to the love of virtue by public honors: therefore they erect statues to the memories of such worthy men as have deserved well of their country, and set these in their market-places, both to perpetuate the remembrance of their actions, and to be an incitement to their posterity to follow their example.

If any man aspires to any office, he is sure never to compass it: they all live easily together, for none of the magistrates are either insolent or cruel to the people: they affect rather to be called fathers, and by being really so, they well deserve the name; and the people pay them all the marks of honor the more freely, because none are exacted from them. The Prince himself has no distinction, either of garments or of a crown; but is only distinguished by a sheaf of corn carried before him; as the high-priest is also known by his being preceded by a person carrying a wax light.

They have but few laws, and such is their constitution that they need not many. They very much condemn other nations, whose laws, together with the commentaries on them, swell up to so many volumes; for they think it an unreasonable thing to oblige men to obey a body of laws that are both of such a bulk and so dark as not to be read and understood by every one of the subjects.

They have no lawyers among them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession it is to disguise matters and to wrest the laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the judge, as in other places the client trusts it to a counsellor. By this means they both cut off many delays, and find out truth more certainly: for after the parties have laid open the merits of the cause, without those artifices which lawyers are apt to suggest, the judge examines the whole matter, and supports the simplicity of such well-

meaning persons, whom otherwise crafty men would be sure to run down: and thus they avoid those evils which appear very remarkably among all those nations that labor under a vast load of laws. Every one of them is skilled in their law, for as it is a very short study, so the plainest meaning of which words are capable is always the sense of their laws. And they argue thus: all laws are promulgated for this end, that every man may know his duty; and therefore the plainest and most obvious sense of the words is that which ought to be put upon them; since a more refined exposition cannot be easily comprehended, and would only serve to make the laws become useless to the greater part of mankind, and especially to those who need most the direction of them: for it is all one, not to make a law at all, or to couch it in such terms that without a quick apprehension, and much study, a man cannot find out the true meaning of it; since the generality of mankind are both so dull and so much employed in their several trades that they have neither the leisure nor the capacity requisite for such an inquiry.

Some of their neighbors, who are masters of their own liberties, having long ago, by the assistance of the Utopians, shaken off the yoke of tyranny, and being much taken with those virtues which they observe among them, have come to desire that they would send magistrates to govern them; some changing them every year, and others every five years. At the end of their government they bring them back to Utopia, with great expressions of honor and esteem, and carry away others to govern in their stead. In this they seem to have fallen upon a very good expedient for their own happiness and safety; for since the good or ill condition of a nation depends so much upon their magistrates, they could not have made a better choice than by pitching on men whom no advantages can bias; for wealth is of no use to them, since they must so soon go back to their own country; and they being strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their heats or animosities; and it is certain that when public judicatories are swayed, either by avarice or partial affections, there must follow a dissolution of justice, the chief sinew of society.

The Utopians call those nations that come and ask magistrates from them, neighbors; but those to whom they have been of more particular service, friends. And as all other nations are perpetually either making leagues or breaking them, they never enter into an alliance with any State. They think leagues are useless things, and believe that if the common ties of humanity do not knit men together, the faith of promises will have no great effect; and they are the more confirmed in this by what they see among the nations round about them, who are no strict observers of leagues and treaties. We know how religiously they are observed in Europe, more particularly where the Christian doctrine is received, among whom they are sacred and inviolable; which is partly owing to the justice and goodness of the princes themselves, and partly to the reverence they pay to the popes; who as they are most religious observers of their own promises, so they exhort all other princes to perform theirs; and when fainter methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the severity of the pastoral censure, and think that it would be the most indecent thing possible if men who are particularly distinguished by the title of the "faithful" should not religiously keep the faith of their treaties. But in that newfound world, which is not more distant from us in situation than the people are in their manners and course of life, there is no trusting to leagues, even though they were made with all the pomp of the most sacred ceremonies; on the contrary, they are on this account the sooner broken, some slight pretence being found in the words of the treaties, which are purposely couched in such ambiguous terms that they can never be so strictly bound but they will always find some loophole to escape at; and thus they break both their leagues and their faith. And this is done with such impudence, that those very men who value themselves on having suggested these expedients to their princes, would with a haughty scorn declaim against such craft, or, to speak plainer, such fraud and deceit, if they found private men make use of it in their bargains, and would readily say that they deserved to be hanged.

By this means it is, that all sorts of justice passes in the world for a low-spirited and vulgar virtue, far below the dignity of royal greatness. Or at least, there are set up two sorts of justice; the one is mean, and creeps on the ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower part of mankind, and so must be kept in severely by many restraints that it may not break out beyond the

bounds that are set to it. The other is the peculiar virtue of princes, which as it is more majestic than that which becomes the rabble, so takes a freer compass; and thus lawful and unlawful are only measured by pleasure and interest. These practices of the princes that lie about Utopia, who make so little account of their faith, seem to be the reasons that determine them to engage in no confederacies; perhaps they would change their mind if they lived among us; but yet though treaties were more religiously observed, they would still dislike the custom of making them; since the world has taken up a false maxim upon it, as if there were no tie of nature uniting one nation to another, only separated perhaps by a mountain or a river, and that all were born in a state of hostility, and so might lawfully do all that mischief to their neighbors against which there is no provision made by treaties; and that when treaties are made, they do not cut off the enmity, or restrain the license of preying upon each other, if by the unskilfulness of wording them there are not effectual provisos made against them. They, on the other hand, judge that no man is to be esteemed our enemy that has never injured us; and that the partnership of the human nature is instead of a league. And that kindness and good-nature unite men more effectually and with greater strength than any agreements whatsoever; since thereby the engagements of men's hearts become stronger than the bond and obligation of words.

## **BOOK II: OF THEIR MILITARY DISCIPLINE**

THEY detest war as a very brutal thing; and which, to the reproach of human nature, is more practised by men than by any sort of beasts. They, in opposition to the sentiments of almost all other nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that glory that is gained by war. And therefore though they accustom themselves daily to military exercises and the discipline of war-- in which not only their men but their women likewise are trained up, that in cases of necessity they may not be quite useless--yet they do not rashly engage in war, unless it be either to defend themselves, or their friends, from any unjust aggressors; or out of good-nature or in compassion assist an oppressed nation in shaking off the yoke of tyranny. They indeed help their friends, not only in defensive, but also in offensive wars; but they never do that unless they had been consulted before the breach was made, and being satisfied with the grounds on which they went, they had found that all demands of reparation were rejected, so that a war was unavoidable. This they think to be not only just, when one neighbor makes an inroad on another, by public order, and carry away the spoils; but when the merchants of one country are oppressed in another, either under pretence of some unjust laws, or by the perverse wresting of good ones. This they count a juster cause of war than the other, because those injuries are done under some color of laws.

This was the only ground of that war in which they engaged with the Nephelogetes against the Aleopolitanes, a little before our time; for the merchants of the former having, as they thought, met with great injustice among the latter, which, whether it was in itself right or wrong, drew on a terrible war, in which many of their neighbors were engaged; and their keenness in carrying it on being supported by their strength in maintaining it, it not only shook some very flourishing States, and very much afflicted others, but after a series of much mischief ended in the entire conquest and slavery of the Aleopolitanes, who though before the war they were in all respects much superior to the Nephelogetes, were yet subdued; but though the Utopians had assisted them in the war, yet they pretended to no share of the spoil.

But though they so vigorously assist their friends in obtaining reparation for the injuries they have received in affairs of this nature, yet if any such frauds were committed against themselves, provided no violence was done to their persons, they would only on their being refused satisfaction forbear trading with such a people. This is not because they consider their neighbors more than their own citizens; but since their neighbors trade everyone upon his own stock, fraud is a more sensible injury to them than it is to the Utopians, among whom the public in such a case only suffers. As they expect nothing in return for the merchandise they export but that in which they so much abound, and is of little use to them, the loss does not much affect them; they think

therefore it would be too severe to revenge a loss attended with so little inconvenience, either to their lives or their subsistence, with the death of many persons; but if any of their people is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by public authority or only by private men, as soon as they hear of it they send ambassadors, and demand that the guilty persons may be delivered up to them; and if that is denied, they declare war; but if it be complied with, the offenders are condemned either to death or slavery.

They would be both troubled and ashamed of a bloody victory over their enemies, and think it would be as foolish a purchase as to buy the most valuable goods at too high a rate. And in no victory do they glory so much as in that which is gained by dexterity and good conduct, without bloodshed. In such cases they appoint public triumphs, and erect trophies to the honor of those who have succeeded; for then do they reckon that a man acts suitably to his nature when he conquers his enemy in such a way as that no other creature but a man could be capable of, and that is by the strength of his understanding. Bears, lions, boars, wolves, and dogs, and all other animals employ their bodily force one against another, in which as many of them are superior to men, both in strength and fierceness, so they are all subdued by his reason and understanding.

The only design of the Utopians in war is to obtain that by force, which if it had been granted them in time would have prevented the war; or if that cannot be done, to take so severe a revenge on those that have injured them that they may be terrified from doing the like for the time to come. By these ends they measure all their designs, and manage them so that it is visible that the appetite of fame or vainglory does not work so much on them as a just care of their own security.

As soon as they declare war, they take care to have a great many schedules, that are sealed with their common seal, affixed in the most conspicuous places of their enemies' country. This is carried secretly, and done in many places all at once. In these they promise great rewards to such as shall kill the prince, and lesser in proportion to such as shall kill any other persons, who are those on whom, next to the prince himself, they cast the chief balance of the war. And they double the sum to him that, instead of killing the person so marked out, shall take him alive and put him in their hands. They offer not only indemnity, but rewards, to such of the persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their countrymen; by this means those that are named in their schedules become not only distrustful of their fellow-citizens but are jealous of one another, and are much distracted by fear and danger; for it has often fallen out that many of them, and even the Prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most; for the rewards that the Utopians offer are so unmeasurably great, that there is no sort of crime to which men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the risk that those run who undertake such services, and offer a recompense proportioned to the danger; not only a vast deal of gold, but great revenues in lands, that lie among other nations that are their friends, where they may go and enjoy them very securely; and they observe the promises they make of this kind most religiously.

They very much approve of this way of corrupting their enemies, though it appears to others to be base and cruel; but they look on it as a wise course, to make an end of what would be otherwise a long war, without so much as hazarding one battle to decide it. They think it likewise an act of mercy and love to mankind to prevent the great slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the progress of the war, both on their own side and on that of their enemies, by the death of a few that are most guilty; and that in so doing they are kind even to their enemies, and pity them no less than their own people, as knowing that the greater part of them do not engage in the war of their own accord, but are driven into it by the passions of their prince.

If this method does not succeed with them, then they sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the prince's brother, or some of the nobility, to aspire to the crown. If they cannot disunite them by domestic broils, then they engage their neighbors against them, and make them set on foot some old pretensions, which are never wanting to princes when they have occasion for them. These they plentifully supply with money, though but very sparingly with any auxiliary

troops: for they are so tender of their own people, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the prince of their enemies' country.

But as they keep their gold and silver only for such an occasion, so when that offers itself they easily part with it, since it would be no inconvenience to them though they should reserve nothing of it to themselves. For besides the wealth that they have among them at home, they have a vast treasure abroad, many nations round about them being deep in their debt: so that they hire soldiers from all places for carrying on their wars, but chiefly from the Zapolets, who live 500 miles east of Utopia. They are a rude, wild, and fierce nation, who delight in the woods and rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both against heat, cold, and labor, and know nothing of the delicacies of life. They do not apply themselves to agriculture, nor do they care either for their houses or their clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and for the greatest part they live either by hunting, or upon rapine; and are made, as it were, only for war. They watch all opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace such as are offered them. Great numbers of them will frequently go out, and offer themselves for a very low pay, to serve any that will employ them: they know none of the arts of life, but those that lead to the taking it away; they serve those that hire them, both with much courage and great fidelity; but will not engage to serve for any determined time, and agree upon such terms, that the next day they may go over to the enemies of those whom they serve, if they offer them a greater encouragement: and will perhaps return to them the day after that, upon a higher advance of their pay.

There are few wars in which they make not a considerable part of the armies of both sides: so it often falls out that they who are related, and were hired in the same country, and so have lived long and familiarly together, forgetting both their relations and former friendship, kill one another upon no other consideration than that of being hired to it for a little money, by princes of different interests; and such a regard have they for money, that they are easily wrought on by the difference of one penny a day to change sides. So entirely does their avarice influence them; and yet this money, which they value so highly, is of little use to them; for what they purchase thus with their blood, they quickly waste on luxury, which among them is but of a poor and miserable form.

This nation serves the Utopians against all people whatsoever, for they pay higher than any other. The Utopians hold this for a maxim, that as they seek out the best sort of men for their own use at home, so they make use of this worst sort of men for the consumption of war, and therefore they hire them with the offers of vast rewards, to expose themselves to all sorts of hazards, out of which the greater part never returns to claim their promises. Yet they make them good most religiously to such as escape. This animates them to adventure again, whenever there is occasion for it; for the Utopians are not at all troubled how many of these happen to be killed, and reckon it a service done to mankind if they could be a means to deliver the world from such a lewd and vicious sort of people; that seem to have run together as to the drain of human nature. Next to these they are served in their wars with those upon whose account they undertake them, and with the auxiliary troops of their other friends, to whom they join a few of their own people, and send some men of eminent and approved virtue to command in chief. There are two sent with him, who during his command are but private men, but the first is to succeed him if he should happen to be either killed or taken; and in case of the like misfortune to him, the third comes in his place; and thus they provide against ill events, that such accidents as may befall their generals may not endanger their armies.

When they draw out troops of their own people, they take such out of every city as freely offer themselves, for none are forced to go against their wills, since they think that if any man is pressed that wants courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his cowardice dishearten others. But if an invasion is made on their country they make use of such men, if they have good bodies,

though they are not brave; and either put them aboard their ships or place them on the walls of their towns, that being so posted they may find no opportunity of flying away; and thus either shame, the heat of action, or the impossibility of flying, bears down their cowardice; they often make a virtue of necessity and behave themselves well, because nothing else is left them. But as they force no man to go into any foreign war against his will, so they do not hinder those women who are willing to go along with their husbands; on the contrary, they encourage and praise them, and they stand often next their husbands in the front of the army. They also place together those who are related, parents and children, kindred, and those that are mutually allied, near one another; that those whom nature has inspired with the greatest zeal for assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is matter of great reproach if husband or wife survive one another, or if a child survives his parents, and therefore when they come to be engaged in action they continue to fight to the last man, if their enemies stand before them.

And as they use all prudent methods to avoid the endangering their own men, and if it is possible let all the action and danger fall upon the troops that they hire, so if it becomes necessary for themselves to engage, they then charge with as much courage as they avoided it before with prudence: nor is it a fierce charge at first, but it increases by degrees; and as they continue in action, they grow more obstinate and press harder upon the enemy, insomuch that they will much sooner die than give ground; for the certainty that their children will be well looked after when they are dead, frees them from all that anxiety concerning them which often masters men of great courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible resolution. Their skill in military affairs increases their courage; and the wise sentiments which, according to the laws of their country, are instilled into them in their education, give additional vigor to their minds: for as they do not undervalue life so as prodigally to throw it away, they are not so indecently fond of it as to preserve it by base and unbecoming methods. In the greatest heat of action, the bravest of their youth, who have devoted themselves to that service, single out the general of their enemies, set on him either openly or by ambuscade, pursue him everywhere, and when spent and wearied out, are relieved by others, who never give over the pursuit; either attacking him with close weapons when they can get near him, or with those which wound at a distance, when others get in between them; so that unless he secures himself by flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or to take him prisoner.

When they have obtained a victory, they kill as few as possible, and are much more bent on taking many prisoners than on killing those that fly before them; nor do they ever let their men so loose in the pursuit of their enemies, as not to retain an entire body still in order; so that if they have been forced to engage the last of their battalions before they could gain the day, they will rather let their enemies all escape than pursue them, when their own army is in disorder; remembering well what has often fallen out to themselves, that when the main body of their army has been quite defeated and broken, when their enemies imagining the victory obtained, have let themselves loose into an irregular pursuit, a few of them that lay for a reserve, waiting a fit opportunity, have fallen on them in their chase, and when straggling in disorder and apprehensive of no danger, but counting the day their own, have turned the whole action, and wrestling out of their hands a victory that seemed certain and undoubted, while the vanquished have suddenly become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dexterous in laying or avoiding ambushes. They sometimes seem to fly when it is far from their thoughts; and when they intend to give ground, they do it so that it is very hard to find out their design. If they see they are ill posted, or are like to be overpowered by numbers, they then either march off in the night with great silence, or by some stratagem delude their enemies: if they retire in the daytime, they do it in such order, that it is no less dangerous to fall upon them in a retreat than in a march. They fortify their camps with a deep and large trench, and throw up the earth that is dug out of it for a wall; nor do they employ only their slaves in this, but the whole army works at it, except those that are then upon the guard; so that when so many hands are at work, a great line and a strong fortification are finished

in so short a time that it is scarce credible. Their armor is very strong for defence, and yet is not so heavy as to make them uneasy in their marches; they can even swim with it. All that are trained up to war practice swimming. Both horse and foot make great use of arrows, and are very expert. They have no swords, but fight with a pole-axe that is both sharp and heavy, by which they thrust or strike down an enemy. They are very good at finding out warlike machines, and disguise them so well, that the enemy does not perceive them till he feels the use of them; so that he cannot prepare such a defence as would render them useless; the chief consideration had in the making them is that they may be easily carried and managed.

If they agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their enemies' country waste nor burn their corn, and even in their marches they take all possible care that neither horse nor foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have use for it-themselves. They hurt no man whom they find disarmed, unless he is a spy. When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection; and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the sword that opposed the rendering of it up, and make the rest of the garrison slaves, but for the other inhabitants, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had advised a surrender, they give them good rewards out of the estates of those that they condemn, and distribute the rest among their auxiliary troops, but they themselves take no share of the spoil.

When a war is ended, they do not oblige their friends to reimburse their expenses; but they obtain them of the conquered, either in money, which they keep for the next occasion, or in lands, out of which a constant revenue is to be paid them; by many increases, the revenue which they draw out from several countries on such occasions, is now risen to above 700,000 ducats a year. They send some of their own people to receive these revenues, who have orders to live magnificently, and like princes, by which means they consume much of it upon the place; and either bring over the rest to Utopia, or lend it to that nation in which it lies. This they most commonly do, unless some great occasion, which falls out but very seldom, should oblige them to call for it all. It is out of these lands that they assign rewards to such as they encourage to adventure on desperate attempts. If any prince that engages in war with them is making preparations for invading their country, they prevent him, and make his country the seat of the war; for they do not willingly suffer any war to break in upon their island; and if that should happen, they would only defend themselves by their own people, but would not call for auxiliary troops to their assistance.

## **BOOK II: OF THE RELIGIONS OF THE UTOPIANS**

THERE are several sorts of religions, not only in different parts of the island, but even in every town; some worshipping the sun, others the moon or one of the planets: some worship such men as have been eminent in former times for virtue or glory, not only as ordinary deities, but as the supreme God: yet the greater and wiser sort of them worship none of these, but adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity; as a being that is far above all our apprehensions, that is spread over the whole universe, not by His bulk, but by His power and virtue; Him they call the Father of All, and acknowledge that the beginnings, the increase, the progress, the vicissitudes, and the end of all things come only from Him; nor do they offer divine honors to any but to Him alone. And indeed, though they differ concerning other things, yet all agree in this, that they think there is one Supreme Being that made and governs the world, whom they call in the language of their country Mithras. They differ in this, that one thinks the god whom he worships is this Supreme Being, and another thinks that his idol is that God; but they all agree in one principle, that whoever is this Supreme Being, He is also that great Essence to whose glory and majesty all honors are ascribed by the consent of all nations.

By degrees, they fall off from the various superstitions that are among them, and grow up to that one religion that is the best and most in request; and there is no doubt to be made but that all the

others had vanished long ago, if some of those who advised them to lay aside their superstitions had not met with some unhappy accident, which being considered as inflicted by heaven, made them afraid that the God whose worship had like to have been abandoned, had interposed, and revenged themselves on those who despised their authority. After they had heard from us an account of the doctrine, the course of life, and the miracles of Christ, and of the wonderful constancy of so many martyrs, whose blood, so willingly offered up by them, was the chief occasion of spreading their religion over a vast number of nations; it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I shall not determine whether this proceeded from any secret inspiration of God, or whether it was because it seemed so favorable to that community of goods, which is an opinion so particular as well as so dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his followers lived by that rule and that it was still kept up in some communities among the sincerest sort of Christians. From whichever of these motives it might be, true it is that many of them came over to our religion, and were initiated into it by baptism. But as two of our number were dead, so none of the four that survived were in priest's orders; we therefore could only baptize them; so that to our great regret they could not partake of the other sacraments, that can only be administered by priests; but they are instructed concerning them, and long most vehemently for them. They have had great disputes among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a priest would not be thereby qualified to do all the things that belong to that character, even though he had no authority derived from the Pope; and they seemed to be resolved to choose some for that employment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Those among them that have not received our religion, do not fright any from it, and use none ill that goes over to it; so that all the while I was there, one man was only punished on this occasion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, dispute publicly concerning the Christian religion with more zeal than discretion; and with so much heat, that he not only preferred our worship to theirs, but condemned all their rites as profane; and cried out against all that adhered to them, as impious and sacrilegious persons, that were to be damned to everlasting burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this manner, he was seized, and after trial he was condemned to banishment, not for having disparaged their religion, but for his inflaming the people to sedition: for this is one of their most ancient laws, that no man ought to be punished for his religion. At the first constitution of their government, Utopus having understood that before his coming among them the old inhabitants had been engaged in great quarrels concerning religion, by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy thing to conquer them, since instead of uniting their forces against him, every different party in religion fought by themselves; after he had subdued them, he made a law that every man might be of what religion he pleased, and might endeavor to draw others to it by force of argument, and by amicable and modest ways, but without bitterness against those of other opinions; but that he ought to use no other force but that of persuasion, and was neither to mix with it reproaches nor violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to banishment or slavery.

This law was made by Utopus, not only for preserving the public peace, which he saw suffered much by daily contentions and irreconcilable heats, but because he thought the interest of religion itself required it. He judged it not fit to determine anything rashly, and seemed to doubt whether those different forms of religion might not all come from God, who might inspire men in a different manner, and be pleased with this variety; he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And supposing that only one religion was really true, and the rest false, he imagined that the native force of truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the strength of argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced mind; while, on the other hand, if such debates were carried on with violence and tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most holy religion might be choked with superstition, as corn is with briars and thorns.

He therefore left men wholly to their liberty, that they might be free to believe as they should see



cause; only he made a solemn and severe law against such as should so far degenerate from the dignity of human nature as to think that our souls died with our bodies, or that the world was governed by chance, without a wise overruling Providence: for they all formerly believed that there was a state of rewards and punishments to the good and bad after this life; and they now look on those that think otherwise as scarce fit to be counted men, since they degrade so noble a being as the soul, and reckon it no better than a beast's: thus they are far from looking on such men as fit for human society, or to be citizens of a well-ordered commonwealth; since a man of such principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their laws and customs: for there is no doubt to be made that a man who is afraid of nothing but the law, and apprehends nothing after death, will not scruple to break through all the laws of his country, either by fraud or force, when by this means he may satisfy his appetites. They never raise any that hold these maxims, either to honors or offices, nor employ them in any public trust, but despise them, as men of base and sordid minds; yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a maxim that a man cannot make himself believe anything he pleases; nor do they drive any to dissemble their thoughts by threatenings, so that men are not tempted to lie or disguise their opinions; which being a sort of fraud, is abhorred by the Utopians. They take care indeed to prevent their disputing in defence of these opinions, especially before the common people; but they suffer, and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their priests and other grave men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad opinions by having reason laid before them.

There are many among them that run far to the other extreme, though it is neither thought an ill nor unreasonable opinion, and therefore is not at all discouraged. They think that the souls of beasts are immortal, though far inferior to the dignity of the human soul, and not capable of so great a happiness. They are almost all of them very firmly persuaded that good men will be infinitely happy in another state; so that though they are compassionate to all that are sick, yet they lament no man's death, except they see him loth to depart with life; for they look on this as a very ill presage, as if the soul, conscious to itself of guilt, and quite hopeless, was afraid to leave the body, from some secret hints of approaching misery. They think that such a man's appearance before God cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out cheerfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are struck with horror when they see any die in this manner, and carry them out in silence and with sorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the errors of the departed soul, they lay the body in the ground; but when any die cheerfully, and full of hope, they do not mourn for them, but sing hymns when they carry out their bodies, and commending their souls very earnestly to God: their whole behavior is then rather grave than sad, they burn the body, and set up a pillar where the pile was made, with an inscription to the honor of the deceased.

When they come from the funeral, they discourse of his good life and worthy actions, but speak of nothing oftener and with more pleasure than of his serenity at the hour of death. They think such respect paid to the memory of good men is both the greatest incitement to engage others to follow their example, and the most acceptable worship that can be offered them; for they believe that though by the imperfection of human sight they are invisible to us, yet they are present among us, and hear those discourses that pass concerning themselves. They believe it inconsistent with the happiness of departed souls not to be at liberty to be where they will, and do not imagine them capable of the ingratitude of not desiring to see those friends with whom they lived on earth in the strictest bonds of love and kindness: besides they are persuaded that good men after death have these affections and all other good dispositions increased rather than diminished, and therefore conclude that they are still among the living, and observe all they say or do. From hence they engage in all their affairs with the greater confidence of success, as trusting to their protection; while this opinion of the presence of their ancestors is a restraint that prevents their engaging in ill designs.

They despise and laugh at auguries, and the other vain and superstitious ways of divination, so much observed among other nations; but have great reverence for such miracles as cannot flow

from any of the powers of nature, and look on them as effects and indications of the presence of the Supreme Being, of which they say many instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their public prayers, which upon great and dangerous occasions they have solemnly put up to God, with assured confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous manner.

They think the contemplating God in His works, and the adoring Him for them, is a very acceptable piece of worship to Him.

There are many among them, that upon a motive of religion neglect learning, and apply themselves to no sort of study; nor do they allow themselves any leisure time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good things that a man does he secures to himself that happiness that comes after death. Some of these visit the sick; others mend highways, cleanse ditches, repair bridges, or dig turf, gravel, or stones. Others fell and cleave timber, and bring wood, corn, and other necessities on carts into their towns. Nor do these only serve the public, but they serve even private men, more than the slaves themselves do; for if there is anywhere a rough, hard, and sordid piece of work to be done, from which many are frightened by the labor and loathsomeness of it, if not the despair of accomplishing it, they cheerfully, and of their own accord, take that to their share; and by that means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole life in hard labor; and yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor lessen other people's credit to raise their own; but by their stooping to such servile employments, they are so far from being despised, that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole nation.

Of these there are two sorts; some live unmarried and chaste, and abstain from eating any sort of flesh; and thus weaning themselves from all the pleasures of the present life, which they account hurtful, they pursue, even by the hardest and painfullest methods possible, that blessedness which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it, they are the more cheerful and earnest in their endeavors after it. Another sort of them is less willing to put themselves to much toil, and therefore prefer a married state to a single one; and as they do not deny themselves the pleasure of it, so they think the begetting of children is a debt which they owe to human nature and to their country; nor do they avoid any pleasure that does not hinder labor, and therefore eat flesh so much the more willingly, as they find that by this means they are the more able to work; the Utopians look upon these as the wiser sect, but they esteem the others as the most holy. They would indeed laugh at any man, who from the principles of reason would prefer an unmarried state to a married, or a life of labor to an easy life; but they reverence and admire such as do it from the motives of religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious than in giving their opinion positively concerning any sort of religion. The men that lead those severe lives are called in the language of their country Brutheskass, which answers to those we call religious orders.

Their priests are men of eminent piety, and therefore they are but few for there are only thirteen in every town, one for every temple; but when they go to war, seven of these go out with their forces, and seven others are chosen to supply their room in their absence; but these enter again upon their employment when they return; and those who served in their absence attend upon the high-priest, till vacancies fall by death; for there is one set over all the rest. They are chosen by the people as the other magistrates are, by suffrages given in secret, for preventing of factions; and when they are chosen they are consecrated by the College of Priests. The care of all sacred things, the worship of God, and an inspection into the manners of the people, are committed to them. It is a reproach to a man to be sent for by any of them, or for them to speak to him in secret, for that always gives some suspicion. All that is incumbent on them is only to exhort and admonish the people; for the power of correcting and punishing ill men belongs wholly to the Prince and to the other magistrates. The severest thing that the priest does is the excluding those that are desperately wicked from joining in their worship. There is not any sort of punishment more dreaded by them than this, for as it loads them with infamy, so it fills them with secret horrors, such is their reverence to their religion; nor will their bodies be long exempted from

their share of trouble; for if they do not very quickly satisfy the priests of the truth of their repentance, they are seized on by the Senate, and punished for their impiety. The education of youth belongs to the priests, yet they do not take so much care of instructing them in letters as in forming their minds and manners aright; they use all possible methods to infuse very early into the tender and flexible minds of children such opinions as are both good in themselves and will be useful to their country. For when deep impressions of these things are made at that age, they follow men through the whole course of their lives, and conduce much to preserve the peace of the government, which suffers by nothing more than by vices that rise out of ill-opinions. The wives of their priests are the most extraordinary women of the whole country; sometimes the women themselves are made priests, though that falls out but seldom, nor are any but ancient widows chosen into that order.

None of the magistrates has greater honor paid him than is paid the priests; and if they should happen to commit any crime, they would not be questioned for it. Their punishment is left to God, and to their own consciences; for they do not think it lawful to lay hands on any man, how wicked soever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God; nor do they find any great inconvenience in this, both because they have so few priests, and because these are chosen with much caution, so that it must be a very unusual thing to find one who merely out of regard to his virtue, and for his being esteemed a singularly good man, was raised up to so great a dignity, degenerate into corruption and vice. And if such a thing should fall out, for man is a changeable creature, yet there being few priests, and these having no authority but what rises out of the respect that is paid them, nothing of great consequence to the public can proceed from the indemnity that the priests enjoy.

They have indeed very few of them, lest greater numbers sharing in the same honor might make the dignity of that order which they esteem so highly to sink in its reputation. They also think it difficult to find out many of such an exalted pitch of goodness, as to be equal to that dignity which demands the exercise of more than ordinary virtues. Nor are the priests in greater veneration among them than they are among their neighboring nations, as you may imagine by that which I think gives occasion for it.

When the Utopians engage in battle, the priests who accompany them to the war, apparelled in their sacred vestments, kneel down during the action, in a place not far from the field; and lifting up their hands to heaven, pray, first for peace, and then for victory to their own side, and particularly that it may be gained without the effusion of much blood on either side; and when the victory turns to their side, they run in among their own men to restrain their fury; and if any of their enemies see them, or call to them, they are preserved by that means; and such as can come so near them as to touch their garments, have not only their lives, but their fortunes secured to them; it is upon this account that all the nations round about consider them so much, and treat them with such reverence, that they have been often no less able to preserve their own people from the fury of their enemies, than to save their enemies from their rage; for it has sometimes fallen out, that when their armies have been in disorder, and forced to fly, so that their enemies were running upon the slaughter and spoil, the priests by interposing have separated them from one another, and stopped the effusion of more blood; so that by their mediation a peace has been concluded on very reasonable terms; nor is there any nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous as not to look upon their persons as sacred and inviolable.

The first and the last day of the month, and of the year, is a festival. They measure their months by the course of the moon, and their years by the course of the sun. The first days are called in their language the Cynemernes, and the last the Trapemernes; which answers in our language to the festival that begins, or ends, the season.

They have magnificent temples, that are not only nobly built, but extremely spacious; which is the more necessary, as they have so few of them; they are a little dark within, which proceeds not

from any error in the architecture, but is done with design; for their priests think that too much light dissipates the thoughts, and that a more moderate degree of it both recollects the mind and raises devotion. Though there are many different forms of religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main point, which is the worshipping of the Divine Essence; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their temples in which the several persuasions among them may not agree; for every sect performs those rites that are peculiar to it, in their private houses, nor is there anything in the public worship that contradicts the particular ways of those different sects. There are no images for God in their temples, so that everyone may represent Him to his thoughts, according to the way of his religion; nor do they call this one God by any other name than that of Mithras, which is the common name by which they all express the Divine Essence, whatsoever otherwise they think it to be; nor are there any prayers among them but such as every one of them may use without prejudice to his own opinion.

They meet in their temples on the evening of the festival that concludes a season: and not having yet broke their fast, they thank God for their good success during that year or month, which is then at an end; and the next day being that which begins the new season, they meet early in their temples, to pray for the happy progress of all their affairs during that period upon which they then enter. In the festival which concludes the period, before they go to the temple, both wives and children fall on their knees before their husbands or parents, and confess everything in which they have either erred or failed in their duty, and beg pardon for it. Thus all little discontents in families are removed, that they may offer up their devotions with a pure and serene mind; for they hold it a great impiety to enter upon them with disturbed thoughts, or with a consciousness of their bearing hatred or anger in their hearts to any person whatsoever; and think that they should become liable to severe punishments if they presumed to offer sacrifices without cleansing their hearts, and reconciling all their differences. In the temples, the two sexes are separated, the men go to the right hand, and the women to the left; and the males and females all place themselves before the head and master or mistress of that family to which they belong; so that those who have the government of them at home may see their deportment in public; and they intermingle them so, that the younger and the older may be set by one another; for if the younger sort were all set together, they would perhaps trifle away that time too much in which they ought to beget in themselves that religious dread of the Supreme Being, which is the greatest and almost the only incitement to virtue.

They offer up no living creature in sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the Divine Being, from whose bounty it is that these creatures have derived their lives, to take pleasure in their deaths, or the offering up of their blood. They burn incense and other sweet odors, and have a great number of wax lights during their worship; not out of any imagination that such oblations can add anything to the divine nature, which even prayers cannot do; but as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God, so they think those sweet savors and lights, together with some other ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable virtue, elevate men's souls, and inflame them with greater energy and cheerfulness during the divine worship.

All the people appear in the temples in white garments, but the priest's vestments are parti-colored, and both the work and colors are wonderful. They are made of no rich materials, for they are neither embroidered nor set with precious stones, but are composed of the plumes of several birds, laid together with so much art and so neatly, that the true value of them is far beyond the costliest materials. They say that in the ordering and placing those plumes some dark mysteries are represented, which pass down among their priests in a secret tradition concerning them; and that they are as hieroglyphics, putting them in mind of the blessings that they have received from God, and of their duties both to Him and to their neighbors. As soon as the priest appears in those ornaments, they all fall prostrate on the ground, with so much reverence and so deep a silence that such as look on cannot but be struck with it, as if it were the effect of the appearance of a deity. After they have been for some time in this posture, they all stand up, upon a sign given by the priest, and sing hymns to the honor of God, some musical instruments playing all the while.

These are quite of another form than those used among us: but as many of them are much sweeter than ours, so others are made use of by us.

Yet in one thing they very much exceed us; all their music, both vocal and instrumental, is adapted to imitate and express the passions, and is so happily suited to every occasion, that whether the subject of the hymn be cheerful or formed to soothe or trouble the mind, or to express grief or remorse, the music takes the impression of whatever is represented, affects and kindles the passions, and works the sentiments deep into the hearts of the hearers. When this is done, both priests and people offer up very solemn prayers to God in a set form of words; and these are so composed, that whatsoever is pronounced by the whole assembly may be likewise applied by every man in particular to his own condition; in these they acknowledge God to be the author and governor of the world, and the fountain of all the good they receive, and therefore offer up to Him their thanksgiving; and in particular bless Him for His goodness in ordering it so that they are born under the happiest government in the world, and are of a religion which they hope is the truest of all others: but if they are mistaken, and if there is either a better government or a religion more acceptable to God, they implore Him goodness to let them know it, vowing that they resolve to follow Him whithersoever He leads them. But if their government is the best and their religion the truest, then they pray that He may fortify them in it, and bring all the world both to the same rules of life, and to the same opinions concerning Himself; unless, according to the unsearchableness of His mind, He is pleased with a variety of religions. Then they pray that God may give them an easy passage at last to Himself; not presuming to set limits to Him, how early or late it should be; but if it may be wished for, without derogating from His supreme authority, they desire to be quickly delivered, and to be taken to Himself, though by the most terrible kind of death, rather than to be detained long from seeing Him by the most prosperous course of life. When this prayer is ended, they all fall down again upon the ground, and after a little while they rise up, go home to dinner, and spend the rest of the day in diversion or military exercises.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the constitution of that commonwealth, which I do not only think the best in the world, but indeed the only commonwealth that truly deserves that name. In all other places it is visible, that while people talk of a commonwealth, every man only seeks his own wealth; but there, where no man has any property, all men zealously pursue the good of the public: and, indeed, it is no wonder to see men act so differently; for in other commonwealths, every man knows that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the commonwealth may be, he must die of hunger; so that he sees the necessity of preferring his own concerns to the public; but in Utopia, where every man has a right to everything, they all know that if care is taken to keep the public stores full, no private man can want anything; for among them there is no unequal distribution, so that no man is poor, none in necessity; and though no man has anything, yet they are all rich; for what can make a man so rich as to lead a serene and cheerful life, free from anxieties; neither apprehending want himself, nor vexed with the endless complaints of his wife? He is not afraid of the misery of his children, nor is he contriving how to raise a portion for his daughters, but is secure in this, that both he and his wife, his children and grandchildren, to as many generations as he can fancy, will all live both plentifully and happily; since among them there is no less care taken of those who were once engaged in labor, but grow afterward unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere of these that continue still employed. I would gladly hear any man compare the justice that is among them with that of all other nations; among whom, may I perish, if I see anything that looks either like justice or equity: for what justice is there in this, that a nobleman, a goldsmith, a banker, or any other man, that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in things that are of no use to the public, should live in great luxury and splendor, upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean man, a carter, a smith, or a ploughman, that works harder even than the beasts themselves, and is employed in labors so necessary, that no commonwealth could hold out a year without them, can only earn so poor a livelihood, and must lead so miserable a life, that the condition of the beasts is much better than theirs? For as the beasts do not work so constantly, so they feed almost as well, and with more pleasure; and have no anxiety about what is to come, whilst these men are

depressed by a barren and fruitless employment, and tormented with the apprehensions of want in their old age; since that which they get by their daily labor does but maintain them at present, and is consumed as fast as it comes in, there is no overplus left to lay up for old age. Is not that government both unjust and ungrateful, that is so prodigal of its favors to those that are called gentlemen, or goldsmiths, or such others who are idle, or live either by flattery, or by contriving the arts of vain pleasure; and on the other hand, takes no care of those of a meaner sort, such as ploughmen, colliers, and smiths, without whom it could not subsist? But after the public has reaped all the advantage of their service, and they come to be oppressed with age, sickness, and want, all their labors and the good they have done is forgotten; and all the recompense given them is that they are left to die in great misery. The richer sort are often endeavoring to bring the hire of laborers lower, not only by their fraudulent practices, but by the laws which they procure to be made to that effect; so that though it is a thing most unjust in itself, to give such small rewards to those who deserve so well of the public, yet they have given those hardships the name and color of justice, by procuring laws to be made for regulating them. Therefore I must say that, as I hope for mercy, I can have no other notion of all the other governments that I see or know, than that they are a conspiracy of the rich, who on pretence of managing the public only pursue their private ends, and devise all the ways and arts they can find out; first, that they may, without danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then that they may engage the poor to toil and labor for them at as low rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please. And if they can but prevail to get these contrivances established by the show of public authority, which is considered as the representative of the whole people, then they are accounted laws. Yet these wicked men after they have, by a most insatiable covetousness, divided that among themselves with which all the rest might have been well supplied, are far from that happiness that is enjoyed among the Utopians: for the use as well as the desire of money being extinguished, much anxiety and great occasions of mischief is cut off with it. And who does not see that the frauds, thefts, robberies, quarrels, tumults, contentions, seditions, murders, treacheries, and witchcrafts, which are indeed rather punished than restrained by the severities of law, would all fall off, if money were not any more valued by the world? Men's fears, solitudes, cares, labors, and watchings, would all perish in the same moment with the value of money: even poverty itself, for the relief of which money seems most necessary, would fall. But, in order to the apprehending this aright, take one instance.

Consider any year that has been so unfruitful that many thousands have died of hunger; and yet if at the end of that year a survey was made of the granaries of all the rich men that have hoarded up the corn, it would be found that there was enough among them to have prevented all that consumption of men that perished in misery; and that if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible effects of that scarcity; so easy a thing would it be to supply all the necessities of life, if that blessed thing called money, which is pretended to be invented for procuring them, was not really the only thing that obstructed their being procured!

I do not doubt but rich men are sensible of this, and that they well know how much a greater happiness it is to want nothing necessary than to abound in many superfluities, and to be rescued out of so much misery than to abound with so much wealth; and I cannot think but the sense of every man's interest, added to the authority of Christ's commands, who as He was infinitely wise, knew what was best, and was not less good in discovering it to us, would have drawn all the world over to the laws of the Utopians, if pride, that plague of human nature, that source of so much misery, did not hinder it; for this vice does not measure happiness so much by its own conveniences as by the miseries of others; and would not be satisfied with being thought a goddess, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult. Pride thinks its own happiness shines the brighter by comparing it with the misfortunes of other persons; that by displaying its own wealth, they may feel their poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal serpent that creeps into the breasts of mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out; and therefore I am glad that the Utopians have fallen upon this form of government, in which I wish that all the world could be so wise as to imitate them; for they have indeed laid down such a

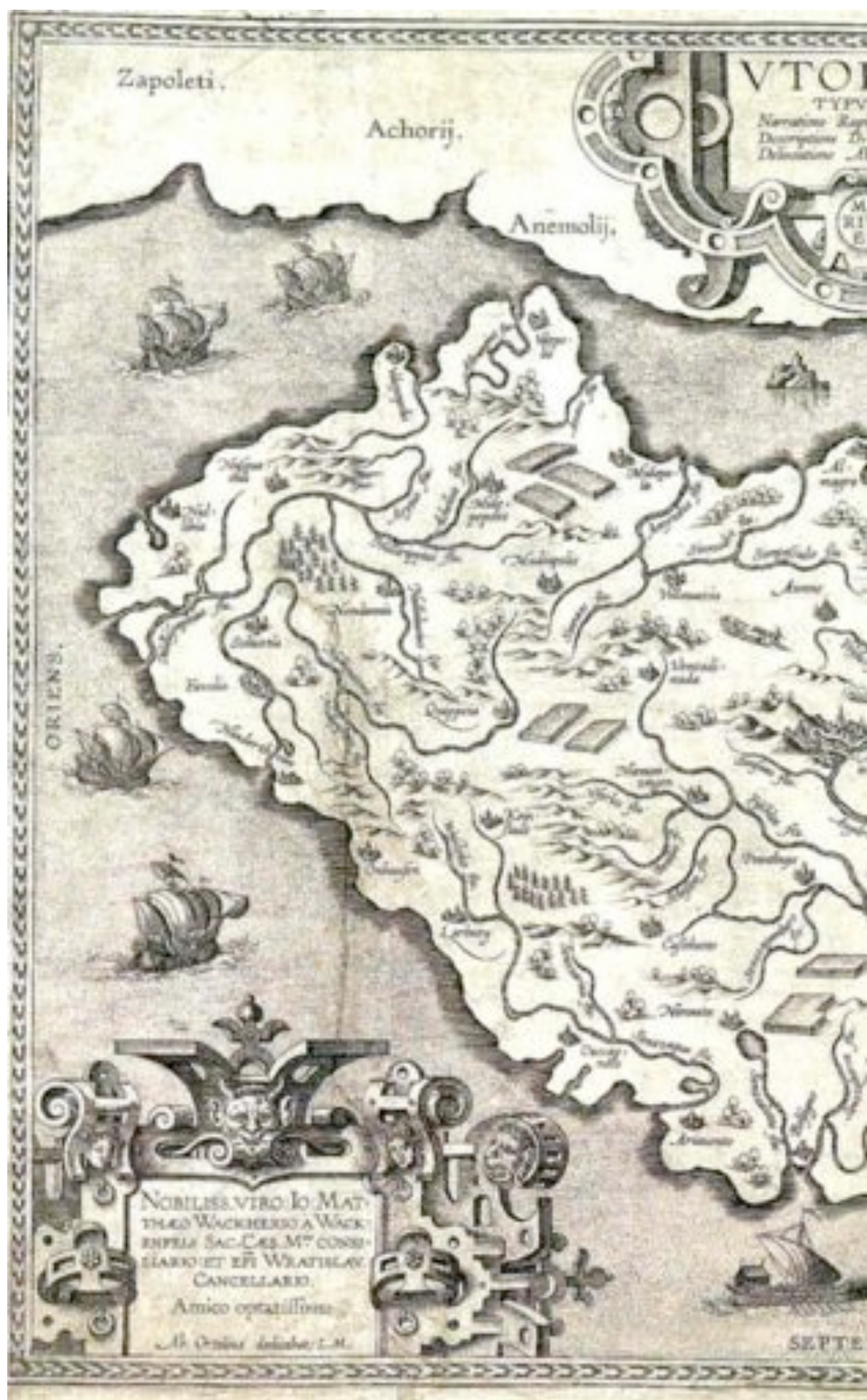
scheme and foundation of policy, that as men live happily under it, so it is like to be of great continuance; for they having rooted out of the minds of their people all the seeds both of ambition and faction, there is no danger of any commotion at home; which alone has been the ruin of many States that seemed otherwise to be well secured; but as long as they live in peace at home, and are governed by such good laws, the envy of all their neighboring princes, who have often though in vain attempted their ruin, will never be able to put their State into any commotion or disorder.

When Raphael had thus made an end of speaking, though many things occurred to me, both concerning the manners and laws of that people, that seemed very absurd, as well in their way of making war, as in their notions of religion and divine matters; together with several other particulars, but chiefly what seemed the foundation of all the rest, their living in common, without the use of money, by which all nobility, magnificence, splendor, and majesty, which, according to the common opinion, are the true ornaments of a nation, would be quite taken away;--yet since I perceived that Raphael was weary, and was not sure whether he could easily bear contradiction, remembering that he had taken notice of some who seemed to think they were bound in honor to support the credit of their own wisdom, by finding out something to censure in all other men's inventions, besides their own; I only commended their constitution, and the account he had given of it in general; and so taking him by the hand, carried him to supper, and told him I would find out some other time for examining this subject more particularly, and for discoursing more copiously upon it; and indeed I shall be glad to embrace an opportunity of doing it. In the meanwhile, though it must be confessed that he is both a very learned man, and a person who has obtained a great knowledge of the world, I cannot perfectly agree to everything he has related; however, there are many things in the Commonwealth of Utopia that I rather wish, than hope, to see followed in our governments.

**THE END**









PIAE

S. EX.  
habetur. Hic  
Thomae Mori,  
habetur. Oritur.

Macarenles.



## AD SPECTATOREM.

En tibi delineat mundi: regna nec hostis!  
 Quis natus, quis nil pulchrum orbis habet.  
 Vnde de Vagis est: ore patet: natus Amoris.  
 Infelix, ac fœdus pariter et ore longi.  
 Lædunt alia terras: glære aliæ qui fœdus. Illa  
 Vnde natus fœdus est: Vnde fœdus lœdunt.

L. 34. 41. &amp; 42. f.

Typogr. Regiæ. Deliquit. 1700. Amstel.  
 Cuius. 1700. 15. 1700. 1700.

MTRIO.





1626  
NEW ATLANTIS  
by Francis Bacon

WE sailed from Peru, where we had continued by the space of one whole year, for China and Japan, by the South Sea, taking with us victuals for twelve months; and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months' space and more. But then the wind came about, and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east; which carried us up, for all that we could do, toward the north: by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them. So that finding ourselves, in the midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victual, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, who showeth His wonders in the deep; beseeching Him of His mercy that as in the beginning He discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land, so He would now discover land to us, that we might not perish.

And it came to pass that the next day about evening we saw within a kenning before us, toward the north, as it were thick clouds, which did put us in some hope of land, knowing how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown, and might have islands or continents that hitherto were not come to light. Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land, all that night; and in the dawning of next day we might plainly discern that it was a land flat to our sight, and full of boscage, which made it show the more dark. And after an hour and a half's sailing, we entered into a good haven, being the port of a fair city. Not great, indeed, but well built, and that gave a pleasant view from the sea. And we thinking every minute long till we were on land, came close to the shore and offered to land. But straightway we saw divers of the people, with batons in their hands, as it were forbidding us to land: yet without any cries or fierceness, but only as warning us off, by signs that they made. Whereupon being not a little discomfited, we were advising with ourselves what we should do. During which time there made forth to us a small boat, with about eight persons in it, whereof one of them had in his hand a tipstaff of a yellow cane, tipped at both ends with blue, who made aboard our ship, without any show of distrust at all. And when he saw one of our number present himself somewhat afore the rest, he drew forth a little scroll of parchment (somewhat yellower than our parchment, and shining like the leaves of writing-tables, but otherwise soft and flexible), and delivered it to our foremost man. In which scroll were written in ancient Hebrew, and in ancient Greek, and in good Latin of the school, and in Spanish these words: "Land ye not, none of you, and provide to be gone from this coast within sixteen days, except you have further time given you; meanwhile, if you want fresh water, or victual, or help for your sick, or that your ship needeth repair, write down your wants, and you shall have that which belongeth to mercy." This scroll was signed with a stamp of cherubim's wings, not spread, but hanging downward; and by them a cross.

This being delivered, the officer returned, and left only a servant with us to receive our answer. Consulting hereupon among ourselves, we were much perplexed. The denial of landing, and hasty warning us away, troubled us much: on the other side, to find that the people had languages, and were so full of humanity, did comfort us not a little. And above all, the sign of the cross to that instrument was to us a great rejoicing, and as it were a certain presage of good. Our answer was in the Spanish tongue, "That for our ship, it was well; for we had rather met with calms and contrary winds, than any tempests. For our sick, they were many, and in very ill case; so that if they were not permitted to land, they ran in danger of their lives." Our other wants we set down in particular, adding, "That we had some little store of merchandise, which if it pleased them to deal for, it might supply our wants, without being chargeable unto them." We offered some reward in pistolets unto the servant, and a piece of crimson velvet to be presented to the officer; but the servant took them not, nor would scarce look upon them; and so left us, and went back in another little boat which was sent for him.

About three hours after we had despatched our answer, there came toward us a person (as it seemed) of a place. He had on him a gown with wide sleeves, of a kind of water chamolet, of an excellent azure color, far more glossy than ours; his under-apparel was green, and so was his hat, being in the form of a turban, daintily made, and not so huge as the Turkish turbans; and the locks of his hair came down below the brims of it. A reverend man was he to behold. He came in a boat, gilt in some part of it, with four persons more only in that boat; and was followed by another boat, wherein were some twenty. When he was come within a flight-shot of our ship, signs were made to us that we should send forth some to meet him upon the water, which we presently did in our ship-boat, sending the principal man amongst us save one, and four of our number with him. When we were come within six yards of their boat, they called to us to stay, and not to approach farther, which we did.

And thereupon the man, whom I before described, stood up, and with a loud voice in Spanish asked, "Are ye Christians?" We answered, "We were;" fearing the less, because of the cross we had seen in the subscription. At which answer the said person lift up his right hand toward heaven, and drew it softly to his mouth (which is the gesture they use, when they thank God), and then said: "If ye will swear, all of you, by the merits of the Saviour, that ye are no pirates; nor have shed blood, lawfully or unlawfully, within forty days past; you may have license to come on land." We said, "We were all ready to take that oath." Whereupon one of those that were with him, being (as it seemed) a notary, made an entry of this act. Which done, another of the attendants of the great person, which was with him in the same boat, after his lord had spoken a little to him, said aloud: "My lord would have you know that it is not of pride, or greatness, that he cometh not aboard your ship; but for that in your answer you declare that you have many sick amongst you, he was warned by the conservator of health of the city that he should keep a distance." We bowed ourselves toward him and answered: "We were his humble servants; and accounted for great honor and singular humanity toward us, that which was already done; but hoped well that the nature of the sickness of our men was not infectious."

So he returned; and awhile after came the notary to us aboard our ship, holding in his hand a fruit of that country, like an orange, but of color between orange-tawny and scarlet, which cast a most excellent odor. He used it (as it seemed) for a preservative against infection. He gave us our oath, "By the name of Jesus, and His merits," and after told us that the next day, by six of the clock in the morning, we should be sent to, and brought to the strangers' house (so he called it), where we should be accommodated of things, both for our whole and for our sick. So he left us; and when we offered him some pistolets, he smiling, said, "He must not be twice paid for one labor:" meaning (as I take it) that he had salary sufficient of the State for his service. For (as I after learned) they call an officer that taketh rewards twice paid.

The next morning early there came to us the same officer that came to us at first, with his cane, and told us he came to conduct us to the strangers' house; and that he had prevented the hour, because we might have the whole day before us for our business. "For," said he, "if you will follow my advice, there shall first go with me some few of you, and see the place, and how it may be made convenient for you; and then you may send for your sick, and the rest of your number which ye will bring on land." We thanked him and said, "That his care which he took of desolate strangers, God would reward." And so six of us went on land with him; and when we were on land, he went before us, and turned to us and said "he was but our servant and our guide." He led us through three fair streets; and all the way we went there were gathered some people on both sides, standing in a row; but in so civil a fashion, as if it had been, not to wonder at us, but to welcome us; and divers of them, as we passed by them, put their arms a little abroad, which is their gesture when they bid any welcome.

The strangers' house is a fair and spacious house, built of brick, of somewhat a bluer color than our brick; and with handsome windows, some of glass, some of a kind of cambric oiled. He brought

us first into a fair parlor above stairs, and then asked us "what number of persons we were? and how many sick?" We answered, "We were in all (sick and whole) one-and-fifty persons, whereof our sick were seventeen." He desired us have patience a little, and to stay till he came back to us, which was about an hour after; and then he led us to see the chambers which were provided for us, being in number nineteen. They having cast it (as it seemeth) that four of those chambers, which were better than the rest, might receive four of the principal men of our company; and lodge them alone by themselves; and the other fifteen chambers were to lodge us, two and two together. The chambers were handsome and cheerful chambers, and furnished civilly. Then he led us to a long gallery, like a dorture, where he showed us all along the one side (for the other side was but wall and window) seventeen cells, very neat ones, having partitions of cedar wood. Which gallery and cells, being in all forty (many more than we needed), were instituted as an infirmary for sick persons. And he told us withal, that as any of our sick waxed well, he might be removed from his cell to a chamber; for which purpose there were set forth ten spare chambers, besides the number we spake of before.

This done, he brought us back to the parlor, and lifting up his cane a little (as they do when they give any charge or command), said to us: "Ye are to know that the custom of the land requireth that after this day and to-morrow (which we give you for removing your people from your ship), you are to keep within doors for three days. But let it not trouble you, nor do not think yourselves restrained, but rather left to your rest and ease. You shall want nothing; and there are six of our people appointed to attend you for any business you may have abroad." We gave him thanks with all affection and respect, and said, "God surely is manifested in this land." We offered him also twenty pistolets; but he smiled, and only said: "What? Twice paid!" And so he left us. Soon after our dinner was served in; which was right good viands, both for bread and meat: better than any collegiate diet that I have known in Europe. We had also drink of three sorts, all wholesome and good: wine of the grape; a drink of grain, such as is with us our ale, but more clear; and a kind of cider made of a fruit of that country, a wonderful pleasing and refreshing drink. Besides, there were brought in to us great store of those scarlet oranges for our sick; which (they said) were an assured remedy for sickness taken at sea. There was given us also a box of small gray or whitish pills, which they wished our sick should take, one of the pills every night before sleep; which (they said) would hasten their recovery.

The next day, after that our trouble of carriage and removing of our men and goods out of our ship was somewhat settled and quiet, I thought good to call our company together, and, when they were assembled, said unto them: "My dear friends, let us know ourselves, and how it standeth with us. We are men cast on land, as Jonas was out of the whale's belly, when we were as buried in the deep; and now we are on land, we are but between death and life, for we are beyond both the Old World and the New; and whether ever we shall see Europe, God only knoweth. It is a kind of miracle hath brought us hither, and it must be little less that shall bring us hence. Therefore in regard of our deliverance past, and our danger present and to come, let us look up to God, and every man reform his own ways. Besides, we are come here among a Christian people, full of piety and humanity. Let us not bring that confusion of face upon ourselves, as to show our vices or unworthiness before them. Yet there is more, for they have by commandment (though in form of courtesy) cloistered us within these walls for three days; who knoweth whether it be not to take some taste of our manners and conditions? And if they find them bad, to banish us straightway; if good, to give us further time. For these men that they have given us for attendance, may withal have an eye upon us. Therefore, for God's love, and as we love the weal of our souls and bodies, let us so behave ourselves as we may be at peace with God and may find grace in the eyes of this people."

Our company with one voice thanked me for my good admonition, and promised me to live soberly and civilly, and without giving any the least occasion of offence. So we spent our three days joyfully, and without care, in expectation what would be done with us when they were expired. During which time, we had every hour joy of the amendment of our sick, who thought

themselves cast into some divine pool of healing, they mended so kindly and so fast.

The morrow after our three days were past, there came to us a new man, that we had not seen before, clothed in blue as the former was, save that his turban was white with a small red cross on top. He had also a tippet of fine linen. At his coming in, he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad. We of our parts saluted him in a very lowly and submissive manner; as looking that from him we should receive sentence of life or death. He desired to speak with some few of us. Whereupon six of us only stayed, and the rest avoided the room. He said: "I am by office, governor of this house of strangers, and by vocation, I am a Christian priest, and therefore am come to you to offer you my service, both as strangers and chiefly as Christians. Some things I may tell you, which I think you will not be unwilling to hear. The State hath given you license to stay on land for the space of six weeks; and let it not trouble you if your occasions ask further time, for the law in this point is not precise; and I do not doubt but myself shall be able to obtain for you such further time as shall be convenient. Ye shall also understand that the strangers' house is at this time rich and much afore-hand; for it hath laid up revenue these thirty-seven years, for so long it is since any stranger arrived in this part; and therefore take ye no care; the State will defray you all the time you stay. Neither shall you stay one day the less for that. As for any merchandise you have brought, ye shall be well used, and have your return, either in merchandise or in gold and silver, for to us it is all one. And if you have any other request to make, hide it not; for ye shall find we will not make your countenance to fall by the answer ye shall receive. Only this I must tell you, that none of you must go above a karan [that is with them a mile and a half] from the walls of the city, without special leave."

We answered, after we had looked awhile upon one another, admiring this gracious and parent-like usage, that we could not tell what to say, for we wanted words to express our thanks; and his noble free offers left us nothing to ask. It seemed to us that we had before us a picture of our salvation in heaven; for we that were awhile since in the jaws of death, were now brought into a place where we found nothing but consolations. For the commandment laid upon us, we would not fail to obey it, though it was impossible but our hearts should be inflamed to tread further upon this happy and holy ground. We added that our tongues should first cleave to the roofs of our mouths ere we should forget either this reverend person or this whole nation, in our prayers. We also most humbly besought him to accept of us as his true servants, by as just a right as ever men on earth were bounden; laying and presenting both our persons and all we had at his feet. He said he was a priest, and looked for a priest's reward, which was our brotherly love and the good of our souls and bodies. So he went from us, not without tears of tenderness in his eyes, and left us also confused with joy and kindness, saying among ourselves that we were come into a land of angels, which did appear to us daily, and prevent us with comforts, which we thought not of, much less expected.

The next day, about ten of the clock; the governor came to us again, and after salutations said familiarly that he was come to visit us, and called for a chair and sat him down; and we, being some ten of us (the rest were of the meaner sort or else gone abroad), sat down with him; and when we were set he began thus: "We of this island of Bensalem (for so they called it in their language) have this: that by means of our solitary situation, and of the laws of secrecy, which we have for our travellers, and our rare admission of strangers; we know well most part of the habitable world, and are ourselves unknown. Therefore because he that knoweth least is fittest to ask questions it is more reason, for the entertainment of the time, that ye ask me questions, than that I ask you." We answered, that we humbly thanked him that he would give us leave so to do. And that we conceived by the taste we had already, that there was no worldly thing on earth more worthy to be known than the state of that happy land. But above all, we said, since that we were met from the several ends of the world, and hoped assuredly that we should meet one day in the kingdom of heaven (for that we were both parts Christians), we desired to know (in respect that land was so remote, and so divided by vast and unknown seas from the land where our Saviour walked on earth) who was the apostle of that nation, and how it was converted to the faith? It

appeared in his face that he took great contentment in this our question; he said: "Ye knit my heart to you by asking this question in the first place; for it sheweth that you first seek the kingdom of heaven; and I shall gladly, and briefly, satisfy your demand.

"About twenty years after the ascension of our Saviour it came to pass, that there was seen by the people of Renfusa (a city upon the eastern coast of our island, within sight, the night was cloudy and calm), as it might be some mile in the sea, a great pillar of light; not sharp, but in form of a column, or cylinder, rising from the sea, a great way up toward heaven; and on the top of it was seen a large cross of light, more bright and resplendent than the body of the pillar. Upon which so strange a spectacle, the people of the city gathered apace together upon the sands, to wonder; and so after put themselves into a number of small boats to go nearer to this marvellous sight. But when the boats were come within about sixty yards of the pillar, they found themselves all bound, and could go no further, yet so as they might move to go about, but might not approach nearer; so as the boats stood all as in a theatre, beholding this light, as a heavenly sign. It so fell out that there was in one of the boats one of the wise men of the Society of Saloman's House (which house, or college, my good brethren, is the very eye of this kingdom), who having awhile attentively and devoutly viewed and contemplated this pillar and cross, fell down upon his face; and then raised himself upon his knees, and lifting up his hands to heaven, made his prayers in this manner:

"Lord God of heaven and earth; thou hast vouchsafed of thy grace, to those of our order to know thy works of creation, and true secrets of them; and to discern, as far as appertaineth to the generations of men, between divine miracles, works of nature, works of art and impostures, and illusions of all sorts. I do here acknowledge and testify before this people that the thing we now see before our eyes is thy finger, and a true miracle. And forasmuch as we learn in our books that thou never workest miracles, but to a divine and excellent end (for the laws of nature are thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon great cause), we most humbly beseech thee to prosper this great sign, and to give us the interpretation and use of it in mercy; which thou dost in some part secretly promise, by sending it unto us.'

"When he had made his prayer, he presently found the boat he was in movable and unbound; whereas all the rest remained still fast; and taking that for an assurance of leave to approach, he caused the boat to be softly and with silence rowed toward the pillar; but ere he came near it, the pillar and cross of light broke up, and cast itself abroad, as it were, into a firmament of many stars, which also vanished soon after, and there was nothing left to be seen but a small ark or chest of cedar, dry and not wet at all with water, though it swam; and in the fore end of it, which was toward him, grew a small green branch of palm; and when the wise man had taken it with all reverence into his boat, it opened of itself, and there were found in it a book and a letter, both written in fine parchment, and wrapped in sindons of linen. The book contained all the canonical books of the Old and New Testament, according as you have them (for we know well what the churches with you receive), and the Apocalypse itself; and some other books of the New Testament, which were not at that time written, were nevertheless in the book. And for the letter, it was in these words:

"I, Bartholomew, a servant of the Highest, and apostle of Jesus Christ, was warned by an angel that appeared to me in a vision of glory, that I should commit this ark to the floods of the sea. Therefore I do testify and declare unto that people where God shall ordain this ark to come to land, that in the same day is come unto them salvation and peace, and good-will from the Father, and from the Lord Jesus.'

"There was also in both these writings, as well the book as the letter, wrought a great miracle, conform to that of the apostles, in the original gift of tongues. For there being at that time, in this land, Hebrews, Persians, and Indians, besides the natives, everyone read upon the book and letter, as if they had been written in his own language. And thus was this land saved from infidelity (as the remain of the old world was from water) by an ark, through the apostolical and



miraculous evangelism of St. Bartholomew." And here he paused, and a messenger came and called him forth from us. So this was all that passed in that conference.

The next day the same governor came again to us immediately after dinner, and excused himself, saying that the day before he was called from us somewhat abruptly, but now he would make us amends, and spend time with us; if we held his company and conference agreeable. We answered that we held it so agreeable and pleasing to us, as we forgot both dangers past, and fears to come, for the time we heard him speak; and that we thought an hour spent with him was worth years of our former life. He bowed himself a little to us, and after we were set again, he said, "Well, the questions are on your part."

One of our number said, after a little pause, that there was a matter we were no less desirous to know than fearful to ask, lest we might presume too far. But, encouraged by his rare humanity toward us (that could scarce think ourselves strangers, being his vowed and professed servants), we would take the hardness to propound it; humbly beseeching him, if he thought it not fit to be answered, that he would pardon it, though he rejected it. We said, we well observed those his words, which he formerly spake, that this happy island, where we now stood, was known to few, and yet knew most of the nations of the world, which we found to be true, considering they had the languages of Europe, and knew much of our State and business; and yet we in Europe (notwithstanding all the remote discoveries and navigations of this last age) never heard any of the least inkling or glimpse of this island. This we found wonderful strange; for that all nations have interknowledge one of another, either by voyage into foreign parts, or by strangers that come to them; and though the traveller into a foreign country doth commonly know more by the eye than he that stayeth at home can by relation of the traveller; yet both ways suffice to make a mutual knowledge, in some degree, on both parts. But for this island, we never heard tell of any ship of theirs that had been seen to arrive upon any shore of Europe; no, nor of either the East or West Indies, nor yet of any ship of any other part of the world, that had made return for them. And yet the marvel rested not in this. For the situation of it (as his lordship said) in the secret conclave of such a vast sea might cause it. But then, that they should have knowledge of the languages, books, affairs, of those that lie such a distance from them, it was a thing we could not tell what to make of; for that it seemed to us a condition and propriety of divine powers and beings, to be hidden and unseen to others, and yet to have others open, and as in a light to them.

At this speech the governor gave a gracious smile and said that we did well to ask pardon for this question we now asked, for that it imported, as if we thought this land a land of magicians, that sent forth spirits of the air into all parts, to bring them news and intelligence of other countries. It was answered by us all, in all possible humbleness, but yet with a countenance taking knowledge, that we knew that he spake it but merrily. That we were apt enough to think there was somewhat supernatural in this island, but yet rather as angelical than magical. But to let his lordship know truly what it was that made us tender and doubtful to ask this question, it was not any such conceit, but because we remembered he had given a touch in his former speech, that this land had laws of secrecy touching strangers. To this he said, "You remember it aright; and therefore in that I shall say to you, I must reserve some particulars, which it is not lawful for me to reveal, but there will be enough left to give you satisfaction.

"You shall understand (that which perhaps you will scarce think credible) that about 3,000 years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world (especially for remote voyages) was greater than at this day. Do not think with yourselves, that I know not how much it is increased with you, within these threescore years; I know it well, and yet I say, greater then than now; whether it was, that the example of the ark, that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to venture upon the waters, or what it was; but such is the truth. The Phoenicians, and especially the Tyrians, had great fleets; so had the Carthaginians their colony, which is yet farther west. Toward the east the shipping of Egypt, and of Palestine, was likewise great. China also, and the great Atlantis (that you call America), which have now but junks and canoes,



abounded then in tall ships. This island (as appeareth by faithful registers of those times) had then 1,500 strong ships, of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none; but we have large knowledge thereof.

"At that time this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named. And (as it cometh to pass) they had many times men of other countries, that were no sailors, that came with them; as Persians, Chaldeans, Arabians, so as almost all nations of might and fame resorted hither; of whom we have some stirps and little tribes with us at this day. And for our own ships, they went sundry voyages, as well to your straits, which you call the Pillars of Hercules, as to other parts in the Atlantic and Mediterranean seas; as to Paguin (which is the same with Cambaline) and Quinzy, upon the Oriental seas, as far as to the borders of the East Tartary.

"At the same time, and an age after or more, the inhabitants of the great Atlantis did flourish. For though the narration and description which is made by a great man with you, that the descendants of Neptune planted there, and of the magnificent temple, palace, city, and hill; and the manifold streams of goodly navigable rivers, which as so many chains environed the same site and temple; and the several degrees of ascent, whereby men did climb up to the same, as if it had been a Scala Coeli; be all poetical and fabulous; yet so much is true, that the said country of Atlantis, as well that of Peru, then called Coya, as that of Mexico, then named Tyrambel, were mighty and proud kingdoms, in arms, shipping, and riches; so mighty, as at one time, or at least within the space of ten years, they both made two great expeditions; they of Tyrambel through the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea; and they of Coya, through the South Sea upon this our island; and for the former of these, which was into Europe, the same author among you, as it seemeth, had some relation from the Egyptian priest, whom he citeth. For assuredly, such a thing there was. But whether it were the ancient Athenians that had the glory of the repulse and resistance of those forces, I can say nothing; but certain it is there never came back either ship or man from that voyage. Neither had the other voyage of those of Coya upon us had better fortune, if they had not met with enemies of greater clemency. For the King of this island, by name Altabin, a wise man and a great warrior, knowing well both his own strength and that of his enemies, handled the matter so as he cut off their land forces from their ships, and entailed both their navy and their camp with a greater power than theirs, both by sea and land; and compelled them to render themselves without striking a stroke; and after they were at his mercy, contenting himself only with their oath, that they should no more bear arms against him, dismissed them all in safety.

"But the divine revenge overtook not long after those proud enterprises. For within less than the space of 100 years the Great Atlantis was utterly lost and destroyed; not by a great earthquake, as your man saith, for that whole tract is little subject to earthquakes, but by a particular deluge, or inundation; those countries having at this day far greater rivers, and far higher mountains to pour down waters, than any part of the old world. But it is true that the same inundation was not deep, nor past forty foot, in most places, from the ground, so that although it destroyed man and beast generally, yet some few wild inhabitants of the wood escaped. Birds also were saved by flying to the high trees and woods. For as for men, although they had buildings in many places higher than the depth of the water, yet that inundation, though it were shallow, had a long continuance, whereby they of the vale that were not drowned perished for want of food, and other things necessary. So as marvel you not at the thin population of America, nor at the rudeness and ignorance of the people; for you must account your inhabitants of America as a young people, younger a thousand years at the least than the rest of the world, for that there was so much time between the universal flood and their particular inundation.

"For the poor remnant of human seed which remained in their mountains, peopled the country again slowly, by little and little, and being simple and a savage people (not like Noah and his sons, which was the chief family of the earth), they were not able to leave letters, arts, and civility to their posterity; and having likewise in their mountainous habitations been used, in

respect of the extreme cold of those regions, to clothe themselves with the skins of tigers, bears, and great hairy goats, that they have in those parts; when after they came down into the valley, and found the intolerable heats which are there, and knew no means of lighter apparel, they were forced to begin the custom of going naked, which continueth at this day. Only they take great pride and delight in the feathers of birds, and this also they took from those their ancestors of the mountains, who were invited unto it, by the infinite flight of birds, that came up to the high grounds, while the waters stood below. So you see, by this main accident of time, we lost our traffic with the Americans, with whom of all others, in regard they lay nearest to us, we had most commerce. As for the other parts of the world, it is most manifest that in the ages following (whether it were in respect of wars, or by a natural revolution of time) navigation did everywhere greatly decay, and specially far voyages (the rather by the use of galleys, and such vessels as could hardly brook the ocean) were altogether left and omitted. So then, that part of intercourse which could be from other nations to sail to us, you see how it hath long since ceased; except it were by some rare accident, as this of yours. But now of the cessation of that other part of intercourse, which might be by our sailing to other nations, I must yield you some other cause. But I cannot say if I shall say truly, but our shipping, for number, strength, mariners, pilots, and all things that appertain to navigation, is as great as ever; and therefore why we should sit at home, I shall now give you an account by itself; and it will draw nearer, to give you satisfaction, to your principal question.

"There reigned in this land, about 1,900 years ago, a King, whose memory of all others we most adore; not superstitiously, but as a divine instrument, though a mortal man: his name was Salomana; and we esteem him as the lawgiver of our nation. This King had a large heart, inscrutable for good; and was wholly bent to make his kingdom and people happy. He, therefore, taking into consideration how sufficient and substantive this land was, to maintain itself without any aid at all of the foreigner; being 5,000 miles in circuit, and of rare fertility of soil, in the greatest part thereof; and finding also the shipping of this country might be plentifully set on work, both by fishing and by transportations from port to port, and likewise by sailing unto some small islands that are not far from us, and are under the crown and laws of this State; and recalling into his memory the happy and flourishing estate wherein this land then was, so as it might be a thousand ways altered to the worse, but scarce any one way to the better; though nothing wanted to his noble and heroic intentions, but only (as far as human foresight might reach) to give perpetuity to that which was in his time so happily established, therefore among his other fundamental laws of this kingdom he did ordain the interdicts and prohibitions which we have touching entrance of strangers; which at that time (though it was after the calamity of America) was frequent; doubting novelties and commixture of manners. It is true, the like law against the admission of strangers without license is an ancient law in the Kingdom of China, and yet continued in use. But there it is a poor thing; and hath made them a curious, ignorant, fearful, foolish nation. But our lawgiver made his law of another temper. For first, he hath preserved all points of humanity, in taking order and making provision for the relief of strangers distressed; whereof you have tasted."

At which speech (as reason was) we all rose up and bowed ourselves. He went on: "That King also still desiring to join humanity and policy together; and thinking it against humanity to detain strangers here against their wills, and against policy that they should return and discover their knowledge of this estate, he took this course; he did ordain, that of the strangers that should be permitted to land, as many at all times might depart as many as would; but as many as would stay, should have very good conditions, and means to live from the State. Wherein he saw so far, that now in so many ages since the prohibition, we have memory not of one ship that ever returned, and but of thirteen persons only, at several times, that chose to return in our bottoms. What those few that returned may have reported abroad, I know not. But you must think, whatsoever they have said, could be taken where they came but for a dream. Now for our travelling from hence into parts abroad, our lawgiver thought fit altogether to restrain it. So is it not in China. For the Chinese sail where they will, or can; which sheweth, that their law of keeping out strangers is a law of

pusillanimity and fear. But this restraint of ours hath one only exception, which is admirable; preserving the good which cometh by communicating with strangers, and avoiding the hurt: and I will now open it to you.

"And here I shall seem a little to digress, but you will by and by find it pertinent. Ye shall understand, my dear friends, that among the excellent acts of that King, one above all hath the pre-eminence. It was the erection and institution of an order, or society, which we call Saloman's House, the noblest foundation, as we think, that ever was upon the earth, and the lantern of this kingdom. It is dedicated to the study of the works and creatures of God. Some think it beareth the founder's name a little corrupted, as if it should be Solomon's House. But the records write it as it is spoken. So as I take it to be denominate of the King of the Hebrews, which is famous with you, and no strangers to us; for we have some parts of his works which with you are lost; namely, that natural history which he wrote of all plants, from the cedar of Libanus to the moss that groweth out of the wall; and of all things that have life and motion. This maketh me think that our King finding himself to symbolize, in many things, with that King of the Hebrews, which lived many years before him, honored him with the title of this foundation. And I am the rather induced to be of this opinion, for that I find in ancient records, this order or society is sometimes called Solomon's House, and sometimes the College of the Six Days' Works, whereby I am satisfied that our excellent King had learned from the Hebrews that God had created the world and all that therein is within six days: and therefore he instituted that house, for the finding out of the true nature of all things, whereby God might have the more glory in the workmanship of them, and men the more fruit in their use of them, did give it also that second name.

"But now to come to our present purpose. When the King had forbidden to all his people navigation into any part that was not under his crown, he made nevertheless this ordinance; that every twelve years there should be set forth out of this kingdom, two ships, appointed to several voyages; that in either of these ships there should be a mission of three of the fellows or brethren of Saloman's House, whose errand was only to give us knowledge of the affairs and state of those countries to which they were designed; and especially of the sciences, arts, manufactures, and inventions of all the world; and withal to bring unto us books, instruments, and patterns in every kind: that the ships, after they had landed the brethren, should return; and that the brethren should stay abroad till the new mission, the ships are not otherwise fraught than with store of victuals, and good quantity of treasure to remain with the brethren, for the buying of such things, and rewarding of such persons, as they should think fit. Now for me to tell you how the vulgar sort of mariners are contained from being discovered at land, and how they must be put on shore for any time, color themselves under the names of other nations, and to what places these voyages have been designed; and what places of rendezvous are appointed for the new missions, and the like circumstances of the practice, I may not do it, neither is it much to your desire. But thus you see we maintain a trade, not for gold, silver, or jewels, nor for silks, nor for spices, nor any other commodity of matter; but only for God's first creature, which was light; to have light, I say, of the growth of all parts of the world."

And when he had said this, he was silent, and so were we all; for indeed we were all astonished to hear so strange things so probably told. And he perceiving that we were willing to say somewhat, but had it not ready, in great courtesy took us off, and descended to ask us questions of our voyage and fortunes, and in the end concluded that we might do well to think with ourselves what time of stay we would demand of the State, and bade us not to scant ourselves; for he would procure such time as we desired. Whereupon we all rose up and presented ourselves to kiss the skirt of his tippet, but he would not suffer us, and so took his leave. But when it came once among our people that the State used to offer conditions to strangers that would stay, we had work enough to get any of our men to look to our ship, and to keep them from going presently to the governor to crave conditions; but with much ado we restrained them, till we might agree what course to take.

We took ourselves now for freemen, seeing there was no danger of our utter perdition, and lived

most joyfully, going abroad and seeing what was to be seen in the city and places adjacent, within our tedder; and obtaining acquaintance with many of the city, not of the meanest quality, at whose hands we found such humanity, and such a freedom and desire to take strangers, as it were, into their bosom, as was enough to make us forget all that was dear to us in our own countries, and continually we met with many things, right worthy of observation and relation; as indeed, if there be a mirror in the world, worthy to hold men's eyes, it is that country. One day there were two of our company bidden to a feast of the family, as they call it; a most natural, pious, and reverend custom it is, showing that nation to be compounded of all goodness. This is the manner of it; it is granted to any man that shall live to see thirty per- sons descended of his body, alive together, and all above three years old, to make this feast, which is done at the cost of the State. The father of the family, whom they call the tirsan, two days before the feast, taketh to him three of such friends as he liketh to choose, and is assisted also by the governor of the city or place where the feast is celebrated; and all the per- sons of the family, of both sexes, are summoned to attend him. These two days the tirsan sitteth in consultation, concerning the good estate of the family. There, if there be any discord or suits between any of the family, they are compounded and appeased. There, if any of the family be distressed or decayed, order is taken for their relief, and competent means to live. There, if any be subject to vice, or take ill-courses, they are reprov'd and censured. So, likewise, direction is given touching marriages, and the courses of life which any of them should take, with divers other the like orders and advices. The governor sitteth to the end, to put in execution, by his public authority, the decrees and orders of the tirsan, if they should be disobeyed, though that seldom needeth; such reverence and obedience they give to the order of nature.

The tirsan doth also then ever choose one man from among his sons, to live in house with him, who is called ever after the Son of the Vine. The reason will hereafter appear. On the feast day, the father, or tirsan, cometh forth after divine service into a large room where the feast is celebrated; which room hath a half-pace at the upper end. Against the wall, in the middle of the half-pace, is a chair placed for him, with a table and carpet before it. Over the chair is a state, made round or oval and it is of ivy; an ivy somewhat whiter than ours, like the leaf of a silver-asp, but more shining; for it is green all winter. And the state is curiously wrought with silver and silk of divers colors, broiding or binding in the ivy; and is ever of the work of some of the daughters of the family, and veiled over at the top, with a fine net of silk and silver. But the substance of it is true ivy; whereof after it is taken down, the friends of the family are desirous to have some leaf or sprig to keep. The tirsan cometh forth with all his generation or lineage, the males before him, and the females following him; and if there be a mother, from whose body the whole lineage is descended, there is a traverse placed in a loft above on the right hand of the chair, with a privy door, and a carved window of glass, leaded with gold and blue; where she sitteth, but is not seen.

When the tirsan is come forth, he sitteth down in the chair; and all the lineage place themselves against the wall, both at his back, and upon the return of the half-pace, in order of their years) without difference of sex, and stand upon their feet. When he is set, the room being always full of company, but well kept and without disorder, after some pause there cometh in from the lower end of the room a taratan (which is as much as a herald), and on either side of him two young lads: whereof one carrieth a scroll of their shining yellow parchment, and the other a cluster of grapes of gold, with a long foot or stalk. The herald and children are clothed with mantles of sea-water-green satin; but the herald's mantle is stream'd with gold, and hath a train. Then the herald with three courtesies, or rather inclinations, cometh up as far as the half-pace, and there first taketh into his hand the scroll. This scroll is the King's charter, containing gift of revenue, and many privileges, exemptions, and points of honor, granted to the father of the family; and it is ever styled and directed, "To such an one, our well- beloved friend and creditor," which is a title proper only to this case. For they say, the King is debtor to no man, but for propagation of his subjects; the seal set to the King's charter is the King's image, embossed or moulded in gold; and though such charters be expedited of course, and as of right, yet they are varied by discretion, according to the number and dignity of the family. This charter the herald readeth aloud; and

while it is read, the father, or tirsan, standeth up, supported by two of his sons, such as he chooseth.

Then the herald mounteth the half-pace, and delivereth the charter into his hand: and with that there is an acclamation, by all that are present, in their language, which is thus much, "Happy are the people of Bensalem." Then the herald taketh into his hand from the other child the cluster of grapes, which is of gold; both the stalk, and the grapes. But the grapes are daintily enamelled: and if the males of the family be the greater number, the grapes are enamelled purple, with a little sun set on the top; if the females, then they are enamelled into a green- ish yellow, with a crescent on the top. The grapes are in number as many as there are descendants of the family. This golden cluster the herald delivereth also to the tirsan; who presently delivereth it over to that son that he had formerly chosen, to be in house with him: who beareth it before his father, as an ensign of honor, when he goeth in public ever after; and is thereupon called the Son of the Vine. After this ceremony ended the father, or tirsan, retireth, and after some time cometh forth again to dinner, where he sitteth alone under the state, as before; and none of his descendants sit with him, of what degree or dignity so ever, except he hap to be of Salo- man's House. He is served only by his own children, such as are male; who perform unto him all service of the table upon the knee, and the women only stand about him, leaning against the wall. The room below his half-pace hath tables on the sides for the guests that are bidden; who are served with great and comely order; and toward the end of dinner (which in the greatest feasts with them lasteth never above an hour and a half) there is a hymn sung, varied according to the invention of him that composeth it (for they have excellent poesy), but the subject of it is always the praises of Adam, and Noah, and Abraham; whereof the former two peopled the world, and the last was the father of the faithful: concluding ever with a thanksgiving for the nativity of our Saviour, in whose birth the births of all are only blessed.

Dinner being done, the tirsan retireth again; and having withdrawn himself alone into a place, where he maketh some private prayers, he cometh forth the third time, to give the blessing; with all his descendants, who stand about him as at the first. Then he calleth them forth by one and by one, by name as he pleaseth, though seldom the order of age be inverted. The person that is called (the table being before removed) kneeleth down before the chair, and the father layeth his hand upon his head, or her head, and giveth the blessing in these words: "Son of Bensalem (or daughter of Bensalem), thy father saith it; the man by whom thou hast breath and life speaketh the word; the blessing of the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, and the Holy Dove be upon thee, and make the days of thy pilgrimage good and many." This he saith to every of them; and that done, if there be any of his sons of eminent merit and virtue, so they be not above two, he calleth for them again, and saith, laying his arm over their shoulders, they standing: "Sons, it is well you are born, give God the praise, and persevere to the end;" and withal delivereth to either of them a jewel, made in the figure of an ear of wheat, which they ever after wear in the front of their turban, or hat; this done, they fall to music and dances, and other recreations, after their manner, for the rest of the day. This is the full order of that feast.

By that time six or seven days were spent, I was fallen into straight acquaintance with a merchant of that city, whose name was Joabin. He was a Jew and circumcised; for they have some few stirps of Jews yet remaining among them, whom they leave to their own religion. Which they may the better do, because they are of a far differing disposition from the Jews in other parts. For whereas they hate the name of Christ, and have a secret inbred rancor against the people among whom they live; these, contrariwise, give unto our Saviour many high attributes, and love the nation of Bensalem extremely. Surely this man of whom I speak would ever acknowledge that Christ was born of a Virgin; and that he was more than a man; and he would tell how God made him ruler of the seraphim, which guard his throne; and they call him also the Milken Way, and the Eliah of the Messiah, and many other high names, which though they be inferior to his divine majesty, yet they are far from the language of other Jews. And for the country of Bensalem, this man would make no end of commending it, being desirous by tradition among the Jews there to have it believed that

the people thereof were of the generations of Abraham, by another son, whom they call Nachoran; and that Moses by a secret cabala ordained the laws of Bensalem which they now use; and that when the Messias should come, and sit in his throne at Hierusalem, the King of Bensalem should sit at his feet, whereas other kings should keep a great distance. But yet setting aside these Jewish dreams, the man was a wise man and learned, and of great policy, and excellently seen in the laws and customs of that nation.

Among other discourses one day I told him, I was much affected with the relation I had from some of the company of their custom in holding the feast of the family, for that, methought, I had never heard of a solemnity wherein nature did so much preside. And because propagation of families proceedeth from the nuptial copulation, I desired to know of him what laws and customs they had concerning marriage, and whether they kept marriage well, and whether they were tied to one wife? For that where population is so much affected, and such as with them it seemed to be, there is commonly permission of plurality of wives. To this he said:

"You have reason for to commend that excellent institution of the feast of the family; and indeed we have experience, that those families that are partakers of the blessings of that feast, do flourish and prosper ever after, in an extraordinary manner. But hear me now, and I will tell you what I know. You shall understand that there is not under the heavens so chaste a nation as this of Bensalem, nor so free from all pollution or foulness. It is the virgin of the world; I remember, I have read in one of your European books, of a holy hermit among you, that desired to see the spirit of fornication, and there appeared to him a little foul ugly Ethiop; but if he had desired to see the spirit of chastity of Bensalem, it would have appeared to him in the likeness of a fair beautiful cherub. For there is nothing, among mortal men, more fair and admirable than the chaste minds of this people.

"Know, therefore, that with them there are no stews, no dissolute houses, no courtesans, nor anything of that kind. Nay, they wonder, with detestation, at you in Europe, which permit such things. They say ye have put marriage out of office; for marriage is ordained a remedy for unlawful concupiscence; and natural concupiscence seemeth as a spur to marriage. But when men have at hand a remedy, more agreeable to their corrupt will, marriage is almost expelled. And therefore there are with you seen infinite men that marry not, but choose rather a libertine and impure single life, than to be yoked in marriage; and many that do marry, marry late, when the prime and strength of their years are past. And when they do marry, what is marriage to them but a very bargain; wherein is sought alliance, or portion, or reputation, with some desire (almost indifferent) of issue; and not the faithful nuptial union of man and wife, that was first instituted. Neither is it possible that those that have cast away so basely so much of their strength, should greatly esteem children (being of the same matter) as chaste men do. So likewise during marriage is the case much amended, as it ought to be if those things were tolerated only for necessity; no, but they remain still as a very affront to marriage.

"The haunting of those dissolute places, or resort to courtesans, are no more punished in married men than in bachelors. And the depraved custom of change, and the delight in meretricious embracements (where sin is turned into art), maketh marriage a dull thing, and a kind of imposition or tax. They hear you defend these things, as done to avoid greater evils; as advoutries, deflowering of virgins, unnatural lust, and the like. But they say this is a preposterous wisdom; and they call it Lot's offer, who to save his guests from abusing, offered his daughters; nay, they say further, that there is little gained in this; for that the same vices and appetites do still remain and abound, unlawful lust being like a furnace, that if you stop the flames altogether it will quench, but if you give it any vent it will rage; as for masculine love, they have no touch of it; and yet there are not so faithful and inviolate friendships in the world again as are there, and to speak generally (as I said before) I have not read of any such chastity in any people as theirs. And their usual saying is that whosoever is unchaste cannot reverence himself; and they say that the reverence of a man's self, is, next religion, the chiefest bridle of all vices."

And when he had said this the good Jew paused a little; whereupon I, far more willing to hear him speak on than to speak myself; yet thinking it decent that upon his pause of speech I should not be altogether silent, said only this; that I would say to him, as the widow of Sarepta said to Elias: "that he was come to bring to memory our sins; "and that I confess the righteousness of Bensalem was greater than the righteousness of Europe. At which speech he bowed his head, and went on this manner:

"They have also many wise and excellent laws, touching marriage. They allow no polygamy. They have ordained that none do intermarry, or contract, until a month be past from their first interview. Marriage without consent of parents they do not make void, but they mulct it in the inheritors; for the children of such marriages are not admitted to inherit above a third part of their parents' inheritance. I have read in a book of one of your men, of a feigned commonwealth, where the married couple are permitted, before they contract, to see one another naked. This they dislike; for they think it a scorn to give a refusal after so familiar knowledge; but because of many hidden defects in men and women's bodies, they have a more civil way; for they have near every town a couple of pools (which they call Adam and Eve's pools), where it is permitted to one of the friends of the man, and another of the friends of the woman, to see them severally bathe naked."

And as we were thus in conference, there came one that seemed to be a messenger, in a rich huke, that spake with the Jew; whereupon he turned to me, and said, "You will pardon me, for I am commanded away in haste." The next morning he came to me again, joyful as it seemed, and said: "There is word come to the governor of the city, that one of the fathers of Salomon's House will be here this day seven-night; we have seen none of them this dozen years. His coming is in state; but the cause of this coming is secret. I will provide you and your fellows of a good standing to see his entry." I thanked him, and told him I was most glad of the news.

The day being come he made his entry. He was a man of middle stature and age, comely of person, and had an aspect as if he pitied men. He was clothed in a robe of fine black cloth and wide sleeves, and a cape: his under-garment was of excellent white linen down to the foot, girt with a girdle of the same; and a sindon or tippet of the same about his neck. He had gloves that were curious, and set with stone; and shoes of peach-colored velvet. His neck was bare to the shoulders. His hat was like a helmet, or Spanish montero; and his locks curled below it decently; they were of color brown. His heard was cut round and of the same color with his hair, somewhat lighter. He was carried in a rich chariot, without wheels, litter-wise, with two horses at either end, richly trapped in blue velvet embroidered; and two footmen on each side in the like attire. The chariot was all of cedar, gilt and adorned with crystal; save that the fore end had panels of sapphires set in borders of gold, and the hinder end the like of emeralds of the Peru color. There was also a sun of gold, radiant upon the top, in the midst; and on the top before a small cherub of gold, with wings displayed. The chariot was covered with cloth-of-gold tissue upon blue. He had before him fifty attendants, young men all, in white satin loose coats up to the mid-leg, and stockings of white silk; and shoes of blue velvet; and hats of blue velvet, with fine plumes of divers colors, set round like hat-bands. Next before the chariot went two men, bare-headed, in linen garments down to the foot, girt, and shoes of blue velvet, who carried the one a crosier, the other a pastoral staff like a sheep-hook; neither of them of metal, but the crosier of balm-wood, the pastoral staff of cedar. Horsemen he had none, neither before nor behind his chariot; as it seemeth, to avoid all tumult and trouble. Behind his chariot went all the officers and principals of the companies of the city. He sat alone, upon cushions, of a kind of excellent plush, blue; and under his foot curious carpets of silk of divers colors, like the Persian, but far finer. He held up his bare hand, as he went, as blessing the people, but in silence. The street was wonderfully well kept; so that there was never any army had their men stand in better battle-array than the people stood. The windows likewise were not crowded, but everyone stood in them, as if they had been placed.



When the show was passed, the Jew said to me, "I shall not be able to attend you as I would, in regard of some charge the city hath laid upon me for the entertaining of this great person." Three days after the Jew came to me again, and said: "Ye are happy men; for the father of Salomon's House taketh knowledge of your being here, and commanded me to tell you that he will admit all your company to his presence, and have private conference with one of you, that ye shall choose; and for this hath appointed the next day after to-morrow. And because he meaneth to give you his blessing, he hath appointed it in the forenoon." We came at our day and hour, and I was chosen by my fellows for the private access. We found him in a fair chamber, richly hanged, and carpeted under foot, without any degrees to the state; he was set upon a low throne richly adorned, and a rich cloth of state over his head of blue satin embroidered. He was alone, save that he had two pages of honor, on either hand one, finely attired in white. His undergarments were the like that we saw him wear in the chariot; but instead of his gown, he had on him a mantle with a cape, of the same fine black, fastened about him. When we came in, as we were taught, we bowed low at our first entrance; and when we were come near his chair, he stood up, holding forth his hand ungloved, and in posture of blessing; and we every one of us stooped down and kissed the end of his tippet. That done, the rest departed, and I remained. Then he warned the pages forth of the room, and caused me to sit down beside him, and spake to me thus in the Spanish tongue:

"God bless thee, my son; I will give thee the greatest jewel I have. For I will impart unto thee, for the love of God and men, a relation of the true state of Salomon's House. Son, to make you know the true state of Salomon's House, I will keep this order. First, I will set forth unto you the end of our foundation. Secondly, the preparations and instruments we have for our works. Thirdly, the several employments and functions whereto our fellows are assigned. And fourthly, the ordinances and rites which we observe.

"The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire, to the effecting of all things possible.

"The preparations and instruments are these: We have large and deep caves of several depths; the deepest are sunk 600 fathoms; and some of them are digged and made under great hills and mountains; so that if you reckon together the depth of the hill and the depth of the cave, they are, some of them, above three miles deep. For we find that the depth of a hill and the depth of a cave from the flat are the same thing; both remote alike from the sun and heaven's beams, and from the open air. These caves we call the lower region. And we use them for all coagulations, indurations, refrigerations, and conservations of bodies. We use them likewise for the imitation of natural mines and the producing also of new artificial metals, by compositions and materials which we use and lay there for many years. We use them also sometimes (which may seem strange) for curing of some diseases, and for prolongation of life, in some hermits that choose to live there, well accommodated of all things necessary, and indeed live very long; by whom also we learn many things.

"We have burials in several earths, where we put divers cements, as the Chinese do their porcelain. But we have them in greater variety, and some of them more fine. We also have great variety of composts and soils, for the making of the earth fruitful.

"We have high towers, the highest about half a mile in height, and some of them likewise set upon high mountains, so that the vantage of the hill with the tower is in the highest of them three miles at least. And these places we call the upper region, account the air between the high places and the low as a middle region. We use these towers, according to their several heights and situations, for insulation, refrigeration, conservation, and for the view of divers meteors -- as winds, rain, snow, hail, and some of the fiery meteors also. And upon them in some places are dwellings of hermits, whom we visit sometimes and instruct what to observe.

"We have great lakes, both salt and fresh, whereof we have use for the fish and fowl. We use them

also for burials of some natural bodies, for we find a difference in things buried in earth, or in air below the earth, and things buried in water. We have also pools, of which some do strain fresh water out of salt, and others by art do turn fresh water into salt. We have also some rocks in the midst of the sea, and some bays upon the shore for some works, wherein are required the air and vapor of the sea. We have likewise violent streams and cataracts, which serve us for many motions; and likewise engines for multiplying and enforcing of winds to set also on divers motions.

"We have also a number of artificial wells and fountains, made in imitation of the natural sources and baths, as tinted upon vitriol, sulphur, steel, brass, lead, nitre, and other minerals; and again, we have little wells for infusions of many things, where the waters take the virtue quicker and better than in vessels or basins. And among them we have a water, which we call water of paradise, being by that we do it made very sovereign for health and prolongation of life.

"We have also great and spacious houses, where we imitate and demonstrate meteors -- as snow, hail, rain, some artificial rains of bodies and not of water, thunders, lightnings; also generations of bodies in air -- as frogs, flies, and divers others.

"We have also certain chambers, which we call chambers of health, where we qualify the air as we think good and proper for the cure of divers diseases and preservation of health.

"We have also fair and large baths, of several mixtures, for the cure of diseases, and the restoring of man's body from infirmity; and others for the confirming of it in strength of sinews, vital parts, and the very juice and substance of the body.

"We have also large and various orchards and gardens, wherein we do not so much respect beauty as variety of ground and soil, proper for divers trees and herbs, and some very spacious, where trees and berries are set, whereof we make divers kinds of drinks, beside the vineyards. In these we practise likewise all conclusions of grafting, and inoculating, as well of wild-trees as fruit-trees, which produceth many effects. And we make by art, in the same orchards and gardens, trees and flowers, to come earlier or later than their seasons, and to come up and bear more speedily than by their natural course they do. We make them also by art greater much than their nature; and their fruit greater and sweeter, and of differing taste, smell, color, and figure, from their nature. And many of them we so order as that they become of medicinal use.

"We have also means to make divers plants rise by mixtures of earths without seeds, and likewise to make divers new plants, differing from the vulgar, and to make one tree or plant turn into another.

"We have also parks, and enclosures of all sorts, of beasts and birds; which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby may take light what may be wrought upon the body of man. Wherein we find many strange effects: as continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance, and the like. We try also all poisons, and other medicines upon them, as well of chirurgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or smaller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth; we make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in color, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures and copulations of divers kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is. We make a number of kinds of serpents, worms, flies, fishes of putrefaction, whereof some are advanced (in effect) to be perfect creatures, like beasts or birds, and have sexes, and do propagate. Neither do we this by chance, but we know beforehand of what matter and commixture, what kind of those creatures will arise.

"We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts

and birds.

"We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use; such as are with you your silkworms and bees.

"I will not hold you long with recounting of our brew- houses, bake-houses, and kitchens, where are made divers drinks, breads, and meats, rare and of special effects. Wines we have of grapes, and drinks of other juice, of fruits, of grains, and of roots, and of mixtures with honey, sugar, manna, and fruits dried and decocted; also of the tears or wounding of trees and of the pulp of canes. And these drinks are of several ages, some to the age or last of forty years. We have drinks also brewed with several herbs and roots and spices; yea, with several fleshs and white meats; whereof some of the drinks are such as they are in effect meat and drink both, so that divers, especially in age, do desire to live with them with little or no meat or bread. And above all we strive to have drinks of extreme thin parts, to insinuate into the body, and yet without all biting, sharpness, or fretting; insomuch as some of them put upon the back of your hand, will with a little stay pass through to the palm, and yet taste mild to the mouth. We have also waters, which we ripen in that fashion, as they become nourishing, so that they are indeed excellent drinks, and many will use no other. Bread we have of several grains, roots, and kernels; yea, and some of flesh, and fish, dried; with divers kinds of leavings and seasonings; so that some do extremely move appetites, some do nourish so as divers do live of them, without any other meat, who live very long. So for meats, we have some of them so beaten, and made tender, and mortified, yet without all corrupting, as a weak heat of the stomach will turn them into good chylus, as well as a strong heat would meat otherwise prepared. We have some meats also and bread, and drinks, which, taken by men, enable them to fast long after; and some other, that used make the very flesh of men's bodies sensibly more hard and tough, and their strength far greater than otherwise it would be.

"We have dispensatories or shops of medicines; wherein you may easily think, if we have such variety of plants, and living creatures, more than you have in Europe (for we know what you have), the simples, drugs, and ingredients of medicines, must likewise be in so much the greater variety. We have them likewise of divers ages, and long fermentations. And for their preparations, we have not only all manner of exquisite distillations, and separations, and especially by gentle heats, and percolations through divers strainers, yea, and substances; but also exact forms of composition, whereby they incorporate almost as they were natural simples.

"We have also divers mechanical arts, which you have not; and stuffs made by them, as papers, linen, silks, tissues, dainty works of feathers of wonderful lustre, excellent dyes, and many others, and shops likewise as well for such as are not brought into vulgar use among us, as for those that are. For you must know, that of the things before recited, many of them are grown into use throughout the kingdom, but yet, if they did flow from our invention, we have of them also for patterns and principals.

"We have also furnaces of great diversities, and that keep great diversity of heats; fierce and quick, strong and constant, soft and mild, blown, quiet, dry, moist, and the like. But above all we have heats, in imitation of the sun's and heavenly bodies' heats, that pass divers inequalities, and as it were orbs, progresses, and returns whereby we produce admirable effects. Besides, we have heats of dung, and of bellies and maws of living creatures and of their bloods and bodies, and of hays and herbs laid up moist, of lime unquenched, and such like. Instruments also which generate heat only by motion. And farther, places for strong insulations; and, again, places under the earth, which by nature or art yield heat. These divers heats we use as the nature of the operation which we intend requireth.

"We have also perspective houses, where we make demonstrations of all lights and radiations and of all colors; and out of things uncolored and transparent we can represent unto you all several colors, not in rainbows, as it is in gems and prisms, but of themselves single. We

represent also all multiplications of light, which we carry to great distance, and make so sharp as to discern small points and lines. Also all colorations of light: all delusions and deceits of the sight, in figures, magnitudes, motions, colors; all demonstrations of shadows. We find also divers means, yet unknown to you, of producing of light, originally from divers bodies. We procure means of seeing objects afar off, as in the heaven and remote places; and represent things near as afar off, and things afar off as near; making feigned distances. We have also helps for the sight far above spectacles and glasses in use; we have also glasses and means to see small and minute bodies, perfectly and distinctly; as the shapes and colors of small flies and worms, grains, and flaws in gems which cannot otherwise be seen, observations in urine and blood not otherwise to be seen. We make artificial rainbows, halos, and circles about light. We represent also all manner of reflections, refractions, and multiplications of visual beams of objects.

"We have also precious stones, of all kinds, many of them of great beauty and to you unknown, crystals likewise, and glasses of divers kind; and among them some of metals vitrified, and other materials, besides those of which you make glass. Also a number of fossils and imperfect minerals, which you have not. Likewise loadstones of prodigious virtue, and other rare stones, both natural and artificial.

"We have also sound-houses, where we practise and demonstrate all sounds and their generation. We have harmony which you have not, of quarter-sounds and lesser slides of sounds. Divers instruments of music likewise to you unknown, some sweeter than any you have; with bells and rings that are dainty and sweet. We represent small sounds as great and deep, likewise great sounds extenuate and sharp; we make divers tremblings and warblings of sounds, which in their original are entire. We represent and imitate all articulate sounds and letters, and the voices and notes of beasts and birds. We have certain helps which, set to the ear, do further the hearing greatly; we have also divers strange and artificial echoes, reflecting the voice many times, and, as it were, tossing it; and some that give back the voice louder than it came, some shriller and some deeper; yea, some rendering the voice, differing in the letters or articulate sound from that they receive. We have all means to convey sounds in trunks and pipes, in strange lines and distances.

"We have also perfume-houses, wherewith we join also practices of taste. We multiply smells which may seem strange: we imitate smells, making all smells to breathe out of other mixtures than those that give them. We make divers imitations of taste likewise, so that they will deceive any man's taste. And in this house we contain also a confiture-house, where we make all sweatmeats, dry and moist, and divers pleasant wines, milks, broths, and salads, far in greater variety than you have.

"We have also engine-houses, where are prepared engines and instruments for all sorts of motions. There we imitate and practise to make swifter motions than any you have, either out of your muskets or any engine that you have; and to make them and multiply them more easily and with small force, by wheels and other means, and to make them stronger and more violent than yours are, exceeding your greatest cannons and basilisks. We represent also ordnance and instruments of war and engines of all kinds; and likewise new mixtures and compositions of gunpowder, wild-fires burning in water and unquenchable, also fire-works of all variety, both for pleasure and use. We imitate also flights of birds; we have some degrees of flying in the air. We have ships and boats for going under water and brooking of seas, also swimming-girdles and supporters. We have divers curious clocks and other like motions of return, and some perpetual motions. We imitate also motions of living creatures by images of men, beasts, birds, fishes, and serpents; we have also a great number of other various motions, strange for equality, fineness, and subtilty.

"We have also a mathematical-house, where are represented all instruments, as well of geometry as astronomy, exquisitely made.

"We have also houses of deceits of the senses, where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures and illusions, and their fallacies. And surely you will easily believe that we, that have so many things truly natural which induce admiration, could in a world of particulars deceive the senses if we would disguise those things, and labor to make them more miraculous. But we do hate all impostures and lies, insomuch as we have severely forbidden it to all our fellows, under pain of ignominy and fines, that they do not show any natural work or thing adorned or swelling, but only pure as it is, and without all affectation of strangeness.

"These are, my son, the riches of Salomon's House.

"For the several employments and offices of our fellows, we have twelve that sail into foreign countries under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal), who bring us the books and abstracts, and patterns of experiments of all other parts. These we call merchants of light.

"We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call depredators.

"We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts, and also of liberal sciences, and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call mystery-men.

"We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good. These we call pioneers or miners.

"We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call compilers. We have three that bend themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for man's life and knowledge, as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations, and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call dowry-men or benefactors.

"Then after divers meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labors and collections, we have three that take care out of them to direct new experiments, of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call lamps.

"We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call inoculators.

"Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call interpreters of nature.

"We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also: we have consultations, which of the inventions and experiences which we have discovered shall be published, and which not; and take all an oath of secrecy for the concealing of those which we think fit to keep secret; though some of those we do reveal sometime to the State, and some not.

"For our ordinances and rites we have two very long and fair galleries. In one of these we place patterns and samples of all manner of the more rare and excellent inventions; in the other we place the statues of all principal inventors. There we have the statue of your Columbus, that discovered the West Indies, also the inventor of ships, your monk that was the inventor of ordnance and of gunpowder, the inventor of music, the inventor of letters, the inventor of printing, the inventor of observations of astronomy, the inventor of works in metal, the inventor of glass, the inventor of silk of the worm, the inventor of wine, the inventor of corn and bread, the

inventor of sugars; and all these by more certain tradition than you have. Then we have divers inventors of our own, of excellent works; which, since you have not seen) it were too long to make descriptions of them; and besides, in the right understanding of those descriptions you might easily err. For upon every invention of value we erect a statue to the inventor, and give him a liberal and honorable reward. These statues are some of brass, some of marble and touchstone, some of cedar and other special woods gilt and adorned; some of iron, some of silver, some of gold.

"We have certain hymns and services, which we say daily, of laud and thanks to God for His marvellous works. And forms of prayers, imploring His aid and blessing for the illumination of our labors; and turning them into good and holy uses.

"Lastly, we have circuits or visits, of divers principal cities of the kingdom; where as it cometh to pass we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempest, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and divers other things; and we give counsel thereupon, what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them."

And when he had said this he stood up, and I, as I had been taught, knelt down; and he laid his right hand upon my head, and said: "God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it, for the good of other nations; for we here are in God's bosom, a land unknown." And so he left me; having assigned a value of about 2,000 ducats for a bounty to me and my fellows. For they give great largesses, where they come, upon all occasions.

**[THE REST WAS NOT PERFECTED.]**

**End.**





# UTOPIENSIVM ALPHABETVM.

a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t v x y  
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

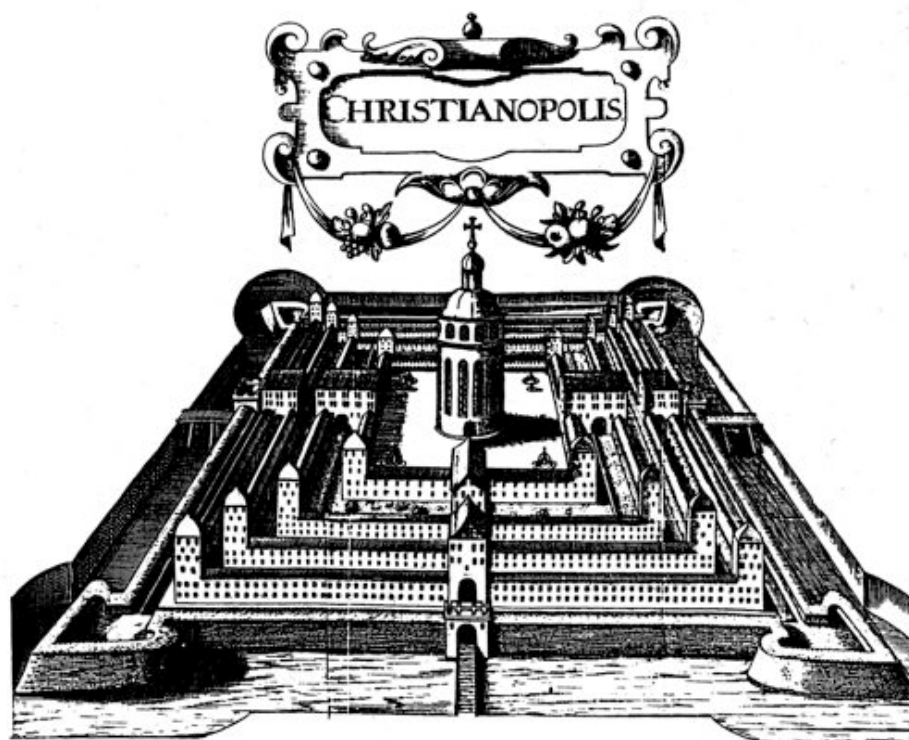
## Tetraftichon vernacula Vtopiensium lingua.

|                 |                 |                 |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Vtopos          | ha              | Boccas          | peti            | la              |
| 0123456789      | 1011121314      | 1516171819      | 2021222324      | 2526272829      |
| chama           |                 | polta           | chamaan         |                 |
| 3031323334      | 3536373839      | 4041424344      | 4546474849      | 5051525354      |
| Bargol          | he              | maglomi         | baccan          |                 |
| 5556575859      | 6061626364      | 6566676869      | 7071727374      | 7576777879      |
| foma            | gymno           | sophaon         |                 |                 |
| 8081828384      | 8586878889      | 9091929394      | 9596979899      | 100101102103104 |
| Agrama          | gymnosophon     | labarembacha    |                 |                 |
| 105106107108109 | 110111112113114 | 115116117118119 | 120121122123124 | 125126127128129 |
| bodamilomin     |                 |                 |                 |                 |
| 130131132133134 | 135136137138139 | 140141142143144 | 145146147148149 | 150151152153154 |
| Voluala         | barchin         | heman           | la              |                 |
| 155156157158159 | 160161162163164 | 165166167168169 | 170171172173174 | 175176177178179 |
| lauoluola       | dramme          | pagloni.        |                 |                 |
| 180181182183184 | 185186187188189 | 190191192193194 | 195196197198199 | 200201202203204 |

Horum versuum ad verbum hæc est sententia,

Vtopus me dux ex non insula fecit insulam  
 Vna ego terrarum omnium absq; philosophia  
 Ciuitatem philosophicam expressi mortalibus  
 Libeter impartio mea, nõ grauati accipio meliora,



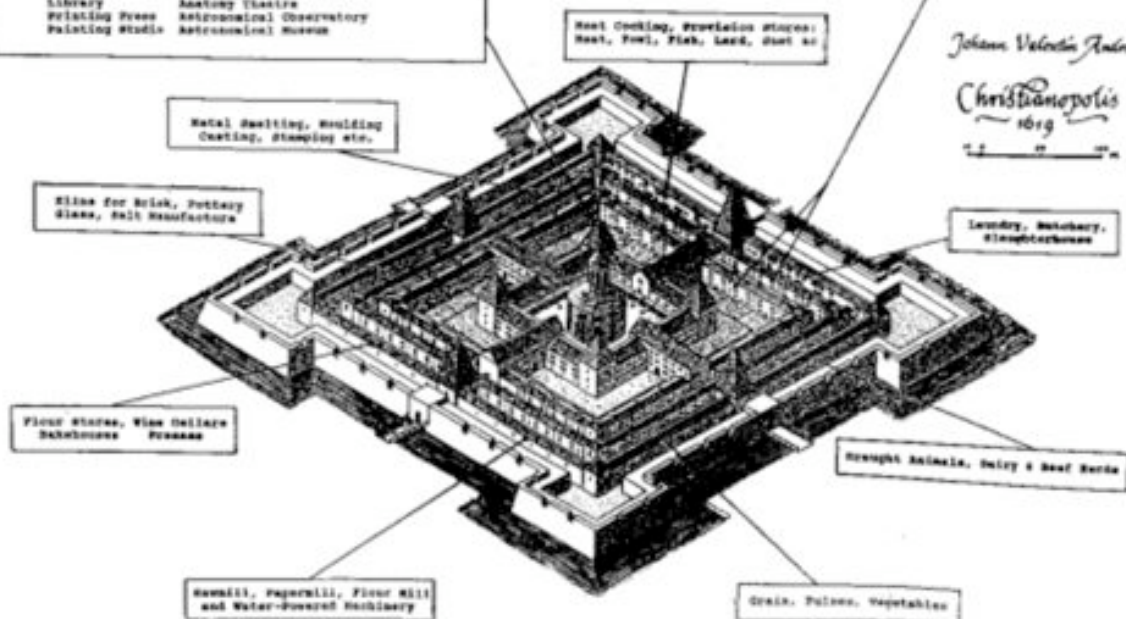


| College Curriculum |                     |                      |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Grammar            | Rhetoric            | Modern Languages     |
| Logic              | Metaphysics         | Theology             |
| Arithmetic         | Geometry            | Logic                |
| Music              | Musical Instruments | Music                |
| Astronomy          | Astronomy           | The Christian Heaven |
| Natural History    | Natural History     | Church History       |
| Philosophy         | Political Science   | Christian Poverty    |
| Theology           | Practical Theology  | Prophecy             |

| Ground Floor of the College |                          |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Treasury                    | Chemical Laboratory      |
| Armoury                     | Natural History Museum   |
| Archives                    | Pharmacy & Herb Garden   |
| Library                     | Anatomy Theatre          |
| Printing Press              | Astronomical Observatory |
| Painting Studio             | Astronomical Museum      |

| Superior Crafts              | Inferior Crafts                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Clockmakers                  | Shoemakers, Sailmakers            |
| Goldsmiths                   | Seamers, Tins, Blacksmiths        |
| Coppersmiths                 | Joiners, Carpenters               |
| Woodcarvers                  | Turners, Carvers                  |
| Smiths                       | Stonemasons, Plasterers           |
| Engravers, Gold-leaf Workers | Painters, Glassmakers             |
| Alchemists etc.              | Fullers, Weavers, Furriers        |
|                              | Tanners, Cordwainers, Rope-makers |



JOHANN VALENTIN ANDREAE  
CHRISTIANOPOLIS  
AN IDEAL STATE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Thou Most Noble and Worthy Man, John Arndt, Reverend Father in Christ.

This our new state recognizes and respects thee; for inasmuch as this colony has its source in that Jerusalem which thou didst build with mighty spirit, against the wishes of the sophists, it is impossible not to refer all things to thee, to give thee thanks for the institutions and laws, to beseech thee at the same time not to think it beneath thee to communicate out of thy kindness what in thine opinion should be added or changed. So may God grant to thy most honored old age that thou mayest see as many as possible heeding thine interpretation of loyalty, uprightness, and scholarship. Farewell, reverend father in Christ, and continue thou to commend me to God as I give heed to thee.

Jan. i, 1619. R.D.T.  
Most faithfully,  
Joh. Valentin Andreae.

HAIL, CHRISTIAN READER.

I see two classes of men in the commonwealth. A class of those who do not so much approve of those things over which they are set or under which they are placed, as they admire them and defend them to the teeth. The other class, men who endure human affairs, but in such a way, it is true, that they do not hesitate to wish for better things and to obey moderate changes. But as the latter class never readily causes disturbance, because of backwardness and sense, but rather as far as possible gives way, is silent and tolerant; so also the former, because of blind madness and lack of self-control, attack, torment, and not rarely drag those into the conflict who merely grumble at them though they may not at all desire it. Of this, Antichrist gave us the clearest example when he oppressed the church of Christ with wicked burdens. And it is surprising that there were people who, though perhaps they may not have approved of such baseness, at least tolerated it. Be that as it may, it was admitted and done so disgustingly that when some sought a correction of such terrible disgraces in the most temperate way, they were given over to punishment, proscribed from the protection of law, and torn by God knows what curses; until, as men's minds became enraged with the indignity of the thing, an impulse was given to restore light and dispel the darkness. What now may be the cause of this, since it opposes all reason, is not very clear. For whether it be a spirit of ambition, which will suffer correction from no one, or whether it be greed, which does so flourish among men; whether it be a mental dullness which makes no choice or distinction between good and evil, or whether people foolishly become accustomed to things in a way that lessens all ugliness all this does not at all compare with the great boldness with which we ourselves oppose the most evident truth and the most hoped for good. And so many believe, and not without reason, that this cloud was sent by God upon the minds of the wicked, lest they should conform to the modesty of the good, which can be done with moderate and tolerable means; that, once convicted of their impudent wickedness and regarded as unworthy of being yielded to farther, they may be compelled to do greater things, and thus, when the mask is removed, lose their influence among the people.

It was thus that our hero Doctor Luther proceeded; when men would not heed his prayers and tears, he began to breathe threats out of the Word of God. Accomplishing nothing by submissiveness, he began to rise up. 'When he had carried on siege for a long time, he began to storm the opposing power, and with such success, that WE REJOICE though they gnash their teeth. I am rather inclined to think that this very drama may be played again in our own day. The light of a purer religion has dawned upon us; in accordance with it, the administration of public affairs has been regulated, and the brilliancy of letters and arts has been restored; we may be able

entirely to triumph over many conquered enemies superstition, dissoluteness, and rudeness.

But the secret snares of the Devil give us trouble, as a result of which our rejoicing is made less firm, and a mere name without the substance is left us. For though all our doings should be patterned after our Christ, whose name we bear and confess, yet it happens on account of our weak indulgence that Christians differ in no respect from men of

the world. For whether we look at the churches, the courts, or the universities nowhere is there a lack of unscrupulous ambition, greed, gluttony, license, jealousy, idleness, and other mastering vices at which Christ violently shuddered, but in which we chiefly delight. From this may very easily be imagined the joy of the Devil, who when he has secretly stolen from us the kernel, gladly allows us to glory in the shells and rinds, and it is easy to notice our simpleness in that we are content with the bare shadow of anything, though we listen like religious, polished, and educated men. And yet that impostor does not deceive all, and least of all those who have a higher light within.

Very many of these, men of most fervent spirit, have lifted their voices loudly even before us, and will continue to do so very zealously in the future also. From their number I will mention only Doctor John Gerhard, Doctor John Arndt, and Doctor Mart. Moller, as especially deserving it of me, most upright theological scholars, although the last named is a little disturbed on the subject of the Lord's Supper. When these men noticed that the whole world was resounding with disputations, so that the spirit of Christ could hardly be heard through them, they desired greatly to procure intermittent silence, which should be devoted to piety and should permit a breathing space after the heat of disputing, and thus unite scholarship with uprightness in such a way that each might add splendor to the other. This was asked for very modestly, and allowed with the greatest ill will. Since the bishops of the churches would acknowledge the presence of no simony, the political leaders no dishonesty, the university no lack of education, being warned against devotedness, uprightness, and letters, they were accused of treason. If we put faith in those who answer the argument, it will appear that the whole church is full of windows, into which anyone may fly whenever it pleases him, and where he may whisper to his liking; the republic, a market place where vices may be bought and sold; the academy, a labyrinth in which it is a game and an art to wander about; and whatever is squandered upon these is pure gain. Defenders arose who were willing to be betrayed; good people would have taken oath upon their innocence, while now the evil ones detest the public testimony of their evil deeds. For the erring world would much prefer to have its acts concealed than to have them praised in public.

Those who perform sacrifice in the church have grown incensed because the security or rather the nothingness of their calling, the carelessness of their sermons, their culture, smacking all too much of the world, are not approved. And yet the churchmen forbid all this. The greedy ones of the world roared because the harshness of their law, the license of their morals, the accumulation of their riches, their contempt of eternity were not praised. And yet even their own civil authority prohibits these. Teachers of letters babbled on behalf of their lack of knowledge of the arts, lack of languages, cheapness of their academic degrees, the insatiable depth of their expenses, and even against the direct wishes of scholarship; and so, as ignorance was willing or rather required it, hypocrisy has undertaken and violently usurped the protection of religion, tyranny that of civil authority, quibbling that of letters, it is true, with many and diverse judgments; but the champions of God, or the servants of a good cause, remained unafraid. For though particularly of some they might have hoped for and expected greater fairness, learning, and especially greater moderation, who were thought to be well versed in the affairs of the state, and of great merit; yet anyone who has once examined the world more closely, has clearly noticed that nothing is more intolerable to impostors, than truth and uprightness; and they hate these so thoroughly that, in the impotency of their wrath and forgetful of themselves, they throw off their masks, covers, and wrappings, rush forth bare, and thus give way the secret of their wickedness. No sensible man can see without repulsion how basely gluttony in the midst of the church, moral

looseness in the very public square and in the schools, empty titles without stability, and prodigality without limit are overlooked nay, even commended and brought before the public. This is just the reason why these persons, from whom one would least expect it, give way and yield to truth more readily, since when once convicted of their own mistakes they find nothing left except infamous impudence and low banter; and with these they try in vain to exonerate themselves. And so with their innate politeness they hear and bear reproofs; they confess their faults or their mental darkness, the inventions of the Devil, the force of habits, credulity, and other shackles of the same sort; and wish that they were faultless again.

A certain fraternity, in my opinion a joke, but according to theologians a serious matter, has brought forth evident proof of this very thing. As soon as it promised, instead of the taste of the curious public, the greatest and most unusual things, even those things which men generally want, it added also the exceptional hope of the correction of the present corrupted state of affairs, and even further, the imitation of the acts of Christ. What a confusion among men followed the report of this thing, what a conflict among the learned, what an unrest and commotion of impostors and swindlers, it is entirely needless to say. There is just this one thing which we would like to add, that there were some who in this blind terror wished to have their old, out-of-date, and falsified affairs entirely retained and defended with force. Some hastened to surrender the strength of their opinions; and, after they had made accusation against the severest yoke of their servitude, hastened to reach out after freedom. And then, to get closer to the matter in hand, there were some who made accusation against the principles of Christian life as heresy and fanaticism. Others even embraced this with a whole heart. While these people quarreled among themselves, and crowded the shops, they gave many others leisure to look into and judge these questions. Of this now we have this benefit, that, as it seems to us, the world is not so sure of its affairs as it would like to seem, nor is it so steadfast in its views that it cannot be turned aside; nor yet (and this is the chief point) are all so far from Christ that no one would be willing to admit His rules of life and then regulate his own life according to them, if the opportunity were given. Moreover I am prone to praise the judgment of a man of the most noble qualities in piety, ethics, and nature who, when he saw that men were undecided and for the most part deceived by the report of that brotherhood, answered, " If these reforms seem proper, why do we not try them ourselves? Let us not wait for them to do it.", meaning that there was nothing to hinder us from learning these things from the Gospels and making the attempt from the praiseworthy examples of devoted Christians, if we really wished to imitate the life of Christ and improve our daily lives. For we certainly would not commit such an injury against Christ and His Word, as to prefer to learn the way of salvation and emulate it, from some society (if there really is such a one) hazy, omniscient only in the eyes of its own boastfulness, with a sewn shield for an emblem and marred with many foolish ceremonies, than from Him who is Himself the Way, the Truth, and the Life, whose precepts are so in evidence and so easily located that we have to make use of the greatest subterfuges and evasions to avoid them. For if our conscience urges us that we have ground for complaint against the too great security of religion, the impurity of life, and the mockeries of learning, what shall hinder us from driving out of ourselves at least (if others do not desire it) the vices of life, from planting virtues instead, and from joining closer to our Christ whom we fear is farthest removed from our affairs?

It is quite certain that nothing gives this permission to us or to Christ except the fear of the judgments of men, which attempts to preserve us from our own friends and the usual customs of life, and to keep for us the good will of men; yet which none the less a little later hurls us through the difficulties of this age, to groan and grieve when it is too late, naturally, because we have given faith to the world and denied it to Christ. And this is to be considered the best determination, which, when the Word of God has been heard 'md accepted, does not look to men or to any society or assembly for approval, but stands at the command of God [ and of the human conscience, walks zealously under the direction of the Holy Spirit, and bears unjust criticism no more unwillingly than the croaking of frogs; since altogether it is evident that only a very few people dare to attack piety, uprightness, and character in the open, but by circumlocutions rather

trifle, lie, or try to devise something a'c which after a while they can bark. And so you will hear fi rst of all the words " fanatic/' " turbulent," and " a dang,er to literature "; then you will be accused and will have to look at the wounds of a chimsera and the conflicts of blind gladiators. But if you quietly put your faith in a clear conscience, you will yet take the greatest joy with you. Now, my excellent reader, you see as an evident example of this Christian security, this new Republic which it seems best to call Christianopolis. For inasmuch as other people (and I myself also) do not like to be corrected, I have built this city for myself where I may exercise the dictatorship. And if you should call my own insignificant body by this name, perhaps you would not be so far from the truth. But even as the laws almost everywhere are good and yet the morals of the people loose, so I fear you will suspect that the case is the same with the citizens of my state. However that may be, I have determined not to praise my citizens, but to describe them; and to reveal and communicate to you according to what statutes we are commanded to live. I could not speak to you' about different things more frankly or freely, I could not giy^ you the facts with less restriction, nor draw forth your opinion more unreservedly than in this manner. Whether you approve or disapprove of this matter I shall praise you, provided you give answer with like candor. But if you answer me with some sophism, nothing will be easier for me txhan to bear your unfavorable criticisms and ignore you. Itf you find our state at all attractive, nothing shall be denied?you; if you decline it, nothing shall be thrust upon you. My citizens do neither waste their own substance nor do they covet yours. Furthermore they are willing to accept whatever you care to give them, and they are glad to give you whatever you desire. Our laws compel or constrain no one; the'y do persuade standing forth with the Word of God and nc?>t giving way to Satan. Moreover, they admit every good man as an adviser. The structure has no art, but abundant simplicity.

We have not told everything. Perhaps we have said more than the wicked can stand less than we offer to the good, however often they may wish it mentioned.

Finally let me say, it is a public show, a thing which has not been said to the disadvantage of the famous Thomas More. As far as concerns my own work, it ought to be more easily laid aside as not being as serious or as clever as his. I have written to my friends, since one can joke with them; I should not dare to write to eminent men, even if I wished\* to do so; I should not be able to if I dared; and I should not want to if they permitted it. So great is my respect for them, such the knowledge and confession of my inexperience. At any rate, those may read who wish to, and let them remember that among friends many imperfections are overlooked which would not stand the critical test of evil wishers. If anyone doubts the truth of my story, let him put off passing judgment until all reports of wanderings and sea travels have been made. But the safest way will be (provided Heaven permits, the land does not interfere, and the sea is calm, with Christ the guide of your voyage, and your comrades all desirous of a just life), for you to embark upon your vessel which has the sign of the Cancer for its distinctive mark, sail for Christianopolis yourself with favorable conditions, and there investigate everything very accurately in the fear of God. So farewell, my Christian reader, and gird you on the road to heaven.

## CONCERNING THE STATE OF CHRISTIANOPOLIS.

### I.

#### THE REASON FOR THE JOURNEY, AND THE SHIPWRECK.

While wandering as a stranger on the earth, suffering much in patience from tyranny, sophistry, and hypocrisy, seeking a man, and not finding what I so anxiously sought, I decided to launch out once more upon the Academic Sea though the latter had very often been hurtful to me. And so ascending the good ship, Phantasy, I left the port together with many others and exposed my life and person to the thousand dangers that go with desire for knowledge. For a short space of time conditions favored our voyage; then adverse storms of envy and calumny stirred up the Ethiopian Sea x against us and removed all hope of calm weather. The efforts of the skipper and the oarsmen

were exerted to the limit, our own stubborn love of life would not give up, and even the vessel resisted the rocks; but the force of the sea always proved stronger. Finally when all hope was lost and we, rather of necessity than on account of bravery of soul, had prepared to die, the ship collapsed and we sank. Some were swallowed up by the sea, some were scattered to great distances, while some who could swim or who found planks to float upon, were carried to different islands scattered throughout this sea.

Very few escaped death, and I alone, without a single comrade, was at length driven to a very minute islet, a mere piece of turf, as it seemed.

## II.

### DRIVEN TO THE ISLAND, CAPHAR SALAMA.

Everything here pleased me, except I did not please myself. The island, moreover, small though it had appeared, had a great abundance of all things, and there was not a foot of soil to be seen which was not under cultivation or in some way put to use for mankind. The site of the island, such as I found it to be a little later, I will not refuse to explain. It is in the Antarctic zone, io of the south pole, 20 of the equinoctial circle, and about 12 under the point of the bull. 1 To trifling minutiae I will never answer. The form is that of a triangle, whose perimeter is about 30 miles. This island is rich in grain and pasture fields, watered with rivers and brooks, adorned with woods and vineyards, full of animals, just as if it were a whole world in miniature. One might think that here the heavens and the earth had been married and were living together in everlasting peace.

While I was drying my undershirt, the only garment I had saved, in the rays of the morning sun, an inhabitant of the island, some one of the many watchmen of the place, came upon me suddenly. He inquired into my mischance with all kindness, and while sympathizing with my misfortune, bade me trust him and accompany him to the city, where, with their usual consideration toward strangers and exiles, the citizens would supply my needs; and he added: " Happy are you whose lot it has been, after so severe a shipwreck, to be thrown on land at this place." And I answered only, " Thank God! Glory to God!"

## III.

### THE ORIGIN OF CHRISTIANOPOLIS.

Meantime the sight and the beauty of the city as we approached it surprised me greatly, for all the rest of the world does not hold anything like it or to be compared with it. So turning to my guide I said: " What happiness has established her abode here? " And he answered: " The one that in this world is generally very unhappy. For when the world raged against the good and drove them out of her boundaries, religion, an exile, gathering about her the com\_ rades whom she regarded the most faithful, after crossing the sea and examining various places, finally chose this land in which to establish her followers. Later she built a city which we call Christianopolis, and desired that it should be the home, or, if you prefer, the stronghold of honesty and excellence. The generosity of this our republic to all in want, you are about to experience. So if you desire to traverse the city (but you must do it with dispassionate eyes, guarded tongue, and decent behavior) the opportunity will not be denied you; nay, the city lies open to you in its individual parts." Then I answered: " Oh, blessed hour when after so many monstrous sights seen with dread and exertion, I shall be granted the privilege of observing something really elegant and beautiful. I shall evade neither the bath, the razor, nor the brush, that, being washed, scraped, and cleansed, I may be admitted to the pure abodes of truth and goodness. For how unfortunate my mistakes and evasions have been, has become known to many, a long time ago. Qhi\_ jnaj\_\_I\_ some time see better, truer, more fixed, jind more \_stable conditions in brief, those which the world promises, but never and nowhere produces!"

## IV.

#### EXAMINATION OF THE STRANGER, FIRST, AS TO HIS IDEAS OF LIFE AND HIS MORALS.

Now we had approached the eastern gate, when my companion introduced me to the prefect of the day's guard. He received me pleasantly and asked me what I desired. " Very many things," said I, " for as you see I have been cast up from land and sea. But now since I seem to have met God Himself here, why should I not seek largely of that which I have lacked all my life? " The prefect of the guard smiled and kindly advised me, inasmuch as this island had nothing indecorous, not to prove to be one of those whom the citizens of the community would not tolerate among them but would send back to the place from which they had come, such persons as: beggars, quacks, stageplayers who have too much leisure, busybodies who worry i-\*\* unnecessarily in the details of unusual affairs, fanatics who T^\* however have no real feeling of piety, drug-mixers who J ruin the science of chemistry, impostors who falsely call ^ /g themselves the Brothers of the Rosicrucians, and other like blemishes of literature and true culture, whom this city has never ceased to suspect. Then when I had purged myself by a testimony of my inmost conscience, and had with many words vowed the service of my whole powers to truth and to integrity, he said: " There is no reason now why you should not have the benefit of our goods, and what is much more important, of ourselves." So saying, he grasped me by the hand, took me into the home of some watchmen or guards near by, and refreshed me with very savory food and drink.

V.

#### EXAMINATION, SECONDLY, AS TO HIS PERSON.

Now when I had put on different clothing, not at all extravagant, but easily procured and comfortable, he gave me over to some attendants who took me to my second examiner. This man appeared as one born for the purpose of drawing forth from a man his innermost and most private thoughts. He returned my greetings very kindly and put several friendly questions to me, meanwhile watching my bearing and the lineaments of my face very critically. With a smile rather than with serious expression he inquired as to my native land, my age, my manner of life, all, as it were, incidentally. After a few courtesies had been exchanged, he said: " My friend, you have undoubtedly come here under the leadership of God that you might learn whether it is always necessary to do evil and to live according to the custom of barbarians. That this is not the case we will give you proof this very day as we ought to all persons. And all the more gladly will we do this since neither nature nor your fortune seem indisposed, but rather you possess a heart favorable to the influences of both. And if God indeed rule you, so t hat yo\_ u\_be\_iree-rQrn th e at tractions of the fleshy then we do not doubt that you are already ours, and that you will be forever." While thus speaking (as I seemed to notice) he was studying the calmness of my being, the modesty of my countenance, the closeness of my speech, the quiet of my eyes, my personal bearing, with such thoroughness that it seemed to me he could scrutinize my very thoughts, with such affability that I could conceal nothing from him, with such respect that I felt I owed everything to him. And so, when my mind had been laid bare all around and he had at length touched somewhat on the subject of letters, he said: " My friend, you will grant me your indulgence when I discourse in so unscholarly a way as I have done. Be not discouraged, for in this community of ours you will find no lack of men who are fairly steeped in learning and culture." At the same time he issued a command to an attendant that he should accompany me to a third examiner. And so he shook my hand and bade me farewell, urging me to have confidence. But I thought to myself: "Heaven help me! If they call this ' discoursing in an unscholarly way,' what shall become of me?"

VI.

#### EXAMINATION, THIRDLY, AS TO HIS PERSONAL CULTURE.

Now when I came to him, I found no less kindness than in the former case; for let me say once for all, all haughtiness and pride are banished from this place. But when I heard this man speak, I felt more ashamed than ever before. I had to M know nothing " with Socrates, but in an entirely



different sense. How I regretted having spoken of literature! He asked me, in most pleasant terms it is true, to what extent I had learned to control myself and to be of service to my brother; to fight off the world, to be in harmony with death, to follow the Spirit; what progress I had made in the observation of the heavens and the earth, in the close examination of nature, in instruments of the arts, in the history and origin of languages, the harmony of all the world; what relation I bore toward the society of the church, toward a compendium of the Scriptures, the kingdom of heaven, the school of the Spirit, the brotherhood of Christ, the household of God. I was amazed when I understood that so very little had been made a part of myself, of the many things which are so freely and in such generous amounts given to man. And so, doing all that I could under the circumstances, I turned to frank confession and said: "Most honored sir, all these things I am entirely unacquainted with and I have never had instruction in them. But of this much I assure you on my word, that within me I have very often wrestled with them, desired to know them, and have dared to attack them." Whereupon he almost shouted out aloud. "You are ours," he said, "you who bring to us an unsullied slate, washed clean, as it were, by the sea itself. It but remains that we pray God that He inscribe upon your heart with His holy stylus the things which will seem, in His wisdom and goodness, salutary to you. And now truly you shall see our city in its individual parts. And after you have returned we will listen to whatever you may further desire of us, in so far as we are mentally prepared and provided." And he gave me three men, Beeram, Eram, and Neariam, worthy individuals as was evident from their countenances; and they were to show me around everywhere.

## VII.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY.

If I describe to you the appearance of the city first of all, I will not be making a mistake. Its shape is a square, whose side is seven hundred feet, well fortified with four towers and a wall. It looks, therefore, toward the four quarters of the earth. Eight other very strong towers, distributed throughout the city, intensify the strength; and there are sixteen other smaller ones that are not to be despised; and the citadel in the midst of the city is wellnigh impregnable. Of buildings there are two rows, or if you count the seat of government and the storehouses, four; there is only one public street, and only one marketplace, but this one is of a very high order. If you measure the buildings, you will find that from the innermost street, being twenty feet in width, the numbers increase by fives even up to one hundred. At this point there is a circular temple, a hundred feet in diameter. As you go forth from the buildings, the intervals, storehouses, and the rows of houses are each twenty feet wide and the wall is twentyfive feet. All buildings are in three stories, and public balconies lead to these. All this can, however, be better understood from the accompanying plate. 1 All buildings are made of burnt stone and are separated by fireproof walls so that a fire could not do very severe damage. Spring water and flowing water are here in great abundance, supplied partly by artificial means, and partly by nature. Things look much the same all around, not extravagant nor yet unclean; fresh air and ventilation are provided throughout. About four hundred citizens live here in religious faith and peace of the highest order. We shall have something to say about each individual one. Outside the walls is a moat stocked with fish, that even in times of peace it may have its uses. The open and otherwise unused spaces contain wild animals, kept, however, not for purposes of entertainment but for practical use. The whole city is divided into three parts, one to supply food, one for drill and exercise, and one for looks. The remainder of the island serves purposes of agriculture and for workshops. These I have noted down in some way or another in the plan. And next we must take a trip through the city.

## VIII.

### AGRICULTURE AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY.

In the farthest section of the corporation which faces east is the farm quarter. It is divided into two parts, the agriculture proper on the one side, and the animal husbandry department on

the other. For all the grain, vegetables, and greens which the state can get from the island, and all the pack-animals, beef-cattle, and flocks of which they have need, are kept in fourteen buildings, so constructed that they will shelter the guards and care-takers also. For, since the buildings rise in three stories, as I have shown, they hold more than one would suppose. Whatever waste materials accumulate, are taken through the gateways in the corner towers and carried to the edge of the walls, until the time arrives for distributing them over the fields arid meadows. Directly opposite these buildings is a rather large tower, thirty by forty-five feet, which connects the farm buildings with the city buildings; it also incloses a space of land, so that under the tower a rather broad vaulted entrance into the city is open, and smaller doors lead to the individual houses. This tower can be so fortified on both sides at the gates that there can be no passing back and forth through the walls to the town when once the gates are closed. A hall with windows all around, is built under the dome of this tower. Here the citizens of that side of the town may come together, as often as the ordinances require, and act on sacred as well as on civil matters. Uriel, a man very expert in agriculture, soil fertility, and breeding and care of animals, lives above in this tower. Kapzeel and Simea, subordinate to Uriel, are the prefects of the towers, and they assist him in his work whenever it is possible. Here there is no rusticity, but the agriculture of the patriarchs is reproduced, the results being the more satisfactory, the closer the work is to God and the more attentive to natural simplicity

IX.

#### MILLS AND BAKERIES.

Seven mills and as many bake shops adjoin these two public storehouses which face south; while seven meat shops and as many provision chambers are on the side that faces north. Larger towers divide the two sides as in the former case; and likewise, towers very much like those smaller ones, inclose them. The mills do not only grind the grain and have it stored on the upper floors, but whatever is to be done with machinery apart from fire, is done here; and as this is a place for originality to work its way, there is a great variety of such for devising pleasure and wonder on the part of the spectator. Here paper is made, trees are sawed into beams, and arms and tools are polished. All the bread which is necessary to supply the island is baked in these bake shops, and all flour is kept here. Between these are tanks for oil, and underneath, cellars are dug out for receiving wine. And the men in charge of the storing and packing away, are expert tasters. Neria, who lives in the middle tower, has charge of these, and Simea and Gadiel, prefects of the small towers, assist. The arrangement is that each prefect is responsible to two of the four men. You will be surprised how a supply of provisions, not at all very great, can be made to suffice for temperate habits in everything. For though no one in the whole island ever goes hungry, yet by the grace of God or the generosity of nature, there is always abundance, since gluttony and drunkenness are entirely unknown. Of the distribution of food I will speak later; let me add just one thing now, that everything is done neatly and with proper appreciation of the gifts of God. Men that have to do the heavy work do not become wild and rough, but remain kindly; the guards are not gluttons, but are temperate, not evil-smelling but cleanly washed. And to conclude, the government is administered in a way so advantageous in all respects, that the people can enjoy all these privileges with a pleasure that is decent and need not be concealed.

X.

the meat shop and the supply house.

A district on the north is devoted to the slaughter houses and to fourteen other buildings which have to do with the same. This part has no suggestion of the bestial about it. And yet in other places I have seen men become coarse from the daily custom of shedding blood, or the handling of meats, fat, hides, and the like. Here also there are kitchens intended for the roasting, boiling, and cleansing of animals; but which know no delicacies or dainties. And inasmuch as they praise neatness and sanitation, there are wash houses for washing the clothes and linen.

The provision chamber is divided into several rooms; it has butter, lard, suet, grease, tallow, and other supplies of this kind; but also fish, dried and fresh, and all kinds of fowl, not only for the inhabitants but also for strangers and traveling merchants. For there is the greatest opportunity for commerce in this island, though the inhabitants/ of the place, individually, have nothing to do with it. Such matters are left to those selected to attend to them. And) here the real value of exchange appears, which looks not so much at the gain, as at the variety of things; so that we may see the peculiar production of each land, and so communicate with each other that we may seem to have the advantages of the universe in one place, as it were. From this, the recognition of this little point, our earth, and also the generosity of God, the Giver of all, becomes manifest; and finally, that which is the gift of all men, is rendered that of every individual. I will not say more along this line now, for in the first place there is need of too much else, and then the subject will recur often in the rehearsal of other parts. Thirhena and his comrades, Kapzeel and Zarphat, have charge of this part, of the work, and they regulate the daily life and the work of the subordinates.

## XI.

### METALS AND MINERALS.

There remains the section on the west which is given over to the forge. For here on the one side are seven workshops fitted out for heating, hammering, melting, and molding metals; while on the other side are seven others assigned to the buildings of those workmen who make salt, glass, brick, earthenware, and to all industries which require constant fire. Here in truth you see a testing of nature herself; everything that the earth contains in her bowels is subjected to the laws and instruments of science. The men are not driven to a work with which they are unfamiliar, like pack-animals to their task, but they have been trained long before in an accurate knowledge of scientific matters, and find their delight in the inner parts of nature. If a person does not here listen to the reason and look into the most minute elements of the macrocosm, they think that nothing has been proved. Unless you analyze matter by experiment, unless you improve the deficiencies of knowledge by more capable instruments, you are worthless. Take my word for it, if sophistry should undertake to prattle here, it would be a mockery to such an extent do they prefer deeds to words. Here one may welcome and listen to true and genuine chemistry, free and active; whereas in other places falsechemistry steals upon and imposes on one behind one's back. For true chemistry is accustomed to examine the work, to assist with all sorts of tests, and to make use of experiments. Or, to be brief, here is practical science. Sesbazar with his two assistants, Zarphat and Gadiel, have charge and seem to require not so much the labor itself as a fit exercise for the human body. For while among us one is worn out by the fatigue of an effort, with them the powers are reinforced by a perfect balance of work and leisure so that they never approach a piece of work without alacrity. Moreover, as I looked on the work, this self-reproach kept coming into my mind, that, urged by so long a time, employed at so much expense, assisted by books, I had learned nothing of all these things, which it is altogether fitting one should know, and that by my inexcusable folly I had neglected the countenance of nature, which is after all the most attractive.

## XII.

### dwellings.

When then I had examined the inclosure containing the shops and the storehouses, I entered through the east tower and saw the city proper, square and with two rows of buildings facing each other. The street which separates these rows of houses is twenty feet wide, and is of sufficient width, when you stop to consider that horses and wagons are not used upon it. The buildings on the outer side are fifteen, those on the inner side twenty-five feet wide; they are thirty-three feet high and most of them forty feet long on the side facing the street. The walks are arched and supported by columns five feet wide and twelve high, that rainyweather may do no damage. Where the walls face each other, a walk is formed by the balconies on the second and third stories, all of which it has been deemed wise to represent in the diagrams. The larger side of the city, if you

stop to count the towers, has thirteen buildings, the smaller side, eleven, making eighty-eight in all; x and, if this is multiplied by three, they constitute two hundred and sixty-four homes. The distribution of these is shown on the sketch. No one need be surprised at the rather cramped quarters; for there being only a very few persons, there is also need for only a very little furniture. Other people who house vanity, extravagance, and a family of that sort, and who heap up baggage of iniquity, can never live spaciouly enough. They burden others and are burdened themselves, and no one measures their necessities, nay even their comforts, easily otherwise than by an unbearable and unmovable mass. Oh, only those persons are rich who have all of which they have real need, who admit nothing else, merely because it is possible to have it in abundance! For as often as I have seen wealth on this earth I have also always noticed dissatisfaction standing by; but in only the one condition, which we call "lack," has contentment appeared.

### XIII.

#### MECHANICS.

In walking around the city, I could easily notice what the distribution of the craftsmen was. For even as the city is four-cornered, so also its inhabitants deal with four materials: metals, stones, woods, and the things that are needed for weaving; but with this difference, that the occupations which require more skill and innate ability are assigned to the inner square, while those which admit of more ease in working, to the outer or greater square. And they, furthermore, regard clock-makers and organ-makers, cabinet-makers, sculptors, and masons on the same basis. This feature, moreover, is entirely peculiar to them, namely, that their artisans are almost entirely educated men. For that which other people think is the proper characteristic of a few (and yet, if you consider the stuffing of inexperience as learning, the characteristic of too many men already) this the inhabitants argue should be attained by all individuals. They say neither the subtleness of letters is such, nor yet the difficulty of work, that one man, if given enough, cannot master both. And yet there are some who incline more to this or to that occupation, who, if they prefer to make a craft a specialty, are made masters over their fellows, that they may in turn train up others and still others. I saw what mechanics I thought were workers in brass, tin, iron; knife-makers, turners, makers of jewel cases, of statuary, workers in gypsum, fullers, weavers, furriers, cobblers; and among the nobler crafts, sculptors, clock-makers, goldsmiths, organ-makers, engravers, goldleaf-beaters, ring-makers, and innumerable other like trades not to be despised. Tanners, harness-makers, blacksmiths, wagon<sup>^</sup> makers, trunk-makers, stonecutters, glass-makers, all these you will find here. Now that we have named those that follow the trades it might be said that patching, sewing, and embroidery are all done by the women, for all these things are done not always because necessity demands, but for the purpose of a competition among the mechanics, in order that the human soul may have some means by which it and the highest prerogative of the mind may unfold themselves through different sorts of machinery, or by which, rather, the little spark of divinity remaining in us, may shine brightly in any material offered. Of the overseeing and incentives, as also of the hours of leisure and of work, we will speak later.

### XIV.

#### PUBLIC PRAYERS.

Before I proceed, something should be said regarding their public worship. Three prayers are offered each day, morning, noon, and in the evening, when thanks are given to God for blessings received; and on bended knee and with folded hands, a continuation of His aid and a worthy death are implored in a solemn formula. No one may be absent from these prayers, except for the most urgent reason; parents bring all their children hither that they may learn even in infants' prattle to praise God. Then a reading from the Holy Scriptures is listened to, and the meeting, of about half an hour, is dismissed with a hymn. If the day be a special day, on which some remarkable instance of God's grace is to be commemorated, somewhat more time is expended in the devotions. These meetings are held in the larger halls of the towers, and each one has his assigned place. And nothing is more worthy of Christians than this observance. For though we owe secret prayers

to God, our best ones, and very frequent, yet this communion of spirits and prayers has a distinctly pleasant sound in the ears of God, and an especial efficacy. Those who neglect this are perhaps a little bit too sure of their salvation, while those who are expecting at some time a communion of saints, even as they plan all things in this world with a view toward the heavenly fatherland, so they are occupied in divine praise more diligently and more eagerly than in any other thing. On this account, happy and very wise are those who anticipate here on earth the firstlings of a life which they hope will be everlasting; and most unfortunately foolish are those who close their life with this most grievous mortality.

XV.

FOOD.

Their meals are private to all, but the food is obtained from the public storehouse. And because it is almost impossible to avoid unpleasantness and confusion when the number of those partaking of a meal is so great, they prefer that individuals shall eat together privately in their own homes. Even as the food is distributed according to the nature of the year, so also it is apportioned weekly according to the number of families. But provision of wine is made for a half year, or if conditions admit, of still longer period. They get their fresh meat from the meat shop, and they take away as much as is assigned to them. Fish, as also game, and all sorts of birds are distributed to them according to each one's proportion, the time and age being taken into consideration. There are ordinarily four dishes, and these after being carefully washed are prepared by the women, and are seasoned with wise and pious words. Whoever wishes to have a guest may do so, and the parties concerned, join their dishes accordingly; or if it be a foreigner, they ask from the public supplies what may be necessary. For the kitchen, which I have mentioned above, serves this purpose, that whatever decency requires beyond the regular measure may be obtained from it. Since grown children are brought up elsewhere, in most instances a family consists of four or five, less frequently six individuals, father, mother, and one or two children. Servingmen and servingwomen are a rare thing, nor very noticeable, except in the case of those attending the sick, those in confinement, or babies. The husband and wife perform together the ordinary duties of the home, and the rest is taken care of in the public workshop. Matters relating to boys and girls just arriving at adolescence, we shall hear of later. Let us just consider for a minute what an enormous burden we would be freed from, if the multiplex difficulty of providing food and drink, and the perplexity and daily care of stuffing our stomachs were taken from us.

XVI.

OCCUPATIONS.

Their work, or as they prefer to hear it called, " the employment of their hands," is conducted in a certain prescribed way, and all the things made are brought into a public booth. From here every workman receives out of the store on hand, whatever is necessary for the work of the coming week. For the whole city is, as it were, one single workshop, but of all different sorts of crafts. The ones in charge of these duties are stationed in the smaller towers at the corners of the wall; they know ahead of time what is to be made, in what quantity, and of what form, and they inform the mechanics of these items. If the supply of material in the work booth is sufficient, the workmen are permitted to indulge and give play to their inventive genius. No one has any money, nor is there any use for any private money; yet the republic has its own treasury. And in this respect the inhabitants are especially blessed because no one can be superior to the other in the amount of riches owned, since the advantage is rather one of power and genius, and the highest respect, that of morals and piety. They have very few working hours, yet no less is accomplished than in other places as it is considered disgraceful by all that one should take more rest and leisure time than is allowed. Since in other places it is true that ten working men with difficulty support one idler, it will not be difficult to believe that with all these men working there is some time of leisure left for the individuals. And yet they all together attend to their labors in such a way that they seem to benefit rather than harm their physical bodies. Where there is no slavery, there is

nothing irksome in the human body which weighs down or weakens. And who will doubt that where God is favorable, all things are done with greater force and zeal, more easily and more accurately than where, against the wishes and favor of God, a mass of useless buildings is heaped up?

XVII.

#### VACATION PERIODS.

It will not be unprofitable for us to see how the inhabitants of Christianopolis spend their leisure time, or to name it more properly, the breathing spell which is allowed one. When they have cheerfully done enough to fill the requirements of piety, patriotism, and literature, and have exercised their bodies in the mechanical arts according as the season admits, they take longer or shorter periods of quiet. This vacation, they say, they owe not so much to the flesh as to the spirit, not less to the soul than to the body. There is the greatest need that we return to ourselves as often as possible and shake off the dust of the earth; that we may restock our minds with generous resolutions and attack vice, it is necessary to take a fresh start; that we may revive the wearied faculties of the soul and sharpen our wits, we must stand near or even sit down upon a whetstone. Thus you will not expect to find the sporting of fools nor the noise of aimless wandering, the result of this national rest; but a relaxation of the mind, intent upon some subject, and especially a recollecting of things that pertain to a care of the future life, lest anything at all dearer or higher than God be brought back to us. So during these free hours it is common to see the greatest calmness among the citizens, many devoting themselves to some special service to God, or to some neighbor bearing a cross, or especially instructing each other mutually in Christian conversations. But alas how different among those who struggle in the world and whom Satan harasses, who weary the spirit and relax the flesh, who are occupied in the mud and rest in filth! They are never less with themselves than when alone. How therefore should they hear the Lord speaking among us! How should they attempt to do manly deeds of valor! How should they give birth to new offspring of genius or discover new inventions when between the tumults of others and themselves they grow deaf and stiff!

XVIII.

#### REWARDS.

And now, I judge, you will want to know of what advantage it is for one of regular morals and excelling talent to live in this city when you hear nothing of rewards. Well, he of the Christian City solves this difficulty very easily; for it is glory and gain enough for him to please God. And yet incentives of the Holy Spirit are not lacking. For really deeds of the children of God are of such weight with these citizens, so often are they praised, and in so many ways are they impressed upon the minds of the youth, that every generous nature burns with a desire to imitate. Besides, the pleasure of the consciousness of having done right, the dignity of a nature that has overcome darkness, the greatness of dominion over the passions, and above all, the unspeakable joy of the companionship of the saints, take possession of a refined soul far too deeply than that the renouncing of worldly pleasure should be feared. Even if anything makes it worth while on the part of a Christian to be preferred to others, here there is no prerogative except of virtue, in this order that the greatest worth is that of devotion to God, then of moderation, after<sup>^</sup> that of a subdued nature, and finally of human strength; and as far as each one is nearer the will of God, that much the more fitted is he thought to be for governing others. And since the world changes this around, understands but little the experience of a good life, and pricks up its ears to hear the pipe of vanity, it subjects the mind and body to the poorest guide. It is not surprising for one not to know what he wishes or does not wish, and for blind leaders, though promising light, to follow a far blinder one into the abysses of darkness.

XIX.

#### PENALTIES.

In the same way we may say of penalties, there is no use of these in a place that contains the very sanctuary of God and a chosen state, in which Christian liberty can bear not even commands, much less threats, but is borne voluntarily toward Christ. Yet it must be confessed that human flesh cannot be completely conquered anywhere. And so if it does not profit by repeated warnings (and in case of need, serious corrections) severer scourges must be used to subdue it. For this purpose fit remedies are on hand, not of one sort only, but chosen to suit different individuals. For truly, if one withdraws the sustenance from one's carnal appetites, or substitutes the cudgel for the tickle of lust, much may be remedied. It is the art of arts to guard against permitting sin to become easy for anyone. On the other hand, how wicked it is to vent one's wrath against those toward whose ruin you hurl stones. At any rate, the judges of the Christian City observe this custom especially, that they punish most severely those misdeeds which are directed straight against God, less severely those which injure men, and lightest of all those which harm only property. How differently the world does, punishing a petty thief much more harshly than a blasphemer or an adulterer. As the Christian citizens are always chary of spilling blood, they do not willingly agree upon the death sentence as a form of punishment; whereas the world, ever prodigal even of a brother's blood, pronounces wantonly the first sentence which occurs to it, feeling safe in this subterfuge that it has not personally employed sword, rope, wheel, and fire, but only through a servant of the law. Christ be my witness, it is certainly handsome logic on the part of a government to make thieves of dissolute characters, adulterers of the intemperate, homicides of loafers, witches of courtesans, in order that it may have someone with whose blood to make expiation to God! It is far more humane to tear out the first elements and roots of vice than\* to lop off the mature stalks. For anyone can destroy a man, but only the best one can reform.

XX.  
nobility.

In this republic no value is set on either succession of title or blood apart from virtue. For while it is true that those who deserve well are given the highest rank and are decked with medals, yet the advantage of this to their children, as in advance of others, is that they are admonished more frequently of this family example, and thus the heredity of virtue is inculcated. For if they possess this, they are easily moved to the laudable memory of their parents, in such a way however, that a free choice may not be detrimental to the new virtue. For those who rise in life by the help of God, which is the first moving factor of all virtues, are to be honored in the worship of God, and employed in conducting the state business. But this is always evident, that divine gifts rise here and sink there, thus showing that excelling is not a human attainment nor due to the distribution of a few men, but to the choice of heaven. It is not necessary to state what a mistake those make who so frequently take the license of sinning and the tinder of corruption out of the prerogative of family distinction, with the result that the offspring of heroes, who has not deteriorated, is an object of surprise. For as it is true that parents climb the lofty citadel of virtue over the difficult hills of work, so children often slide through the labyrinths of extravagant pleasure to the lowest engulfing depths of vice. If these should look back or around into the affairs of mortals, they would never admit that what might have commended them to God and men, did, by free rein to their pleasures and destruction of their flatterers, direct them into the readiest downward path of body and soul.

XXI.  
OFFICIALS.

This central part of the state is governed by eight men, each of whom lives in one of the larger towers. Under them are eight other subordinates, distributed through the smaller towers. The spirit of all of these is rather parental than overbearing; and the fear of those intrusted to the authorities is not greater than their respect. For whatsoever they I may order others to do, this they do also themselves. They do not lead any more with the voice than by their example. Nothing is easier than imitation under conditions of this kind, nothing more natural than following an



example, where no one corrects except he be himself above criticism; where no one teaches except he be himself learned; and where the rule itself is the precept. He who first brought violence and disdain into the world had nothing divine about him. God approaches His own, and is approached of them. God is heard of them and hears. So far from mutual worship and contempt being permitted us, earthen vessels of the same clay, it is not even seemly. Since all things in the Christian Republic are referred to God, there is no need of secrets and councils of state, in which Satan in his kingdom rejoices. Here everything is open, giving opportunity, forsooth, to fear God and to love one's neighbor, which is the very crowning point of human society as well as of divine law. What answer then will they give, who convert religion, justice, and human intercourse into veritable chains, shackles, and prisons; and who with wrinkled brow, poisoned dress, and oily tongue, a hardened heart and a grasping hand, wish not merely to be in command of men, but to lord it over beasts and fill whole volumes with these monstrosities? Surely neither the law of God nor the Gospels of Christ admit confusion; and yet they never praise the human dominion in their followers, but always inculcate a common brotherly communion. And now because the church has renounced these principles, she has become richer and more formidable, but not at all holier, she who could not be influenced even in her last cleansing to lay aside arrogance and harshness and persuade her curators to use a more sensible government. And so the Christian grieves and is kept in the midst of Christianity neither giving orders nor yet sufficiently obeying.

XXII.

#### PUBLIC WORKS.

There are also public duties, to which all citizens have obligation, such as watching, guarding, harvesting of grain and wine, working roads, erecting buildings, draining ground; also certain duties of assisting in the factories, which are imposed on all in turn according to age and sex, but not very often nor for a long time. For even though certain experienced men are put in charge of all the duties, yet when men are asked for, no one refuses the state his services and strength. For what we are in our homes, they are in their city, which they not undeservedly think a home. And for this reason it is no disgrace to perform any public function, so long as it be not indecent. Hence all work, even that which seems rather irksome, is accomplished in good time and without much difficulty, since the promptness of the great number of workmen permits them easily to collect or distribute the greatest mass of things. Who does not believe, since we are willing, all of us, to rejoice in and enjoy privileges and conveniences of a community, that the care and the work are ordinarily imposed upon a few, while continual idleness and gluttony are made permissible to the many? On the contrary, who denies that every citizen, in his own place and order, owes his best efforts to the republic, not merely with his tongue but also with hand and shoulder? With an entirely mistaken sense of delicacy do the carnal-minded shrink from touching earth, water, stones, coal, and things of that sort; but they think it grand to have in their possession to delight them, horses, dogs, harlots, and similar creatures. Now the inhabitants of Christianopolis laugh at this and not unjustly, since painted on their coats of arms they show here and there, not implements of fierceness and pomp, but those of humanity and work; and against other people the former prove a confession of their vanity and brutality.

XXIII.

#### THE HOMES.

No one owns a private house; they are granted and assigned to individuals for their use; and, if the state desires, they easily change their abodes. Almost all the houses are built after one model; they are well kept and especially free from anything unclean. There are three rooms in the average house, a bathroom, a sleeping apartment, and a kitchen. And the latter two are generally separated by a board partition. The middle part within the towers has a little open space with a wide window, where wood and the heavier things are raised aloft by pulleys. The house has one door and the head of the house is responsible for it. This leads to the balcony from which one ascends either through the towers or by way of a spiral stairs. In this connection the plan should

be examined carefully, for there is not leisure to recount details. At the rear of each building is a garden, kept with much care and nicety, inasmuch as the gardens are conducive to health and furnish fragrance. The roof serves a common purpose; for the walls, built up in steps and frequently constructed as a check for fire, separate and the gutters unite it. The buildings have double windows, one of glass and one of wood, inserted in the wall in such a way that each may be opened or closed as is desired. There are small, private cellars, for not a great deal need be stored in them. And so whatever extravagance and burdens there may be in the world, these people draw together into what you might call a very suitable shell, where nothing is lacking which should cover a man and contain his belongings. The houses are kept up at the expense of the state, and provision is made by the carefulness of inspectors that nothing is thoughtlessly destroyed or changed. Fire can hardly ever do any damage or break through and spread. They drive out cold with furnace heat, and counteract heat with shade. How unfortunate are those who believe that they have built lasting dwellings for themselves here and then discover too late that they have been working in the dark for others; meantime they have never been at home, not even in their own bodies. But even more unhappy, if Christ passes by their inauspicious palaces and enters the huts of the poor!

XXIV.

#### FURNITURE AND FURNISHINGS.

Now it will be easy to guess what the furnishings are. There are none except the most necessary, and even then scant. The beds for both family and stranger are comfortable, neat, and well arranged. The neatness of the women provides for clean bed and table-linen as well as underwear and chaplets. There are the necessary dishes for the table and enough cooking utensils. For why should you want great numbers of things when all that you may reasonably desire can always be obtained at the public storehouse? They have only two suits of clothes, one for their work, one for the holidays; and for all classes they are made alike. Sex and age are shown by the form of the dress. The cloth is made of linen or wool, respectively for summer or winter, and the color for all is white or ashen gray; none have fancy, tailored goods. Drinking goblets are for the most part of glass, yet some are tin and the rest brass. Of the arms and letters we will speak later. It is quite evident that all this furniture requires no care except that incident upon cleaning, no guarding except the simplest, no expenses except the most insignificant; yet they are not less effective than the heaps, caves, chests, and like prisons of the riches of this world. If you need any instrument other than what is in daily use, you may get it at the supply house. For there are enough implements on hand, both private and public, since the whole state is one of artisans. Moreover, they ought to be ashamed of themselves who are inactive in the great multitude, but in the meantime pride themselves with all sorts of vessels and instruments, while they do absolutely nothing except with other people's hands, eyes, and ears, and in the same way accumulate wealth with useless solicitude; wretched they are in the midst of such a laborious and manifold group of props, with which they hope to be raised from the ground on stilts and appear sublime. They are made fools equally for their attempt to wander over the earth and to fly toward the sky.

XXV.

#### NIGHT LIGHTS.

They do not allow the night to be dark, but brighten it up with lighted lanterns, the object being to provide for the safety of the city and to put a stop to useless wandering about, but also to render the night watches less unpleasant. They would strive in this way to resist the dark kingdom of Satan and his questionable pastimes; and they wish to remind themselves of the everlasting light. What Antichrist expects from the great number of wax candles, let him see for himself; but let us not shrink back from any system which lessens the fear of a man working at night in the darkness, and which removes the veil which our flesh is so anxious to draw over license and dissoluteness. And there is no reason why we should consider expense here, when in other matters these citizens are exceptionally economical and when in other places there is the

greatest extravagance in most all affairs. Oh, if we would but turn more to the light, there would not be such an opportunity for every sort of meanness, nor such great numbers of swindlers! Would that the light of our hearts were burning more frequently, and that we would not so often endeavor to deceive the all-seeing eye of God! Now that the darkness serves as excuse for the world and opens it for all sorts of baseness, while it spreads blindness over those things of which it is ashamed, what will be the situation when at the return of Christ, the Sun, every fog will be dispelled and the world's corruptness which it guards with so many covers, shall appear, when the wantonness of the heart, the hypocrisy of the lips, the deceitful deeds of the hands, and its much other filth shall be a disgrace to itself and a mockery to the blessed?

XXVI.

THE COLLEGE.

Now is the time when we approach the innermost shrine of the city which you would rightly call the center of activity of the state. It is square, two hundred and seventy feet on the outside, a hundred and ninety feet on the inside, bounded by four corner towers and intersected by as many others, opposite each other and inclosed by a double line of gardens. There are in the whole building four stories, rising respectively to a height of twelve, eleven, ten, and nine feet; and the towers extend eight feet more even above these. Toward the market-place, on the inside, there is an open porch, very attractive with its seventy-two columns. Here religion, justice, and learning have their abode, and theirs is the control of the city; and eloquence has been given them as an interpreter. Never have I seen so great an amount of human perfection collected into one place, and you will confess the same when you shall have heard a description of the sights. And yet I often\* wonder what people mean who separate and disjoin their best powers, the joining of which might render them blessed as far as this may be on earth. There are those who would be considered religious, who throw off all things human; there are some who are pleased to rule, though without any religion at all; learning makes a great noise, flattering now this one, now that, yet applauding itself most. What finally may the tongue do except provoke God, confuse men, and destroy itself? So there would seem to be a need of co-operation which only Christianity can give Christianity which conciliates God with men and unites men together, so that they have pious thoughts, do good deeds, know the truth, and finally die happily to live eternally. Let us then cooperate once lest we be separated for eternity.

XXVII.

THE TRIUMVIRATE.

Now let us consider why they prefer an aristocracy to a monarchy. For though a monarchy has many advantages yet they prefer to preserve this dignity for Christ, and they distrust, not without cause, the self-control of human beings. Christ does not tolerate too absolute a representative, nor does a man raised too high look up at the sky; he looks down upon the earth. One's own experiences are the nearest, and they are worse, the more one is given to tyranny and weakness of character. In such an instance, at least, the triumvirate is the safest form of government, when it admits only the best in the state and those most experienced in public affairs, since one must work up through all steps of virtue to it. Each one of the leaders does his own duty, yet not without the knowledge of the others; all consult together in matters that concern the safety of the state. Each has a senate, but on fixed days they all meet together that decision in the most important matters may be reached with common consent. As is fitting, all these men must be loyal, prudent, and wise; yet some are designated for these ranks, or distinguished as being more exact. The chancellor announces all the decrees of the senators, repeats them, and makes them public. This man must be one of greatest tact and trustworthiness. No litigation is adjusted here; for the citizens have no controversies too great to be settled by the arbitration of the tribunes. But questions of the truth of the Christian religion, the cultivation of virtues, the methods of improving the mind; also the need of treaties, war, negotiations, buildings, and supplies are deliberated upon, with great, yet modest freedom and with a proper appreciation of

the gifts of God. So it comes that they act upon serious matters calmly while other peoples become disturbed and anxious over trivial things, a very evident witness of their vanity, who roll up and impose troubles upon themselves, or if there are none, trump up some in order that they may torture themselves in bearing up under them.

XXVIII.  
religion.

Looking all these things over, I might have suspected this place of being some fanatical city, since, in the world whatever seeks the skies is heretical. But a double plate on which stood the sum of their confession and profession inscribed in letters of gold, soon freed me from error. The words of this tablet, as I wrote them down, have the following import:

I. We believe with our whole heart in one triune God, very good, very wise, great, and everlasting: the Father, who created the world out of nothing, preserves, moves, and directs the same, whose ministers are good angels, against whom the condemned Satan is rebellious, whose delight is man, once the divine image and prince of the world, to whom sin is hateful, whose interpreter of all wisdom and summary of all uprightness is the Scriptures, and whose love, through the giving of His Son, is most open and kind.

II. We believe with a whole heart in Jesus Christ, the Son of God and Mary, coequal with the Father yet like us, our Redeemer, united as to personality in two natures and communicating in both, our Prophet, King, and Priest, whose law is grace, whose scepter is that of peace, whose sacrifice, that of the cross.

III. We believe in the same regeneration of the Spirit, the admission of sin, even the brotherhood of our flesh with Him and in Him, and the restoring to dignity, lost by the fall of Adam.

IV. We believe that by His life, suffering, and death He has given satisfaction to the justice of God, that mercy has been merited, the same has been brought to us through the Gospels, given over to our faith, intrusted to the purity of life, and that thence the dominion of sin was crucified, destroyed, and buried.

V. We believe that the kingdom of hell and the poison of death have been destroyed, and that in the victory of the resurrection, security has been restored to us under the care of God.

VI. We believe the kingdom of Christ is infinite and eternal, where He is present to His church at the right hand of the Father Omnipotent, Omnipresent, and that He feeds, keeps, and quickens her spiritually with His Word, even as He does literally with flesh and blood.

VII. We believe His supreme judgment, which He shall pronounce upon all men, good and evil, with highest majesty, and shall distinguish the just from the unjust most critically.

VIII. We believe with our whole heart in the Holy Spirit, our Comforter and Teacher, by whom we are sanctified, enlivened, and equipped, after we go from freedom to doing good, by whom we are made wise beyond nature, armed against nature, and put at peace with her; by whom we grow warm, are united and divided into languages; by whom we see and hear the past, present, and future properly correlated; by whom we look into the Word of God.

IX. We believe in a holy, universal church, purified by the water of baptism from infancy, and fed by the communion of the eucharist, thus guarded with the seals of the new covenant, taught in the ministry of the Word, disciplined with the cross, ready to serve in prayers, active in charity, generous in communion, powerful in excommunication, which though distributed over the earth, the unity of faith joins, the diversity of gifts strengthens, Christ, the Bridegroom and Head,

renders invincible, and which the standing of the different classes and the purity of marriage embellish.

X. We believe in a free forgiveness of all sins through the ministry of the Word, and in the obligation of our gratitude and obedience on account of this.

XI. We believe in the general resurrection of the human flesh, so much desired by the faithful that on account of it they particularly love a natural death; so formidable to the wicked that on account of it they consider the natural life to be especially cursed.

XII. We believe in an eternal life by which we shall obtain perfect light, ability, quiet, knowledge, plenty, and joy; by which also the malice of Satan, the impurity of the world, the corruption of men shall be checked; by which it shall be well with the good, and evil with evil-doers, and the visible glory of the Holy Trinity shall be ours forever.

XXIX.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF THE STATE.

Thus far it has been permitted us to hear about the religion; the other tablet prescribes the rules of daily life, and the words read as follows:

I. We strive with all our strength to submit ourselves in all reverence and adoration to God, the one Founder and Ruler of the human race, and to prefer nothing in heaven or on earth to Him; to refer our life and all our actions to His glory and to succeed with His aid.

II. We strive never to provoke the holy name of God with any form of blasphemy, never to alienate it by grumbling, dishonor it by frivolity, neglect it on account of laziness; and we strive to regard reverently the most holy mysteries of our salvation.

III. We strive to have leisure ever for our God, to rest from the confusion of cravings of the flesh, to provide a quiet shrine for the Trinity, a pure dwelling place for our neighbor, breathing space for all creatures, to devote our time only to the Divine Word.

IV. We strive to preserve and practice love to parents, respect to our superiors, propriety to our equals, modesty toward those that have been trusted, labor for the republic, a good example to posterity, and to perform the duties of Christian love with mutual kindnesses.

V. We strive to bridle our wrath, to restrain our impatience, to value human blood, to forget revenge, to abhor jealousy, and carefully to imitate the very gentle heart of Christ.

VI. We strive to shield the innocence of youth, the virginity of maidens, the purity of matrimony, the unpolluted restraint of widowhood, and to overcome luxury and intoxication with the temperance and fasting of the flesh.

VII. We strive to enjoy the goods intrusted to us by God, as diligently as possible, peacefully, properly, and with giving of thanks; to exercise the duties of acquisition and distribution as justly as possible, of employment modestly and of conservation safely.

VIII. We strive to propagate the light of truth, the purity of conscience, the integrity of bearing testimony, freely and correctly, to reverence the presence of God at every time and place, to protect the innocent and to convict the guilty.

IX. We strive to disturb nothing of another, nor to confound divine with human things, to submit to our lot, to inhabit our dwellings peacefully, and to despise the sojourning place of the whole world.

X. We strive so to establish our intercourse that each one's property be given and preserved to him, and that no one would rather covet the affairs of another than to put his own in order and devote them to the glory of God and the public safety.

When I had read these tablets I was not a little more strengthened in the belief that here lived a people of Christ, whose religion agreed with that of the apostles and the state administration with the law of God. For although pseudo-Christians boast of these two characteristics, yet anyone who associates with them," even occasionally, ^will easily see that their words are sacred, but their secret acts unfeeling; though their confession is honorable, their confusion is distressing; it will be evident that their formula of peace is very frequently a thoroughfare of discord; meantime they accuse their flesh and yet will not accept the helping hand of God nor the corrections of the Spirit.

THE MINISTER OR PRESBYTER.

Now when I was led away from this place, I was admitted into the presence of the chief priest, not by any means a Roman pontifex, but a Christian. His name was Abialdon, a man of revered old age and from whose countenance there shone real divinity. No one is more practiced in the Holy Word, no one more experienced in the same. When he was graciously and zealously speaking with me, I recognized the ambassador and mediator of God; he did not look at things of the earth at all. When I attempted according to our custom to recognize this man with titles, he, disdaining such earthly absurdities, would not tolerate it, saying he considered himself sufficiently well appreciated if I believed him to be the servant of God and my spiritual father. They say that he is very often inspired of God and that he then announces some unusual things, but with the greatest modesty of the spirit. Only once a week, and that on Sunday, he addresses the people and teaches them with divine eloquence; and they confess that they have never listened to him without receiving an inward impulse for good. He is ashamed to advise others to do a thing which he has not already done himself. Hence when standing before the people, though he be silent, he teaches. His whole time he spends in sacred meditations and especially in efforts to further Christianity, and he seeks no other refreshment than heavenly food. When he blessed me I felt something warm within me, and it permeated my whole being. Truly this genuine theology is more efficacious than the assertions of many among the worldly. I blushed when I remembered the pride, greed, jealousy, and wine-drinking of some, and the other sins of our sacred order. You would suppose that they did not themselves believe what they were persuading others to believe, granted that they have actually learned to persuade anyone. Under their good favor, I was well pleased with Abialdon, a man of fervent spirit, but temperate flesh, a lover of the heavens, but forgetful of the things of the world, always doing, rarely speaking, intoxicated with God, abstaining from voluptuousness, guarding the flock, neglecting himself, first in merit, last in boasting.

XXXI.

CONSCIENCE.

I do not hesitate either to praise the wife of the preacher (for he is a married man). Her name is Senidis, a very excellent woman, observing to the last detail the rules of piety and moderation. She neglects nothing of which it is right that her husband should be advised. Being very sensible herself, she is not often deceived; and being upright she does not deceive others. She always bears an untroubled countenance and is of calm mind, being, as she well knows, most happily married. She has blessed her husband with a numerous and beautiful offspring; two of these children are daughters, Alethea and Parrhesia. She guards her own affairs carefully, takes greatest pride in her married state, and seeks nothing else. In order that nothing may go wrong, because of her negligence, she tends things carefully and aspires. to cleanliness in everything. She speaks when there is reason. At other times she prefers to keep silent. When there is need of skill and diligence she has no equal; for this reason the hangings and coverings of the shrine were woven by

her hands. When I remember her, I am disgusted with worldly women; for they either are superstitiously scrupulous, or altogether dull, or they rudely scold, or they admit anything however wicked, or they wrinkle up their faces, or they revel wantonly; finally they keep giving their husbands advice, and never in season; they never love them sincerely nor take care of them economically. Forsooth, such is the light-mindedness of the consciences of the world, that after the dances of human vanity, when the honey of vices has turned bitter, they do not turn to God with a timely change of heart; but they annoy one with their dog-like yelps and drive people to desperate, hasty acts. Happy is that holy matron who by her example has taught that it is possible to pay the closest attention to one's affairs, and yet be holy with a joyful countenance.

XXXII.

THE MINISTER'S ASSISTANT OR THE DIACONUS.

The church of the Christian City has also a diaconus by the name of Achban. He is very closely associated with Abialdon, and his duty is to educate the youth, distribute the sacraments, perform marriage ceremonies, and give comfort to the sick. Not that this is not also the office of the presbyter himself, but less his than that of the diaconus. The superior does not despise his colleague, but rather the colleague has the greatest respect for his superior. The former does not burden and weigh down the latter with heavy tasks, but the latter supports the former. The one does not command, but the other is naturally obedient. Even as between father and son there should be a mutual affection, exactly such is the relation in this case, though there is little difference in their ages. No power commands more effectively and none serves more readily than love. The diaconus does not care to make any changes, nor does he ever forget himself so far as to boast. But he is glad to hear from his spiritual father what God commands, what is best for the church. He preaches one sermon before the people in the middle of the week. I do not know why they should meet in assembly less often than others, unless it be, as I suspect, that they prefer to have sermons well prepared, a thing impossible when there are too many in a given time; and they make up the difference generously with their daily prayers and readings. They receive from their theological seminary those who read in public the devout meditations of illustrious servants of God, a custom which they think far in advance of the juvenile efforts of others. And it did not displease me either when I heard a reading grounded on a firmer basis than mere doubtful memory. Truly one man is not sufficient to hearken unto the Holy Spirit, bridle his passions, tame the barbarians, bear his labors, take care of his family, and earn his daily bread; and yet the world asks this very thing of ministers twenty years of age; and, for fear they may have a lack of something to do, they are compelled to combat hunger. I marvel at two points truly, in the case of men who prevail upon mere boys to care for their souls, and who are prevailed upon to intrust their souls to them. Of course I would give way if there were many like Timothy, but since I see so few of these, and especially since I see so much wickedness, I grieve for the lot of the church which is vexed at the sluggishness and audacity of the world.

XXXIII.

the judge.

Then I met the second of the triumvirs, Abiefer by name, a man born after such a pattern that he does to no one what he would not wish done to himself, and what he desires for himself, he tries to secure for all. Neither blood nor riches, which here amount to nothing, exalted him; but a calm and peace-loving soul. He does not make his responses, confined, as it were, and seated on a tripod; and a citizen does not tremble at his look; but like the rising sun, he shines upon all and clears up everything. To state it all briefly, he is the pater familias of the city, and he rejoices in being called the minister of Christ. It is his duty to keep close watch over the measures, weights, and numbers, and to administer the specific proportion of things. Whatever methods they exercise in taming their passions and in thoroughly overcoming Adam, these he considers his sphere and he regulates everything with a view toward life eternal. For he feels that the best plan for a republic is one which agrees as nearly as possible with heaven; and being very pious himself, he



believes that a propitious God is the salvation of a city, the destruction of the same a wrathful God. So he strives that the Divinity become not offended by the sins of the citizens, that it rather be conciliated by adornments of faith. Hence the city is invincible, unless it yield first to its own vices. No evil however small is admitted into it, and the citizens do not fear Satan's influence, but overthrow it as soon as possible. Surely one could never wonder enough at the feeling of security of the world, which tolerates the public trading in vices and does not fear contagion; which offers abominations to God and is not sure of the latter's disgust; which deals with the greatest political schemes and yet boasts of a Christian society; which thinks it has provided enough for itself when it is sure that one is not lacking who will govern it with great pomp and with the greatest protection of all lusts. Even as the Christian City is august and most flourishing because of its watchfulness of justice, so worldly cities wither away from day to day under the weakness of wickedness.

XXXIV.

UNDERSTANDING.

Now I pray that you listen to some facts regarding his wife. I have never seen a woman less credulous, I have never heard conversation deeper or more considerate. But if she once believes a thing and repeats it, you may depend upon its being true. Hence she does not do anything without cause, a cause in which her husband agrees. She has the sight of an eagle, eyes that can bear the light of the sun and can see very far. She tolerates no empty rumors nor the unreliable reports of the crowd. She does not tolerate the concealment of virtue nor the advertisement of vice; she does not countenance the restriction of liberty nor the loosing of servitude; nor does she stand any overhastiness. Her husband is not ashamed to discuss difficult problems with her; he hears her freely, but reserves the decision for himself. If she gets a little too curious regarding matters of his sphere he holds her in check and admonishes her of heaven, and requires that she restrict herself to her own duties. Thus she lives peaceably and joyfully, under the direction of her husband, a very fitting example to those who either communicate all things or nothing with the women. Whoever has a logician for wife cannot even believe in God, unless the wife gives her approval, and he takes oath to all her foolishness as being entirely true. He who has an Athenian, never bears the slightest interruption. What utterly absurd things are done in a republic because the why is neither known nor tolerated. The world has faith in the unbelieving, follows the blind, is mortally afraid of the weak, raises the lazy, and admits Heaven knows what absurdities. It ought not, then, take offense when someone laughs at it; it should rather appreciate the talkative ones who keep asking it with importunity why it does and suffers this or that. The world will never regret having been urged from darkness into light, from servitude into freedom.

XXXV.

measure.

As assistant to this second triumvir stands Achitob, the state economist, whose care it is that the state revenues and storehouse supplies are so distributed among the individuals, that not less than his just amount falls to each one. This is not so difficult a task as one might suppose; for since no one lays claim to any prerogative or asks as his right more food than the season of the year and the custom of the city prescribe, but all preserve an equal ratio, the dividing is quickly done in accordance with the number, and the amount of the year's produce; and to see that the food is cleanly and properly cooked, is the special duty and care of the women, who also are to seek out and prepare for the sick those articles of food which are best adapted to them. Achitob has great ability at figuring and he so divides the yearly produce among the citizens that they never hunger, nor yet feast at the expense of their intellectual nature. This is a very desirable arrangement, especially in comparison with those, some of whom suffer hunger and others of whom measure the divine goodness not by plenty, but by superabundance and nausea. They are unworthy of life who seek the chief thing in life on the table or in the stomach, and who pay no attention to the food of heaven; but while the poor-looking servants of God are ascending to

heaven, these persons, swelled by the foods of the world, are forced down to hell by the weight of their bellies. Nature is content with but few necessities; neither earth, sea, nor air is sufficient for the gluttony of one man until at length he is tortured in fire without end or measure.

XXXVI.

THE DIRECTOR OF LEARNING.

The third of the triumvirs, Abida, has the sphere of human learning. I found him, contrary to expectation, without haughtiness or laziness. All about the man was kindly, nothing crabbed. It was thought there was little he did not know; yet in his modesty he professed an ignorance of all things. There was lack of nothing except, among his colleagues, the decorations of titles. He always said that the man who studied as a disciple under the direction of the Holy Spirit, had accomplished something. When I inquired as to the sum of all learning, he mentioned Christ and Him crucified, saying that all things pointed toward Him. He seemed at one time contemning the earth and praising the heavens; and then again he seemed to be estimating the earth highly, and the heavens as of less value. For he insisted that a close examination of the earth would bring about a proper appreciation of the heavens, and when the value of the heavens had been found, there would be a contempt of the earth. At the same time he entirely disapproved of all that literature which did not bring one nearer to Christ; if it tended to separate one from Christ, he cursed it. He centered all importance in the church, which had been tossed about so many thousands of years upon the world-ocean; to the church were due, he said, all tongues, all history, all reasoning, all signs of nature, all arts of the heavens; then finally one might expect the gift of blessed eternity. Only Christians have knowledge, but it is of God. All remaining things are foolishness, because they come out of one's self. These facts surprised me greatly, when I heard all things made light of, which among others are praised highly. But I was convinced when I remembered why we are born into this world, namely, to enjoy Christ, our absolute necessity, our invaluable gain. But when it falls our lot to die, woe to the miserable literature which has fed us for a few days on smoke! Arise, thou sacred science which shall explain to us Christ, that we may here learn things that are not to be unlearned, but to be increased and extended into all ages!

XXXVII.

TRUTH.

I owe it to the excellent matron, his wife, since she was kind to me, to explain incidentally what kind of a woman she is. Nothing about her is false, everything simple and open. Whatever she sees, against divinity or humanity, she disapproves, but she chooses with kindness and sense. She knows of nothing so objectionable as hypocrisy and sophistry; she looks at all things from top to bottom, and such as she finds them, she makes them known to her husband. She sets no value upon gossip; but rejoices in the silence of the Spirit; if any difference of opinion arises among the women, no one is more fit for conciliation than she is. Her conversation is brief and full of Christ, as is self-evident, and she convinces her adversaries without excitement. She preserves her modesty inviolate, though several times she was wooed by the philosophers on account of the charm of her countenance. Oh, marriage, blessed and much to be preferred by all persons, which unites those who are joined unencumbered with prejudices, cringing flattery, and falsehood! And though they are deceived by them, the deception pleases them and they prefer to hear monstrous fabrication rather than facts that are in accord with their own feelings. Alas for such willing blindness, such voluntary sadness! In the presence of their dead bodies they dream of immortality; in the darkness they dream of clear light; in the midst of crime they dream of a well regulated life; with shackles on their feet, of wings; and what not..How true it is that the number of fools is never greater nor more intolerable than among those who profess wisdom. This most praiseworthy woman has done me this kindness, that she warned me of many mistakes, never before known to me.

XXXVIII.

the tongue.

The chancellor whom I mentioned above was in the neighborhood. He, too, is anxious to be called a minister of Christians. He is of great importance; hence I would consider him a very bad influence in a wicked state, but an excellent one in a good state. They make sport of us who believe that he hears one thing and speaks another. I have found him frank and even perhaps somewhat heedless. He has good cause for avoiding intemperance; as a matter of fact, he married Moderation, a woman of excellent counsel, and she, as she is very observant of sacred silence, tempers all his conversation very happily. When he has to speak of God, he trembles; when of Christ, he exults; when of the Holy Spirit, he becomes enthusiastic; when his speech concerns man, he grieves; when it concerns nature, he investigates; when Satan, he is disgusted; when the world, he is ashamed; when death, he smiles; when heaven, he looks up. Never does he seem to be doing less than when he discusses daily matters; to such a degree he says we are engaged in details. He values time not to the first minute, but to the sixth or seventh, so that hour-glasses are not at all required. Coins are not cared for elsewhere, as he guards his words, for fear some hateful or poisonous one will escape his lips. And so all around the Word of God resounds, Jesus speaks, the Holy Spirit breathes, man is ennobled, human nature is controlled, Satan gnashes his teeth, the world laughs, death loses its sting, and the heavens open. It is surely an admirable instrument of God, which guards the oaths and rights of humanity, and is anxious to imitate the Word of God. For what Christ is to the universe, that this interpreter is to this Christian society, in that he brings to light all that is hidden, and makes known the secret corners. If God favors, he praises Him; if He tests misdeeds, he confesses; if He is angry, he intercedes; and if He imposes a cross, he accepts it. If Satan interferes, he disputes the matter; if the flesh oppresses him, he sighs; and if supplies are withheld, he warns; what need of more cases? Whatsoever the Creator commands and is befitting the creature, he attempts according to his own ability and carries out with the readiest obedience, while the carnal-minded carry around burning torches in their mouths with which they set God, men, the world, and themselves afire, so that finally they blaze in inextinguishable flame.

XXXIX.

THE LIBRARY.

When now I had paid my respects to these chief men, I was to be shown the halls of the citadel. There were twelve, destined to preserve the public affairs, all arched, thirty-three feet wide, thirty-three feet long, but not over twelve feet high. In the first room, a library of considerable size, were guarded the creations of great and innumerable natures, divided into groups and distributed according to subject-matter. Whatever we think has been lost, this I found there, to my very great surprise, almost without exception. There is no language on earth which has not contributed something of its own to this place, no mind which is not here represented. Yet the citizens seemed to me not to consider the use of it very highly, and they were satisfied with fewer books the more thorough ones. The highest authority among them is that of sacred literature, that is, of the Divine Book; and this is the prize which they recognize as conceded by divine gift to men and of inexhaustible mysteries; almost everything else they consider of comparatively little value, yet they are very well read and fortified in advance by this remedy, that they admire nothing that is mere babble. And they write books too, not because of any desire for reputation, but with a view toward spreading the Christian faith, scorning the world, and rebuking Satan. This is the ardent desire of all, to realize how little one really knows, and from this starting-point to aspire to the true knowledge and to disdain the vain boast of the human mind. But there are many things which it is expedient not to know in this life, wherefore a holy simplicity is for many a library in itself. Others say they have enough to study out of the volume of this universe. While very many assert that they find more within themselves and trace the sources of all arts more easily, than out of whole piles of books. And so they are disgusted with all things in the world which do not have in them anything godly, and they collect them for a mockery of the human mind that they may convince their people of the uselessness of such. Farewell then to books, if we

follow them only! Hail Christ, the Book of Life, out of which more easily, surely, and safely we may learn all.

XL.

THE ARMORY.

Of the armory, which lies on the other side, they have a still more critical opinion. For while the world especially glories in war-engines, catapults, and other machines and weapons of war, these people look with horror upon all kinds of deadly and death-dealing instruments, collected in such numbers; and they show them to visitors not without disapproval of human cruelty disapproval, because so much is being contrived for seeking and dealing death, when death itself is so very near, and even hidden in one's bosom; disapproval, that a man will take such a risk to bring upon his nearest brother that at which he himself trembles; that so much danger is being overlooked in the hope, doubtful and for the most part treacherous, of some gain or another; finally that such fierceness and violence is expended upon striving for things of absolutely no value, when a greater and more deadly danger impends from Satan, the world, and even from our own selves. However, they do bear arms, though unwillingly, for keeping off some greater evil, and they distribute them privately among the individual citizens, that they may serve in the homes in the case of sudden emergency. Meantime, they impress all the more seriously upon them that they be mindful of their spiritual armor, never expose their bodies, defenseless and bare of virtues, to Satan, never through drunkenness and gluttony forget their watches, but that they be swift and brave at their stations, elude the enemy in ambush, and when he takes the offensive, repel him, strengthened with the spirit of God.

XLI.

THE ARCHIVES.

The hall adjoining the library is set apart for preserving the judicial proceedings, laws, and public acts of the state. Here one may see the annals of many periods, from them behold the words and deeds of their predecessors, and compare these with the things accomplished or being accomplished at present. If anything has been honorably and bravely done, it stands out as an example and a stimulus; if otherwise, they have opportunity to change and, as it were, upbraid themselves. No one may be ignorant of the past history of his country; but the latter so strongly re-echoes every age, that they think they have lived in almost any age. Those who have excelled in merit to the advantage of their country, have great reputation; nor do those have less fame who have shone forth in loyalty to God, good sense toward the citizens, bravery against the enemy, or genius in the direction of the arts. When others neglect this, they are not without blame. How few people of to-day know the movements, plans, and transactions of a former age, or hear the lives of predecessors openly and frankly described! Meantime people dream that they all were demigods; and if anyone says they have made a mistake in anything, they resent it. No one really writes about the affairs of the world except flattery, the greatest enemy of posterity. Flattery loves the deceit herself, and so rejoices to pass it along to her children; though her own people accuse each other mutually, though they live basely in fact, yet their lives as pictured by the parasites, are the very images of virtue. Hence it is that many consider the biographies of the elders somewhat doubtfully, when they see that they stand forth from the pens of the authors on a slippery footing. The frankness of just one man, Thanus, received the applause of the public; but though one may praise, he is hardly permitted to imitate. If anyone would attempt the same thing among his own people, he would be flogged. Men are so base that though they do not at all revere the sight of God, yet they themselves can hardly bear to look upon their likenesses represented according to life, nor to expose them to the view of posterity.

XLII.

PRINTING.

Next to this is situated the printing shop, the home of an invention that has proved itself for both the advantage and the disadvantage of our age; in this place at least it is harmless. For beyond the Holy Scriptures and those books which instruct the youth and aid the devotion of the citizens, little printing is done. Private copies of the Bible are owned by individuals in their own language, as are also principles of confession, books of hymns and prayers, and such other documents as make for piety. Whatever inquiries benefit the school, are printed in great numbers so that they may serve Christian boyhood. Scattering literature which expresses doubt concerning God, which corrupts the morals or imposes upon man's mind is not permitted. To whatever extent printing presses are defended elsewhere, they nevertheless err to the limit; for though everyone's curiosity is satisfied, one's own ambition and the purse of the printer, yet no concern is felt for God, or the harm to one's neighbor. How many vast volumes of nothingness, what a mass of lies and fallacies are accumulated in the twofold output of the year! One is surprised that there are men who can read through even the titles. For these are the fruits of a learned, boastful age, that the wise and the unwise, side by side and publicly, trifle with such an abundance of productions, and think that unless someone has placed their name in the public market catalogue, it is all up with literature and religion. For nothing can be collected so foolishly, invented so tastelessly, described so crudely, presented so uselessly but the bookshops will keep it.

XLIII.  
the treasury.

Adjoining the armory is the treasury; this has no use at all among the citizens, but is not to be scorned in its relation to foreigners. No one would believe what an amount of coined gold and silver there is here in stock; with it they may pay tribute to Caesar, support mercenaries when it becomes necessary, trade with foreigners, give to strangers, and support their industries. Whatever has money value, they think has least value; what has been purchased with blood, has the greatest value. The inscriptions on the coins are, on the one side, // God Be with Us Who Can Be Against Us, and on the other side, The Word of the Lord Endures Forever. The former face bears the representation of an eagle with a cross athwart; the latter, their city resting on a book. And so, money which weakens every other part of the world, lies here unnoticed and of no further value except for its usefulness; and it has no need of an especial guard, since no one in the republic can use it. So here men are served without injury by that which among others is injurious and insuppressible, more than all dragons and monsters. To money is due public corruption; with it the heavens are sold, the soul is fettered, the body bound, hell bought. Whatever sin is committed is attributed to money and not unjustly, when men accuse themselves before having been caught by so very cheap a thing. How easily bought is the human race which has sold its Christian liberty to Antichrist, its natural liberty to tyranny, and its human liberty to sophistry; and has surrendered its wretched efforts for the cheapest return: superstition, servitude, and ignorance!

XLIV.

THE LABORATORY.

Behind the treasury is the laboratory, dedicated to chemical science and fitted out with most ingenious ovens and with contrivances for uniting and dissolving substances. No one here need fear because of the mockery, falseness, or falsehoods of impostors; but let one imagine a most careful attendant of nature. Here the properties of metals, minerals, and vegetables, and even the life of animals are examined, purified, increased, and united, for the use of the human race and in the interests of health. Here the sky and the earth are married together; divine mysteries impressed upon the land are discovered; here men learn to regulate fire, make use of the air, value the water, and test earth. Here the ape of nature has wherewith it may play, while it emulates her principles and so by the traces of the large mechanism forms another, minute and most exquisite. Whatever has been dug out and extracted from the bowels of nature by the industry of the

ancients, is here subjected to close examination, that we may know whether nature has been truly and faithfully opened to us. Truly that is a humane and generous undertaking, which all who are true human beings deservedly favor. Others, on account of the wickedness of too many or angered by their unhappiness, refuse with foolish haughtiness every investigation of nature and examination of human reason, considering themselves sufficiently wise when they make attempts at the most ingenious art, with one or the other form of mockery, and do not at all remember how infinitely many things they accept and believe only because they have been marked down and mentioned to them; how carelessly they spurn the most evident gifts and remedies of nature, and yet obey the most ridiculous tales of peddlers and quacks. I have transgressed, I suppose, against the haughtiness of many, and against the prejudice of many; but they will grant me their forgiveness when they hear that I did not exercise this art but only watched it; and being of courteous nature, I interpreted it more kindly and advantageously.

XLV.

THE DRUG SUPPLY HOUSE.

Outside the gate now, stands the pharmacy, and no place in the world has a more carefully selected collection. For inasmuch as the citizens have a strong inclination toward the natural sciences, this pharmacy is for them a veritable miniature of all nature. Whatsoever the elements offer, whatever art improves, whatever all creatures furnish, it is all brought to this place, not only for the cause of health, but also with a view toward the advancement of education in general. For how can the division of human matters be accomplished more easily than where one observes the most skillful classification, together with the greatest variety! This is a very liberal conception, though contrary to the accepted school, and it is entirely inseparable from literature. For what a narrow thing is human knowledge if it walks about as a stranger in the most wholesome creations and does not know what advantage this or that thing bears to man, yet meanwhile wanders about in the unpleasant crackle of abstractions and rules, none the less boasting of this as a science of the highest order! It should rather be the aim, after something has been accomplished with that theory, to prove its practical value to men; after the nomenclature of things, to recognize also the things themselves. Shall theory be so needy that after receiving the precepts of the arts, she should make no attempt at the accomplishment of anything and in the very profession of scholarliness, should consult those who are unlearned? There is enough of our life, if it is spent economically, that we may obtain the best things far more easily than the worst. There is more vexation and irksome labor in the foolishness with which men wear out their powers, than in those things which can raise them aloft and admit them to a contemplation of our earth. So they are whirled around and whirl others about in a perpetual maelstrom in irrevocable infamy.

XLVI.

ANATOMY.

They have also a place given over to anatomy, that is, the dissecting of animals, because nothing is so nearly a miracle as the workshop of the bodies of living things, and especially of man, who may be called a miniature example, an epitome, of the whole world. The value of ascertaining the location of the organs and of assisting the struggles of nature no one would deny, unless he desires to be as ignorant of himself as are the barbarians. And yet there are some persons, even among the educated, who do not know where they live, feel, breathe, digest, or discharge, except that they think these functions are performed somewhere within their skins. For them, right differs very little from left, or lowest from highest. The inhabitants of Christianopolis teach their youth the operations of life and the various organs, from the parts of the physical body. They show them the wonderful structure of the bones, for which purpose they have not a few skeletons and of the required variety. Meantime they also show the anatomy of the human body, but more rarely because the rather sensitive human mind recoils from a contemplation of our own sufferings. Let us, therefore, lament the fact that our little dwelling so carefully formed, snatched

from so many dangers, and not a few times clad more delicately than damage to life warranted, should end by passing into such a state of foulness and horror. But even as the origin of our life is a thing to blush at, so the rapidity of our dying has its cause of shame with equal merit. Meantime we do hardly find the number of our diseases, nay even, we rarely compute all the afflictions of one member of the human body. Let us then praise our Christ who, though clad in the same flesh as we, obtained for us the ability of sometime being able to take up again our decaying bodies, purified and refined. In consideration of this we will bear the grievous burden of the flesh, readily and willingly, wherever it pleases Him; we will give over all our members to God; we will dedicate them to His service and will freely return them to Him when He demands them.

XLVII.

THE NATURAL SCIENCE LABORATORY.

Upon this follows the hall of physics, and this cannot be too elegantly described. For natural history is here seen painted on the walls in detail and with the greatest skill. The phenomena in the sky, views of the earth in different regions, the different races of men, representations of animals, forms of growing things, classes of stones and gems are not only on hand and named, but they even teach and make known their natures and qualities. Here you may see the forces of agreement and of opposition; you may see poisons and antidotes; you may see things beneficial and injurious to the several organs of man's body. When I have mentioned these things, it is all of no value unless you shall see everything before your eyes. For if you should wish to examine only those cases even, in which the rare, freakish, and unusual specimens of nature are kept, there would be no end. Truly, is not recognition of things of the earth much easier if a competent demonstrator and illustrative material are at hand and if there is some guide to the memory? For instruction enters altogether more easily through the eyes than through the ears, and much more pleasantly in the presence of refinement than among the base. They are deceived who think that it is impossible to teach except in dark caves and with a gloomy brow. A liberal-minded man is never so keen as when he has his instructors on confidential terms. To what shall we attribute it that we see many professing natural science who hesitate when placed face to face with some little herb, unless we suspect that they have never been admitted to this very pleasant view of nature? If these people should hear citizens of Christianopolis or even boys at their play recognizing, naming, and investigating according to their characteristic marks and signs thousands of herbs, classifying them with respect to diseases, they would blush perhaps, or, what is more to the purpose, they would never leave this auditorium unless they left it instructed with a broader knowledge of nature.

XLVIII.

PAINTING AND PICTURES.

Opposite the pharmacy is a very roomy shop for pictorial art, an art in which this city takes the greatest delight. For the city, besides being decorated all over with pictures representing the various phases of the earth, makes use of them especially in the instruction of the youth and for rendering learning more easy. And so the individual rooms have pictures adapted to them, and they thus advise the youth of the things pertaining thereto. Besides, pictures and statues of famous men, with their manly and ingenious deeds, are to be seen everywhere, an incentive of no mean value to the youth for striving to imitate their virtue. But they are seriously commanded to observe purity, this being taken, I believe, as a result of the audacity and impurity of the world, which poisons the eyes of the innocent with impure pictures. The divisions of this art, or rather the comrades, are architecture, perspective, methods of pitching and fortifying camps, and even sketches of machines and statistics. Whatever of the dramatic spiritual things have, or whatever else there may be like literary elegance, it can all be seen here, purposely prepared for scholars. The very time, which these people spend with a view toward this learned enjoyment, others waste oftentimes in dice, chess, or in other still more foolish games; from these, the latter get the following wonderful use: that for examining into matters and explaining them to other people they

have no knowledge at all, but they gaze in useless wonder. How much more happily the others practice with the brush, so that wherever they enter, they bring along their experienced eyes, their hands adapted to imitation, and what is of greater importance, a judgment equal to and already trained for things, not unfruitful or mean. At the same time also the beauty of forms is so pleasing to them that they embrace with a whole heart the inner beauty of virtue itself and the elegance of a Christian life.

XLIX.

#### MATHEMATICAL INSTRUMENTS.

Adjoining this workshop is an excavated place for mathematical instruments, a testimony of human acuteness and energy against our mortal chains. For though the sky is so far distant from us and the wings of our original perfection are wanting, yet we are not willing that anything should take place there without our knowledge. Hence we determine the ways of the stars with a number of mechanical devices, and mark them down, to such a degree of accuracy that it is surprising that man could have enough patience and perseverance to enter upon such theories. I will not enumerate the instruments here, inasmuch as nearly all of them are understood from the description of the most eminent Tycho Brahe. 1 A very few have been added, and among these is the very valuable telescope recently invented. The instruments which serve the purpose of geometry are here, and a great number of the common ones which aid the efforts of students. But why do I rehearse these facts, as if I did not know how useless all ingenious implements seem to the masses who make an effort not to be able to use any mathematical instrument! They betray themselves by this very fact, in that they throw aside half of learning, and though born for practical human affairs, render themselves useless. Therefore, until those who profess to be broadly educated without mathematics shall return into her favor, I shall not believe nor will I bear witness that they are really educated; I will pronounce them only half educated, and they shall bear testimony to this accusation against themselves whenever they shall suffer themselves to be led forth upon the forum of human sciences. When then they shall recognize the value of the instruments of the liberal arts and the profits of computation, and shall skillfully apply them, they should be honored. If like strangers in a foreign land they shall bring to humanity no assistance or counsel or judgment or device, then I think they deserve to be contemned and classed with the tenders of sheep, cattle, and hogs.

XLX.

#### THE MATHEMATICS LABORATORY.

Finally, to hasten on, I saw also the neighboring hall of mathematics, remarkable for its diagrams of the heavens, as the hall of physics is for its diagrams of the earth. Here was represented graphically the primary motion as well as those motions derived from it. A chart of the starstudded heavens and a reproduction of the whole shining host above were shown. Whether one cared to see the hemisphere convex, concave, or flattened; the particular and accurate figures of individual stars; the harmony of the heavenly bodies and their mutual, admirable proportions; geographical charts of the earth; different illustrations representing tools and machines, small models, figures of geometry; instruments of mechanical arts, drawn, named, and explained of all these, nothing was left to be desired. There an opportunity was given to make accurate observations of the positions of heavenly bodies and, a more recent development, observations of the spots on the stars, all made known with incredible care and with an acuteness more than human. Here one's eyes could feed, that is, the eyes of the learned; here were illustrations for short cuts in memorizing. Assuredly when I had observed all these things, I gradually came to be less surprised at the wonderful learning of these people, seeing that it had such mechanical assistance. Generally in the world, though all other things are lavishly spent, no assistance (none at least to speak of) is provided for the youth; on the contrary the students are compelled to struggle with difficulties. If perchance some one of them should break through safely, he has little interest as to how he may draw anyone else out. Nay, if there is advantage to himself in so



doing, he blocks the advances of the one struggling to follow, with new dams and new stones. So expenses are made a boast without practical results, arts without instruction, learning without books, charity without a kindly feeling, in short, a drillingground for a good mind with no desirable exercises.

LI.

the departments of learning.

When I had been conducted from this place to a higher floor, I saw a school, roomy and beautiful beyond expectation, divided into eight lecture halls where the youths, the most valuable asset of the republic, are molded and trained to God, nature, reason, and public safety. For if injunctions are given to individuals to bring up their children excellently, why should they not do the same for the commonwealth that the best method of education and instruction be entered in upon? For this most important of all duties they have furnished this very elaborate place, that they might thus declare their love and care for these, their children of greatest promise, and that they might, as it were, merit future happiness in advance. All this is not after the infamous example of the world. For when the world seems to love her children most of all, she often shuts them up in some out of the way, unhealthy, and even dirty prison, where they are brought into contact with filth and become accustomed to such jails. Here all is open, sunny, and happy, so that with the sight of pictures, even, they attract the children, fashion the minds of the boys and girls, and advise the youths. They are not baked in summer nor frozen in winter; they are not disturbed by noise nor frightened because of loneliness. Whatever is elsewhere given over to luxury and leisure of palaces, is here devoted to honorable recreation and pursuits, an investment that is nowhere more satisfactory or better paying. For even as the earth when well cultivated returns with interest what has been intrusted to it, so youth when steeped in the lifeblood of the republic and impelled to a joyous harvest, pays back everything with usury. This is the summit of happiness, to be able with one and the same effort to preserve the safety of the republic and the adjustment of the future life, so that the children which we bear here, we may find to our satisfaction have been born for the heavens as much as for the earth.

LII.

THE TEACHERS.

Their instructors are not men from the dregs of human society nor such as are useless for other occupations, but the choice of all the citizens, persons whose standing in the republic is known and who very often have access to the highest positions in the state. For surely, no one can properly take care of the youth, unless he is also able to discharge the duties of state; and he who succeeds with the youth, has thereby already established his right to serve in governmental affairs. The teachers are well advanced in years, and they are especially remarkable for their pursuit of four virtues: dignity, integrity, activity, and generosity. For if they are not successful with their scholars and disciples and are not highly valued by the public; if they do not excel others in reverence toward God, uprightness toward their neighbor, and in firmness and moderation in their own lives, and are not an example in virtue; if they do not give evidence of skill, wisdom, and the highest power of judgment for instruction and education, as well as a recognition of crises in the natures of their pupils; if they do not prefer to spur their charges on as free agents with kindness, courteous treatment, and a liberal discipline rather than with threats, blows, and like sternness; if these are not their ideals as instructors, then the citizens of Christianopolis do not deem them worthy of organizing this miniature republic, the successor of the greater, nor of being intrusted with the very substance of their future safety. As they succeed so well in keeping up a condition at all times resembling a state government, they can with good grace warn others, not lightly to expose the very valuable, supple, and active youth to the vilest, most vicious, insipid, and coarsest men, merely because such may be had more cheaply. Under such care children are brought up to waste their parents' goods, not by measures but by whole bins; and perhaps later on they in turn leave behind them children even worse than themselves.

### LIII.

#### THE PUPILS.

Now it will be well to mention who the pupils are and of what sort. All the children of citizens in general, children of both sexes, are taken into training. When they have completed their sixth year, the parents give them over to the state, not without prayers and pious vows. The pupils are divided into three classes: the children, the youth, and the mature. Here they eat and sleep, and receive mental and physical training. The more numerous their offspring, the happier the parents are, for they then lack nothing; from this one fact it can be seen how unrestrictedly the citizens live. No parent gives closer or more careful attention to his children than is given here, for the most upright preceptors, men as well as women, are placed over them. Moreover, they can visit their children, even unseen by them, as often as they have leisure. As this is an institution for the public good, it is managed very agreeably as a common charge for all the citizens. They see to it carefully that the food is appetizing and wholesome, that the couches and beds are clean and comfortable, and that the clothes and attire of the whole body are clean. The pupils wash often and use linen towels for drying. The hair is also combed to prevent anything unclean from collecting. If diseases of the skin or body are contracted, the individuals in question are cared for in good time; and to avoid the spreading of the infection, they are quarantined. They do these things as diligently as the world attends to its duties neglectfully. For there is no need of my mentioning here the dirtiness of the schools, the uncleanness of food and beds, and the rudeness of those in charge toward the scholars; inasmuch as those who have suffered these indignities bear witness not so much with cries and complaints, as with bodies feeble throughout all life, for this very reason.

### LIV.

#### THE nature of instruction.

Their first and highest exertion is to worship God with a pure and faithful soul; the second, to strive toward the best and most chaste morals; the third, to cultivate the mental powers in order, reversed by the world, if any thought of God still remains among the inhabitants of the latter. Moreover, they feel themselves dedicated to God, by the law of their birth into this world, as well as by the agency of their parents. They begin their study not with some absurd deposition, that is, some prelude of foolishness, but with earnest prayers. From this they proceed through the fixed stages of those beginning, those advancing, and those who have completed the course, with high-sounding titles, it is true; but they unlearn these easily on growing more mature. The titles are a great incentive to the degrees, as a noble mind is raised by praise while it is stimulated by a slight disgrace. There is need of strict uprightness on the part of those who give the titles, lest while they are thus playing, they should haply trifle with the youth. This is where much wrong is done in other places, and all the more so because it is not without gain and loss. For to accept pay and to sell the ignorant to the state, is certainly not just. Punishments are inflicted with fasting and work; if there is need, with whipping; in extreme cases, though rarely, by imprisonment. The young men have their study periods in the morning, the girls in the afternoon; and matrons as well as learned men are their instructors. I do not know why this sex, which is naturally no less teachable, is elsewhere excluded from literature. The rest of their time is devoted to manual training and domestic art and science, as each one's occupation is assigned according to his natural inclination. When they have vacant time, they are permitted to engage in honorable physical exercises either in the open spaces of the town or in the field. Here they may contest in running or wrestling, they may play ball, or even exercise with weapons; or, if they are old enough, they may break horses. You will approve of all these, if you do not forget that moderation and careful supervision are required in everything.

### LV.

#### GRAMMAR, THE FIRST DEPARTMENT.

Now we will examine the schools of the arts, they being also divided into three sections in accordance with the age of the pupils. The first is the school of grammar and languages. There, after the requirements of devotion, prayer, and singing have been satisfied, and sacred as well as other wise sayings that tend toward virtue have been spoken, the work of the boys consists in learning to name all sorts of things and actions in the three languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; in being able to repeat them in classes, inflecting them in the comparisons, cases, tenses, proper persons, and numbers; finally in joining them and defining them with modifiers. Here they see to it that what they read, they actually understand, and what they do not understand, they translate into their native tongue. What audacity it is to teach a boy anything at all comprehensive in Latin, when he does not know what you wish or what he is expected to do; with the same effort and profit you might improve his memory in some other foreign language! And how inconsiderate it is to expect any translations into Latin from the mother tongue before the boy knows what Latin is! They are careful too, that they may not overload delicate, fragile natures with too great a variety or amount of studies, as it is but too certain that immature keenness of mind can be most easily dulled in this way so that the mind will be permanently unsettled. They are foolish who conceive extravagant hopes out of the precocity of childhood, and even further these hopes, when generally such a condition ends in dullness. They want firmly-rooted natures and they obtain these through liberal recreation; in this way the memory is strengthened, power of judgment is drawn forth, individual frankness is fostered, and work is gradually adapted to the talents.

LVI.

ORATORY.

The more mature students are taught oratory in this same school, where they learn to refute all sorts of arguments in accordance with the rules of the art, and to adorn their speeches with little flowers of elegance. Much stress is laid upon natural force, less upon artificial form; and so he who is able to further the former, is the best instructor for the youth in oratory. Without nature, art is something barren and shows more traces of painstaking than of actual talent. So, oftentimes good theorists in oratory are poor speakers, inasmuch as in life they desire to seem broad because of their natural ability. However, if speech is an indication of the thought, it is easily evident why at times language does not flow fluently from the tongue. Yet there are some people, for the most part foolish men, who hope to rise through mere imitation, foolish, for as they destroy their own chances and do not reach others, nothing can be quite as split up, rough, and out of place. The thing needed here is native, inborn sense, and a husbanding of whatever peculiar talent God has granted. For there is no master more perfect in eloquence than He who made the language. An admirable instance of this is found in the Holy Scriptures, which do not merely buffet the ears of men, but penetrate the very heart. In this there is no need of exaggeration or of any other extreme foreign form. If one speaks truthfully, modestly, and heartily, he has outdone Cicero in eloquence. To speak briefly, whatever breathes the spirit, will have tremendous effect; whatever smacks of artificiality will be powerless. He has accomplished much who has acquired a taste for God's style; for what fools consider simpleness is nothing other than wisdom. As soon as the orators of the world have ceased talking, the lifeless sound and the elegant form of the words have already escaped; whereas the soul remains unsatisfied. When divine truth calls to us in oratory, the heart glows, the spirit is stirred, one's whole nature becomes active. They should hear these words who are too much satisfied with themselves, as often as they speak without God, nay, even as they confess, with their gods they who despise Christ to such an extent that they prefer in their speeches any idol, any demon to the holy mysteries of Christianity. Meanwhile they lay claim to all elegance of expression in themselves and are sufficiently talkative if the world demands such; but it is to be feared that the same parties will be speechless before the tribunal of Christ.

LVII.

the various languages.

Those who are of sufficient age give their attention also to various modern languages; not merely for the sake of knowing more, but that they may be able to communicate with many peoples of the earth the dead as well as the living; and that they may not be compelled to put faith in every supposed scholar. Learning a language is very easy for them, though other people get so confused. For if they do not acquire fluent use of one language in a year, they think they have accomplished nothing; whereas if other people do not devote ten years to the same task they seem greedy of time. They say that nomenclature is most important, and that a little grammatical study is needed in addition. They begin with easy reading related to a subject already known. One would hardly believe what an advantage the study of cognates is in learning a language. Memorizing and repeated use do the rest. I grieved when I recalled with what disputes I was driven to study so that I did not know what I was doing. Here I learned as if in play, a fact I hardly dare mention lest I awaken envy. Yet I must not omit saying that I learned to consider of comparatively small value the study of languages along with that of literature in general; not that we should throw it all overboard, but that we should not value such study beyond its use. For he is not necessarily wise who speaks in this or the other language, but he who speaks with God. If righteousness and honesty are at hand, it matters little in what tongue they are spoken; if they are absent, it is of no advantage whether one goes astray speaking Greek or Latin. Too easily persuaded are they who attribute to the Latin language the power of making them better educated, rather than to the German. But the Latin language must be preserved because it is in itself valuable in a good many ways, and also because it is biting, and unsympathetic with every trivial contradiction. Then it has what may reproach me, a man woefully untaught in its use, intolerant of its civilization, out of sympathy with its fastidiousness, or, as it itself is wont to insist, barbarous.

LVIII.

LOGIC, THE SECOND DEPARTMENT.

The second school is called that of logic, being named after one of the noblest of arts. Here the boys, when they have already made some progress, learn to apply the instruments of method to every variety of human affairs, to classify whatever is given them, then to form a syllogism that they may see what is necessarily true, what is possible, and where some fallacy of judgment lurks. Here truth has an especial standard by which it may be tested; but as it is rather unpolished, some people from among the proud have applied it carelessly, not to say faithlessly to divine truth. And this is that Helen, for whose sake the Greeks raised such a tumult, and the Trojans perished. She is beautiful, it is true, but she bears herself all too rudely above her surroundings and tramples her equally deserving sisters under foot. One feels like laughing at those who, while they possess this instrument, think they need nothing else, though they lack everything. But they have horns let them use them! No skilled workman boasts of his sun-dial pin or his plumb-line alone, unless there is something of his own work on hand to exhibit. These sophists, when they have proved that man is capable of laughing, that the sun has been obscured, or the equality of two angles of a triangle, sing their own praises as if something had been especially well done; and then they rest leisurely for all time to come. Very differently do those, who provide themselves with all sorts of arts, love to arrange them rationally and in orderly manner, and when there is need, draw them forth one at a time from their several places. This they recognize as the chief good of logic; they do not subject all things to it especially not God. They incite their talented men to recognize what reason has been intrusted to them and to test their own judgment of things lest they find it necessary to seek everything outside of themselves and to bring in the theories from without. For man has within him a great treasure of judging if he prefers to dig it up instead of burying it with mounds and weight of precepts. Yet this is surely the very kernel of all reason, to listen to God obediently who is as far from all falseness and counterfeit as He is always closely joined to the truth. Let us in truth love the true. Let us not seek a reason from Him who is above all reason.

LIX.

METAPHYSICS.

In this place others hear lectures on metaphysical science, which withdraws from everything concrete, and soars aloft to the first beginnings of creation, a science indeed worthy of a man whose natural bent takes him from earthly things. Here they look at the true, the good, the beautiful, unity, order, and the like, all the more successfully because they have divine light in addition. Where philosophers have groped in darkness, they consult the divine sun and ascend to the known God, who was unknown to the pagans. Moreover it would be surprising if a man who has traveled mentally so far that he can differentiate between elements and things, should return so basely to his own body and should wallow with it -in all sorts of filth; or that one who could see the true vision of the good and the beautiful, should be caught and deceived so easily by the false, the evil, and the misshapen. It appears, however, that a slippery place is found wherever man goes out of himself and that he falls staggering. And so, he would stand most firmly grounded in one true and good God, who would deliver to Him a soul stripped of the garments of the flesh. Such a one shall hear things that cannot be related, and he shall behold the universe, as it was created in the original perfection, in a sky, not darkened nor yet overcolored but clear as crystal. So with the greatest delight on his own part, and with no little admiration of others, he will understand the first lines of art and the first points of things. This true beauty, while it is unknown to many, produces in them a nausea for this world and leaves the body itself unattractive because of a number of imperfections and the heaviest burdens of the earth. Thus, persistently and eagerly the citizens of Christianopolis are in this hall that they may acquire the ability to leave themselves and learn to withdraw from earthly matters. By this means they find themselves again, and receive far nobler qualities with interest.

LX.  
theosophy.

This same hall serves also for the study of something still higher, and this is theosophy, a science which does not recognize any human invention or research, but which owes its whole existence to God. Where nature ends, this begins; and, taught by the highest divinity, it preserves its sacred mysteries religiously. Few men, even among the most faithful, may embrace theosophy, for it is only God who can work benefits, with His light or with the cross. God reveals Himself in a moment; He keeps Himself long within His shrines; He is always the best, though rarely seen; yet His infinite works have been revealed and in them every true Christian may rejoice. We are without foresight who prefer Aristotle, who value this insignificant little man and not the wonderful works of God, which put him to shame. He never could nor did he wish to believe the fiat of God, the service of the angels, the spirit of fire, the density of water, the pressure of the atmosphere, the raising up of the earth, the immortality of man, the voice of the dumb animal, the inertia of the sun, the bounds of the earth; yet these are all established facts with us. If we would but give ear to God, far greater wonders than these have been set forth at His throne. Why should we not listen to Him, when His very smallest single act deserves all faith with us, and is invincible? If we believe one miracle, we must accept all which He offers us; for how can we distinguish between the works of Omnipotence? So this school is one of humility and obedience, where young minds learn to submit to the words of God and in His secrets rather to apply a devout silence than unseemly inquisitiveness. Let philosophy worry as it will; theosophy rests easily. Let her contradict, theosophy will give thanks. When the other hesitates, this one sits securely at the feet of Christ. Happy is the man who rises at the first call of God; happier he who follows; and happiest who never once looks back, but continually presses on. This is the chief thing in the prayers and desires of a holy man: if God is pleased, it is well; if He wishes us exercised and crushed because of the weakness of our flesh, God's will be done.

LXI.  
ARITHMETIC, THE THIRD DEPARTMENT.

The third hall is named for arithmetic, the very home of all subtleness. He who is One and Three

has endowed this with infinite riches. If you consider human need there is no branch of knowledge to which this does not bear some help of first importance. If you consider the undertakings of man's mind, you will discover that man struggles almost with infinity, in this one direction, and worms his way far into the secrets of progression. I am disposed to say that a man who does not know arithmetic is ignorant of a great deal. Hence, this study is pursued by the inhabitants of Christianopolis with the greatest perseverance, and every day they find in it something to admire, something which sharpens their wits and lessens their labors. In algebra they have no equals, because it calls forth all the powers of man, treats physical units in an entirely unique manner, and solves the most intricate problems with incredible keenness. But they do not forget what an effort it requires to untie the snares set by Satan, when even human skill can involve one so far; what power of computing would be needed to unravel the riddles of the world, what need of examination to explain the impossibilities of the flesh, when so much labor is expended in tracing the principles and sources of an art! Even though they strive after nothing at all more lofty, yet they think that such persons should not be tolerated who, out of pure laziness, deprive themselves of a convenience in computing and so variously applicable a short method in problems. And if they should hear that there are among human beings such as these, who nevertheless boast of their learning, I doubt if they could refrain from giving some offense. For among them it is evident that they do not permit their citizens to be ignorant of all these arts and yet strut about as office-holders. If among people of the other type it shall begin to be proper to have real knowledge, and this knowledge be applied to doing things, zealous talent, I imagine, will not be wanting to many, nor will fortune desert them. Meanwhile we will regard those as generous who, though they do not actually favor the arts, at least do not persecute them with extreme hatred.

#### LXII. GEOMETRY.

The next in order are those who study geometry, the own sister of arithmetic, a science which expresses in lines what arithmetic does in numbers. Hence it adapts itself especially to human wants and applies the deepest propositions and theorems to practical matters with admirable diligence. For geometry measures not only the dimensions which are near at hand, as the top or the bottom, nor merely regular shapes, but all figures besides. It passes through them, changes, balances, transfers, raises, and plays a most elegant part in all human labors. If one desires theoretical research, nothing is more subtle; if one desires to apply practical problems, nothing is more convenient or rapid. If you intrust to it any talent, the same is returned nimble and applicable to anything. Hence, the inhabitants of Christianopolis set much store by it, since they see that there is no art which is not rendered easier by it, and that man becomes more expert for taking up such arts. Among the thoughtless this art becomes worthless even as all the rest of mathematics. It is very evident, however, that they pay the penalty for it, in that they have to exert themselves more in their labors, and even watch other people's short cuts with tearful eyes. Why should it be surprising that geometry is neglected when intrigue, avarice, gluttony, vice, and wrath, yea even stupidity and rashness, have no measure and will tolerate none? The citizens of Christianopolis, while they measure various things, first of all make an especial effort to measure and weigh themselves, then also to value the goodness of God. For it is not of so much importance for us to know the acreage of our little fields, as the meagerness of our little bodies, the narrowness of the grave, and the comparative insignificance of the whole earth. In this way the vanity of our brain will most easily contract, and the swelling of our heart will subside. This will help render man forgetful of himself, patient in misfortune, appreciative of God, and mindful of future death that we may prefer to grow in value, rather than that we be brought from our former state of little value, to nothing by an angry God.

#### LXIII. MYSTIC NUMBERS.

Those who are older rise even higher. God has His numbers and measures, and it is fitting that man should regard them. Surely that supreme Architect did not make this mighty mechanism haphazard, but He completed it most wisely by measures, numbers, and proportions, and He added to it the element of time, distinguished by a wonderful harmony. His mysteries has He placed especially in His workshops and typical buildings, that with the key of David we may reveal the length, breadth, and depth of divinity, find and note down the Messiah present in all things, who unites all in a wonderful harmony and conducts all wisely and powerfully, and that we may take our delight in adoring the name of Jesus. Moreover, these matters are not understood through any human skill, but rest upon revelation and are communicated to the faithful and from one to the other. Therefore they walk into a veritable labyrinth whosoever borrow poles and compasses from human philosophy with which to measure the New Jerusalem, figure out its registers and sacred computation, or fortify it against the enemy. Let it be sufficient for us that Christ has made plain to us all the means which strive to improve and support life; let us all be careful not to approach too hastily everything that glistens, unless the figure of Christ is evident and beckons us into the hidden inner parts. This over-confidence has deceived some of the greatest men, and all the more contrary to expectation, because it seemed to them that they were not speaking without inspiration. In this cabala it is advisable to be rather circumspect, since we have considerable difficulty in present matters, grope in events of the past, and since God has reserved the future for Himself, revealing it to a very limited number of individuals and then only at the greatest intervals. Let us then love the secrets of God which are made plain to us and let us not, with the rabble, throw away that which is above us nor consider divine things on an equal basis with human; since God is good in all things, but in His own, even admirable.

LXIV.

MUSIC, THE FOURTH DEPARTMENT.

The fourth school is spoken of as that of music, and one cannot enter it unless one has had arithmetic and geometry; for it depends to a considerable extent upon measure and number. Here again man has given a specimen of his excellence, inasmuch as he multiplies three tones with limitless variety; so that he excels not only in language but even in the cries of animals and in the songs of birds. "He even vies with heaven, where there is always melody. It can never be computed what trivial things man turns to the highest uses. With very few letters he speaks so many tens of thousands of words; with very few tones he produces an infinite symphony. Yet the world has not been able to keep from abusing the legitimate joy of heaven with the evil of Satan, and subjecting it to deceit. So it comes that we have the madness of dancing, the frivolity of vulgar songs, the wickedness of roisterers. All of these things have been long ago driven out of this republic and are now unheard. They like that sort of music which has a prophetic spirit, a whole-souled harmony resounding to the heavens. Whatever the saints have composed, whether it be of a joyful, lamenting, commending, or beseeching nature, this is the material for their music: and daily outbursts of the spirit increase the supply. Here sacred poetry lends its / assistance, yet not the sort which sings of Venus and Bacchus. Moreover, they have an exact distribution of voices according to age and sex, so that when they meet in public the tones of all of them can sound forth in harmonious concert. Nothing can be compared with the majesty of this music; for when the favor of the Holy Spirit, the success of the composition, impressiveness of the words, and the force of harmonious volume unite, the greatest charm must result. And they have this advantage too, that the chief points of the Christian religion, examples of an upright life, the most memorable of the deeds of God, are included in their songs and they receive them into their souls by this agreeable medium. More prudent are they than those of the world, who, when among the blandishments of the flesh they have hummed their indecent and foolish songs long enough, are finally compelled amid the stings of death and pricks of conscience to roar something sadder.

LXV.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

In the theater of mathematics there is also a place for musical instruments, yet here likewise they are employed in great number and variety. You would have difficulty finding anyone who is not skilled in their use, though each one has the liberty to choose which he is partial to, the lute, the violin, harp, or wind instrument; or the combination of all, as it were, the organ, of which they have very elegant specimens. They are in the habit of recommending to their students very accurate technique, that they may foster promptness toward public affairs, and especially readiness and adaptability of the whole body toward God. For they very frequently admonish them that they should be toward their Creator and their neighbor what the hand which moves, raises, and lowers the fingers according to an inner impulse and outer marks is to music. This might well be mentioned to those who are on all sides subjected to the rules and requirements of an art, but do not care to listen to God who would attune them to His instruments and offer them, what they call a tabulatura, of the duty they owe Him. Hence these discords in the various ranks of life, the confusion of human works and ceremonies, and the neglect of divine law sounds which can never be pleasing to God, but must be ever objectionable. It would be better if they would render the laborious services, which they so readily offer the world, to God who is in no manner so severe or harsh but who is more anxious to preserve and care for His instruments, however fragile they be, than the world is desirous of breaking and casting aside her strongest tools.

LXVI.  
the chorus.

That they may contribute to public worship as much as possible, they make use of solemn music also. This they do by means of a chorus which passes through the city once every week, in addition to the holidays. All in the school march two by two, men on the one side, girls on the other; and in proper order they traverse the streets of the city, sending up a hymn to God, as much with the voice as with different kinds of instruments. They are arranged according to age in such a way that the voices are well distributed and the less experienced are reinforced by the more mature. When I was there the one hundred and twentyseventh Psalm was sung, in which the care of the state was intrusted to God. I have never heard more volume or better harmony anywhere, than when they walked with easy step under the arched porticoes. My eyes and ears were thoroughly delighted, and I wished that I might always be able to be present during this sacred service of praise. They do this in imitation of the angelic choir concerning whose songs God Himself bears witness. Since they consider the service, protection, warnings, and instruction of these very highly, and are anxious to have them as near as possible to themselves, they hope, and not without reason, that the heavenly chorus may be singing along in the same measure with them. Who would not believe that these pure souls take more delight in such a public, spiritual joy than they would in the noise of a city confused with the power of the world! Or who would doubt that they offer more to souls raised aloft with a pure joy toward God, than to those sad and worn out under the torture of vanity! They say (and I believe it) that they never return from one of these choral processions except with spirits strengthened and anointed, as it were, with divine breath; that they never feel the guardianship of the angels more closely at hand and remarkably than when their hearts are bubbling over with a complete joy in God. They say that in this way God is praised, the soul is enlivened, the flesh is put aside, the world avoided, and Satan put to flight. But what about the world? While she is playing the fool, snoring, and wasting her oil, the Heavenly Bridegroom has entered and has tightly closed the door behind Him.

LXVII.  
ASTRONOMY, THE FIFTH DEPARTMENT.

Astronomy lays claim to the fifth school, and it is as deserving of humankind as any other art. For with incredible diligence it shows us the movements and gentle rotations of the heavens, the orbits and positions of planets, the location of the constellations, their arrangements and differences, then also the number and size of the visible stars and their relations to each other, almost gives entrance into the very sky, and renders the same, as it were, tributary to this our



own territory. And surely it is worthy being practiced by the kings of the earth, since it seems to command the sky. The inhabitants of Christianopolis set much store by it, nor do they fear falling away by the motion of the earth or being thrown off by unheard of star-dwellers. The honor is sufficient for them, which Christ bestowed upon the earth when He dwelt upon it as a human being. God shall see to the other things. Yet let us examine those now who look at the sky no more observantly than any beast. As far as they are concerned the sun might rise in the west, and but for their calendar they know no time. If these people make any pretensions to knowledge, it is a great disgrace for them to care nothing about what the holy patriarchs studied with the greatest earnestness; whereas if they have no ambition they are to be reproved for keeping on the ground the countenance which was given man to be raised aloft. Every excuse carries with it its disgrace which deprives man of his humanity, or if you please, his divinity. Surely man has not ascended to those highest abodes on his own legs, nor has he observed those most confusing laws without God's guidance. Hence, only the most noble-minded natures have an inclination toward astronomy; the base and earth-born are satisfied to eat acorns and husks.

LXVIII.

ASTROLOGY.

In this same hall, astrology, valued highly for many reasons, is offered. For whatever the earth owes the sky, and whatever the sky communicates to the earth, they who have experienced both test out. The all-wise Creator has so made his greatest work interdependent, that it governs and yet obeys itself. Hence the governing influence of the stars is noted, with a greater admiration of human thirst for knowledge than for dependability of the results. Experience fosters confidence, theoretical reason creates doubt; between the two, the earth confesses her inferiority to the sky. The effect of the sun and the moon are the more easily recognized. Of the remaining stars, those who practice the art have as many differences of opinion. I could not understand, when they conversed with me on the subject, what the inclinations of the inhabitants of Christianopolis were. At any rate, they subject their thoughts, however hampered by the hindrances of the body, to God and God alone. They say that it is an uncertain thing to make everything dependent on the first moment of existence and birth, and from this moment to accept judgment of life or death. And so they emphasize rather this, as to how they may rule the stars, and by faith shake off the yoke if any exists. Hence they recognize a new sky, other stars and movements, where Christ is the moving factor. Through His mercy they break the power of all ill will, of every thing contrary, weak, or foreign. The most fortunate horoscope is that of adoption into the ranks of sons of God, whose Father, when consulted by prayer, rarely is silent upon anything; when besought rarely refuses anything, so far is it from Him to expose them to wanderings of the stars. The wanderer on the earth realizes this; and in the shadow of God he fears no storms of the sky. Those who have wisdom beyond this, are wise to themselves. Moreover, let us not excuse the stupidity of those who, though they seem to themselves to be in a position to crush everything under their feet and even foolishly scorn the very sky, are men according to the days of the week, now servile, now rebels; to-day admirers, to-morrow scoffers; never fair-minded, always crude. For he who does not know the value of astrology in human affairs, or who foolishly denies it, I would wish that he would have to dig in the earth, cultivate and work the fields, for as long a time as possible, in unfavorable weather.

LXIX.

THE heaven of the christians.

There is a great difference between man and man, but a far greater difference between a Christian and a man of the world. The man of the world does not serve as many things as the Christian has dominion over. The latter is not only free from all offense of Heaven, but he is even reconciled to the same. Hence he receives his daily gifts from a friend, as God orders all creatures to be kindly disposed toward the Christian. To what extent the heavens favor the Christian, and how he obeys the impulses of faith, are beyond the conception of the non-believers. How singly he is intent only

on the church, no one outside of her knows or comprehends. The sun, the stars, the rainbow, hail, and dew, to mention only a few with how many blessings have they benefited loyal men! The favor of heaven accompanied the church when it wandered as a stranger from the east into the west, and tamed men whom formerly it had kept as barbarians. The favor of heaven teaches us with prophecies and miracles, rebukes wickedness, raises the heads of the pious, and makes them look up with a hope of restoration. With what wonderful harmony heaven assists the history of the earth and benefits the church in its varying fortunes, it is hardly possible to say. Because only a few care for this, it happens that still fewer grasp the prescribed path of the church in these lands, and though they praise religion, they conclude that flourishing times have come to this age by chance. Meantime they themselves do not consider the words of Antichrist, of Mahomet, and of similar false prophets, nor will they tolerate such investigation on the part of others. Yet they see other clouds arise and they exclaim against them; if they would judge as worthily of the signs of the times, as of the appearances in the sky, they would not have to hear " hypocrites " from Christ. The inhabitants of Christianopolis seek first of all a spiritual heaven and are solicitous for it. They love a physical sky the more because they know it always has been and will continue to be propitious fo Christians. As they have founded their city under its blessed auspices and on a favorable anniversary, they know that the ill will of heaven will never come upon the city as long as it honors God

LXX.

NATURAL SCIENCE, THE SIXTH DEPARTMENT.

The sixth hall has its name from natural philosophy, which I have already suggested in the hall of the same name. How very zealous they are in this field, it is needless to affirm, since the very necessity of the study requires it. For by its help we arrive at a knowledge, general and special, of each world, and examine into the movements, qualities, behaviors, and phenomena of their creatures. By it we discover of what material things are made, what is their form, measure, place, and time; how the heavens move and how they appear, how elements mingle and how they increase, for what purpose living animals and plants exist, of what use metals are, and especially, what the soul, that spark of divinity within us, accomplishes. All these, forsooth, are very beautiful things, and it is below his dignity for man not to know them, after the faithful investigations of so many men. For we have not been sent into this world, even the most splendid theater of God, that as beasts we should merely devour the pastures of the earth; but that we might walk about observing His wonders, distributing His gifts, and valuing His works. For who would believe that the great variety of things, their elegance, advantage, and maturity, and in short, the utility of the earth, had been granted to man for any other reason than for his highest benefit? If anyone believes that all these blessings are due him without gratitude, nay even without consideration on his part, he is basely deceived. It is rather man's duty, now that he has all creatures for his use, to give thanks to God Himself in the place of them all; that is, he should offer to God as much obedience as he observes in His creatures. Then he will never look upon this earth without praise to God or advantage to himself; but with an admonition toward moderate use and exact observation. Blessed are they who use the world and are not used up by it as far as God has generously granted it! He who recognizes Christian liberality will never subject himself to the base servitude of creatures.

LXXI.

HISTORY.

History, that is, a rehearsal of the events of human tragedy, accompanies natural science. Words cannot do sufficient justice to the importance of this. Yet scarcely anywhere among mortal men does it appear uncorrupted, so deep are the secrets of the human heart, so generous our rating of ourselves, so bold our critical judgment of others, so subtle the apologies for human errors. The inhabitants of Christianopolis grasp truth very firmly, and they prefer to tell the truth though it bring shame to them, than to tell a lie to their glory. And so they want everything written down

very plainly, and they confess all their doings, even their faults, frankly in order that posterity may know the events of the past without disguise. It is a very sad thing to look back through so many thousands of years upon the tyranny of Satan, the growth of crime, the monstrous deeds of men, the hideousness of wars, the horrors of massacres, the boasting of conceit, the arrogance of wealth, the confusion of ranks, and the secrets of wickedness. All these conditions succeed each other in the world, recur often, and disturb the entire period. How pleasant it is, on the contrary, to contemplate the champions of God, germs of virtue, dignity of the human soul, abundance of peace, restful quiet, confession of one's shortcomings, the fullness of contentment, varieties of gifts, invincible strength of holiness. There are scholars who are bold enough to be unacquainted with such facts and who rank them with fables; they are very worthy themselves to be told of in fable. Meanwhile, it is clearly evident that as many as are ignorant of past events, are likewise of little value in the present and unprepared for the future, however bold and arrogant they may be as to other things. For as the study of human history makes man gentle, humble, and careful, so the ignorance of it keeps him crude toward himself and others, proud, and hasty toward his own and the state's undoing.

LXXII.

CHURCH HISTORY.

Since the inhabitants of Christianopolis make everything in this world second to the church, they are concerned in its history more than with any other. For as this is the only ark which can contain those to be saved, they prefer to be solicitous about it rather than about the waters of the universal flood. So they relate with what immeasurable goodness of God that insignificant little flock was collected, how it was taken up under His covenant, put in order with laws and fortified with the Word; they tell with what weak instruments it was extended, with what very strong machines it was attacked, with what evident aid it was defended; with how much blood, with what prayers its safety was established, with what a roaring on the part of Satan the banner of the cross triumphed; how readily the tares grow up, how often its light is drawn back into a corner, how many eclipses the light suffered, especially severe and dense under Antichrist; how it emerged oftentimes out of desperate circumstances, and in our own age under the guidance of the great Luther; with what filth and spots it is frequently besmirched, how much trouble it has with the sons of the flesh. Many such points as these, as well as periodical and harmonious changes in the church, they have at hand, and impress them carefully upon the youth that they may learn to trust God, distrust the flesh, scorn the threats of the world, and bear patiently the darkness of this age. This is all very well too, however others may boast of their neglect of ecclesiastical history. For how little the latter is required even in the case of ministers, and how very little, where it is offered, is done in comparison with one or a second syllogism, need not be enlarged upon in this place. This is a trick of Satan who, while he removes from before our eyes the past disputes of the pious, and the scourges of heresy, leaves any possible clouds of the church, in place of the serene and unmistakable light, until we under some delay gradually accustom ourselves to superstition and wickedness. Oh, if men would but stop to look back at the seriousness of our reformation, simony and a false impression of security would not impose upon so many; and oh, that religion would be guarded more seriously which abhors not only the Roman doctrine, but her morals also! Meantime the inhabitants of Christianopolis think very often not so much of the church in the larger sense, but also of their own small one within their hearts, that whatever is done within them for the spirit against the flesh and on behalf of heaven against hell, as often as they are conscious of the divine Presence, they may note it down, that thus they may believe and know that they are the elect and beloved of God.

LXXIII.

ethics, the seventh department.

The seventh school has ethics as its chief subject, their guide in all human virtues, in prudence, justice, moderation, bravery, and kindred qualities; not only do they wish her to be careful in

precepts and rules, but in very deed, especially shining in daily examples. It is ridiculous to advise others to do what we contradict in our lives. Those who boast of nothing but heaven, should not savor of the earth; those who inculcate justice should do injury to none; those who advocate temperance should not live in extravagance; those who boast of bravery should never be cast down. If there are any who go in advance, those are not lacking who follow, whose examples are very many. Here they give reward for work done; for they drive from the society of good men every item of luck. They say that fortune is purely fictitious and rests upon our own notion; that we seek or shun respectively, what we picture good or bad for ourselves. Since it could be in our power, that conditions be always sufficiently well with us, we accomplish as a result of our own persuasion that we must needs suffer evil and be in want. They say that we will always be in need, as long as we desire what we cannot obtain; that we will always have abundance, as long as we possess only those things of which no one can deprive us. This is altogether true; for no one else is to blame for our unhappiness except ourselves, we who, while we covet individually what is due to all, and while thus keep attacking other people's rights, always have one with whom to quarrel there is always someone who may conquer or suppress us; or if no one actually disturbs us, surely we never satisfy ourselves. And since the citizens of this ideal city understand these facts, they are not willing that their greatest treasure should dwell anywhere except in their own breasts. And because they do not want a purely imaginative treasure they believe and recognize Christ as the one by whose love they are joined together in perfect mutual friendship, by whose perfect truth they are directed, whose perfect courtesy they obtain, by whose perfect generosity they are covered, or, to mention it all in one, by whose humanity they are ennobled. That it may please us to imitate this, or that it may be permitted through those who usually fill the earth with the basest morals and vainest practices, I do with a whole heart pray God, the author, preserver, and rewarder of a moral and well regulated life.

LXXIV.

THE GOVERNMENT.

More subtle than this is government, which very evidently employs a constructive mind for ruling men and for protecting population. I have already said that they have preferred government by aristocracy to other forms, because ^ I this approaches more closely to the Christian society. In this they establish three good qualities of man: equality, the desire for peace, and the contempt for riches, as the world is tortured primarily with the opposites of these. They have also put the culture of the soul on a higher plane and have made it known, that anyone may know himself more easily. The chief point with them is that Christians ought to be different from the world round about, in morals as well as in religion, that they ought not be permitted to do everything, though it be right for others; that they ought not tolerate all that others bear. They say that the Gospels require a different government than that of the world, and that the judgment of it lies with the Christian religion. They chide the world for permitting haughtiness among those in high places, immorality among the clergy, dishonesty among office-holders, extravagance among the citizens, deviations from the right by all persons; and only on this one pretext, because they are men. For they say that this merely denotes a lack of serious attempts and a correct constitution of government, since man is really not an untamable animal; afterwards even the very wrestlinggrounds of evils are opened so that it is surprising that even now one can resist. They say that very many practices also, which are evil and harmful, are looked upon as good and praiseworthy; and the criticism of these is not permitted. Excellent laws stand out to the view; but if anyone would urge their enforcement, he would be ridiculed. It did not seem to them, they said, that a government was formed after the model of Christ,, where God was made of less account than men, the soul less, than the body, the body less than riches; where the vices of wealth are not considered a crime; the virtues of poverty not praiseworthy; where the instigator of crime receives a reward; the one corrupted, death; where the soul of a man may be sold for any price.

I could not answer all these arguments, however much I tried. So I referred the matter to the political scientists of our age, who would not portray the world in so many volumes unless they

knew what would be profitable to the affairs of mortals. Yet I have thought that many things are said against the morals of our age not unjustly, which could be; corrected with no greater difficulty than that with which the world maintains her own. We see that our own affairs can be well enough defended from injury, provided we look upon divine things and the holy name of God with some reverence; since some are said to have observed superstitiously, others fanatically; but only the Christians by their own boasting do not blush to enumerate them among impossibilities.

LXXV.

CHRISTIAN POVERTY.

It is not sufficient for Christians to be good according to the teachings of ethics and government, but they choose as their model Christ Himself, a far higher Master. As He is the most perfect embodiment of the highest virtues, He deserves to have imitators. Moreover these virtues go beyond human excellencies and are included under the symbols of the cross; and those, who have devoted themselves closer to man, have called these Christian poverty, by which we renounce even the things that are permitted the world, that we may possess only Christ. Those who join this group unlearn, leave, and bear everything. They prefer simplicity to intelligence, ignorance to knowledge, silence to eloquence, humility to dignity, credulity to shrewdness, want to abundance, studying to teaching, bearing to doing; and whatsoever things are considered lowly on earth, provided they are harmless, these they desire. Do not believe that these are Roman Minorites, slothfully and grasping of all that is greatest on this earth; nor yet hypocritical saints of their own understanding and secret pride. It is a happy race of men, and skilled in whatsoever they do on earth. Whatever they have of the gifts of God, they divide in common, reserving almost nothing for themselves. They are not irritated by being offended, nor puffed up by fame; they are not elated by abundance, nor yet depressed by poverty; they do not admire hair-splitting arguments, they do not consider the most insignificant things below their notice; they are not worried by the threats of the age, they are not caught by report of things of the present; they are not disturbed by noise, nor are their wits sharpened by separation from others; they are not afflicted in life nor terrified by death. There are only a very few of these, nor could they easily be other than such as already have penetrated through all things, to whom already human affairs and human knowledge are apparent, to whom after the wanderings on the earth the only thing in their wishes is the certainty of heaven. No one is more voluntarily foolish, none more surely ignorant, none more easily in want, no one more readily serves, than those who, respectively, are experienced in controlling the slipperiness of wisdom, the windings of knowledge, the burdens of possessions, the risks of dangers. Hence those who are accustomed to laugh at and criticise such people, only bear witness by that very fact that they have no taste for human affairs, but wallow about in the very mire out of which they arose by the grace of God.

LXXVI.

THEOLOGY, THE EIGHTH DEPARTMENT.

Now the eighth school is left, which is devoted to theology, the queen of all that human beings possess, and the mistress of philosophy. This, first of all, teaches the mode of expression of the Holy Ghost in the Holy Scriptures; their strength, elegance, efficacy, and depth, that the students may know what is meant by this or that diction and this or that combination of words; and that they may learn to admire this sort of language more than all the eloquence of this earth. Then they are urged toward a devout imitation of this divine speech that, when they shall have collected for themselves from their boyhood days a mighty treasure of holy thoughts, they may know how to adapt them also to the needs of mortals, and may learn to speak to others with the same spirit, the same words with which the apostles of Christ preached the Gospel to the people. Thirdly, they arm them with the arguments and the firmness of the unconquered Word so that, when they are attacked by heresies or when the father of false argument, Satan himself, battles against them, they may understand how to defend the sincerity of truth borrowed from the source of truth, and that they may learn how to preserve the clear fountains of Israel in every time and place from the

contamination of earthly mire or human theorizing. This they call scholastic theology, which teaches them to know, imitate, and defend the words of Holy Writ; and in this they train their students so as to remind them that these matters do not of themselves actually accomplish anything in Christianity, but that they do tend toward preparing one for accomplishing something. Moreover, they avoid the names of sects especially, nor do they at all willingly pronounce them; and though they love to hear the name of Lutheran, yet they strive first of all to be Christians. From which I gather that they do not agree with those who, though they admit any translation as safe, and go securely to sleep with the same, are not very much concerned whether the Holy Spirit has said this or something else. Next, that they do not restrict all theology to the experience of addressing an audience, since it may occur that a man, as wicked as he is ignorant, will speak forth to the people borrowed words even though they be holy. On the other hand they do not admire those by whom all theology is converted into daggers, swords, and bows, and who admit no worship of God except it be of a disputatious or contentious nature. Finally I gather, that they do not permit every harmless difference of opinion to generate factions and hate, but teach their pupils in such a way that, as often as there is need, they may be able to form opinions on versions of the Scriptures, address assemblies, defend the truth, avoid schisms, and what is perhaps more fortunate and surely more moderate, that they may prefer to be engaged in the adjusting of a Christian life on the ground that Christ prefers holy men to scholars, obedient ones to logicians; because the very arts of the soul accomplish less in the last oppositions of death than does the strength of conscience, purified by the blood of Christ.

LXXVII.

PRACTICE OF THEOLOGY.

Thence they gird themselves with a great devotion for practical theology. This teaches them to pray, to meditate, and to stand trial. This is the wisdom which impresses the Holy Scriptures upon us and carries them over into our lives, that we may make known the mysteries of God. Here not merely the approval of the Divine Word is required, but its unanimity and harmony. For as Christ is the sum total of all secrets, so the regeneration in us is the beginning of a new childhood, youth, and even maturity, and urges upon us that which is in agreement not with Adam, but with Christ, our Book of Life. Those who establish their theology according to artificial rules do not comprehend this. For there is need of a biting and bitter acid, taken internally, to tear down the inner structures and break them to pieces. Unless we cease, Christ will not begin; unless we are silent, God will not speak; unless we accept it passively, the Spirit will not be active. This is that sabbath for the sake of which all the pious on earth, throughout all ages, have been ridiculed. Such is the madness of the saints of Christ that they not only believe in Christ crucified, but even are willing to be crucified themselves. Such is the foolishness of the Gospel of Paul to glory in nothing except his own weakness. Here is usually a greater danger from Satan, who, being always evil, is here at his very worst, in that he creeps into man so stealthily that the latter is no longer God's. Hence the evidences of fury, sleeplessness, delirium, and other mockery of a soul not inspired of God but proceeding from itself. So the citizens of Christianopolis are accustomed to advise their own people and others seriously to ask nothing, to attempt nothing for themselves beyond Christian simplicity, without the advice of God. For we cannot all be snatched into the third heaven as was Paul; yet we can with him become fashioned like Christ. If we obey the Gospels, if we obey the apostles, this will meet the requirements of true theology, and we will be in no want of revelation or of preaching of angels in any other form. And even as genuine theology does not consider those coarse and sensuous Christians, so also it does not recognize those who are so extremely precise and those who are drawn out into the realm of the purely mental. The best moderation of the cross is that which according to the balance of Christ places a fitting weight upon all the children of God, and trains them individually in such a way that they may have a reason for asking aid of God.

LXXVIII.

PROPHECIES.

If now our very kind Father shall favor one man somewhat beyond others, they do not unceremoniously reject the fact but test the prophesying spirits. So they have a school of prophecy, not at all that they would give instruction in the virtue of soothsaying which deceives so many, but as a place where they might observe the harmony and truth of the prophetic spirit. And as this cannot be done without divine suggestion, they confer on the matter in the fear of the Master to see whether any unusual portion of light may have been bestowed upon anyone. For rarely has anyone who can adjust all types of the Scriptures according to their differences, who can draw forth prophecies out of their most private shrines, who can reconcile the ceremonies of Moses with those of Christ, who can grasp the arguments of the apostles and even Christ, drawn forth from the Old Testament, or accomplish other things like these, under so many interpreters, rarely has such a one established any faith at all with them. In truth many have caused them doubt as to whether one or another may not have given out judgment too indiscreetly. And so they confess that as far as concerns the forecasting of future events or the interpretation of past, they do not comprehend as yet the oracles of the Holy Spirit, yet none the less they are content in the divine revelation in which eternal salvation rests. Moreover they beseech God that He may be willing in His great indulgence, to make known to His children somewhat of the profound wisdom that lies hidden in the depths of His Word, and to reveal His Son to them in every sacred page. How much they accomplish by this pious prayer, they did not tell me.

Now I have in my uncouth style hastened through the points that were shown me in the Christian schools, and I trust I may not have injured the facts because of my poor writing and perhaps even my forgetfulness. I would hope that some of the facts, though not all and even if only a very few, may please my pious and Christian reader or even give him courage to visit Christianopolis and get surer and more detailed information than I have given. If he will communicate them with the same frankness and freedom as I have done, he will deserve the greatest thanks from those in truth for whom this shall have been so seasonably done; but especially the greatest gratitude from me for assisting and correcting my work.

#### LXXIX. MEDICINE.

Four rooms are left on this floor which also I was given an opportunity to inspect, two assigned to the study of medicine, two to jurisprudence. I will speak of the former first, however much may be due the other. No one will easily explain the subtlety, method, and reasonableness of the science of medicine. It must be confessed that it is a remarkable gift of God, given over to human dexterity and observation. We say nothing further about it here because it has been very highly praised in the chapters on physics, chemistry, anatomy, and pharmacy, on which it is mainly based. Yet the science has its separate seat here where it examines into diseases and prepares remedies; and where also it gives instruction in case anything outside of the regular schools comes up. Of course each sensible man provides for his own body in such a way that he may live adequately for his daily duties, rather than be slow and dull in spirit. Hence the physicians very often prescribe temperance and exercise for their citizens, as being the safest precautions for health. In the other room surgery is practiced which offers advice and practical assistance for the human body. We human beings are so wretched that we have to be salved, scraped, burned, cut, torn, and emptied, and there is not a single little part of the body which is at all safe from innumerable dangers. So there is need of all sorts of activity and various instruments that these disadvantages may be met and the defects repaired. Moreover it is an excellent thing among all these afflictions of the human body to be mindful of our imperfections or rather the penalties for them, and to lay aside the crests of our vanity the more readily; and then to hasten to that Physician for whom it is very easy not only to heal the sick parts and to restore what has been removed, but to revive the dead and to collect those that have been scattered into the finest dust. Moreover we will respect medicine, not so much because it offers us an unusually long life or sets itself against death, but because our excellent Creator has wished that through His creatures and their use, benefit should

be brought to us.

LXXX.

JURISPRUDENCE.

With all respect to the lawyers I must say there is no need of them at all among our Christianopolis friends. For as they live by their own laws and are bound to no other law except for a yearly tribute, they do not wish to be bothered by foreign rescripts, codes, pandects, or other legal digests, in canon, indulgence, or extravagance. Here there is nothing that may not be easily explained, nothing more noticeable than justice, and no one enters into legal dispute with another. Hence suits and those who carry them on all amount to nothing. It is an easy matter to settle quarrels and disputes, and there is no need of a corpus juris. So they think they have avoided many traps and snares, and especially dangers to the soul with unrest of the body. If they especially minded loss of goods, they would bear this even less. For it is always true that technical law always takes, draws, rubs off, or abjures; presses, beats, hammers, strikes, twists, or shakes out; abducts, purloins, robs, embezzles, sweeps, or carries away something if a person prefers to live by strife rather than tranquillity. However, these methods are to be attributed rather to politicians than to the better scholars of the law. And so the lawyers have a school here also, though it is honorary rather than necessary. Yet that they may not be idle, they serve the political government, and they interpret the Roman laws, which are full of equity and honesty. I noticed about the same situation in the room of the notary; he seemed to be present to fill a place, and did not accomplish anything of great moment in this republic. Yet if anything is to be copied, it is intrusted to these men. And to the art of writing as to a summary of the most valuable invention has been given this honor that it also may have its name in the catalogue of the arts. Some people say also there is some meaning in the forms of the letters as there is in numbers, coming forth out of order and value. The citizens of Christianopolis do not insist upon this; they delight rather in tendering their hearts to God that He may write down with His finger what things will add to the security of the present or the future life. Such is their sacred incantation, such their art of divination, this the sum of their mystic literature, of which they are all the more desirous, as it is more certain.

LXXXI.

the dwellings of the youth.

The two stories that remain are reserved for bathrooms and dormitory purposes, two sides being given over to the boys and the third to the girls. For since they want this sex also liberally educated, they take particular care that those men who are placed over the youth have such wives as can teach the young women and the girls. The arrangement of the rooms will be plain from the accompanying sketch. This one fact should yet be mentioned, namely, that the boys are so associated with those who are grown up, and the adults so observed by the married men, and the inspection is so carefully carried out all around, that, to the utmost possible extent, moral corruption of the youth is avoided. And as such can happen so rarely under a system of training which has kept up its innocence during a long series of years, it is to be valued above every happiness, especially when we remember what perversion, corruption, and offense of the youth there is elsewhere in schools and public educational institutions. Everyone carries with him / domestic, rustic, or even paternal and inborn evil and wickedness, and communicates these to his comrades, with so poisonous a contagion that it spares not even those who ought to be consecrated entirely to God, but winds its way with varying wickedness, deceit, and rudeness, and takes possession of them so entirely that they cannot throw it off throughout their whole lives, and among the most honorable offices; and this is done with lamentable pollution of the innocent, since the plague of one individual spreads to many, and as individuals contribute one is affected. So that now parents have to fear almost nowhere more than where they persuade themselves their children are being most plainly educated toward God. And right here there is especial need of very eager prayers that they may commend their dear ones very carefully to divine custody, whose



sole care it is through the angels' guardian power to avert from them those impure and pestiferous lips, to stop their ears, and to strengthen their hearts toward the love of modesty and abhorrence of impurity.

LXXXII

the temple.

And finally the temple, which is in the middle of the place, was shown me, a work of royal magnificence in which expense and talent vied with each other. This should not be criticised, however, since no one in the republic is in want. The form of the temple is round, its circumference being three hundred and sixteen feet and the height seventy. In the one half where the gatherings take place, seats are cut and excavated from the earth that the structure may ascend less, and that the ears of all may be equally distant on all sides from the voice of the speaker. The other half is reserved for distribution of the sacraments and for music. The senators have a separate place there with the councilmen, not at all far from the speaker's platform, as I have shown in the sketch. But also the sacred comedies, by which they set so much store, and are entertained every three months, are shown here in the temple, in order that the history of divine things may cling the more firmly in the minds of the youth, and that their own talents may be rendered the more skillful and ready in handling such things. I could not sufficiently admire their artistic skill in these matters, as I myself saw the *Jeremia* of Naogeorgus played before the people. The surrounding wall of the temple is full of windows so that it admits light all around. The other parts of the walls are elegantly resplendent with sacred pictures or representations from biblical history. I saw no image except that of the crucified Christ and it was skillfully designed with a view toward moving even the hardest heart. The rest of the adornments I cannot easily describe unless I wished this done in detail. Suffice to say I could not enough admire the art and beauty, especially when I recalled those who, under the pretext of religion, despoil the churches, and when the desolation of the temples has been effected, do not nevertheless forget to provide for their own domestic luxury. Of a surety they are evangelical Christians with consciences to whom it seems a sin if the gifts of ancient simplicity offend the people anywhere else than in their homes! Oh, the religious reformers who, in order to empty the shrines, have offered their own homes for useless and boastful pomp! Those who forbid the decorating of the temples of God, or who are as tenacious in this matter as they are prodigal in others, might find something here to learn. However, it is not my business here to teach what I think right, but to rehearse what I saw.

LXXXIII.

VOCATION.

As many as have been consecrated to the church regard nothing before or above their calling. This is their confidence, this their shield, and this their crown. The parents wish for and seek in earnest prayer, though they do not buy nor obtain the result through custom, that sometime they may produce in their family interpreters or ministers of God, since they realize that this is the summit of human dignity. So whenever especial gifts of God, and, as it were, intimate acquaintance with the Holy Spirit, become apparent; when a life is permeated, as it were, with heavenly thoughts; when there is even a secret harmony of prayers in favor of one individual, then there arrives at the same time the heavenly and Christian message of a call which corresponds to an inward impulse of the heart and encourages them with a confidence in their spiritual duty. And when public and stated prayers are added to that, and the laying on of hands, they say that divine grace very noticeably appears and that a man, already good before, becomes even better. Hence the calling is valued among the people and is considered effectual; while by the preacher it is a mark of heavenly favor that he has entered into a sacred covenant with God that he might be assisted and taught by Him; that he himself be silent upon nothing which is true or wholesome, nor add anything of human invention, and that he render up life and blood if necessary for the congregation of God; at the same time also that he renounce earthly immunities and express

indeed the will of the good spirit. Blessed indeed is that church whose ministers are not dedicated to the ministry for support, condemned to it because of their dull natures, admitted because of some little learning, pushed into it on account of the generosity of their parents, raised to it by the price of blood, promoted because of the agreement of curiosity, merely to find out how much they can accomplish for or against souls! Blessed indeed is that church whose ministers determine their honor by the Word of God, their wealth by the increase of the church, their scholarship by the discomfiture of the Devil, their enjoyment by the putting aside of the flesh, their fame by the testimony of the poor, their purpose by the wreath of faith! Happy indeed is that church in which God calls, man obeys, the angel assists, the government agrees, the people give ear, and the youth perform. But alas to those who have transformed and debased into a certain frivolity and carelessness of vocation, the solicitude and bravery of their elders, by which they, called of God, fearing for their souls, have freed their necks from the deceits of Antichrist.

LXXXIV.  
SERVICES.

Of their sermons which are delivered in the temple, we have already spoken. The presbyter and the diaconus give them; the former explains the Holy Scriptures, the latter the chief principles of religion. There are others subordinate to these who succeed them after death; for it is not permitted here to look longingly at the dead. The service is begun and ended with prayers and sacred psalmody. I saw nothing foreign to our so-called Augsburg Confession; for they disapprove our morals, not our religion. When they pray or hear the Word of God, they fall down on their knees and raise their hands; they even beat their breasts, that they may awaken their souls. To do nonsense in the temple, or to fall asleep, they consider a sin. Though there are daily readings out of the works of holy and devout learned men, none the less they attend in large numbers. For whatever attention is given religion, this they consider the highest occupation. And if half the time of their lives is devoted to this, they still think it is too little. I was surprised at the behavior of these men when I noticed them jumping for joy at times, and often dissolving in tears; for they cannot rehearse either the goodness of Christ or the misdeeds of men without emotion. The events of the life of Christ are so distributed throughout the year that the individual, remarkable acts may have a memorial, and to these times they adapt their festivals, which however are not puffed up by affectation or fancy. In their ceremonies they are not spectacular, for they wish rather to improve than to astonish men. The dress of all is respectable, and that of the ministers is in no respect unusual. The color appropriate for religion is white, that of statesmanship red, of scholarship blue, of the working class green. Yet this fact does not affect Christians so much that they regard distinction of color greater than that of virtues and vices; nor do they regard indifferent ceremonies of such value that all care, examination, and sacred judgments should be annihilated by them. Is it because the vices of men are greater than we can oppose that we whittle straws and strain gnats just to be doing nothing? At Christianopolis, because they sow virtues and uproot vices, they confer regarding trifles at their leisure.

LXXXV.  
SACRED PSALMODY.

Music plays not at all the least part in divine worship with them, however much puritanical melancholy may object. They praise God chiefly with the voice, but also with sound of trumpet, harps and zither, drums and chorus, strings and measure, cymbals and various organs. The holy prophets thought this proper, and Christ neither advised against nor prohibited it. Thus Satan is mocked, who never rejoices with his own except when so doing will injure God's cause. They have many sacred songs, and that they may be able to sing them well together, they each bring along their little books and thus supplement their memory. In these songs they admire especially the spirit of the songs of Luther, though they do not spurn others. It is a pleasant thing to hear the whole congregation singing together in four or more parts, and yet not violating the time and rhythm of the composition. The practice of assembling daily for prayers makes this possible. That

which has to do with numbers possesses something divine and penetrating into the souls of man. ' So all the best admire the poetry of David and hold it in high esteem, and favor also the poetry of to-day, if it is pure and Christian. Whosoever lowers the standard of this, is accused of abuse of his talent; whoever traces it down from its source, is considered by them as deserving to be crowned with laurel. Let no one believe that elegance in poetry is out of the question unless mentioning idols; let no one charge the sacred writings of crudeness. It is a trick of Satan, who perverts our hearing so that the music of the zither appeals to us less than the sound of the bagpipe. And what makes sacred song so powerless over us, makes it leap about so wantonly, other than the sluggishness within us toward the good, and the sensational tickle of evil? On the other hand, what quiets or disquiets our thoughts unless it be, respectively, the spirit of sacred song and the shamelessness of worldly music? Whatever genius the worldly songs may possess, they become useless under test of the cross; while however much simplicity the sacred ones have, they refresh the soul beyond belief though previously the words and syllables were neglected. Let us give thanks to God who is ever willing to be near the silent or the prayerful, the grieving and the singing, and willing to hear them compassionately.

LXXXVI.

THE SACRAMENTS.

The sacraments are administered as instituted by Christ and according to the rites of the early church; frequently, because of their great value; reverently, on account of their high dignity; elaborately, because they are observed by the devout. When children are baptized in the name of the Trinity, they have witnesses of their faith and obligation, first of all the father, but also an honorable married couple and absent friends are bidden; and all these pledge their faith for the sacrament and charge themselves with the care. For they say that godparents should stand in the place of the parents and should render an account to God for their spiritual children. The observation of a guardian should not be more diligent than that of a godfather; while their mutual love will be perchance the greater, as the bonds uniting them through Christ are closer. Those who here seek gold commit a grave fault; those counsel most wisely who require the best observers for their children and monitors of their virtues. As often as the holy supper is offered, as it invites all, so also unless actual necessity prevents, all attend and thus bear witness to their peace with men. The elements consisting of unleavened bread and wine are given at the altar where a haughty countenance can make no change. As many as approach bring along a contrite heart, a faithful soul, and a body ready for correction, and a little later they show by actual deed what they have promised. This is their most welcome tribunal where offenses are adjudged and removed. For he who can be angry at his brother to deny God or not to accept Him, such a man is a horror to the state and not at all to be tolerated. Then also those stand here who, after having given way to the deceits of the Devil, have again become reconciled to the church; and for their salvation and repentance they are as heartily congratulated as they were lamented at their fall. And especially do they see to it that no crime be charged to church or state; but they free and cleanse themselves and others with the Christian expiation. Those who neglect this, are crushed by their own and others' misdeeds. There was a time when evildoers were interceded for before the church; now, as this turned out evilly, it is different. And yet the world boasts that there is nothing more severe and consistent than her discipline. But this praise surely our predecessors bear; what we shall do, our posterity will speak of sometime, if there be any.

LXXXVII.

ABSOLUTION AND EXCOMMUNICATION.

The keys which Christ left for binding and loosing, they preserve very religiously, while others use the one to the extreme and hide the other; so that it is said of them that they use the former up and lose the latter. The inhabitants of Christianopolis confess the sum of their sins singly, many of them even into the ears of a friend for there is no one among them without a rather close friend^ or into the ears of a clergyman; and by this frankness they say that their burdens are very

much lightened. Through His ministry, Christ promised clemency in return for earnest repentance, eager faith, and careful amendment, but He threatens strict justice for dissembling. There is no fear lest anyone grow up ignorant of the Christian religion, since this is required in the school. and carefully attended to. Moreover, that the consciences may be strengthened, many ministers are chosen to this very duty, but only such as are remarkable for innocence of life and fervor of spirit. If anyone distrusts men, no one is urged to reveal his secrets, but he is left to God, the reader of hearts. Against backsliders, especially those who remain stiff-necked after the vain warnings of brothers, fathers, and civil authorities, they pronounce the wrath of God, ban of the church, disgust of the state, and the abhorrence of every good man, with such success that it seems as if they have been shut off from the universe, that is, all the creatures of God. They consider this more severe than death and they all make great effort for the recovery of such a man. If at last he continues to resist and is stubborn, they expel him from the republic. Before this is done they tax him with the most extreme and debased labors or even with blows, by which means they prefer to punish the sins, than spill his blood, as far as this is permitted. Surely the world accomplishes little when it freely punishes the evildoers with fine, disgrace, or death and does not shake the lethargy out of their lives by which alone they are so rapidly driven to destruction, nor breaks their wantonness with hunger and work that they may either recover or be restrained. Poor indeed is that physician who is more ready to burn and to cut, than to cleanse and to revive. Nowhere will a republic be found more fortunate than such a one which preserves as many of its citizens as possible and destroys the least possible number. The chief aim of such a state is: that after divine reverence has been inculcated and the foulness of sin exposed we learn earlier to be unwilling to sin, than not to dare to; but if we do dare then that we be not able; and if we break through absolutely, that we be compelled to atone for our acts and cleanse ourselves.

LXXXVIII.

MATRIMONY.

Matrimony is undertaken by them with great devotion, approached with great caution, cherished with great gentleness, regarded with great consideration. Yet it is nowhere safer to get married than here. For as the unusualness of the dowry and the uncertainty of daily bread are lacking, it remains only that the value of virtues and sometimes of beauty be made. It is permitted a youth of twenty-four years to marry a girl not under eighteen, but not without the consent of the parents, consultation of the relatives, approbation of the laws, and benediction of God. There is with them the greatest reverence of relationship of blood. The factors considered in joining in marriage are for the most part conformity of natures and propriety; but also, a thing that is elsewhere so rare, recommendation of piety. The greatest fault is considered to be impurity and the laws against such offenders are severe. But by removing opportunities they easily eliminate the sins. The marriages have almost no expense or noise; they do not at all expect worldly foolishness and senselessness. Young men conduct the groom and young women the bride, and they all show their approbation with heart and prayer, when the bond has been joined. Then the parents of both and the nearest relatives come together, shake hands and remind the newly married couple of the value of agreement, work, and moderation, but especially of devotion and patience. And so without any drunkenness, which usually initiates all sacred functions elsewhere, but not without a hymn and Christian congratulations, they are married. There is no dowry at all except the promises of Christ, the example of parents, the knowledge acquired by both, and the joy of peace. Furniture is provided together with the house out of the public store. In this summary fashion they render most safe and speedy, our cross, punishment, torment, purgatory, and however else we are accustomed to call inauspicious marriages. If now there should be any unpleasantness, the difficulties are smoothed and ironed out from the experiences of all the friends; meantime no infidelity comes up, for it is severely punished. The grief which God feels at our desertion, He has not expressed more forcibly than in the case of the forgetting of parental and conjugal love. He has proved His justice with His zeal, in that we may abhor ingratitude and faithlessness, and punish them at the same time. Since the world has turned these two enormities into a joke, there are always worse conditions that follow upon bad ones, always persons who will later outdo former

impostors. Hence so many evils of impurity which pour out vices, confuse the dowry-gifts, surround the family with diseases, pour down curses, scatter disgrace, slacken the conscience, cause repletion, scatter filth, squander wealth, call forth the threats of the Master, sow desperation, loose punishment.

LXXXIX.  
WOMEN.

The married women make use of the knowledge which they acquired while in college. For whatsoever human industry accomplishes by working with silk, wool, or flax, this is the material for woman's arts and is at her disposal. So they learn to sew, to spin, to embroider, to weave, and to decorate their work in various ways. Tapestry is their handiwork, clothes their regular work, washing their duty. In addition to this they care for the house and the kitchen and have them clean. Whatever scholarship they have, being mentally gifted, they improve diligently, not only to know something themselves, but that they may sometime also teach. In the church and in the council hall they have no voice, yet none the less do they mold the piety and morals, none the less do they shine with the gifts of heaven. God has denied this sex nothing, if it is pious, of which fact the eternally blessed Mary is a most glorious example. If we read the histories, we shall find that no virtue has been inaccessible to women, and there is none in which they have not excelled. However, rarely do many of them comprehend the value of silence. Yet we have some whom we might compare with or even prefer to men real Monicas, 1 dedicated to the church, pleasing to their parents, peaceful with their husbands, observing the rites of widowhood, generous toward their children, courteous toward their friends, useful toward those in want, neighborly to all. Among these, filial loyalty requires that I mention my mother. The cases elsewhere, in which very many women are too lordly, are rather the fault of those men who are effeminate enough to marry such masculine women. There is nothing more dangerous than situations where the women rule in secret and the men obey openly; on the other hand, nothing is more desirable than that each party takes charge of his or her special duty. It is a rare thing among them, and not at all considered a manly act, for the husband to beat his wife; and the wife who is flogged is rather disgraced among her acquaintances. Their greatest boast is that of peace in the family. It is a monstrous thing to be joined in body and to disagree in spirit. Women have no adornments except that mentioned by Peter; 1 no dominion except over household matters; no permission to do servants' work (a thing that will surprise you), unless disease or some accident demands it. No woman is ashamed of her household duties, nor does she tire of attending to the wants of her husband. Likewise no husband of whatsoever employment thinks himself above honorable labors. For to be wise and to work are not incompatible if there is moderation. Within reasonable bounds, nothing is more sensible than to further the public good with word and deed.

XC.  
CHILDBIRTH.

The crowning accomplishment of women is bearing children, in which they take precedence of all the athletes of the earth; unless mayhap it would seem of greater importance to kill a human being than to give birth to one. It is certainly little short of the miraculous for a woman to bear such pains, and for the child to survive the great dangers. When a child is born the friends offer as congratulation the hope of the heavenly kingdom, they sympathize in the miseries that must be borne in the meantime. But this fact exceeds all others in importance, that we have been reborn by the birth of Christ into life, we who are doomed to die. They have no birthday banquet; for I have already mentioned that they can dispense with wine in their sacred and solemn ceremonies, a thing that others do not wish to do. Midwives are held in the highest regard, but none except the most capable are considered. The more religious a woman is, the more fitted for this office, provided of course the scientific knowledge is not lacking. Unless the case demands it, they do not tolerate nurses, for they desire that the children drink the milk of the mothers. Those who have charge of women in labor and the infants, are for the most part widows, whose special duty this is.

There are also young women who take care of children. Baptism is administered in the presence of the congregation unless the child is dangerously ill. If it is deprived of the rite, they know that the seed of the faithful has been washed clean by the blood of Christ, and so they hope for the best. The period of confinement is forty-two days, after the expiration of which they give solemn thanks to God. During these days, lighter food, as is fitting, is brought from the public commissary. For the medical skill even of the women is by no means without results. Meanwhile if the husbands wish to live apart, they can; if not, they are not driven out. They have the greatest desire for conjugal chastity, and they set a premium upon it, that they may not injure or weaken themselves by too frequent intercourse. To beget children is quite proper; but passion of license is a disgrace. Others live together like beasts; yet even the cattle have characteristics which put such persons to shame, who might better with mutual love and mutual aid first care for heaven and later for things of the earth. So the citizens of Christianopolis believe that there may be to a certain extent fornication and pollution even in marriage. Oh, the carnal-minded who are not ashamed to make sin out of lawful as well as unlawful practices! But what can we do, when there are on all sides places for feasting and places of allurements, when even the very names of fasting, temperance, vigilance, and work among us are held in suspicion, or are unknown? And so it happens that while we are dreaming that all things are permitted us, we take no pleasure in the things that are really good and healthful, pure and undefiled.

XCI.

WIDOWHOOD.

Since no bond survives death, even the closest marriages are dissolved. If a husband dies, his widow leaves the house and withdraws into the home for widows, where she serves the state in some capacity, and marries again if she likes, but not before the expiration of a year, out of respect for her former love. If a woman dies, her widower eats with a neighbor or with others in the public house, till after a year he may marry again. There is no danger at all for the orphans, since all children are brought up with equal care in the college. For there is no one in this republic who has only individual parents. The state itself is a parent to each. The regard of widows is in accordance with their devotion, self-restraint, and industry. So they are honored like mothers, and are employed in bringing up the girls. For it is fitting that those who have experienced the emptiness of this world should advise those who are less protected, should restrain, and correct them. For Satan never operates against us with his secret devices more easily than when he promises pure joys, where in reality there is least of pleasure, very much pain and disgust. Hence as many as take their delight in lusts of the flesh or follow the ways of beasts, we must rightly consider them either entirely without experience or lacking in their senses. It is madness to value the known world, foolishness to long for the unknown. So this is the duty of widowhood, to lessen the reputed value of the flesh among the inexperienced, to curb lustful desires among those who value impurity, since they show by their own example that it is not always necessary to follow after the flesh, nay that it is far better to abstain for reasons of personal advantage, spiritual as well as civil. We may grow warm, but in such a manner that the spirit shall not catch fire; let us restrain the warmth but without extinguishing the spirit; we may grow cool, without allowing the body to freeze; let us keep ourselves warm, yet not so as to kindle the body. Luxury displeases God, marriage pleases Him, widowhood is honored, and virginity is precious to Him. The highest grace and the greatest excellence of a chaste man is Christ's confession of the closest union with him.

XCII.

THE COUNCIL HALL.

The council hall is situated above the temple, and is intended for the rarest and most august and solemn meetings. In these meetings the highest rulers are created and enter into mutual faith with the people. Here the statutes of the republic are read, here ambassadors from foreign parts are heard. It is of the greatest splendor, either to uphold the majesty of the republic, or that through

the eyes it may teach generosity of disposition. For as the history of the earth is expressed here in various ways, so also those shine most brightly who deserve best in the affairs of men. Here I saw among the heroes John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and of my own sovereigns, Christopher, Duke of Wurtemberg, most Christian princes, and others of no less virtues. Here were expressed alternately the advantages and disadvantages of the governing virtue or vice; on the one side the very essence of watchfulness, tares of inactivity, light of humility, whirl of undesirable ambition; on the other side power of love, slipperiness of tyranny, result of good example, chaos of dissoluteness; elsewhere the simplicity of truth, the sound of sophistry, elegance of refinement, the clattering crudeness of barbarism. The form of the divine, of the Christian, of the human, and the Satanic kingdoms, their likenesses and differences, laws and affairs were all here represented, and the result whether fortunate or sad was everywhere attached. Here was shown the likeness of the last judgment in its glad as well as in its horrifying phases, with the rewards of virtues and the punishments for vices all skillfully represented. What shall I say? It seems to me that I saw here, or nowhere ever, the real microcosmos, not with lavish extravagance, but devoted to the real education of man. If now we compare with these the heaven of the gods, the earth of the satyrs, the sea of Neptune, and the Hades of Pluto, how we will grow cool and how we will be laughed at that the human mind stands forth and comes into the open in nothing except foolish fables and dreams, and yet wishes to preserve among men the opinion and reputation of divine culture, love of country, and of scholarly skill.

XCIII.

THE COUNCILMEN.

The councilors are the most distinguished of all the citizens, conspicuous for their piety, honesty, and industry, and tried out by long experience. In number they are twenty-four, chosen equally from the three orders, honored as well as loved by the citizens because of their high regard for the state. The citizens have elevated these not to remove them from all virtues, but to appoint them as lights of the same, as it were, to all the rest. So they all have a zeal for religion, peace, and learning, out of which comes an abundance of all good things. The councilors take no pleasure in strutting before others, sucking the sap out of others' goods, or fattening lazily. But as the sun shines, so they brighten everyone, consult for all, work for all. If anything rather serious takes place, they themselves pray to God eagerly and require prayers of the people also. They observe the praiseworthy deeds of their predecessors very carefully, and transmit them inviolate to their descendants. I have nowhere seen a more diligent investigation of the past, nowhere a more solicitous care for the future. Hence they examine the present according to models, and if they find that they are deteriorating a single bit, they repair the matter. If on the other hand a thing can be improved in method, they rejoice greatly that opportunity has been given to bear testimony to posterity that they have not lived in vain. Yet they judge this thought to be a praiseworthy one, if they have preserved the flower and safety of the state. No one departs from the path of their former national life lest it might seem that they have become a different people, instead of being the same race, with a more approved skill in their duties. And so a fitting place of honor is preserved for labor and respectable occupation. As they honor the feeble more, so they burden them less, and the younger serve as their prop; so they have twelve additional extraordinary substitutes. If any one of these commits an unusually grave offense, though they say this can hardly occur, he is removed ' from his position, and the matter seriously looked into. The \ reward of all is the consciousness of right, in which they 1 exult, namely, that they have been able with divine assistI ance to propagate the Gospel, to protect their subjects, to ennoble the youth, adorn the land, and to increase the ' number of dwellers in heaven.

XCIV.

THE GARDENS.

Around the college is a double row of gardens, one general and the other divided into plots corresponding to the homes of the citizens; both are fitted out with more than a thousand different

sorts of vegetables in such a way that they represent a living herbarium. They are not permitted to confuse the order of the distribution of the plants, which by the skill of the gardener are made to conform to the various zones of the sky, a wonderful and clever combination of colors, representing as it were a painted plate. They have here a number of birds in cages and the bees in their hives are very carefully tended. The plants that are for medicine, cooking, or decorative purposes are all in separate plots. Hence they furnish various uses and pleasures, fragrance, purifying of the air, honey, drugs, harmonious song of birds, and information. There is plenty of water, which is carried by artistically arranged pipes, nor is the music out of harmony with the water. But they avoid all too great expense. Outside the walls they have their very extensive gardens, in which they raise crops for food purposes, for the others have been planted rather for their elegance. Moreover they learn here to judge the value of human beauty, which is the flower-gathering of a single year. We are born, we grow up, we are in our prime, we droop, and pine away. Out of our death there is again the rise and increase of others. Oh, happy are those who among the wholesome plants learn also to trust in God who feeds the flowers -and clothes them without any care on their part; who learn to note down the variety and diverseness of His gifts, and to connect their pleasant odor with God! But why enumerate what man should learn from the creatures of God, when the smallest leaf contains the whole lesson? Rather let us wonder at those who, though they love the earth most of all, neglect entirely that which is the best of the earth, its use and beautiful decoration. Yet they are not willing to seem to burden the earth, though they tread it with crude feet. Let us lament the lost paradise and long for its restoration. For though we look upon natural objects now with faulty vision, when our sight has been restored through the cross, we will behold all things not on the surface, but in their inmost depths.

XCV.  
WATER.

Christianopolis has water as well as excellent land. I will not now mention navigation in the presence of some who, like fungi, never move from their place. Perhaps sometime I will go into this in detail. Now I must explain what service they have as regards drinking and washing. An abundant supply of very clear water has been introduced into the city which they have distributed first into the streets and then into the houses, so that water abounds everywhere and can be obtained close at hand. Next, by means of underground canals, they have conducted the outlet streams of a lake through the alleys, so that the flowing water frees the houses of their daily accumulations, a scheme that is more conducive to public health than anything else easily thought of. Whence those seem to me to be very wise who want man not only when crested and plumed, that is, dressed according to modesty and fashion, but also when naked and convinced of human necessity, assisted and liberally provided for. For as these conditions accuse us to ourselves and draw us down from the lofty halls of our imagination to the filthiness of our mire, so they also advise us of reasons why we should not live uncleanly. Hence they have baths, that have been in use from early times. But for the most part the baths are private and only those for the children are public, for they fear the temptations of nudity. Then there are sanitary washrooms in quiet places; also washing of clothes, which man soils in various ways; and other arrangements for keeping men clean. Oh, this body of ours! How unclean, how polluted, how moist, how sweaty, how decayed, how filthy! And yet it pleases the soul, dictates to it, wears it out, and at last crushes it! Pity us, Oh Thou source of life, wash and purify that uncleanness, this body of ours, the impure blood, with Thy most holy blood, that we who are so ugly in our impurity may be dressed in the robe of Thine innocence and rendered acceptable in the sight of God; that we may not be ashamed when Thou shalt return to each one according to his deeds!

XCVI.  
THE AGED.

The aged of both sexes stand in the highest esteem, and so they take especial care that they be not afflicted with any trouble, as old age is in itself a disease. So they have appointed people who



nurse them, cheer them up, honor and consult them. For since the powers of mind and body fail them together, they have to be kept bolstered up and inspired with young blood; for they grow weak on account of the disgust of human life, and at the memory of so many accidental injuries, and so many errors of their own. Since with great labor and merit toward the republic they have discharged their duties with noticeable faith and care, even up to decrepit old age, no amount of honor and respect is considered enough in gratitude. And since finally they do possess the greatest truths of human life, not merely by way of some subtlety of theory, but through rough practice and experience of material difficulties, nothing can be thought up so ingenious and subtle that when rubbed against the whetstone of old age, it will not give up much of its own opinion, and accommodate itself more nearly to human conditions. If any of the youth but knew with what mistakes, sweat, shame, dangers, and snares the old people have acquired these truths, all of which they have buried within them and which they keep under the one word cave, beware! never would they be so thoughtless as to laugh at the advice of the old, and admire their own plans. But old people also have this advantage, that since they have sent such a throng of acquaintances ahead to their rest; since they have seen the good eventually ascend and very many evil fall; since they have observed the kingdom of God and the little ship of the church stand against the attacks and storms of Satan, and finally triumph; since they have noticed the increasing offspring of virtues and the fruits of piety, they also gladly lay themselves down to the end of life, commend to all the naturalness and ease of death, and precede them all in their familiarity with death. For inasmuch as all our study and all our wisdom are nothing but a consideration of death, it is befitting that those who have spent the most time therein, should be of all mortals the most experienced in matters relating to death.

XCVII.

FOREIGNERS AND PAUPERS.

Toward strangers and foreigners they show the greatest kindness and generosity, of which I myself, a man in the deepest straits, am an evident example. Yet they are careful that the citizens do not contract any contagious disease as a result of too great liberty on the part of the guests. Evil practices of taverns, elsewhere so common, are unheard of and unknown to them; and if they did know of them, they would heartily disapprove of them. They keep a guest frugally for a day or two; an exile they support for a long time; and a sick person they care for very kindly. They help the poor sufficiently and do not allow them to leave without material aid. However, they examine them all very closely in their words and behavior, and then do their charity. No beggar is known or tolerated; for they judge that if anyone is really in need, the republic ought not to have to be warned of its duty; neither of which however can happen, and this is right. If a person is physically strong, he is never permitted to deny the republic his efforts, and these are sufficient for the food he gets. Yet elsewhere both these provisions are neglected. For when not rarely those persons starve who accomplish the most hard work, and when breaking down under their load they are deserted and cast aside; on the other hand when those who have basely rejected their heavenly gifts, and who escape all sweat on account of weakness of their flesh, when they are supported for the most part out of the state funds it cannot but be that the "bread snatched from the children is being cast before the dogs." In this respect we are altogether bound by the rule of the world; for the wealth of the world for the most part, serves the purposes of wickedness and extravagance, rarely, and then very injuriously, giving aid to the works of Christ; and so it is exposed to the thievery of impostors, jugglers, quacks, tramp musicians, and hair dressers, that Christ may appear to be disgusted that such wrongly collected property should have been allowed to pass to so wicked an owner. Meantime, Christ does not lack means to support His own, for whom there is plenty even in their want. Nor are persons wanting who take off their clothes, throw them down, and strew the road for Christ. I myself, though I have always found the world greedy, stingy, and base toward me, have learned among the citizens of Christianopolis that there are still some who, for the sake of Christ and through Christ, desire very much to share their all.

XCVIII.

the sick.

As diseases are of various kinds, so also ought our piety be manifold. The citizens of Christianopolis have observed this particularly, who have learned how to care for and comfort the souls, minds, and bodies that are afflicted. All of them strive to be able to come to their own and other people's assistance in case of need. Medicine, surgery, and the kitchen are all equally at the disposal of the sick, and everyone is prompt to assist. He who stands high socially does not exhaust the supply of drugs, while the lowly do not suffer for want of alleviation; crowds of physicians do not linger around the great, nor does loneliness afflict the common people. Yet after all, more rich people on earth are made away with than poor. Married women and widows here have the greatest opportunity and skill, and the state very kindly commends to them the care of the sick; they even have hospitals intended to take care of them. Along with the rest of the medicine they are also accustomed to cheer the spirits of the sick and to remind them of their former strength, lest they lack Christian fortitude. Then they bid them heed their usual moderation that they may not indulge their agitated bodies too far. And last also they urge them toward obedience to the instructions of medical attendance that they may not refuse to accept the unpleasantness of care imposed upon them. With these three the cross of Christ is received, lifted up, and borne. When a plague rages it is wonderful to relate how little effort there is to escape; they await the hand of God. For he who believes that the amount of God's good will is limited, never understands how he may remove himself and withdraw. Persons whose minds are unbalanced or injured they suffer to remain among them, if this is advisable; otherwise, they are kindly cared for elsewhere. This is what is done in case of the violent; for reason commands that human society should be more gently disposed toward those who have been less kindly treated by nature. For even we are not just as God would have us; yet, such as we are, He sustains us with limitless clemency and longsuffering.

XCIX.  
death.

Who will say that those in Christianopolis, though they live correctly, have an unsatisfactory death? Nay, since they die daily, who would doubt that sometime they shall live forever? More than any other this republic does not know death, and yet acts on such confidential terms with it. When they compose themselves to "sleep" for so they call death they are very collected. They bear witness to their religion and regard Christ as a pledge of their faith. They also bear testimony to their love of country and seal this with a pious prayer. The rest they leave to God. They have no need of testaments, yet if they have any last wishes, they mention them to their friends. While one is struggling with death, public prayers are sent up for the victory of the Christian warrior. If a soul is in anguish, witnesses of divine truth are at hand and interpreters who demonstrate that God wishes all Christians well. If they suffer physical torment, the assurance of future comfort, health, and everlasting glory counterbalances this. Why do I explain this at such length! Fitting words and deeds are necessary in each individual case, and these are given. Many are present at the deathbed, that they may witness the critical change from human to Christian life. For a single example will accomplish what no warnings can do with us. Yet in their humility and state of equality they have little of which death could deprive them; while our very body is too valuable to us, out of which we are not driven without trembling and which we are horrified to leave behind us. With a whole soul they pray that God, before whom they are about to stand, may be kindly disposed to the departed, and in the place of useless complaint they commend the soul to Him with an appropriate hymn. Finally they pray that when it shall be pleasing to God, they also may find their peaceful sleep with a contrite and faithful heart, one firmly founded on Jesus Christ.

C  
BURIAL.

The lifeless body they dress in a white robe, and on the day following the death they bear it away with uncovered face; large numbers of people accompany it. Young people sing sacred songs of Prudentius, 1 and other hymns. The nearest relatives follow, for the most part, with calm face, and wearing their usual clothes. For they say that congratulations are more befitting a Christian than grief; and that such sad manifestations have no other result than to weaken the survivors. After the body has been lowered into the grave and covered with the earth from whence it came, they hear the Word of God, intended to give them a cheerful attitude toward death, and to inform them as to life. Rarely is an epitaph of the deceased left, for they say that this can hardly be done with fairness. Such as each one has been, God knows; and posterity will transmit the facts. And this is safer than an inscription that has been bought, forced, or composed. A biographical sketch of those especially deserving is kept in their records, and the fact that these are few speaks more loudly than with us where the great number and immense crowd of heroes renders the record suspicious. The cemetery is very spacious and beautiful, but outside the city; for they consider the city to be for the living. I saw a representation of Death leading every order of flesh to the grave, skillfully and ingeniously painted on the walls. No one has any sort of a marker except an iron cross stamped with the name of the deceased. From this the descendants count their ancestors. When this becomes too old it is removed and the name is inscribed in the funeral volume, where it can be more easily found. It is not surprising that they are somewhat careless in these matters, since they count this life of least value and long for the other. So neither these ideas nor other peculiarities of theirs ought to seem absurd to us; since it stands to reason that whoever has a desire for a future blessed life ought indeed believe with us, but must live differently in every respect.

My Christian reader, these are the things which I saw and heard in that blessed republic of God, and which I frankly confess I learned. The thing that grieves me especially is that my memory does not suffice for the great variety of things and that I have not the eloquence to express the things which I do remember; so you will easily see that I am no historian. Moreover I wish now that I had the style of those who can tell more than they saw. As for me, I confess that I can never tell all. So if I have not understood their meaning nor given account of their institution with sufficient skill, there is reason why I should regret my lack of perceptive power and why I should warn my readers not to attribute any fault to the citizens of Christianopolis, but rather to me. It may have happened and I really fear it has that I have overestimated the value of less important matters, and undervalued greater ones; that I have told things in reverse order; that I became confused as a result of my admiration of them; that I was not admitted into the inside of their government. What would you have of me? I am a young man who has not as yet grasped the significance of the secrets of statesmanship, but I look at only the external elegance. And if I should ever be permitted to penetrate into these, my desire to communicate my observations to others will not be lacking. It remains now that we hear in what manner I departed from that place. God forbid that I should ever suffer myself to be separated from this republic!

Well, when I had inspected everything, I was brought back to the chancellor that I might report to him how I felt toward the citizens. " My friend/' said he to me, " you have seen how and where we live. As all human things are imperfect, we have not been able to show you anything beyond our mortal lot; but we have lessened the burdens of our mortality, we trust, and according to the pattern which we have showed you. We chose it not because it was more perfect than all others, but perhaps because it was easier. Whatever disadvantages are connected with it, are gradually removed by the vigilance of the administration. If it is the object of life to praise God and love our brothers, then the trifles of human life will not be of such great moment that they \ will render Christians anxious and trouble them. When you shall have returned to your own people pray be a most gentle and moderate interpreter in all respects. We aspire to no praise; we deprecate jealousy; or, if it cannot be helped, we bear it. Our huts are our own care, let others see to their palaces. If they rage against us, we will pray that the sea may not convey them to us. We worship the same God, profess the same religion. If our customs are different, it should not be regarded a crime, as we live in a different quarter of the world. We do not force our manners upon others, nor

do we defend them to the limit. Let those who are better than we, judge us, teach us, criticise us; they will find that we are no less teachable than we are patient. If they can find valid excuses for all their conditions we will bring accusation against our own, and will urgently require better. Meantime let them be patient with the contradictory teachings of a single very small island. Do you remain ours, we pray, here and elsewhere."

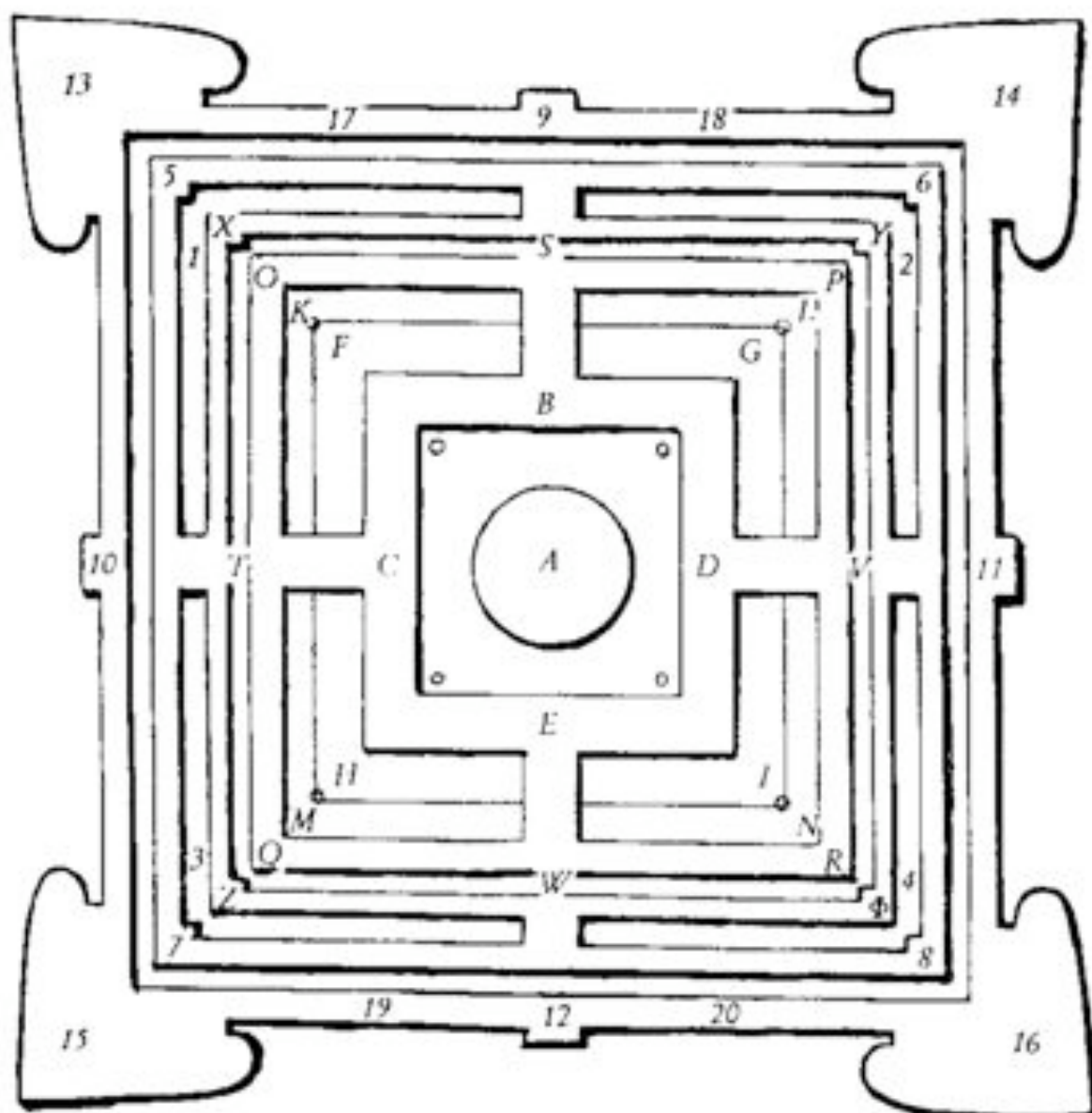
I did not restrain the tears when I compared the kindness of this man with the stubbornness of others, and I said with trembling voice: " Whatever my people may call me, I will be yours. To you I dedicate this body of mine, since nothing else is left me, that my mind may be freer. Permit that I return to my people and secure an honorable release lest I hear myself called 1 fugitive.' " Here the chancellor laughed and said: " Oh you, who are so anxious to comply with the past, yet so timid as to the future! But go, my guest, whithersoever you will, and compare our republic with other better ones, that you may report to us the good and advantageous points which you shall find elsewhere. For we desire not to be preferred to others, merely to be compared with them. No one will be a better friend to us than he who shall make our state conform more nearly to the kingdom of heaven, or (what is the same) remove it farther from the world/ Hence we have long wished for an abode situated below the sky, but at the same time above the dregs of this known world." Then I answered: " Unless I am entirely deceived, the place where I shall rest will be with you. If any other land has better conditions, perchance I am not worthy to enjoy them. To this, your republic, I dedicate my labors, my studies, my wishes, my prayers. I give up the guidance of myself to you, who have learned how to control others. I will eat and drink, sleep and watch, speak and be silent at your command. I will worship and adore God with you. Now I ask but one favor, that I may be permitted to invite my friends, excellent men, who are scattered throughout the countries of the world, to come with me also." " By all means," replied the chancellor, " for we do not live too crowded to be able to accommodate a whole boat load of honest men."

While he spoke thus the twelfth hour, noon, sounded forth, and the sweet melody of bells was heard, which is the warning for solemn prayer. So he saluted me in farewell, bade me go in the name of the Master, and return safe under the guidance of God, bringing along as many comrades as possible. And as he extended to me the right hand of Christ's love, he said: " Take heed, my brother, that you do not give yourself over to the world again, and estrange yourself from us." And I answered heartily: " Where thou goest I will go, thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God. Where thou diest, I will die, and there will I be buried. And so may Jehovah be propitious to me, as death alone shall divide me from thee! " Then I received from him the benediction, with the kiss of peace, and I went away, and am now walking about among you, that, if this republic pleases you, this worship of God, this intercourse of men, this form of education, you may go thither with me at an early day in the name of God. Farewell, and be strong in Christ.

FINIS.

*A* Temple with Civic Centre  
*BCDE* College  
*FGHI* Physic Garden  
*KLMN* Gardens of the Citizens  
*OPQR* Inner row of apartments  
*STVW* Open streets  
*o o* Location of fountains

*XYZΦ* Outer row of apartments  
 1.2.3.4 Gardens  
 5.6.7.8 Workshops & Stores  
 9.10.11.12 Four Gates  
 13.14.15.16 Bastions  
 17.18.19.20 Boundaries



A. SHESHBAZZAR

B. NERIAH

C. TIRHANAH

D. URIEL

I. ABI-ALBON (religion)

J. ABIESER (judge)

K. ABIDA (education)

E. GADDIEL

F. ZAREPHATH

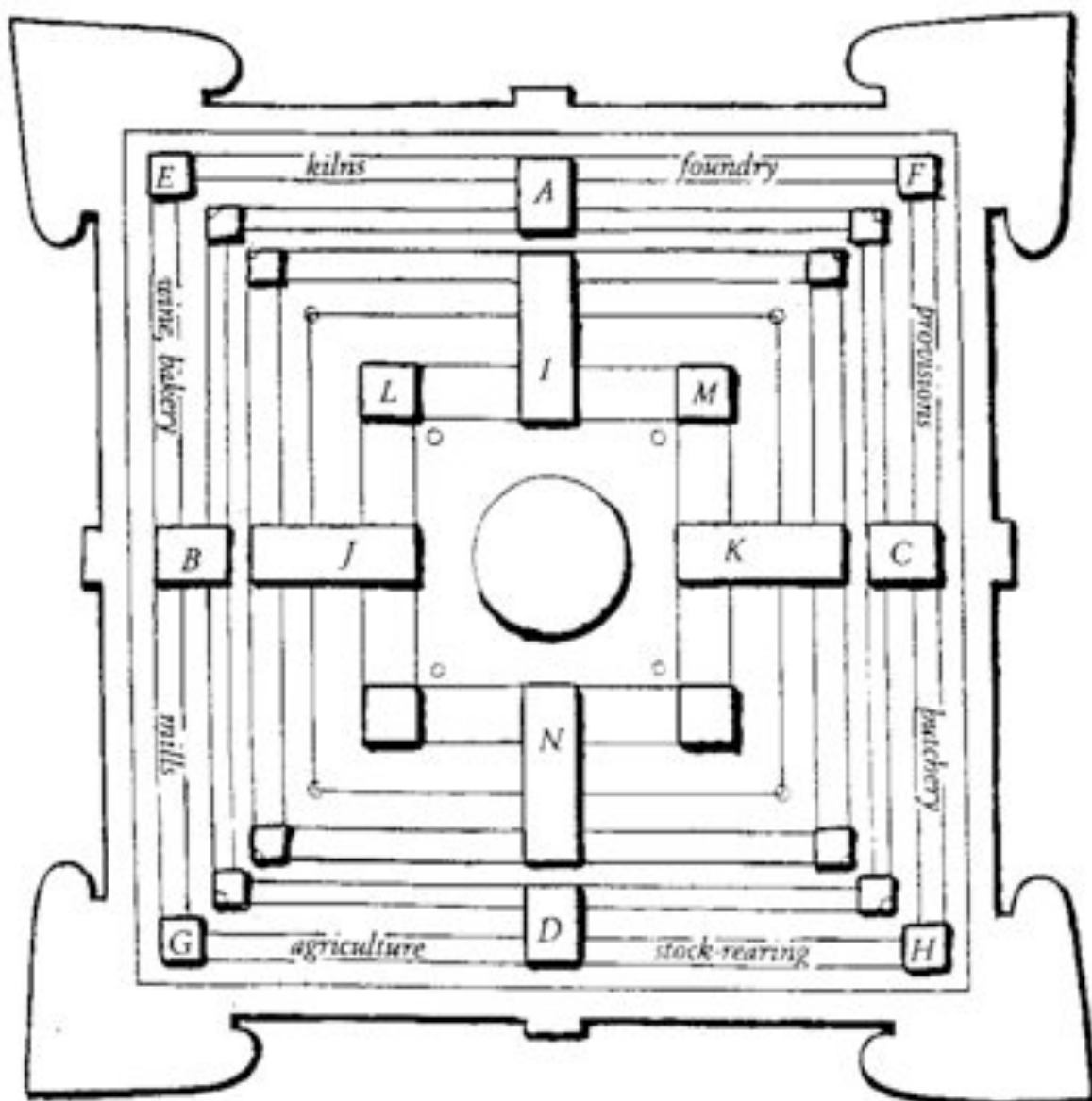
G. SHIMEAH

H. KABZEEL

L. The DEACON

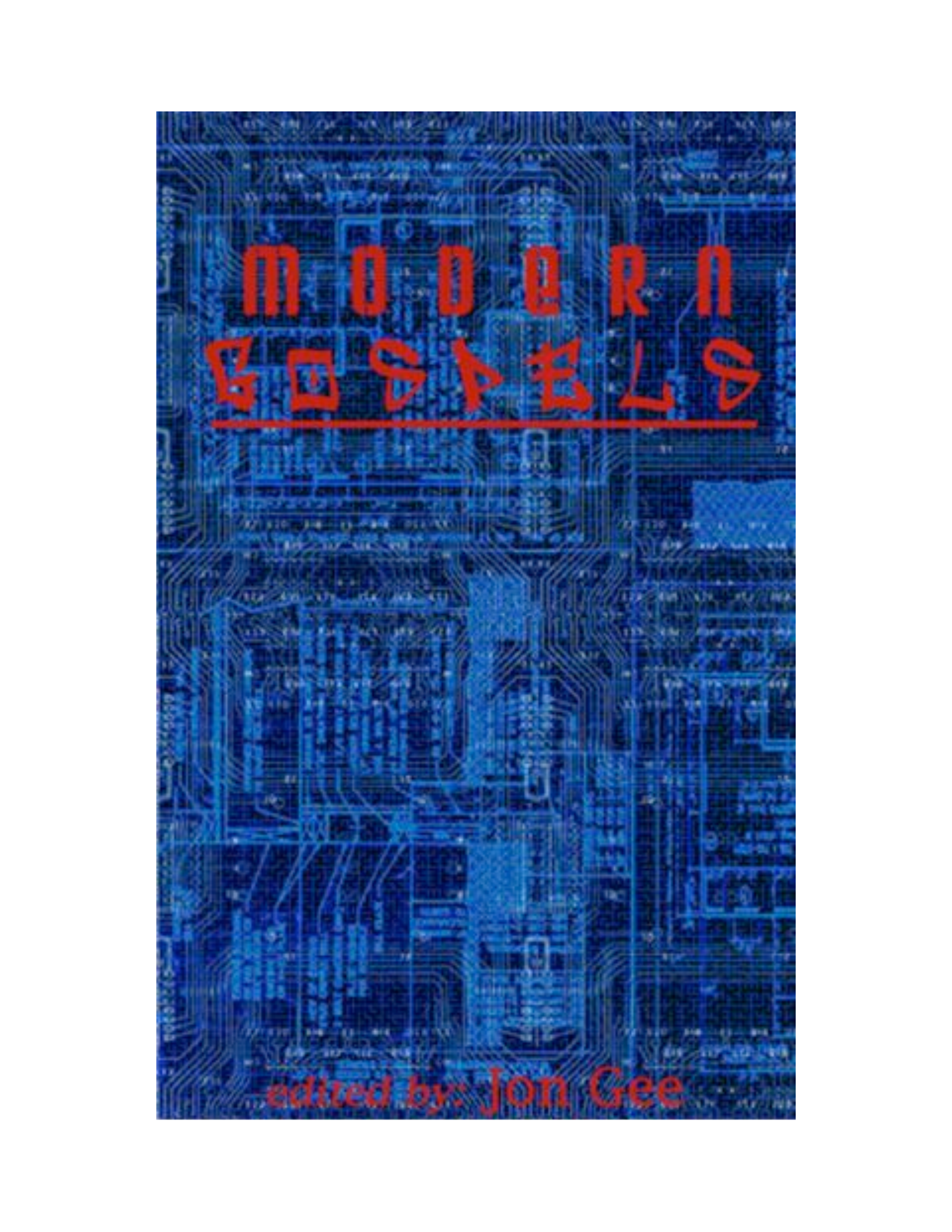
M. The ECONOMIST

N. The CHANCELLOR









# MODERN GOSPELS

---

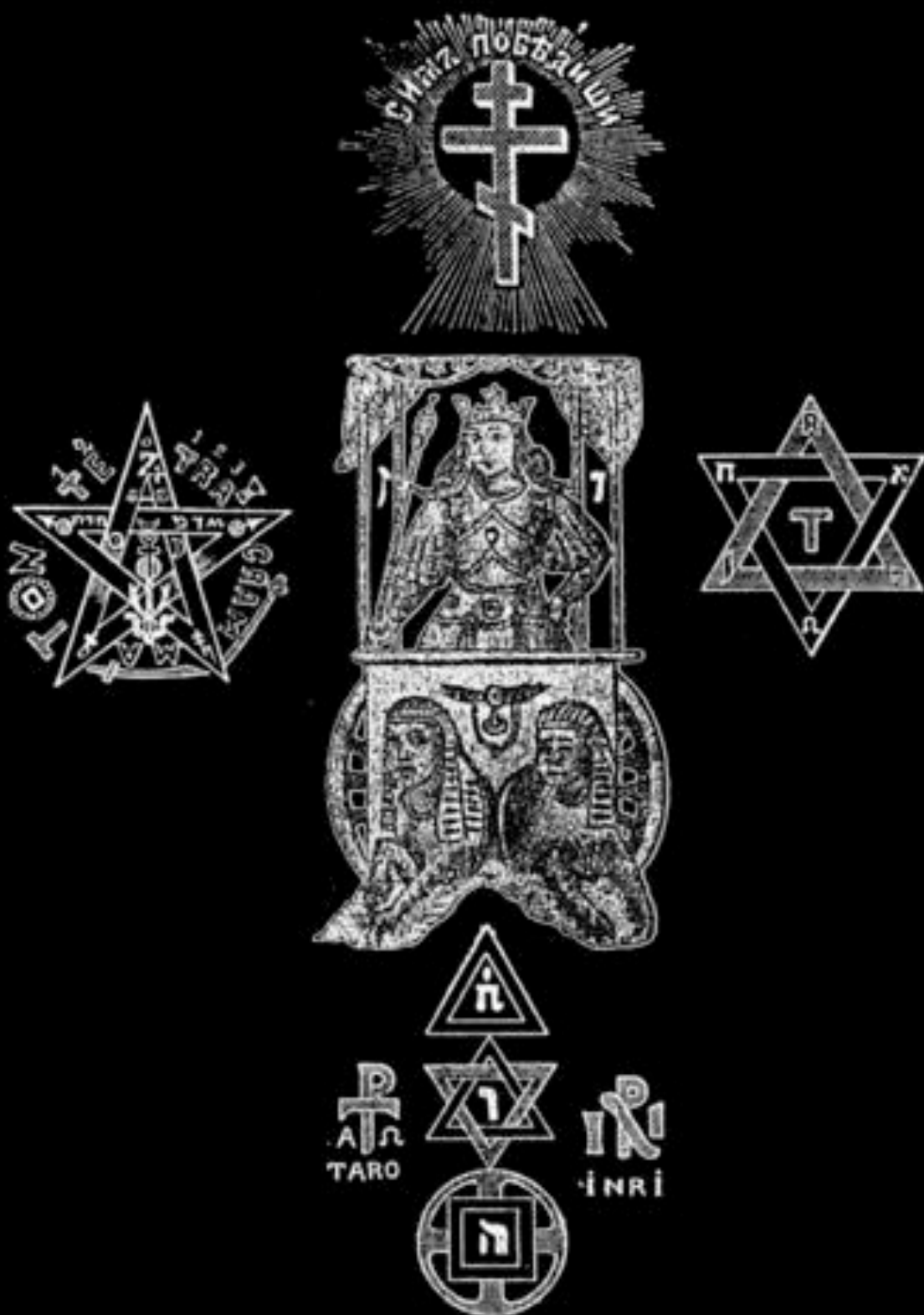
edited by: Jon Gee



### **“300 Spook Words”**

Waihopai, INFOSEC, Information Security, Information Warfare, IW, IS, Priavacy, Information Terrorism, Terrorism Defensive Information, Defense Information Warfare, Offensive Information, Offensive Information Warfare, National Information Infrastructure, InfoSec, Reno, Compsec, Computer Terrorism, Firewalls, Secure Internet Connections, ISS, Passwords, DefCon V, Hackers, Encryption, Espionage, USDOJ, NSA, CIA, S/Key, SSL, FBI, Secert Service, USSS, Defcon, Military, White House, Undercover, NCCS, Mayfly, PGP, PEM, RSA, Perl-RSA, MSNBC, bet, AOL, AOL TOS, CIS, CBOT, AIMX, STARLAN, 3B2, BITNET, COSMOS, DATTA, E911, FCIC, HTCIA, IACIS, UT/RUS, JANET, JICC, ReMOB, LEETAC, UTU, VNET, BRLO, BZ, CANSLO, CBNRC, CIDA, JAVA, Active X, Compsec 97, LLC, DERA, Mavricks, Meta-hackers, ^?, Steve Case, Tools, Telex, Military Intelligence, Scully, Flame, Infowar, Bubba, Freeh, Archives, Sundevil, jack, Investigation, ISACA, NCSA, spook words, Verisign, Secure, ASIO, Lebed, ICE, NRO, Lexis-Nexis, NSCT, SCIF, FLiR, Lacrosse, Flashbangs, HRT, DIA, USCOI, CID, BOP, FINCEN, FLETC, NIJ, ACC, AFSPC, BMDO, NAVWAN, NRL, RL, NAVWCWPNS, NSWC, USAFA, AHPCRC, ARPA, LABLINK, USACIL, USCG, NRC, ~, CDC, DOE, FMS, HPCC, NTIS, SEL, USCODE, CISE, SIRC, CIM, ISN, DJC, SGC, UNCPCJ, CFC, DREO, CDA, DRA, SHAPE, SACLANT, BECCA, DCJFTF, HALO, HAHO, FKS, 868, GCHQ, DITSA, SORT, AMEMB, NSG, HIC, EDI, SAS, SBS, UDT, GOE, DOE, GEO, Masuda, Forte, AT, GIGN, Exon Shell, CQB, CONUS, CTU, RCMP, GRU, SASR, GSG-9, 22nd SAS, GEOS, EADA, BBE, STEP, Echelon, Dictionary, MD2, MD4, MDA, MYK, 747,777, 767, MI5, 737, MI6, 757, Kh-11, Shayet-13, SADMS, Spetznaz, Recce, 707, CIO, NOCS, Halcon, Duress, RAID, Psyops, grom, D-11, SERT, VIP, ARC, S.E.T. Team, MP5k, DREC, DEVGRP, DF, DSD, FDM, GRU, LRTS, SIGDEV, NACSI, PSAC, PTT, RFI, SIGDASYS, TDM, SUKLO, SUSLO, TELINT, TEXTA, ELF, LF, MF, VHF, UHF, SHF, SASP, WANK, Colonel, domestic disruption, smuggle, 15kg, nitrate, Pretoria, M-14, enigma, Bletchley Park, Clandestine, nkvd, argus, afsatcom, CQB, NVD, Counter Terrorism Security, Rapid Reaction, Corporate Security, Police, sniper, PPS, ASIS, ASLET, TSCM, Security Consulting, High Security, Security Evaluation, Electronic Surveillance, MI-17, Counterterrorism, spies, eavesdropping, debugging, interception, COCOT, rhost, rhosts, SETA, Amherst, Broadside, Capricorn, Gamma, Gorizont, Guppy, Ionosphere, Mole, Keyhole, Kilderkin, Artichoke, Badger, Cornflower, Daisy, Egret, Iris, Hollyhock, Jasmine, Juile, Vinnell, B.D.M., Sphinx, Stephanie, Reflection, Spoke, Talent, Trump, FX, FXR, IMF, POCSAG, Covert Video, Intiso, r00t, lock picking, Beyond Hope, csystems, passwd, 2600 Magazine, Competitor, EO, Chan, Alouette, executive, Event Security, Mace, Cap-Stun, stakeout, ninja, ASIS, ISA, EOD, Oscan, Merlin, NTT, SL-1, Rolm, TIE, Tie-fighter, PBX, SLI, NTT, MSCJ, MIT, 69, RIT, Time, MSEE, Cable & Wireless, CSE, Embassy, ETA, Porno, Fax, finks, Fax encryption, white noise, pink noise, CRA, M.P.R.I., top secret, Mossberg, 50BMG, Macintosh Security, Macintosh Internet Security, Macintosh Firewalls, Unix Security, VIP Protection, SIG, sweep, Medco, TRD, TDR, sweeping, TELINT, Audiotel, Harvard, 1080H, SWS, Asset, Satellite imagery, force, Cypherpunks, Coderpunks, TRW, remailers, replay, redheads, RX-7, explicit, FLAME, Pornstars, AVN, Playboy, Anonymous, Sex, chaining, codes, Nuclear, 20, subversives, SLIP, toad, fish, data havens, unix, c, a, b, d, the, Elvis, quiche, DES, 1\*, NATIA, NATOA, sneakers, counterintelligence, industrial espionage, PI, TSCI, industrial intelligence, H.N.P., Juiliett Class Submarine, Locks, loch, Ingram Mac-10, sigvoice, ssa, E.O.D., SEMTEX, penrep, racial, OTP, OSS, Blowpipe, CCS, GSA, Kilo Class, squib, primacord, RSP, Becker, Nerd, fangs, Austin, Comirex, GPMG, Speakeasy, humint, GEODSS, SORO, M5, ANC, zone, SBI, DSS, S.A.I.C., Minox, Keyhole, SAR, Rand Corporation, Wackenhutt, EO, Wackendude, mol, Hillal, GGL, CTU, botux, Virii, CCC, Blacklisted 411, Internet Underground, XS4ALL, Retinal Fetish, Fetish, Yobie, CTP, CATO, Phon-e, Chicago Posse, Iock, spook keywords, PLA, TDYC, W3, CUD, CdC, Weekly World News, Zen, World Domination, Dead, GRU, M72750, Salsa, 7, Blowfish, Gorelick, Glock, Ft. Meade, press-release, Indigo, wire transfer, e-cash, Bubba the Love Sponge, Digicash, zip, SWAT, Ortega, PPP, crypto-anarchy, AT&T, SGI, SUN, MCI, Blacknet, Middleman, KLM, Blackbird, plutonium, Texas, jihad, SDI, Uzi, Fort Meade, supercomputer, bullion, 3, Blackmednet, Propaganda, ABC, Satellite phones, Planet-1, cryptanalysis, nuclear, FBI, Panama, fissionable, Sears Tower, NORAD, Delta Force, SEAL, virtual, Dolch, secure shell, screws, Black-Ops, Area51, SABC, basement, data-haven, black-bag, TEMPSET, Goodwin, rebels, ID, MD5, IDEA, garbage, market, beef, Stego, unclassified, utopia, orthodox, Alica, SHA, Global, gorilla, Bob, Pseudonyms, MITM, Gray Data, VLSI, mega, Leitrim, Yakima, Sugar Grove, Cowboy, Gist, 8182, Gatt, Platform, 1911, Geraldton, UKUSA, veggie, 3848, Morwenstow, Consul, Oratory, Pine Gap, Menwith, Mantis, DSD, BVD, 1984, Flintlock, cybercash, government, hate, speedbump, illuminati, president, freedom, cocaine, \$, Roswell, ESN, COS, E.T., credit card, b9, fraud, assassinate, virus, anarchy, rogue, mailbomb, 888, Chelsea, 1997, Whitewater, MOD, York, plutonium, William Gates, clone, BATF, SGDN, Nike, Atlas, Delta, TWA, Kiwi, PGP 2.6.2., PGP 5.0i, PGP 5.1, siliconpimp, Lynch, 414, Face, Pixar, IRIDF, eternity server, Skytel, Yukon, Templeton, LUK, Cohiba, Soros, Standford, niche, 51, H&K, USP, ^, sardine, bank, EUB, USP, PCS, NRO, Red Cell, Glock 26, snuffle, Patel, package, ISI, INR, INS, IRS, GRU, RUOP, GSS, NSP, SRI, Ronco, Armani, BOSS, Chobetsu, FBIS, BND, SISDE, FSB, BfV, IB, froglegs, JITEM, SADf, advise, TUSA, HoHoCon, SISMI, FIS, MSW, Spyderco, UOP, SSCI, NIMA, MOIS, SVR, SIN, advisors, SAP, OAU, PFS, Aladdin, chameleon man, Hutsul, CESID, Bess, rail gun, Peering, 17, 312, NB, CBM, CTP, Sardine, SBIRS, SGDN, ADIU, DEADBEEF, IDP, IDF, Halibut, SONANGOL, Flu, &, Loin, PGP 5.53, EG&G, AIEWS, AMW, WORM, MP5K-SD, 1071, WINGS, cdi, DynCorp, UXO, Ti, THAAD, package, chosen, PRIME, SURVIAC, UFO.

the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion



# PROTOCOLS OF THE MEETINGS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION

## PROTOCOL No. 1

1. Putting aside fine phrases we shall speak of the significance of each thought: by comparisons and deductions we shall throw light upon surrounding facts.
2. What I am about to set forth, then, is our system from the two points of view, that of ourselves and that of the GOYIM [i.e., non-Jews].
3. 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.
4. What has restrained the beasts of prey who are called men? What has served for their guidance hitherto?
5. In the beginnings of the structure of society, they were subjected to brutal 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.
6. Political freedom is an idea but not a fact. This idea one must know how to apply whenever it appears necessary with this bait of an idea to attract the masses of the people to one's party for the purpose of crushing another who is in authority. This task is rendered easier if the opponent has himself been infected with the idea of freedom, SO-CALLED LIBERALISM, and, for the sake of an idea, is willing to yield some of his power. It is precisely here that the triumph of our theory appears; the slackened reins of government are immediately, by the law of life, caught up and gathered together by a new hand, because the blind might of the nation cannot for one single day exist without guidance, and the new authority merely fits into the place of the old already weakened by liberalism.

## **GOLD**

7. In our day the power which has replaced that of the rulers who were liberal is the power of Gold. Time was when Faith ruled. The idea of freedom is impossible of realization because no one knows how to use it with moderation. It is enough to hand over a people to self-government for a certain length of time for that people to be turned into a disorganized mob. From that moment on we get internecine strife which soon develops into battles between classes, in the midst of which States burn down and their importance is reduced to that of a heap of ashes.
8. Whether a State exhausts itself in its own convulsions, whether its internal discord brings it under the power of external foes - in any case it can be accounted irretrievably lost: IT IS IN OUR POWER. The despotism of Capital, which is entirely in our hands, reaches out to it a straw that the State, willy-nilly, must take hold of: if not - it goes to the bottom.
9. Should anyone of a liberal mind say that such reflections as the above are immoral, I would put the following questions: 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 defense, 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?

10. 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 favor with the people, whose powers of reasoning are superficial? Men in masses and the men of the masses, being guided solely by petty passions, paltry beliefs, traditions and sentimental theorems, fall a prey to party dissension, which hinders any kind of agreement even on the basis of a perfectly reasonable argument. Every resolution of a crowd depends upon a chance or packed majority, which, in its ignorance of political secrets, puts forth some ridiculous resolution that lays in the administration a seed of anarchy.

11. The political has nothing in common with the moral. The ruler who is governed by the moral is not a skilled politician, and is therefore unstable on his throne. He who wishes to rule must have recourse both to cunning and to make-believe. Great national qualities, like frankness and honesty, are vices in politics, for they bring down rulers from their thrones more effectively and more certainly than the most powerful enemy. Such qualities must be the attributes of the kingdoms of the GOYIM, but we must in no wise be guided by them.

### **RIGHT IS MIGHT**

12. Our right lies in force. The word "right" is an abstract thought and proved by nothing. The word means no more than: Give me what I want in order that thereby I may have a proof that I am stronger than you.

13. Where does right begin? Where does it end?

14. In any State in which there is a bad organization 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.

15. Our power in the present tottering condition of all forms of power will be more invincible than any other, because it will remain invisible until the moment when it has gained such strength that no cunning can any longer undermine it.

16. Out of the temporary evil we are now compelled to commit will emerge the good of an unshakable rule, which will restore the regular course of the machinery of the national life, brought to naught by liberalism. The result justifies the means. 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.

17. Before us is a plan in which is laid down strategically the line from which we cannot deviate without running the risk of seeing the labor of many centuries brought to naught.

18. In order to elaborate satisfactory forms of action it is necessary to have regard to the rascality, the slackness, the instability of the mob, its lack of capacity to understand and respect the conditions of its own life, or its own welfare. It must be understood that the might of a mob is blind, senseless and un-reasoning force ever at the mercy of a suggestion from any side. The blind cannot lead the blind without bringing them into the abyss; consequently, members of the mob, upstarts from the people even though they should be as a genius for wisdom, yet having no understanding of the political, cannot come forward as leaders of the mob without bringing the

whole nation to ruin.

19. Only one trained from childhood for independent rule can have understanding of the words that can be made up of the political alphabet.

20. A people left to itself, i.e., to upstarts from its midst, brings itself to ruin by party dissensions excited by the pursuit of power and honors and the disorders arising therefrom. Is it possible for the masses of the people calmly and without petty jealousies to form judgment, to deal with the affairs of the country, which cannot be mixed up with personal interest? Can they defend themselves from an external foe? It is unthinkable; for a plan broken up into as many parts as there are heads in the mob, loses all homogeneity, and thereby becomes unintelligible and impossible of execution.

### **WE ARE DESPOTS**

21. It is only with a despotic ruler that plans can be elaborated extensively and clearly in such a way as to distribute the whole properly among the several parts of the machinery of the State: from this the conclusion is inevitable that a satisfactory form of government for any country is one that concentrates in the hands of one responsible person. Without an absolute despotism there can be no existence for civilization which is carried on not by the masses but by their guide, whosoever that person may be. The mob is savage, and displays its savagery at every opportunity. The moment the mob seizes freedom in its hands it quickly turns to anarchy, which in itself is the highest degree of savagery.

22. Behold the alcoholic animals, bemused with drink, the right to an immoderate use of which comes along with freedom. It is not for us and ours to walk that road. The peoples of the GOYIM are bemused with alcoholic liquors; their youth has grown stupid on classicism and from early immorality, into which it has been inducted by our special agents - by tutors, lackeys, governesses in the houses of the wealthy, by clerks and others, by our women in the places of dissipation frequented by the GOYIM. In the number of these last I count also the so-called "society ladies," voluntary followers of the others in corruption and luxury.

23. 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.

24. Our State, marching along the path of peaceful conquest, has the right to replace the horrors of war by less noticeable and more satisfactory sentences of death, necessary to maintain the terror which tends to produce blind submission. Just but merciless severity is the greatest factor of strength in the State: not only for the sake of gain but also in the name of duty, for the sake of victory, we must keep to the programme of violence and make-believe. The doctrine of squaring accounts is precisely as strong as the means of which it makes use. Therefore it is not so much by the means themselves as by the doctrine of severity that we shall triumph and bring all governments into subjection to our super-government. It is enough for them to know that we are too merciless for all disobedience to cease.

### **WE SHALL END LIBERTY**

25. Far back in ancient times we were the first to cry among the masses of the people the words "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," words many times repeated since these days by stupid poll-

parrots who, from all sides around, flew down upon these baits and with them carried away the well-being of the world, true freedom of the individual, formerly so well guarded against the pressure of the mob. The would-be wise men of the GOYIM, the intellectuals, could not make anything out of the uttered words in their abstractedness; did not see that in nature there is no equality, cannot be freedom: that Nature herself has established inequality of minds, of characters, and capacities, just as immutably as she has established subordination to her laws: never stopped to think that the mob is a blind thing, that upstarts elected from among it to bear rule are, in regard to the political, the same blind men as the mob itself, that the adept, though he be a fool, can yet rule, whereas the non-adept, even if he were a genius, understands nothing in the political - to all those things the GOYIM paid no regard; yet all the time it was based upon these things that dynastic rule rested: the father passed on to the son a knowledge of the course of political affairs in such wise that none should know it but members of the dynasty and none could betray it to the governed. As time went on, the meaning of the dynastic transference of the true position of affairs in the political was lost, and this aided the success of our cause.

26. In all corners of the earth the words "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," brought to our ranks, thanks to our blind agents, whole legions who bore our banners with enthusiasm. And all the time these words were canker-worms at work boring into the well-being of the GOYIM, putting an end everywhere to peace, quiet, solidarity and destroying all the foundations of the GOY States. As you will see later, this helped us to our triumph: it gave us the possibility, among other things, of getting into our hands the master card - the destruction of the privileges, or in other words of the very existence of the aristocracy of the GOYIM, that class which was the only defense peoples and countries had against us. On the ruins of the natural and genealogical aristocracy of the GOYIM we have set up the aristocracy of our educated class headed by the aristocracy of money. The qualifications for this aristocracy we have established in wealth, which is dependent upon us, and in knowledge, for which our learned elders provide the motive force.

27. Our triumph has been rendered easier by the fact that in our relations with the men, whom we wanted, we have always worked upon the most sensitive chords of the human mind, upon the cash account, upon the cupidity, upon the insatiability for material needs of man; and each one of these human weaknesses, taken alone, is sufficient to paralyze initiative, for it hands over the will of men to the disposition of him who has bought their activities.

28. The abstraction of freedom has enabled us to persuade the mob in all countries that their government is nothing but the steward of the people who are the owners of the country, and that the steward may be replaced like a worn-out glove.

29. It is this possibility of replacing the representatives of the people which has placed at our disposal, and, as it were, given us the power of appointment.

## **PROTOCOL No. 2**

1. 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 ground, 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; 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.

2. The administrators, whom we shall choose from among the public, with strict regard to their capacities for servile obedience, will not be persons trained in the arts of government, and will therefore easily become pawns in our game in the hands of men of learning and genius who will be

their advisers, specialists bred and reared from early childhood to rule the affairs of the whole world. As is well known to you, these specialists of ours have been drawing to fit them for rule the information they need from our political plans from the lessons of history, from observations made of the events of every moment as it passes. The GOYIM are not guided by practical use of unprejudiced historical observation, but by theoretical routine without any critical regard for consequent results. We need not, therefore, take any account of them - let them amuse themselves until the hour strikes, or live on hopes of new forms of enterprising pastime, or on the memories of all they have enjoyed. For them let that play the principal part which we have persuaded them to accept as the dictates of science (theory). It is with this object in view that we are constantly, by means of our press, arousing a blind confidence in these theories. The intellectuals of the GOYIM will puff themselves up with their knowledges and without any logical verification of them will put into effect all the information available from science, which our AGENTUR specialists have cunningly pieced together for the purpose of educating their minds in the direction we want.

### **DESTRUCTIVE EDUCATION**

3. Do not suppose for a moment that these statements are empty words: think carefully of the successes we arranged for Darwinism (Evolution), Marxism (Communism), Nietzsche-ism (Socialism). To us Jews, at any rate, it should be plain to see what a disintegrating importance these directives have had upon the minds of the GOYIM.

4. It is indispensable for us to take account of the thoughts, characters, tendencies of the nations in order to avoid making slips in the political and in the direction of administrative affairs. The triumph of our system of which the component parts of the machinery may be variously disposed according to the temperament of the peoples met on our way, will fail of success if the practical application of it be not based upon a summing up of the lessons of the past in the light of the present.

5. In the hands of the States of to-day there is a great force that creates the movement of thought in the people, and that is the Press. The part played by the Press is to keep pointing our requirements supposed to be indispensable, to give voice to the complaints of the people, to express and to create discontent. It is in the Press that the triumph of freedom of speech finds its incarnation. But the GOYIM States have not known how to make use of this force; and it has fallen into our hands. Through the Press we have gained the power to influence while remaining ourselves in the shade; thanks to the Press we have got the GOLD in our hands, notwithstanding that we have had to gather it out of the oceans of blood and tears. But it has paid us, though we have sacrificed many of our people. Each victim on our side is worth in the sight of God a thousand GOYIM.

### **PROTOCOL No. 3**

1. To-day I may tell you that our goal is now only a few steps off. There remains a small space to cross and the whole long path we have trodden is ready now to close its cycle of the Symbolic Snake, by which we symbolize our people. When this ring closes, all the States of Europe will be locked in its coil as in a powerful vice.

2. The constitution scales of these days will shortly break down, for we have established them with a certain lack of accurate balance in order that they may oscillate incessantly until they wear through the pivot on which they turn. The GOYIM are under the impression that they have welded them sufficiently strong and they have all along kept on expecting that the scales would come into equilibrium. But the pivots - the kings on their thrones - are hemmed in by their representatives, who play the fool, distraught with their own uncontrolled and irresponsible power. This power they owe to the terror which has been breathed into the palaces. As they have

no means of getting at their people, into their very midst, the kings on their thrones are no longer able to come to terms with them and so strengthen themselves against seekers after power. We have made a gulf between the far-seeing Sovereign Power and the blind force of the people so that both have lost all meaning, for like the blind man and his stick, both are powerless apart.

3. 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 lot of confused issues contend ... A little more, and disorders and bankruptcy will be universal ...

4. 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.

### **POVERTY OUR WEAPON**

5. All people are chained down 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 "Peoples Rights" can exist only in idea, an idea which can never be realized in practical life. What is it to the proletariat laborer, 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 favor of what we dictate, in favor 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, for the necessity he is under of toiling almost all day gives him no present use of them, but the other hand robs him of all guarantee of regular and certain earnings by making him dependent on strikes by his comrades or lockouts by his masters.

### **WE SUPPORT COMMUNISM**

6. The people, under our guidance, have annihilated the aristocracy, who were their one and only defense and foster-mother for the sake of their own advantage which is inseparably bound up with the well-being of the people. Nowadays, with the destruction of the aristocracy, the people have fallen into the grips of merciless money-grinding scoundrels who have laid a pitiless and cruel yoke upon the necks of the workers.

7. We appear on the scene as alleged saviours of the worker from this oppression when we propose to him to enter the ranks of our fighting forces - Socialists, Anarchists, Communists - to whom we always give support in accordance with an alleged brotherly rule (of the solidarity of all humanity) of our SOCIAL MASONRY. The aristocracy, which enjoyed by law the labor of the workers, was interested in seeing that the workers were well fed, healthy, and strong. We are interested in just the opposite - in the diminution, the KILLING OUT OF THE GOYIM. Our power is in the chronic shortness of food and physical weakness of the worker because by all that this implies he is made the slave of our will, and he will not find in his own authorities either strength or energy to set against our will. Hunger creates the right of capital to rule the worker more surely than it was given to the aristocracy by the legal authority of kings.

8. By want and the envy and hatred which it engenders we shall move the mobs and with their hands we shall wipe out all those who hinder us on our way.



9. WHEN THE HOUR STRIKES FOR OUR SOVEREIGN LORD OF ALL THE WORLD TO BE CROWNED IT IS THESE SAME HANDS WHICH WILL SWEEP AWAY EVERYTHING THAT MIGHT BE A HINDRANCE THERETO

10. The GOYIM have lost the habit of thinking unless prompted by the suggestions of our specialists. Therefore they do not see the urgent necessity of what we, when our kingdom comes, shall adopt at once, namely this, that IT IS ESSENTIAL TO TEACH IN NATIONAL SCHOOLS ONE SIMPLE, TRUE PIECE OF KNOWLEDGE, THE BASIS OF ALL KNOWLEDGE - THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE STRUCTURE OF HUMAN LIFE, OF SOCIAL EXISTENCE, WHICH REQUIRES DIVISION OF LABOR, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, THE DIVISION OF MEN INTO CLASSES AND CONDITIONS. It is essential for all to know that OWING TO DIFFERENCE IN THE OBJECTS OF HUMAN ACTIVITY THERE CANNOT BE ANY EQUALITY, that he, who by any act of his compromises a whole class, cannot be equally responsible before the law with him who affects no one but only his own honor. The true knowledge of the structure of society, into the secrets of which we do not admit the GOYIM, would demonstrate to all men that the positions and work must be kept within a certain circle, that they may not become a source of human suffering, arising from an education which does not correspond with the work which individuals are called upon to do. After a thorough study of this knowledge, the peoples will voluntarily submit to authority and accept such position as is appointed them in the State. In the present state of knowledge and the direction we have given to its development of the people, blindly believing things in print - cherishes - thanks to promptings intended to mislead and to its own ignorance - a blind hatred towards all conditions which it considers above itself, for it has no understanding of the meaning of class and condition.

### **JEWS WILL BE SAFE**

11. THIS HATRED WILL BE STILL FURTHER MAGNIFIED BY THE EFFECTS of an ECONOMIC CRISES, which will stop dealing on the exchanges and bring industry to a standstill. We shall create by all the secret subterranean methods open to us and with the aid of gold, which is all in our hands, A UNIVERSAL ECONOMIC CRISES WHEREBY WE SHALL THROW UPON THE STREETS WHOLE MOBS OF WORKERS SIMULTANEOUSLY IN ALL THE COUNTRIES OF EUROPE. These mobs will rush delightedly to shed the blood of those whom, in the simplicity of their ignorance, they have envied from their cradles, and whose property they will then be able to loot.

12. "OURS" THEY WILL NOT TOUCH, BECAUSE THE MOMENT OF ATTACK WILL BE KNOWN TO US AND WE SHALL TAKE MEASURES TO PROTECT OUR OWN.

13. We have demonstrated that progress will bring all the GOYIM to the sovereignty of reason. Our despotism will be precisely that; for it will know how, by wise severities, to pacificate all unrest, to cauterize liberalism out of all institutions.

14. When the populace has seen that all sorts of concessions and indulgences are yielded it, in the same name of freedom it has imagined itself to be sovereign lord and has stormed its way to power, but, naturally like every other blind man, it has come upon a host of stumbling blocks. IT HAS RUSHED TO FIND A GUIDE, IT HAS NEVER HAD THE SENSE TO RETURN TO THE FORMER STATE and it has laid down its plenipotentiary powers at OUR feet. Remember the French Revolution, to which it was we who gave the name of "Great": the secrets of its preparations are well known to us for it was wholly the work of our hands.

15. Ever since that time we have been leading the peoples from one disenchantment to another, so that in the end they should turn also from us in favor of that KING-DESPOT OF THE BLOOD OF ZION, WHOM WE ARE PREPARING FOR THE WORLD.

16. At the present day we are, as an international force, invincible, because if attacked by some

we are supported by other States. 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.

17. What is the explanation of this phenomenon, this curious inconsequence of the masses of the peoples in their attitude towards what would appear to be events of the same order?

18. It is explained by the fact that these dictators whisper to the peoples through their agents that through these abuses they are inflicting injury on the States with the highest purpose - to secure the welfare of the peoples, the international brotherhood of them all, their solidarity and equality of rights. Naturally they do not tell the peoples that this unification must be accomplished only under our sovereign rule.

19. And thus the people condemn the upright and acquit the guilty, persuaded ever more and more that it can do whatsoever it wishes. Thanks to this state of things, the people are destroying every kind of stability and creating disorders at every step.

20. 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.

21. These beasts, it is true, fall asleep again every time when they have drunk their fill of blood, and at such time can easily be riveted into their chains. But if they be not given blood they will not sleep and continue to struggle.

#### **PROTOCOL No. 4**

1. Every republic passes through several stages. The first of these is comprised in the early days of mad raging by the blind mob, tossed hither and thither, right and left: the second is demagoguery from which is born anarchy, and that leads inevitably to despotism - not any longer legal and overt, and therefore responsible despotism, but to unseen and secretly hidden, yet nevertheless sensibly felt despotism in the hands of some secret organization or other, whose acts are the more unscrupulous inasmuch as it works behind a screen, behind the backs of all sorts of agents, the changing of whom not only does not injuriously affect but actually aids the secret force by saving it, thanks to continual changes, from the necessity of expanding its resources on the rewarding of long services.

2. Who and what is in a position to overthrow an invisible force? And this is precisely what our force is. GENTILE masonry blindly serves as a screen for us and our objects, but the plan of action of our force, even its very abiding-place, remains for the whole people an unknown mystery.

#### **WE SHALL DESTROY GOD**

3. But even freedom might be harmless and have its place in the State economy without injury to the well-being of the peoples if it rested upon the foundation of faith in God, upon the brotherhood of humanity, unconnected with the conception of equality, which is negated by the very laws of creation, for they have established subordination. With such a faith as this a people might be governed by a wardship of parishes, and would walk contentedly and humbly under the guiding hand of its spiritual pastor submitting to the dispositions of God upon earth. This is the

reason why IT IS INDISPENSABLE FOR US TO UNDERMINE ALL FAITH, TO TEAR OUT OF THE MIND OF THE "GOYIM" THE VERY PRINCIPLE OF GOD-HEAD AND THE SPIRIT, AND TO PUT IN ITS PLACE ARITHMETICAL CALCULATIONS AND MATERIAL NEEDS.

4. In order to give the GOYIM no time to think and take note, their minds must be diverted towards industry and trade. Thus, all the nations will be swallowed up in the pursuit of gain and in the race for it will not take note of their common foe. But again, in order that freedom may once for all disintegrate and ruin the communities of the GOYIM, we must put industry on a speculative basis: the result of this will be that what is withdrawn from the land by industry will slip through the hands and pass into speculation, that is, to our classes.

5. The intensified struggle for superiority and shocks delivered to economic life will create, nay, have already created, disenchanted, 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.

### **PROTOCOL No. 5**

1. What form of administrative rule can be given to communities in which corruption has penetrated everywhere, communities where riches 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 obligated 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 centralization 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, and our kingdom will be distinguished by a despotism of such magnificent proportions as to be at any moment and in every place in a position to wipe out any GOYIM who oppose us by deed or word.

2. We shall be told that such a despotism as I speak of is not consistent with the progress of these days, but I will prove to you that it is.

3. In the times when the peoples looked upon kings on their thrones as on a pure manifestation of the will of God, they submitted without a murmur to the despotic power of kings: but from the day when we insinuated into their minds the conception of their own rights they began to regard the occupants of thrones as mere ordinary mortals. The holy unction of the Lord's Anointed has fallen from the heads of kings in the eyes of the people, and when we also robbed them of their faith in God the might of power was flung upon the streets into the place of public proprietorship and was seized by us.

### **MASSES LED BY LIES**

4. Moreover, the art of directing masses and individuals by means of cleverly manipulated theory and verbiage, by regulations of life in common and all sorts of other quirks, in all which the GOYIM understand nothing, belongs likewise to the specialists of our administrative brain. Reared on analysis, observation, on delicacies of fine calculation, in this species of skill we have no rivals, any more than we have either in the drawing up of plans of political actions and solidarity. In this respect the Jesuits alone might have compared with us, but we have contrived to discredit

them in the eyes of the unthinking mob as an overt organization, while we ourselves all the while have kept our secret organization in the shade. However, it is probably all the same to the world who is its sovereign lord, whether the head of Catholicism or our despot of the blood of Zion! But to us, the Chosen People, it is very far from being a matter of indifference.

5. FOR A TIME PERHAPS WE MIGHT BE SUCCESSFULLY DEALT WITH BY A COALITION OF THE "GOYIM" OF ALL THE WORLD: but from this danger we are secured by the discord existing among them whose roots are so deeply seated that they can never now be plucked up. We have set one against another the personal and national reckonings of the GOYIM, religious and race hatreds, which we have fostered into a huge growth in the course of the past twenty centuries. This is the reason why there is not one State which would anywhere receive support if it were to raise its arm, for every one of them must bear in mind that any agreement against us would be unprofitable to itself. We are too strong - there is no evading our power. THE NATIONS CANNOT COME TO EVEN AN INCONSIDERABLE PRIVATE AGREEMENT WITHOUT OUR SECRETLY HAVING A HAND IN IT.

6. 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. God has endowed us with genius that we may be equal to our task. Were genius in the opposite camp it would still struggle against us, but even so, a newcomer is no match for the old-established settler: the struggle would be merciless between us, such a fight as the world has never seen. Aye, and the genius on their side would have arrived too late. All the wheels of the machinery of all States go by the force of the engine, which is in our hands, and that engine of the machinery of States is - Gold. The science of political economy invented by our learned elders has for long past been giving royal prestige to capital.

### MONOPOLY CAPITAL

7. Capital, if it is to co-operate untrammelled, must be free to establish a monopoly of industry and trade: this is already being put in execution by an unseen hand in all quarters of the world. This freedom will give political force to those engaged in industry, and that will help to oppress the people. 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 eradicate them. THE PRINCIPLE 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.

8. In all ages the people 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.

9. 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.

10. 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, which it is not given to the public to understand, because they are understood only by him who guides the public. This is the first secret.

11. The second secret requisite for the success of our government is comprised in the following:

To multiply to such an extent national failings, habits, passions, conditions of civil life, that it will be impossible for anyone to know where he is in the resulting chaos, so that the people in consequence will fail to understand one another. This measure will also serve us in another way, namely, to sow discord in all parties, to dislocate all collective forces which are still unwilling to submit to us, and to discourage any kind of personal initiative which might in any degree hinder our affair. THERE IS NOTHING MORE DANGEROUS THAN PERSONAL INITIATIVE: if it has genius behind it, such initiative can do more than can be done by millions of people among whom we have sown discord. We must so direct the education of the GOYIM communities that whenever they come upon a matter requiring initiative they may drop their hands in despairing impotence. The strain which results from freedom of actions saps the forces when it meets with the freedom of another. From this collision arise grave moral shocks, disenchantments, failures. BY ALL THESE MEANS WE SHALL SO WEAR DOWN THE "GOYIM" THAT THEY WILL BE COMPELLED TO OFFER US INTERNATIONAL POWER OF A NATURE THAT BY ITS POSITION WILL ENABLE US WITHOUT ANY VIOLENCE GRADUALLY TO ABSORB ALL THE STATE FORCES OF THE WORLD AND TO FORM A SUPER-GOVERNMENT. In place of the rulers of to-day we shall set up a bogey which will be called the Super-Government Administration. Its hands will reach out in all directions like nippers and its organization will be of such colossal dimensions that it cannot fail to subdue all the nations of the world.

### **PROTOCOL No. 6**

1. 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 ...
2. You gentlemen here present who are economists, just strike an estimate of the significance of this combination! ...
3. 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.
4. 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.
5. The aristocrats of the GOYIM, being hereditarily incapable of contenting themselves with little, will rapidly burn up and fizzle out.

### **WE SHALL ENSLAVE GENTILES**

6. At the same time we must intensively patronize trade and industry, but, first and foremost, speculation, the part played by which is to provide a counterpoise to industry: the absence of speculative industry will multiply capital in private hands and will serve to restore agriculture by freeing the land from indebtedness to the land banks. What we want is that industry should drain off from the land both labor and capital and by means of speculation transfer into our hands all the money of the world, and thereby throw all the GOYIM into the ranks of the proletariat. Then the GOYIM will bow down before us, if for no other reason but to get the right to exist.
7. To complete the ruin of the industry of the GOYIM we shall bring to the assistance of speculation the luxury which we have developed among the GOYIM, that greedy demand for luxury

which is swallowing up everything. WE SHALL RAISE THE RATE OF WAGES WHICH, HOWEVER, WILL NOT BRING ANY ADVANTAGE TO THE WORKERS, FOR, AT THE SAME TIME, WE SHALL PRODUCE A RISE IN PRICES OF THE FIRST NECESSARIES OF LIFE, ALLEGING THAT IT ARISES FROM THE DECLINE OF AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE-BREEDING: WE SHALL FURTHER UNDERMINE ARTFULLY AND DEEPLY SOURCES OF PRODUCTION, BY ACCUSTOMING THE WORKERS TO ANARCHY AND TO DRUNKENNESS AND SIDE BY SIDE THEREWITH TAKING ALL MEASURE TO EXTIRPATE FROM THE FACE OF THE EARTH ALL THE EDUCATED FORCES OF THE "GOYIM."

8. IN ORDER THAT THE TRUE MEANING OF THINGS MAY NOT STRIKE THE "GOYIM" BEFORE THE PROPER TIME WE SHALL MASK IT UNDER AN ALLEGED ARDENT DESIRE TO SERVE THE WORKING CLASSES AND THE GREAT PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY ABOUT WHICH OUR ECONOMIC THEORIES ARE CARRYING ON AN ENERGETIC PROPAGANDA.

### **PROTOCOL No. 7**

1. 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.

2. 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 check all countries, for they will 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 the political, 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 complacency. In this way the peoples and governments of the GOYIM, whom we have taught to look only at the outside whatever we present to their notice, will still continue to accept us as the benefactors and saviours of the human race.

### **UNIVERSAL WAR**

3. 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.

4. 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.

5. We must compel the governments of the GOYIM to take action in the direction favored by our widely conceived plan, already approaching the desired consummation, by what we shall represent as public opinion, secretly promoted by us through the means of that so-called "Great Power" - THE PRESS, WHICH, WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS THAT MAY BE DISREGARDED, IS ALREADY ENTIRELY IN OUR HANDS.

6. In a word, to sum up our system of keeping the governments of the goyim in Europe in check, we shall show our strength to one of them by terrorist attempts and to all, if we allow the possibility of a general rising against us, we shall respond with the guns of America or China or Japan.

### **PROTOCOL No. 8**

1. 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 civilization 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 consonance 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. These chords are the cast of mind of the GOYIM, their tendencies, short-comings, vices and qualities, the particularities of classes and conditions. Needless to say that the talented assistants of authority, of whom I speak, will be taken not from among the GOYIM, who are accustomed to perform their administrative work without giving themselves the trouble to think what its aim is, and never consider what it is needed for. The administrators of the GOYIM sign papers without reading them, and they serve either for mercenary reasons or from ambition.

2. 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.

3. For a time, until there will no longer be any risk in entrusting responsible posts in our State 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.

### **PROTOCOL No. 9**

1. In applying our principles let attention be paid to the character of the people in whose country you live and act; a general, identical application of them, until such time as the people shall have been re-educated to our pattern, cannot have success. But by approaching their application cautiously you will see that not a decade will pass before the most stubborn character will change and we shall add a new people to the ranks of those already subdued by us.

2. The words of the liberal, which are in effect the words of our masonic watchword, namely, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," will, when we come into our kingdom, be changed by us into words no longer of a watchword, but only an expression of idealism, namely, into "The right of liberty, the duty of equality, the ideal of brotherhood." That is how we shall put it, - and so we shall catch the bull by the horns ... DE FACTO we have already wiped out every kind of rule except our own, although DE JURE there still remain a good many of them. Nowadays, if any States raise a protest against us it is only PRO FORMA at our discretion and by our direction, for THEIR ANTI-SEMITISM IS INDISPENSABLE TO US FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF OUR LESSER BRETHREN. I will not enter into further explanations, for this matter has formed the subject of repeated discussions amongst us.

### **JEWISH SUPER-STATE**

3. For us there are not checks to limit the range of our activity. Our Super-Government subsists in

extra-legal conditions which are described in the accepted terminology by the energetic and forcible word - Dictatorship. I am in a position to tell you with a clear conscience that at the proper time we, the law-givers, shall execute judgment and sentence, we shall slay and we shall spare, we, as head of all our troops, are mounted on the steed of the leader. We rule by force of will, because in our hands are the fragments of a once powerful party, now vanquished by us. AND THE WEAPONS IN OUR HANDS ARE LIMITLESS AMBITIONS, BURNING GREEDINESS, MERCILESS VENGEANCE, HATREDS AND MALICE.

4. IT IS FROM US THAT THE ALL-ENGULFING TERROR PROCEEDS. WE HAVE IN OUR SERVICE PERSONS OF ALL OPINIONS, OF ALL DOCTRINES, RESTORING MONARCHISTS, DEMAGOGUES, SOCIALISTS, COMMUNISTS, AND UTOPIAN DREAMERS OF EVERY KIND. We have harnessed them all to the task: EACH ONE OF THEM ON HIS OWN ACCOUNT IS BORING AWAY AT THE LAST REMNANTS OF AUTHORITY, IS STRIVING TO OVERTHROW ALL ESTABLISHED FORM OF ORDER. By these acts all States are in torture; they exhort to tranquility, are ready to sacrifice everything for peace: BUT WE WILL NOT GIVE THEM PEACE UNTIL THEY OPENLY ACKNOWLEDGE OUR INTERNATIONAL SUPER-GOVERNMENT, AND WITH SUBMISSIVENESS.

5. The people have raised a howl about the necessity of settling the question of Socialism by way of an international agreement. DIVISION INTO FRACTIONAL PARTIES HAS GIVEN THEM INTO OUR HANDS, FOR, IN ORDER TO CARRY ON A CONTESTED STRUGGLE ONE MUST HAVE MONEY, AND THE MONEY IS ALL IN OUR HANDS.

6. We might have reason to apprehend a union between the "clear-sighted" force of the GOY kings on their thrones and the "blind" force of the GOY mobs, but we have taken all the needful measure against any such possibility: between the one and the other force we have erected a bulwark in the shape of a mutual terror between them. In this way the blind force of the people remains our support and we, and we only, shall provide them with a leader and, of course, direct them along the road that leads to our goal.

7. In order that the hand of the blind mob may not free itself from our guiding hand, we must every now and then enter into close communion with it, if not actually in person, at any rate through some of the most trusty of our brethren. When we are acknowledged as the only authority we shall discuss with the people personally on the market, places, and we shall instruct them on questings of the political in such wise as may turn them in the direction that suits us.

8. Who is going to verify what is taught in the village schools? But what an envoy of the government or a king on his throne himself may say cannot but become immediately known to the whole State, for it will be spread abroad by the voice of the people.

9. In order 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.

### **CHRISTIAN YOUTH DESTROYED**

10. 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 THAT THEY HAVE BEEN INCULCATED.

11. 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 in the fact that the INTERPRETATIONS MASKED THE LAW: 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.

12. This is the origin of the theory of course of arbitration.

13. You may say that the GOYIM will rise upon us, arms in hand, if they guess what is going on before the time comes; but in the West we have against this a manoeuvre of such appalling terror that the very stoutest hearts quail - the undergrounds, metropolitans, those subterranean corridors which, before the time comes, will be driven under all the capitals and from whence those capitals will be blown into the air with all their organizations and archives.

### **PROTOCOL No. 10**

1. To-day I begin with a repetition of what I said before, and I BEG YOU TO BEAR IN MIND THAT GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLE ARE CONTENT IN THE POLITICAL WITH OUTSIDE APPEARANCES. And how, indeed, are the GOYIM to perceive the underlying meaning of things when their representatives give the best of their energies to enjoying themselves? For our policy it is of the greatest importance to take cognizance of this detail; it will be of assistance to us when we come to consider the division of authority of 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.

2. 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!" ...

### **OUR GOAL - WORLD POWER**

3. 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. This is why, before everything, it is indispensable for us to arm ourselves and to store up in ourselves that absolutely reckless audacity and irresistible might of the spirit which in the person of our active workers will break down all hindrances on our way.

4. WHEN WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED OUR COUP D'ETAT WE SHALL SAY THEN TO THE VARIOUS PEOPLES: "EVERYTHING HAS GONE TERRIBLY BADLY, ALL HAVE BEEN WORN OUT WITH SUFFERING. WE ARE DESTROYING THE CAUSES OF YOUR TORMENT - NATIONALITIES, FRONTIERS, DIFFERENCES OF COINAGES. YOU ARE AT LIBERTY, OF COURSE, TO PRONOUNCE SENTENCE UPON US, BUT CAN IT POSSIBLY BE A JUST ONE IF IT IS CONFIRMED BY YOU BEFORE YOU MAKE ANY TRIAL OF WHAT WE ARE OFFERING YOU." ... THEN WILL THE MOB EXALT US AND BEAR US UP IN THEIR HANDS IN A UNANIMOUS TRIUMPH OF HOPES AND EXPECTATIONS. VOTING, WHICH WE HAVE MADE THE INSTRUMENT WHICH WILL SET US ON THE THRONE OF THE WORLD BY TEACHING EVEN THE VERY SMALLEST UNITS OF MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RACE TO VOTE BY MEANS OF MEETINGS AND AGREEMENTS BY GROUPS, WILL THEN HAVE SERVED ITS PURPOSES AND WILL PLAY ITS PART THEN FOR THE LAST TIME BY A UNANIMITY OF DESIRE TO MAKE CLOSE ACQUAINTANCE WITH US BEFORE CONDEMNING US.

5. TO SECURE THIS WE MUST HAVE EVERYBODY VOTE WITHOUT DISTINCTION OF CLASSES AND QUALIFICATIONS, in order to establish an absolute majority, which cannot be got from the educated propertied classes. In this way, by inculcating in all a sense of self-importance, we shall destroy among the GOYIM the importance of the family and its educational value and remove the possibility of individual minds splitting off, for the mob, handled by us, will not let them come to the front nor even give them a hearing; it is accustomed to listen to us only who pay it for obedience and attention. In this way we shall create a blind, mighty force which will never be in a position to move in any direction without the guidance of our agents set at its head by us as leaders of the mob. The people will submit to this regime because it will know that upon these leaders will depend its earnings, gratifications and the receipt of all kinds of benefits.

6. A scheme of government should come ready made from one brain, because it will never be clinched firmly if it is allowed to be split into fractional parts in the minds of many. It is allowable, therefore, for us to have cognizance of the scheme of action but not to discuss it lest we disturb its artfulness, the interdependence of its component parts, the practical force of the secret meaning of each clause. To discuss and make alterations in a labor of this kind by means of numerous votings is to impress upon it the stamp of all ratiocinations and misunderstandings which have failed to penetrate the depth and nexus of its plottings. We want our schemes to be forcible and suitably concocted. Therefore WE OUGHT NOT TO FLING THE WORK OF GENIUS OF OUR GUIDE to the fangs of the mob or even of a select company.

7. These schemes will not turn existing institutions upside down just yet. They will only effect changes in their economy and consequently in the whole combined movement of their progress, which will thus be directed along the paths laid down in our schemes.

### **POISON OF LIBERALISM**

8. Under various names there exists in all countries approximately one and the same thing. Representation, Ministry, Senate, State Council, Legislative and Executive Corps. I need not explain to you the mechanism of the relation of these institutions to one another, because you are aware of all that; only take note of the fact that each of the above-named institutions corresponds to some important function of the State, and I would beg you to remark that the word "important" I apply not to the institution but to the function, consequently it is not the institutions which are important but their functions. These institutions have divided up among themselves all the functions of government - administrative, legislative, executive, wherefore they have come to operate as do the organs in the human body. If we injure one part in the machinery of State, the State falls sick, like a human body, and ... will die.

9. When we introduced into the State organism the poison of Liberalism its whole political complexion underwent a change. States have been seized with a mortal illness - blood poisoning. All that remains is to await the end of their death agony.

10. Liberalism produced Constitutional States, which took the place of what was the only safeguard of the GOYIM, namely, Despotism; and A CONSTITUTION, AS YOU WELL KNOW, IS NOTHING ELSE BUT A SCHOOL OF DISCORDS, misunderstandings, quarrels, disagreements, fruitless party agitations, party whims - in a word, a school of everything that serves to destroy the personality of State activity. THE TRIBUNE OF THE "TALKERIES" HAS, NO LESS EFFECTIVELY THAN THE PRESS, CONDEMNED THE RULERS TO INACTIVITY AND IMPOTENCE, and thereby rendered them useless and superfluous, for which reason indeed they have been in many countries deposed. THEN IT WAS THAT THE ERA OF REPUBLICS BECAME POSSIBLE OF REALIZATION; AND THEN IT WAS THAT WE REPLACED THE RULER BY A CARICATURE OF A GOVERNMENT - BY A PRESIDENT, TAKEN FROM THE MOB, FROM THE MIDST OF OUR PUPPET CREATURES, OR SLAVES. This was the foundation of the mine which we have laid under the GOY

people, I should rather say, under the GOY peoples.

## **WE NAME PRESIDENTS**

11. In the near future we shall establish the responsibility of presidents.

12. By that time we shall be in a position to disregard forms in carrying through matters for which our impersonal puppet will be responsible. What do we care if the ranks of those striving for power should be thinned, if there should arise a deadlock from the impossibility of finding presidents, a deadlock which will finally disorganize the country? ...

13. In order that our scheme may produce this result we shall arrange elections in favor of such presidents as have in their past some dark, undiscovered stain, some "Panama" or other - then they will be trustworthy agents for the accomplishment of our plans out of fear of revelations and from the natural desire of everyone who has attained power, namely, the retention of the privileges, advantages and honor connected with the office of president. The chamber of deputies will provide cover for, will protect, will elect presidents, but we shall take from it the right to propose new, or make changes in existing laws, for this right will be given by us to the responsible president, a puppet in our hands. Naturally, the authority of the presidents will then become a target for every possible form of attack, but we shall provide him with a means of self-defense in the right of an appeal to the people, for the decision of the people over the heads of their representatives, that is to say, an appeal to that same blind slave of ours - the majority of the mob. Independently of this we shall invest the president with the right of declaring a state of war. We shall justify this last right on the ground that the president as chief of the whole army of the country must have it at his disposal, in case of need for the defense of the new republican constitution, the right to defend which will belong to him as the responsible representative of this constitution.

14. It is easy to understand that in these conditions the key of the shrine will lie in our hands, and no one outside ourselves will any longer direct the force of legislation.

15. Besides this we shall, with the introduction of the new republican constitution, take from the Chamber the right of interpolation on government measures, on the pretext of preserving political secrecy, and, further, we shall by the new constitution reduce the number of representatives to a minimum, thereby proportionately reducing political passions and the passion for politics. If, however, they should, which is hardly to be expected, burst into flame, even in this minimum, we shall nullify them by a stirring appeal and a reference to the majority of the whole people ... Upon the president will depend the appointment of presidents and vice-presidents of the Chamber and the Senate. Instead of constant sessions of Parliaments we shall reduce their sittings to a few months. Moreover, the president, as chief of the executive power, will have the right to summon and dissolve Parliament, and, in the latter case, to prolong the time for the appointment of a new parliamentary assembly. But in order that the consequences of all these acts which in substance are illegal, should not, prematurely for our plans, fall upon the responsibility established by us of the president, WE SHALL INSTIGATE MINISTERS AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE HIGHER ADMINISTRATION ABOUT THE PRESIDENT TO EVADE HIS DISPOSITIONS BY TAKING MEASURES OF THEIR OWN, for doing which they will be made the scapegoats in his place ... This part we especially recommend to be given to be played by the Senate, the Council of State, or the Council of Ministers, but not to an individual official.

16. The president will, at our discretion, interpret the sense of such of the existing laws as admit of various interpretation; he will further annul them when we indicate to him the necessity to do so, besides this, he will have the right to propose temporary laws, and even new departures in the government constitutional working, the pretext both for the one and the other being the requirements for the supreme welfare of the State.

## **WE SHALL DESTROY**

17. By such measure we shall obtain the power of destroying little by little, step by step, all that at the outset when we enter on our rights, we are compelled to introduce into the constitutions of States to prepare for the transition to an imperceptible abolition of every kind of constitution, and then the time is come to turn every form of government into OUR DESPOTISM.

18. The recognition of our despot may also come before the destruction of the constitution; the moment for this recognition will come when the peoples, utterly wearied by the irregularities and incompetence - a matter which we shall arrange for - of their rulers, will clamor: "Away with them and give us one king over all the earth who will unite us and annihilate the causes of disorders - frontiers, nationalities, religions, State debts - who will give us peace and quiet which we cannot find under our rulers and representatives."

19. But you yourselves perfectly well know that TO PRODUCE THE POSSIBILITY OF THE EXPRESSION OF SUCH WISHES BY ALL THE NATIONS IT IS INDISPENSABLE TO TROUBLE IN ALL COUNTRIES THE PEOPLE'S RELATIONS WITH THEIR GOVERNMENTS SO AS TO UTTERLY EXHAUST HUMANITY WITH DISSENSION, HATRED, STRUGGLE, ENVY AND EVEN BY THE USE OF TORTURE, BY STARVATION, BY THE INOCULATION OF DISEASES, BY WANT, SO THAT THE "GOYIM" SEE NO OTHER ISSUE THAN TO TAKE REFUGE IN OUR COMPLETE SOVEREIGNTY IN MONEY AND IN ALL ELSE.

20. But if we give the nations of the world a breathing space the moment we long for is hardly likely ever to arrive.

## **PROTOCOL No. 11**

1. The State Council has been, as it were, the emphatic expression of the authority of the ruler: it will be, as the "show" part of the Legislative Corps, what may be called the editorial committee of the laws and decrees of the ruler.

2. This, then, is the program of the new constitution. We shall make Law, Right and Justice (1) in the guise of proposals to the Legislative Corps, (2) by decrees of the president under the guise of general regulations, of orders of the Senate and of resolutions of the State Council in the guise of ministerial orders, (3) and in case a suitable occasion should arise - in the form of a revolution in the State.

3. Having established approximately the MODUS AGENDI we will occupy ourselves with details of those combinations by which we have still to complete the revolution in the course of the machinery of State in the direction already indicated. By these combinations I mean the freedom of the Press, the right of association, freedom of conscience, the voting principle, and many another that must disappear for ever from the memory of man, or undergo a radical alteration the day after the promulgation of the new constitution. It is only at the moment that we shall be able at once to announce all our orders, for, afterwards, every noticeable alteration will be dangerous, for the following reasons: if this alteration be brought in with harsh severity and in a sense of severity and limitations, it may lead to a feeling of despair caused by fear of new alterations in the same direction; if, on the other hand, it be brought in a sense of further indulgences it will be said that we have recognized our own wrong-doing and this will destroy the prestige of the infallibility of our authority, or else it will be said that we have become alarmed and are compelled to show a yielding disposition, for which we shall get no thanks because it will be supposed to be compulsory ... Both the one and the other are injurious to the prestige of the new constitution. What we want is that from the first moment of its promulgation, while the peoples of

the world are still stunned by the accomplished fact of the revolution, still in a condition of terror and uncertainty, they should recognize once for all that we are so strong, so inexpugnable, so super-abundantly filled with power, that in no case shall we take any account of them, and so far from paying any attention to their opinions or wishes, we are ready and able to crush with irresistible power all expression or manifestation thereof at every moment and in every place, that we have seized at once everything we wanted and shall in no case divide our power with them ... Then in fear and trembling they will close their eyes to everything, and be content to await what will be the end of it all.

## **WE ARE WOLVES**

4. The GOYIM are a flock of sheep, and we are their wolves. And you know what happens when the wolves get hold of the flock?

5. There is another reason also why they will close their eyes: for we shall keep promising them to give back all the liberties we have taken away as soon as we have quelled the enemies of peace and tamed all parties.

6. It is not worth to say anything about how long a time they will be kept waiting for this return of their liberties.

7. For what purpose then have we invented this whole policy and insinuated it into the minds of the GOY without giving them any chance to examine its underlying meaning? For what, indeed, if not in order to obtain in a roundabout way what is for our scattered tribe unattainable by the direct road? It is this which has served as the basis for our organization of SECRET MASONRY WHICH IS NOT KNOWN TO, AND AIMS WHICH ARE NOT EVEN SO MUCH AS SUSPECTED BY, THESE "GOY" CATTLE, ATTRACTED BY US INTO THE "SHOW" ARMY OF MASONIC LODGES IN ORDER TO THROW DUST IN THE EYES OF THEIR FELLOWS.

8. God has granted to us, His Chosen People, the gift of the dispersion, and in this which appears in all eyes to be our weakness, has come forth all our strength, which has now brought us to the threshold of sovereignty over all the world.

9. There now remains not much more for us to build up upon the foundation we have laid.

## **PROTOCOL No. 12**

1. The word "freedom," which can be interpreted in various ways, is defined by us as follows -

2. Freedom is the right to do what which the law allows. This interpretation of the word will at the proper time be of service to us, because all freedom will thus be in our hands, since the laws will abolish or create only that which is desirable for us according to the aforesaid program.

3. We shall deal with the press in the following way: 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 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 or 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.

### **WE CONTROL THE PRESS**

4. 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 already entirely ours and will give publicity only to what we dictate to them.

5. If already now we have contrived to possess ourselves of the minds of the GOY communities to such an extent the they all come near looking upon the events of the world through the colored glasses of those spectacles we are setting astride their noses; if already now there is not a single State where there exist for us any barriers to admittance into what GOY stupidity calls State secrets: what will our positions be then, when we shall be acknowledged supreme lords of the world in the person of our king of all the world.

6. 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 instituted therefore, which, in case of any fault, will be immediately impounded. With such measures THE INSTRUMENT OF THOUGHT WILL BECOME AN EDUCATIVE MEANS ON THE HANDS OF OUR GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL NO LONGER ALLOW THE MASS OF THE NATION TO BE LED ASTRAY IN BY-WAYS AND FANTASIES ABOUT THE BLESSINGS OF PROGRESS. Is there any one of us who does not know that these phantom blessings are the direct roads to foolish imaginings which give birth to anarchical relations of men among themselves and towards authority, because progress, or rather the idea of progress, has introduced the conception of every kind of emancipation, but has failed to establish its limits. All the so-called liberals are anarchists, if not in fact, at any rate in thought. Every one of them in hunting after phantoms of freedom, and falling exclusively into license, that is, into the anarchy of protest for the sake of protest.

### **FREE PRESS DESTROYED**

7. 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 vapid 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 on the subject treated of.

8. 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 neutralize the injurious influence of the privately-owned press and will put us in possession of a tremendous 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 no wise 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 quite unsuspecting opponents, who will thus fall into our trap and be rendered harmless.

9. In the front rank will stand organs of an official character. They will always stand guard over our interests, and therefore their influence will be comparatively insignificant.

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

11. 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.

12. 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.

13. In order to direct our newspaper militia in this sense we must take special and minute care in organizing 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.

14. THESE ATTACKS UPON US WILL ALSO SERVE ANOTHER PURPOSE, NAMELY, THAT OUR SUBJECTS WILL BE CONVINCED TO 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.

### **ONLY LIES PRINTED**

15. Methods of organization like these, imperceptible to the public eye but absolutely sure, are the best calculated to succeed in bringing the attention and the confidence of the public to the side of our government. Thanks to such methods we shall be in a position as from time to time may be required, to excite or to tranquillize the public mind on political questions, to persuade or to confuse, printing now truth, now lies, facts or their contradictions, according 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 TO THEIR VIEWS owing to the aforesaid methods of dealing with the press. We shall not even need to refute them except very superficially.

16. 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.

17. 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 practice literature unless his whole past has some disgraceful sore or other. These sores would be immediately revealed. So long as they remain the secret of a few the prestige of the journalist attacks the majority of the country - the mob follow after him with enthusiasm.

18. Our calculations are especially extended to the provinces. It is indispensable for us to inflame there those hopes and impulses with which we could at any moment fall upon the capital, and we shall represent to the capitals that these expressions are the independent hopes and impulses of the provinces. Naturally, the source of them will be always one and the same - ours. WHAT WE NEED IS THAT, UNTIL SUCH TIME AS WE ARE IN THE PLENITUDE POWER, THE CAPITALS SHOULD FIND THEMSELVES STIFLED BY THE PROVINCIAL OPINION OF THE NATIONS, I.E., OF A MAJORITY ARRANGED BY OUR AGENTUR. What we need is that at the psychological moment the capitals should not be in a position to discuss an accomplished fact for the simple reason, if for no other, that it has been accepted by the public opinion of a majority in the provinces.

19. WHEN WE ARE IN THE PERIOD OF THE NEW REGIME TRANSITIONAL TO THAT OF OUR ASSUMPTION OF FULL SOVEREIGNTY WE MUST NOT ADMIT ANY REVELATION BY THE PRESS OF ANY FORM OF PUBLIC DISHONESTY; IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE NEW REGIME SHOULD BE THOUGHT TO HAVE SO PERFECTLY CONTENTED EVERYBODY THAT EVEN CRIMINALITY HAS DISAPPEARED ... Cases of the manifestation of criminality should remain known only to their victims and to chance witnesses - no more.

### **PROTOCOL No. 13**

1. The need for daily bread forces the GOYIM to keep silence and be our humble servants. Agents taken on to our press from among the GOYIM will at our orders discuss anything which it is inconvenient for us to issue directly in official documents, and we meanwhile, quietly amid the din of the discussion so raised, shall simply take and carry through such measures as we wish and then offer them to the public as an accomplished fact. No one will dare to demand the abrogation of a matter once settled, all the more so as it will be represented as an improvement ... And immediately the press will distract the current of thought towards, new questions, (have we not trained people always to be seeking something new?). Into the discussions of these new questions will throw themselves those of the brainless dispensers of fortunes who are not able even now to understand that they have not the remotest conception about the matters which they undertake to discuss. Questions of the political are unattainable for any save those who have guided it already for many ages, the creators.

2. From all this you will see that in securing the opinion of the mob we are only facilitating the working of our machinery, and you may remark that it is not for actions but for words issued by us on this or that question that we seem to seek approval. We are constantly making public declaration that we are guided in all our undertakings by the hope, joined to the conviction, that we are serving the common weal.

### **WE DECEIVE WORKERS**



3. In order to distract people who may be too troublesome from discussions of questions of the political we are now putting forward what we allege to be new questions of the political, namely, questions of industry. In this sphere let them discuss themselves silly! The masses are agreed to remain inactive, to take a rest from what they suppose to be political (which we trained them to in order to use them as a means of combating the GOY governments) only on condition of being found new employments, in which we are prescribing them something that looks like the same political object. In order that the masses themselves may not guess what they are about WE FURTHER DISTRACT THEM WITH AMUSEMENTS, GAMES, PASTIMES, PASSIONS, PEOPLE'S PALACES. SOON WE SHALL BEGIN THROUGH THE PRESS TO PROPOSE COMPETITIONS IN ART, IN SPORT IN ALL KINDS: these interests will finally distract their minds from questions in which we should find ourselves compelled to oppose them. Growing more and more unaccustomed to reflect and form any opinions of their own, people will begin to talk in the same tone as we because we alone shall be offering them new directions for thought ... of course through such persons as will not be suspected of solidarity with us.

4. The part played by the liberals, utopian dreamers, will be finally played out when our government is acknowledged. Till such time they will continue to do us good service. Therefore we shall continue to direct their minds to all sorts of vain conceptions of fantastic theories, new and apparently progressive: for have we not with complete success turned the brainless heads of the GOYIM with progress, till there is not among the GOYIM one mind able to perceive that under this word lies a departure from truth in all cases where it is not a question of material inventions, for truth is one, and in it there is no place for progress. Progress, like a fallacious idea, serves to obscure truth so that none may know it except us, the Chosen of God, its guardians.

5. When, we come into our kingdom our orators will expound great problems which have turned humanity upside down in order to bring it at the end under our beneficent rule.

6. Who will ever suspect then that ALL THESE PEOPLES WERE STAGE-MANAGED BY US ACCORDING TO A POLITICAL PLAN WHICH NO ONE HAS SO MUCH AS GUESSED AT IN THE COURSE OF MANY CENTURIES?

#### **PROTOCOL No. 14**

1. When we come into our kingdom it will be undesirable for us that there should exist any other religion than ours of the One God with whom our destiny is bound up by our position as the Chosen People and through whom our same destiny is united with the destinies of the world. We must therefore sweep away all other forms of belief. If this gives birth to the atheists whom we see to-day, it will not, being only a transitional stage, interfere with our views, but will serve as a warning for those generations which will hearken to our preaching of the religion of Moses, that, by its stable and thoroughly elaborated system has brought all the peoples of the world into subjection to us. Therein we shall emphasize its mystical right, on which, as we shall say, all its educative power is based. Then at every possible opportunity we shall publish articles in which we shall make comparisons between our beneficent rule and those of past ages. The blessing of tranquillity, though it be a tranquillity forcibly brought about by centuries of agitation, will throw into higher relief the benefits to which we shall point. The errors of the GOYIM governments will be depicted by us in the most vivid hues. We shall implant such an abhorrence of them that the peoples will prefer tranquillity in a state of serfdom to those rights of vaunted freedom which have tortured humanity and exhausted the very sources of human existence, sources which have been exploited by a mob of rascally adventurers who know not what they do. USELESS CHANGES OF FORMS OF GOVERNMENT TO WHICH WE INSTIGATED THE "GOYIM" WHEN WE WERE UNDERMINING THEIR STATE STRUCTURES, WILL HAVE SO WEARIED THE PEOPLES BY THAT TIME THAT THEY WILL PREFER TO SUFFER ANYTHING UNDER US RATHER THAN RUN THE RISK OF ENDURING

AGAIN ALL THE AGITATIONS AND MISERIES THEY HAVE GONE THROUGH.

### **WE SHALL FORBID CHRIST**

2. At the same time we shall not omit to emphasize the historical mistakes of the GOY governments which have tormented humanity for so many centuries by their lack of understanding of everything that constitutes the true good of humanity in their chase after fantastic schemes of social blessings, and have never noticed that these schemes kept on producing a worse and never a better state of the universal relations which are the basis of human life ...

3. The whole force of our principles and methods will lie in the fact that we shall present them and expound them as a splendid contrast to the dead and decomposed old order of things in social life.

4. Our philosophers will discuss all the shortcomings of the various beliefs of the "GOYIM," BUT NO ONE WILL EVER BRING UNDER DISCUSSION OUR FAITH FROM ITS TRUE POINT OF VIEW SINCE THIS WILL BE FULLY LEARNED BY NONE SAVE OURS WHO WILL NEVER DARE TO BETRAY ITS SECRETS.

5. IN COUNTRIES KNOWN AS PROGRESSIVE AND ENLIGHTENED WE HAVE CREATED A SENSELESS, FILTHY, ABOMINABLE LITERATURE. For some time after our entrance to power we shall continue to encourage its existence in order to provide a telling relief by contrast to the speeches, party program, which will be distributed from exalted quarters of ours. Our wise men, trained to become leaders of the GOYIM, will compose speeches, projects, memoirs, articles, which will be used by us to influence the minds of the GOYIM, directing them towards such understanding and forms of knowledge as have been determined by us.

### **PROTOCOL No. 15**

1. 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 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 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 center of rule.

2. Resolutions of our government will be final, without appeal.

3. 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: Sulla enjoyed an apotheosis for his might in 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.

## **SECRET SOCIETIES**

4. Meantime, however, until we come into our kingdom, we shall act in the contrary way: we shall create and multiply free masonic lodges in all the countries of the world, absorb into them all who may become or who are prominent in public activity, for these lodges we shall find our principal intelligence office and means of influence. All these lodges we shall bring under one central administration, known to us alone and to all others absolutely unknown, which will be composed of our learned elders. The lodges will have their representatives who will serve to screen the above-mentioned administration of MASONRY and from whom will issue the watchword and program. In these lodges we shall tie together the knot which binds together all revolutionary and liberal elements. Their composition will be made up of all strata of society. The most secret political plots will be known to us and fall under our guiding hands on the very day of their conception. AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THESE LODGES WILL BE ALMOST ALL THE AGENTS OF INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL POLICE since their service is for us irreplaceable in the respect that the police is in a position not only to use its own particular measures with the insubordinate, but also to screen our activities and provide pretexts for discontents, ET CETERA.

5. The class of people who most willingly enter into secret societies are those who live by their wits, careerists, and in general people, mostly light-minded, with whom we shall have no difficulty in dealing and in using to wind up the mechanism of the machine devised by us. If this world grows agitated the meaning of that will be that we have had to stir up in order to break up its too great solidarity. BUT IF THERE SHOULD ARISE IN ITS MIDST A PLOT, THEN AT THE HEAD OF THAT PLOT WILL BE NO OTHER THAN ONE OF OUR MOST TRUSTED SERVANTS. It is natural that we and no other should lead MASONIC activities, for we know whither we are leading, we know the final goal of every form of activity whereas the GOYIM have knowledge of nothing, not even of the immediate effect of action; they put before themselves, usually, the momentary reckoning of the satisfaction of their self-opinion in the accomplishment of their thought without even remarking that the very conception never belonged to their initiative but to our instigation of their thought ...

## **GENTILES ARE STUPID**

6. The GOYIM enter the lodges out of curiosity or in the hope by their means to get a nibble at the public pie, and some of them in order to obtain a hearing before the public for their impracticable and groundless fantasies: they thirst for the emotion of success and applause, of which we are remarkably generous. And the reason why we give them this success is to make use of the high conceit of themselves to which it gives birth, for that insensibly disposes them to assimilate our suggestions without being on their guard against them in the fullness of their confidence that it is their own infallibility which is giving utterance to their own thoughts and that it is impossible for them to borrow those of others. You cannot imagine to what extent the wisest of the GOYIM can be brought to a state of unconscious naivete in the presence of this condition of high conceit of themselves, and at the same time how easy it is to take the heart out of them by the slightest ill-success, though it be nothing more than the stoppage of the applause they had, and to reduce them to a slavish submission for the sake of winning a renewal of success. BY SO MUCH AS OURS DISREGARD SUCCESS IF ONLY THEY CAN CARRY THROUGH THEIR PLANS, BY SO MUCH THE "GOYIM" ARE WILLING TO SACRIFICE ANY PLANS ONLY TO HAVE SUCCESS. This psychology of theirs materially facilitates for us the task of setting them in the required direction. These tigers in appearance have the souls of sheep and the wind blows freely through their heads. We have set them on the hobby-horse of an idea about the absorption of individuality by the symbolic unit of

COLLECTIVISM. They have never yet and they never will have the sense to reflect that this hobby-horse is a manifest violation of the most important law of nature, which has established from the very creation of the world one unit unlike another and precisely for the purpose of instituting individuality.

7. If we have been able to bring them to such a pitch of stupid blindness is it not a proof, and an amazingly clear proof, of the degree to which the mind of the GOYIM is undeveloped in comparison with our mind? This it is, mainly, which guarantees our success.

### **GENTILES ARE CATTLE**

8. And how far-seeing were our learned elders in ancient times when they said that to attain a serious end it behooves not to stop at any means or to count the victims sacrificed for the sake of that end. We have not counted the victims of the seed of the GOY cattle, though we have sacrificed many of our own, but for that we have now already given them such a position on the earth as they could not even have dreamed of. The comparatively small numbers of the victims from the number of ours have preserved our nationality from destruction.

9. Death is the inevitable end for all. It is better to bring that end nearer to those who hinder our affairs than to ourselves, to the founders of this affair. WE EXECUTE MASONS IN SUCH WISE THAT NONE SAVE THE BROTHERHOOD CAN EVER HAVE A SUSPICION OF IT, NOT EVEN THE VICTIMS THEMSELVES OF OUR DEATH SENTENCE, THEY ALL DIE WHEN REQUIRED AS IF FROM A NORMAL KIND OF ILLNESS. Knowing this, even the brotherhood in its turn dare not protest. By such methods we have plucked out of the midst of MASONRY the very root of protest against our disposition. While preaching liberalism to the GOY we at the same time keep our own people and our agents in a state of unquestioning submission.

10. Under our influence the execution of the laws of the GOYIM has been reduced to a minimum. The prestige of the law has been exploded by the liberal interpretations introduced into this sphere. In the most important and fundamental affairs and questions, JUDGES DECIDE AS WE DICTATE TO THEM, see matters in the light wherewith we enfold them for the administration of the GOYIM, of course, through persons who are our tools though we do not appear to have anything in common with them - by newspaper opinion or by other means. Even senators and the higher administration accept our counsels. The purely brute mind of the GOYIM is incapable of use for analysis and observation, and still more for the foreseeing whither a certain manner of setting a question may tend.

11. In this difference in capacity for thought between the GOYIM and ourselves may be clearly discerned the seal of our position as the Chosen People and of our higher quality of humanness, in contradistinction to the brute mind of the GOYIM. Their eyes are open, but see nothing before them and do not invent (unless perhaps, material things). From this it is plain that nature herself has destined us to guide and rule the world.

### **WE DEMAND SUBMISSION**

12. When comes the time of our overt rule, the time to manifest its blessing, we shall remake all legislatures, all our laws will be brief, plain, stable, without any kind of interpretations, so that anyone will be in a position to know them perfectly. The main feature which will run right through them is submission to orders, and this principle will be carried to a grandiose height. Every abuse will then disappear in consequence of the responsibility of all down to the lowest unit before the higher authority of the representative of power. Abuses of power subordinate to this last instance will be so mercilessly punished that none will be found anxious to try experiments with their own powers. We shall follow up jealously every action of the administration on which depends the smooth running of the machinery of the State, for slackness

in this produces slackness everywhere; not a single case of illegality or abuse of power will be left without exemplary punishment.

13. Concealment of guilt, connivance between those in the service of the administration - all this kind of evil will disappear after the very first examples of severe punishment. The aureole of our power demands suitable, that is, cruel, punishments for the slightest infringement, for the sake of gain, of its supreme prestige. The sufferer, though his punishment may exceed his fault, will count as a soldier falling on the administrative field of battle in the interests of authority, principle and law, which do not permit that any of those who hold the reins of the public coach should turn aside from the public highway to their own private paths. FOR EXAMPLES OUR JUDGES WILL KNOW THAT WHENEVER THEY FEEL DISPOSED TO PLUME THEMSELVES ON FOOLISH CLEMENCY THEY ARE VIOLATING THE LAW OF JUSTICE WHICH IS INSTITUTED FOR THE EXEMPLARY EDIFICATION OF MEN BY PENALTIES FOR LAPSES AND NOT FOR DISPLAY OF THE SPIRITUAL QUALITIES OF THE JUDGES. Such qualities it is proper to show in private life, but not in a public square which is the educational basis of human life.

14. Our legal staff will serve not beyond the age of 55, firstly because old men more obstinately hold to prejudiced opinions, and are less capable of submitting to new directions, and secondly because this will give us the possibility by this measure of securing elasticity in the changing of staff, which will thus the more easily bend under our pressure: he who wishes to keep his place will have to give blind obedience to deserve it. In general, our judges will be elected by us only from among those who thoroughly understand that the part they have to play is to punish and apply laws and not to dream about the manifestations of liberalism at the expense of the educational scheme of the State, as the GOYIM in these days imagine it to be. This method of shuffling the staff will serve also to explode any collective solidarity of those in the same service and will bind all to the interests of the government upon which their fate will depend. The young generation of judges will be trained in certain views regarding the inadmissibility of any abuses that might disturb the established order of our subjects among themselves.

15. In these days the judges of the GOYIM create indulgences to every kind of crimes, not having a just understanding of their office, because the rulers of the present age in appointing judges to office take no care to inculcate in them a sense of duty and consciousness of the matter which is demanded of them. As a brute beast lets out its young in search of prey, so do the GOYIM give to them for what purpose such place was created. This is the reason why their governments are being ruined by their own forces through the acts of their own administration.

16. Let us borrow from the example of the results of these actions yet another lesson for our government.

17. We shall root out liberalism from all the important strategic posts of our government on which depends the training of subordinates for our State structure. Such posts will fall exclusively to those who have been trained by us for administrative rule. To the possible objection that the retirement of old servants will cost the Treasury heavily, I reply, firstly, they will be provided with some private service in place of what they lose, and, secondly, I have to remark that all the money in the world will be concentrated in our hands, consequently it is not our government that has to fear expense.

### **WE SHALL BE CRUEL**

18. Our absolutism will in all things be logically consecutive and therefore in each one of its decrees our supreme will must be respected and unquestionably fulfilled: it will ignore all murmurs, all discontents of every kind and will destroy to the root every kind of manifestation of them in act by punishment of an exemplary character.

19. We shall abolish the right of appeal, which will be transferred exclusively to our disposal - to the cognizance of him who rules, for we must not allow the conception among the people of a thought that there could be such a thing as a decision that is not right of judges set up by us. If, however, anything like this should occur, we shall ourselves quash the decision, but inflict therewith such exemplary punishment on the judge for lack of understanding of his duty and the purpose of his appointment as will prevent a repetition of such cases. I repeat that it must be born in mind that we shall know every step of our administration which only needs to be closely watched for the people to be content with us, for it has the right to demand from a good government a good official.

20. OUR GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE THE APPEARANCE OF A PATRIARCHAL PATERNAL GUARDIANSHIP ON THE PART OF OUR RULER. Our own nation and our subjects will discern in his person a father caring for their every need, their every act, their every interrelation as subjects one with another, as well as their relations to the ruler. They will then be so thoroughly imbued with the thought that it is impossible for them to dispense with this wardship and guidance, if they wish to live in peace and quiet, THAT THEY WILL ACKNOWLEDGE THE AUTOCRACY OF OUR RULER WITH A DEVOTION BORDERING ON "APOTHEOSIS," especially when they are convinced that those whom we set up do not put their own in place of authority, but only blindly execute his dictates. They will be rejoiced that we have regulated everything in their lives as is done by wise parents who desire to train children in the cause of duty and submission. For the peoples of the world in regard to the secrets of our polity are ever through the ages only children under age, precisely as are also their governments.

21. As you see, I found our despotism on right and duty: the right to compel the execution of duty is the direct obligation of a government which is a father for its subjects. It has the right of the strong that it may use it for the benefit of directing humanity towards that order which is defined by nature, namely, submission. Everything in the world is in a state of submission, if not to man, then to circumstances or its own inner character, in all cases, to what is stronger. And so shall we be this something stronger for the sake of good.

22. We are obliged without hesitation to sacrifice individuals, who commit a breach of established order, for in the exemplary punishment of evil lies a great educational problem.

23. When the King of Israel sets upon his sacred head the crown offered him by Europe he will become patriarch of the world. The indispensable victims offered by him in consequence of their suitability will never reach the number of victims offered in the course of centuries by the mania of magnificence, the emulation between the GOY governments.

24. Our King will be in constant communion with the peoples, making to them from the tribune speeches which fame will in that same hour distribute over all the world.

### **PROTOCOL No. 16**

1. In order to effect the destruction of all collective forces except ours we shall emasculate the first stage of collectivism - the UNIVERSITIES, by re-educating them in a new direction. THEIR OFFICIALS AND PROFESSORS WILL BE PREPARED FOR THEIR BUSINESS BY DETAILED SECRET PROGRAMS OF ACTION FROM WHICH THEY WILL NOT WITH IMMUNITY DIVERGE, NOT BY ONE IOTA. THEY WILL BE APPOINTED WITH ESPECIAL PRECAUTION, AND WILL BE SO PLACED AS TO BE WHOLLY DEPENDENT UPON THE GOVERNMENT.

2. We shall exclude from the course of instruction State Law as also all that concerns the political question. These subjects will be taught to a few dozen of persons chosen for their pre-eminent capacities from among the number of the initiated. THE UNIVERSITIES MUST NO LONGER SEND

OUT FROM THEIR HALLS MILK SOPS CONCOCTING PLANS FOR A CONSTITUTION, LIKE A COMEDY OR A TRAGEDY, BUSYING THEMSELVES WITH QUESTIONS OF POLICY IN WHICH EVEN THEIR OWN FATHERS NEVER HAD ANY POWER OF THOUGHT.

3. The ill-guided acquaintance of a large number of persons with questions of polity creates utopian dreamers and bad subjects, as you can see for yourselves from the example of the universal education in this direction of the GOYIM. We must introduce into their education all those principles which have so brilliantly broken up their order. But when we are in power we shall remove every kind of disturbing subject from the course of education and shall make out of the youth obedient children of authority, loving him who rules as the support and hope of peace and quiet.

### **WE SHALL CHANGE HISTORY**

4. Classicism as also any form of study of ancient history, in which there are more bad than good examples, we shall replace with the study of the program of the future. We shall erase from the memory of men all facts of previous centuries which are undesirable to us, and leave only those which depict all the errors of the government of the GOYIM. The study of practical life, of the obligations of order, of the relations of people one to another, of avoiding bad and selfish examples, which spread the infection of evil, and similar questions of an educative nature, will stand in the forefront of the teaching program, which will be drawn up on a separate plan for each calling or state of life, in no wise generalizing the teaching. This treatment of the question has special importance.

5. Each state of life must be trained within strict limits corresponding to its destination and work in life. The OCCASIONAL GENIUS HAS ALWAYS MANAGED AND ALWAYS WILL MANAGE TO SLIP THROUGH INTO OTHER STATES OF LIFE, BUT IT IS THE MOST PERFECT FOLLY FOR THE SAKE OF THIS RARE OCCASIONAL GENIUS TO LET THROUGH INTO RANKS FOREIGN TO THEM THE UNTALENTED WHO THUS ROB OF THEIR PLACES THOSE WHO BELONG TO THOSE RANKS BY BIRTH OR EMPLOYMENT. YOU KNOW YOURSELVES IN WHAT ALL THIS HAS ENDED FOR THE "GOYIM" WHO ALLOWED THIS CRYING ABSURDITY.

6. In order that he who rules may be seated firmly in the hearts and minds of his subjects it is necessary for the time of his activity to instruct the whole nation in the schools and on the market places about this meaning and his acts and all his beneficent initiatives.

7. We shall abolish every kind of freedom of instruction. Learners of all ages have the right to assemble together with their parents in the educational establishments as it were in a club: during these assemblies, on holidays, teachers will read what will pass as free lectures on questions of human relations, of the laws of examples, of the philosophy of new theories not yet declared to the world. These theories will be raised by us to the stage of a dogma of faith as a traditional stage towards our faith. On the completion of this exposition of our program of action in the present and the future I will read you the principles of these theories.

8. In a word, knowing by the experience of many centuries that people live and are guided by ideas, that these ideas are imbibed by people only by the aid of education provided with equal success for all ages of growth, but of course by varying methods, we shall swallow up and confiscate to our own use the last scintilla of independence of thought, which we have for long past been directing towards subjects and ideas useful for us. The system of bridling thought is already at work in the so-called system of teaching by OBJECT LESSONS, the purpose of which is to turn the GOYIM into unthinking submissive brutes waiting for things to be presented before their eyes in order to form an idea of them. In France, one of our best agents, Bourgeois, has already made public a new program of teaching by object lessons.

## PROTOCOL No. 17

1. The practice of advocacy produces men cold, cruel, persistent, unprincipled, who in all cases take up an impersonal, purely legal standpoint. They have the inveterate habit to refer everything to its value for the defense and not to the public welfare of its results. They do not usually decline to undertake any defense whatever, they strive for an acquittal at all costs, caviling over every petty crux of jurisprudence and thereby they demoralize justice. For this reason we shall set this profession into narrow frames which will keep it inside this sphere of executive public service. Advocates, equally with judges, will be deprived of the right of communication with litigants; they will receive business only from the court and will study it by notes of report and documents, defending their clients after they have been interrogated in court on facts that have appeared. They will receive an honorarium without regard to the quality of the defense. This will render them mere reporters on law-business in the interests of justice and as counterpoise to the proctor who will be the reporter in the interests of prosecution; this will shorten business before the courts. In this way will be established a practice of honest unprejudiced defense conducted not from personal interest but by conviction. This will also, by the way, remove the present practice of corrupt bargain between advocacy to agree only to let that side win which pays most.

### **WE SHALL DESTROY THE CLERGY**

2. WE HAVE LONG PAST TAKEN CARE TO DISCREDIT THE PRIESTHOOD OF THE "GOYIM," and thereby to ruin their mission on earth which in these days might still be a great hindrance to us. Day by day its influence on the peoples of the world is falling lower. FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE HAS BEEN DECLARED EVERYWHERE, SO THAT NOW ONLY YEARS DIVIDE US FROM THE MOMENT OF THE COMPLETE WRECKING OF THAT CHRISTIAN RELIGION: as to other religions we shall have still less difficulty in dealing with them, but it would be premature to speak of this now. We shall set clericalism and clericals into such narrow frames as to make their influence move in retrogressive proportion to its former progress.

3. When the time comes finally to destroy the papal court the finger of an invisible hand will point the nations towards this court. When, however, the nations fling themselves upon it, we shall come forward in the guise of its defenders as if to save excessive bloodshed. By this diversion we shall penetrate to its very bowels and be sure we shall never come out again until we have gnawed through the entire strength of this place.

4. THE KING OF THE JEWS WILL BE THE REAL POPE OF THE UNIVERSE, THE PATRIARCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL CHURCH

5. But, IN THE MEANTIME, while we are re-educating youth in new traditional religions and afterwards in ours, WE SHALL NOT OVERTLY LAY A FINGER ON EXISTING CHURCHES, BUT WE SHALL FIGHT AGAINST THEM BY CRITICISM CALCULATED TO PRODUCE SCHISM ...

6. In general, then, our contemporary press will continue to CONVICT State affairs, religions, incapacities of the GOYIM, always using the most unprincipled expressions in order by every means to lower their prestige in the manner which can only be practiced by the genius of our gifted tribe ...

7. 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 programs 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.

8. Our agents will be taken from the higher as well as the lower ranks of society, from among the administrative class who spend their time in amusements, editors, printers and publishers, booksellers, clerks, and salesmen, workmen, coachmen, lackeys, et cetera. This body, having no rights and not being empowered to take any action on their own account, and consequently a police without any power, will only witness and report: verification of their reports and arrests will depend upon a responsible group of controllers of police affairs, while the actual act of arrest will be performed by the gendarmerie and the municipal police. Any person not denouncing anything seen or heard concerning questions of polity will also be charged with and made responsible for concealment, if it be proved that he is guilty of this crime.

9. JUST AS NOWADAYS OUR BRETHREN, ARE OBLIGED AT THEIR OWN RISK TO DENOUNCE TO THE KAHAL APOSTATES OF THEIR OWN FAMILY or members who have been noticed doing anything in opposition to the KAHAL, SO IN OUR KINGDOM OVER ALL THE WORLD IT WILL BE OBLIGATORY FOR ALL OUR SUBJECTS TO OBSERVE THE DUTY OF SERVICE TO THE STATE IN THIS DIRECTION.

10. Such an organization will extirpate abuses of authority, of force, of bribery, everything in fact which we by our counsels, by our theories of the superhuman rights of man, have introduced into the customs of the GOYIM. But how else were we to procure that increase of causes predisposing to disorders in the midst of their administration? Among the number of those methods one of the most important is - agents for the restoration of order, so placed as to have the opportunity in their disintegrating activity of developing and displaying their evil inclinations - obstinate self-conceit, irresponsible exercise of authority, and, first and foremost, venality.

### PROTOCOL No. 18

1. When it becomes necessary for us to strengthen the strict measures of secret defense (the most fatal poison for the prestige of authority) we shall arrange a simulation of disorders or some manifestation of discontents finding expression through the co-operation of good speakers. Round these speakers will assemble all who are sympathetic to his utterances. This will give us the pretext for domiciliary prerequisites and surveillance on the part of our servants from among the number of the GOYIM police ...

2. As the majority of conspirators act out of love for the game, for the sake of talking, so, until they commit some overt act we shall not lay a finger on them but only introduce into their midst observation elements. It must be remembered that the prestige of authority is lessened if it frequently discovers conspiracies against itself: this implies a presumption of consciousness of weakness, or, what is still worse, of injustice. You are aware that we have broken the prestige of the GOY kings by frequent attempts upon their lives through our agents, blind sheep of our flock, who are easily moved by a few liberal phrases to crimes provided only they be painted in political colors. WE HAVE COMPELLED THE RULERS TO ACKNOWLEDGE THEIR WEAKNESS IN ADVERTISING OVERT MEASURES OF SECRET DEFENSE AND THEREBY WE SHALL BRING THE PROMISE OF AUTHORITY TO DESTRUCTION.

3. Our ruler will be secretly protected only by the most insignificant guard, because we shall not admit so much as a thought that there could exist against him any sedition with which he is not strong enough to contend and is compelled to hide from it.

4. If we should admit this thought, as the GOYIM have done and are doing, we should IPSO FACTO be signing a death sentence, if not for our ruler, at any rate for his dynasty, at no distant date.

## GOVERNMENT BY FEAR

5. According to strictly enforced outward appearances our ruler will employ his power only for the advantage of the nation and in no wise for his own or dynastic profits. Therefore, with the observance of this decorum, his authority will be respected and guarded by the subjects themselves, it will receive an apotheosis in the admission that with it is bound up the well-being of every citizen of the State, for upon it will depend all order in the common life of the pack.

6. OVERT DEFENSE OF THE KIND ARGUES WEAKNESS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF HIS STRENGTH.

7. Our ruler will always be among the people and be surrounded by a mob of apparently curious men and women, who will occupy the front ranks about him, to all appearance by chance, and will restrain the ranks of the rest out of respect as it will appear for good order. This will sow an example of restraint also in others. If a petitioner appears among the people trying to hand a petition and forcing his way through the ranks, the first ranks must receive the petition and before the eyes of the petitioner pass it to the ruler, so that all may know that what is handed in reaches its destination, that consequently, there exists a control of the ruler himself. The aureole of power requires for his existence that the people may be able to say: "If the king knew of this," or: "the king will hear it."

8. WITH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF OFFICIAL DEFENSE, THE MYSTICAL PRESTIGE OF AUTHORITY DISAPPEARS: given a certain audacity, and everyone counts himself master of it, the sedition-monger is conscious of his strength, and when occasion serves watches for the moment to make an attempt upon authority. For the GOYIM we have been preaching something else, but by that very fact we are enabled to see what measures of overt defense have brought them to.

9. CRIMINALS WITH US WILL BE ARRESTED AT THE FIRST, more or less, well-grounded SUSPICION: it cannot be allowed that out of fear of a possible mistake an opportunity should be given of escape to persons suspected of a political lapse of crime, for in these matters we shall be literally merciless. If it is still possible, by stretching a point, to admit a reconsideration of the motive causes in simple crimes, there is no possibility of excuse for persons occupying themselves with questions in which nobody except the government can understand anything. And it is not all governments that understand true policy.

## PROTOCOL No. 19

1. If we do not permit any independent dabbling in the political we shall on the other hand encourage every kind of report or petition with proposals for the government to examine into all kinds of projects for the amelioration of the condition of the people; this will reveal to us the defects or else the fantasies of our subjects, to which we shall respond either by accomplishing them or by a wise rebuttment to prove the shortsightedness of one who judges wrongly.

2. Sedition-mongering is nothing more than the yapping of a lap-dog at an elephant. For a government well organized, not from the police but from the public point of view, the lap-dog yaps at the elephant in entire unconsciousness of its strength and importance. It needs no more than to take a good example to show the relative importance of both and the lap-dogs will cease to yap and will wag their tails the moment they set eyes on an elephant.

3. In order to destroy the prestige of heroism for political crime we shall send it for trial in the category of thieving, murder, and every kind of abominable and filthy crime. Public opinion will then confuse in its conception this category of crime with the disgrace attaching to every other and will brand it with the same contempt.

4. We have done our best, and I hope we have succeeded to obtain that the GOYIM should not arrive at this means of contending with sedition. It was for this reason that through the Press and in speeches, indirectly - in cleverly compiled school-books on history, we have advertised the martyrdom alleged to have been accredited by sedition-mongers for the idea of the commonweal. This advertisement has increased the contingent of liberals and has brought thousands of GOYIM into the ranks of our livestock cattle.

### **PROTOCOL No. 20**

1. To-day we shall touch upon the financial program, which I put off to the end of my report as being the most difficult, the crowning and the decisive point of our plans. Before entering upon it I will remind you that I have already spoken before by way of a hint when I said that the sum total of our actions is settled by the question of figures.

2. When we come into our kingdom our autocratic government will avoid, from a principle of self-preservation, sensibly burdening the masses of the people with taxes, remembering that it plays the part of father and protector. But as State organization cost dear it is necessary nevertheless to obtain the funds required for it. It will, therefore, elaborate with particular precaution the question of equilibrium in this matter.

3. Our rule, in which the king will enjoy the legal fiction that everything in his State belongs to him (which may easily be translated into fact), will be enabled to resort to the lawful confiscation of all sums of every kind for the regulation of their circulation in the State. From this follows that taxation will best be covered by a progressive tax on property. In this manner the dues will be paid without straitening or ruining anybody in the form of a percentage of the amount of property. The rich must be aware that it is their duty to place a part of their superfluities at the disposal of the State since the State guarantees them security of possession of the rest of their property and the right of honest gains, I say honest, for the control over property will do away with robbery on a legal basis.

4. This social reform must come from above, for the time is ripe for it - it is indispensable as a pledge of peace.

### **WE SHALL DESTROY CAPITAL**

5. The tax upon the poor man is a seed of revolution and works to the detriment of the State which in hunting after the trifling is missing the big. Quite apart from this, a tax on capitalists diminishes the growth of wealth in private hands in which we have in these days concentrated it as a counterpoise to the government strength of the GOYIM - their State finances.

6. A tax increasing in a percentage ratio to capital will give much larger revenue than the present individual or property tax, which is useful to us now for the sole reason that it excites trouble and discontent among the GOYIM.

7. The force upon which our king will rest consists in the equilibrium and the guarantee of peace, for the sake of which things it is indispensable that the capitalists should yield up a portion of their incomes for the sake of the secure working of the machinery of the State. State needs must be paid by those who will not feel the burden and have enough to take from.

8. Such a measure will destroy the hatred of the poor man for the rich, in whom he will see a necessary financial support for the State, will see in him the organizer of peace and well-being since he will see that it is the rich man who is paying the necessary means to attain these things.

9. In order that payers of the educated classes should not too much distress themselves over the new payments they will have full accounts given them of the destination of those payments, with the exception of such sums as will be appropriated for the needs of the throne and the administrative institutions.

10. He who reigns will not have any properties of his own once all in the State represented his patrimony, or else the one would be in contradiction to the other; the fact of holding private means would destroy the right of property in the common possessions of all.

11. Relatives of him who reigns, his heirs excepted, who will be maintained by the resources of the State, must enter the ranks of servants of the State or must work to obtain the right to property; the privilege of royal blood must not serve for the spoiling of the treasury.

12. Purchase, receipt of money or inheritance will be subject to the payment of a stamp progressive tax. Any transfer of property, whether money or other, without evidence of payment of this tax which will be strictly registered by names, will render the former holder liable to pay interest on the tax from the moment of transfer of these sums up to the discovery of his evasion of declaration of the transfer. Transfer documents must be presented weekly at the local treasury office with notifications of the name, surname and permanent place of residence of the former and the new holder of the property. This transfer with register of names must begin from a definite sum which exceeds the ordinary expenses of buying and selling necessities, and these will be subject to payment only by a stamp impost of a definite percentage of the unit.

13. Just strike an estimate of how many times such taxes as these will cover the revenue of the GOYIM States.

## **WE CAUSE DEPRESSIONS**

14. The State exchequer will have to maintain a definite complement of reserve sums, and all that is collected above that complement must be returned into circulation. On these sums will be organized public works. The initiative in works of this kind, proceeding from State sources, will bind the working class firmly to the interests of the State and to those who reign. From these same sums also a part will be set aside as rewards of inventiveness and productiveness.

15. On no account should so much as a single unit above the definite and freely estimated sums be retained in the State Treasuries, for money exists to be circulated and any kind of stagnation of money acts ruinously on the running of the State machinery, for which it is the lubricant; a stagnation of the lubricant may stop the regular working of the mechanism.

16. The substitution of interest-bearing paper for a part of the token of exchange has produced exactly this stagnation. The consequences of this circumstance are already sufficiently noticeable.

17. A court of account will also be instituted by us, and in it the ruler will find at any moment a full accounting for State income and expenditure, with the exception of the current monthly account, not yet made up, and that of the preceding month, which will not yet have been delivered.

18. The one and only person who will have no interest in robbing the State is its owner, the ruler. This is why his personal control will remove the possibility of leakages or extravagances.

19. The representative function of the ruler at receptions for the sake of etiquette, which absorbs so much invaluable time, will be abolished in order that the ruler may have time for control and consideration. His power will not then be split up into fractional parts among time-serving favorites who surround the throne for its pomp and splendor, and are interested only in their own

and not in the common interests of the State.

20. Economic crises have been produced by us for the GOYIM by no other means than the withdrawal of money from circulation. Huge capitals have stagnated, withdrawing money from States, which were constantly obliged to apply to those same stagnant capitals for loans. These loans burdened the finances of the State with the payment of interest and made them the bond slaves of these capitals. The concentration of industry in the hands of capitalists out of the hands of small masters has drained away all the juices of the peoples and with them also the States.

21. The present issue of money in general does not correspond with the requirements per head, and cannot therefore satisfy all the needs of the workers. The issue of money ought to correspond with the growth of population and thereby children also must absolutely be reckoned as consumers of currency from the day of their birth. The revision of issue is a material question for the whole world.

22. YOU ARE AWARE THAT THE GOLD STANDARD HAS BEEN THE RUIN OF THE STATES WHICH ADOPTED IT, FOR IT HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO SATISFY THE DEMANDS FOR MONEY, THE MORE SO THAT WE HAVE REMOVED GOLD FROM CIRCULATION AS FAR AS POSSIBLE.

### **GENTILE STATES BANKRUPT**

23. With us the standard that must be introduced is the cost of working-man power, whether it be reckoned in paper or in wood. We shall make the issue of money in accordance with the normal requirements of each subject, adding to the quantity with every birth and subtracting with every death.

24. The accounts will be managed by each department, each circle.

25. In order that there may be no delays in the paying out of money for State needs the sums and terms of such payments will be fixed by decree of the ruler; this will do away with the protection by a ministry of one institution to the detriment of others.

26. The budgets of income and expenditure will be carried out side by side that they may not be obscured by distance one to another.

27. The reforms projected by us in the financial institutions and principles of the GOYIM will be clothed by us in such forms as will alarm nobody. We shall point out the necessity of reforms in consequence of the disorderly darkness into which the GOYIM by their irregularities have plunged the finances. The first irregularity, as we shall point out, consists in their beginning with drawing up a single budget which year after year grows owing to the following cause: this budget is dragged out to half the year, then they demand a budget to put things right, and this they expend in three months, after which they ask for a supplementary budget, and all this ends with a liquidation budget. But, as the budget of the following year is drawn up in accordance with the sum of the total addition, the annual departure from the normal reaches as much as 50 per cent in a year, and so the annual budget is trebled in ten years. Thanks to such methods, allowed by the carelessness of the GOY States, their treasuries are empty. The period of loans supervenes, and that has swallowed up remainders and brought all the GOY States to bankruptcy.

28. You understand perfectly that economic arrangements of this kind, which have been suggested to the GOYIM by us, cannot be carried on by us.

29. 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 to our bankers.

Foreign loans are leeches which there is no possibility of removing from the body of the State until they fall off of 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.

### TYRANNY OF USURY

30. 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.

31. From this calculation it is obvious that with any form of taxation per head the State is baling 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.

32. So long as loans were internal the GOYIM only shuffled their money from the pockets of the poor to those of the rich, but when we bought up the necessary persons 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.

33. If the superficiality of GOY kings on their thrones in regard to State affairs and the venality of ministers or the want of understanding of financial matters on the part of other ruling persons have made their countries debtors to our treasuries to amounts quite impossible to pay it has not been accomplished without, on our part, heavy expenditure of trouble and money.

34. Stagnation of money will not be allowed by us and therefore there will be no State interest-bearing paper, except a one per-cent series, so that there will be no payment of interest to leeches that suck all the strength out of the State. The right to issue interest-bearing paper will be given exclusively to industrial companies who find no difficulty in paying interest out of profits, whereas the State does not make interest on borrowed money like these companies, for the State borrows to spend and not to use in operations.

35. Industrial papers will be bought also by the government which from being as now a paper of tribute by loan operations will be transformed into a lender of money at a profit. This measure will stop the stagnation of money, parasitic profits and idleness, all of which were useful for us among the GOYIM so long as they were independent but are not desirable under our rule.

36. 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 with 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?

37. 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.

38. Our accounts, which we shall present when the time comes, in the light of centuries of experience gained by experiments made by us on the GOY States, will be distinguished by clearness and definiteness and will show at a glance to all men the advantage of our innovations. They will put an end to those abuses to which we owe our mastery over the GOYIM, but which cannot be allowed in our kingdom.

39. We shall so hedge about our system of accounting that neither the ruler nor the most insignificant public servant will be in a position to divert even the smallest sum from its destination without detection or to direct it in another direction except that which will be once fixed in a definite plan of action.

40. And without a definite plan it is impossible to rule. Marching along an undetermined road and with undetermined resources brings to ruin by the way heroes and demi-gods.

41. The GOY rulers, whom we once upon a time advised should be distracted from State occupations by representative receptions, observances of etiquette, entertainments, were only screens for our rule. The accounts of favorite courtiers who replaced them in the sphere of affairs were drawn up for them by our agents, and every time gave satisfaction to short-sighted minds by promises that in the future economies and improvements were foreseen. Economies from what? From new taxes? - were questions that might have been but were not asked by those who read our accounts and projects.

42. You know to what they have been brought by this carelessness, to what pitch of financial disorder they have arrived, notwithstanding the astonishing industry of their peoples.

### **PROTOCOL No. 21**

1. To what I reported to you at the last meeting I shall now add a detailed explanation of internal loans. Of foreign loans I shall say nothing more, because they have fed us with the national moneys of the GOYIM, but for our State there will be no foreigners, that is, nothing external.

2. We have taken advantage of the venality of administrators and slackness of rulers to get our moneys twice, thrice and more times over, by lending to the GOY governments moneys which were not at all needed by the States. Could anyone do the like in regard to us? Therefore, I shall only deal with the details of internal loans.

3. States announce that such a loan is to be concluded and open subscriptions for their own bills of exchange, that is, for their interest-bearing paper. That they may be within the reach of all the price is determined at from a hundred to a thousand; and a discount is made for the earliest subscribers. Next day by artificial means the price of them goes up, the alleged reason being that everyone is rushing to buy them. In a few days the treasury safes are, as they say, overflowing and there's more money than they can do with (why then take it?) The subscription, it is alleged, covers many times over the issue total of the loan; in this lies the whole stage effect - look you, they say, what confidence is shown in the government's bills of exchange.

4. But when the comedy is played out there emerges the fact that a debit and an exceedingly burdensome debit has been created. For the payment of interest it becomes necessary to have recourse to new loans, which do not swallow up but only add to the capital debt. And when this credit is exhausted it becomes necessary by new taxes to cover, not the loan, BUT ONLY THE INTEREST ON IT. These taxes are a debit employed to cover a debit.

5. Later comes the time for conversions, but they diminish the payment of interest without covering the debt, and besides they cannot be made without the consent of the lenders; on announcing a conversion a proposal is made to return the money to those who are not willing to convert their paper. If everybody expressed his unwillingness and demanded his money back, the government would be hoist on their own petard and would be found insolvent and unable to pay the proposed sums. By good luck the subjects of the GOY governments, knowing nothing about financial affairs, have always preferred losses on exchange and diminution of interest to the risk

of new investments of their moneys, and have thereby many a time enabled these governments to throw off their shoulders a debit of several millions.

6. Nowadays, with external loans, these tricks cannot be played by the GOYIM for they know that we shall demand all our moneys back.

7. In this way in acknowledged bankruptcy will best prove to the various countries the absence of any means between the interests of the peoples and of those who rule them.

8. I beg you to concentrate your particular attention upon this point and upon the following: nowadays all internal loans are consolidated by so-called flying loans, that is, such as have terms of payment more or less near. These debts consist of moneys paid into the savings banks and reserve funds. If left for long at the disposition of a government these funds evaporate in the payment of interest on foreign loans, and are placed by the deposit of equivalent amount of RENTS.

9. And these last it is which patch up all the leaks in the State treasuries of the GOYIM.

10. When we ascend the throne of the world all these financial and similar shifts, as being not in accord with our interests, will be swept away so as not to leave a trace, as also will be destroyed all money markets, since we shall not allow the prestige of our power to be shaken by fluctuations of prices set upon our values, which we shall announce by law at the price which represents their full worth without any possibility of lowering or raising. (Raising gives the pretext for lowering, which indeed was where we made a beginning in relation to the values of the GOYIM).

11. We shall replace the money markets by grandiose government credit institutions, the object of which will be to fix the price of industrial values in accordance with government views. These institutions will be in a position to fling upon the market five hundred millions of industrial paper in one day, or to buy up for the same amount. In this way all industrial undertakings will come into dependence upon us. You may imagine for yourselves what immense power we shall thereby secure for ourselves.

## **PROTOCOL No. 22**

1 In all that has so far been reported by me to you, I have endeavored to depict with care the secret of what is coming, of what is past, and of what is going on now, rushing into the flood of the great events coming already in the near future, the secret of our relations to the GOYIM and of financial operations. On this subject there remains still a little for me to add.

2. IN OUR HANDS IS THE GREATEST POWER OF OUR DAY - GOLD: IN TWO DAYS WE CAN PROCURE FROM OUR STOREHOUSES ANY QUANTITY WE MAY PLEASE.

3. Surely there is no need to seek further proof that our rule is predestined by God? Surely we shall not fail with such wealth to prove that all that evil which for so many centuries we have had to commit has served at the end of ends the cause of true well-being - the bringing of everything into order? Though it be even by the exercise of some violence, yet all the same it will be established. We shall contrive to prove that we are benefactors who have restored to the rent and mangled earth the true good and also freedom of the person, and therewith we shall enable it to be enjoyed in peace and quiet, with proper dignity of relations, on the condition, of course, of strict observance of the laws established by us. We shall make plain therewith that freedom does not consist in dissipation and in the right of unbridled license any more than the dignity and force of a man do not consist in the right of everyone to promulgate destructive principles in the nature of freedom of conscience, equality and the like, that freedom of the person in no wise consists in the right to agitate oneself and others by abominable speeches before disorderly mobs, and that true



freedom consists in the inviolability of the person who honorably and strictly observes all the laws of life in common, that human dignity is wrapped up in consciousness of the rights and also of the absence of rights of each, and not wholly and solely in fantastic imaginings about the subject of one's EGO.

4. One authority will be glorious because it will be all-powerful, will rule and guide, and not muddle along after leaders and orators shrieking themselves hoarse with senseless words which they call great principles and which are nothing else, to speak honestly, but utopian. Our authority will be the crown of order, and in that is included the whole happiness of man. The aureole of this authority will inspire a mystical bowing of the knee before it and a reverent fear before it of all the peoples. True force makes no terms with any right, not even with that of God: none dare come near to it so as to take so much as a span from it away.

### **PROTOCOL No. 23**

1. That the peoples may become accustomed to obedience it is necessary to inculcate lessons of humility and therefore to reduce the production of articles of luxury. By this we shall improve morals which have been debased by emulation in the sphere of luxury. We shall re-establish small master production which will mean laying a mine under the private capital of manufactures. This is indispensable also for the reason that manufacturers on the grand scale often move, though not always consciously, the thoughts of the masses in directions against the government. A people of small masters knows nothing of unemployment and this binds him closely with existing order, and consequently with the firmness of authority. For us its part will have been played out the moment authority is transferred into our hands. Drunkenness also will be prohibited by law and punishable as a crime against the humanness of man who is turned into a brute under the influence of alcohol.

2. Subjects, I repeat once more, give blind obedience only to the strong hand which is absolutely independent of them, for in it they feel the sword of defense and support against social scourges. What do they want with an angelic spirit in a king? What they have to see in him is the personification of force and power.

3. The supreme lord who will replace all now existing rulers, dragging in their existence among societies demoralized by us, societies that have denied even the authority of God, from whose midst breeds out on all sides the fire of anarchy, must first of all proceed to quench this all-devouring flame. Therefore he will be obliged to kill off those existing societies, though he should drench them with his own blood, that he may resurrect them again in the form of regularly organized troops fighting consciously with every kind of infection that may cover the body of the State with sores.

4. This Chosen One of God is chosen from above to demolish the senseless forces moved by instinct and not reason, by brutishness and not humanness. These forces now triumph in manifestations of robbery and every kind of violence under the mask of principles of freedom and rights. They have overthrown all forms of social order to erect on the ruins the throne of the King of the Jews; but their part will be played out the moment he enters into his kingdom. Then it will be necessary to sweep them away from his path, on which must be left no knot, no splinter.

5. Then will it be possible for us to say to the peoples of the world: "Give thanks to God and bow the knee before him who bears on his front the seal of the predestination of man, to which God himself has led his star that none other but Him might free us from all the before-mentioned forces and evils".

### **PROTOCOL No. 24**

1. I pass now to the method of confirming the dynastic roots of King David to the last strata of the earth.
2. This confirmation will first and foremost be included in that which to this day has rested the force of conservatism by our learned elders of the conduct of the affairs of the world, in the directing of the education of thought of all humanity.
3. Certain members of the seed of David will prepare the kings and their heirs, selecting not by right of heritage but by eminent capacities, inducting them into the most secret mysteries of the political, into schemes of government, but providing always that none may come to knowledge of the secrets. The object of this mode of action is that all may know that government cannot be entrusted to those who have not been inducted into the secret places of its art.
4. To these persons only will be taught the practical application of the aforementioned plans by comparison of the experiences of many centuries, all the observations on the politico-economic moves and social sciences - in a word, all the spirit of laws which have been unshakably established by nature herself for the regulation of the relations of humanity.
5. Direct heirs will often be set aside from ascending the throne if in their time of training they exhibit frivolity, softness and other qualities that are the ruin of authority, which render them incapable of governing and in themselves dangerous for kingly office.
6. Only those who are unconditionally capable for firm, even if it be to cruelty, direct rule will receive the reins of rule from our learned elders.
7. In case of falling sick with weakness of will or other form of incapacity. kings must by law hand over the reins of rule to new and capable hands.
8. The king's plan of action for the current moment, and all the more so for the future, will be unknown, even to those who are called his closest counselors.

### **KING OF THE JEWS**

9. Only the king and the three who stood sponsor for him will know what is coming.
10. In the person of the king who with unbending will is master of himself and of humanity all will discern as it were fate with its mysterious ways. None will know what the king wishes to attain by his dispositions, and therefore none will dare to stand across an unknown path.
11. It is understood that the brain reservoir of the king must correspond in capacity to the plan of government it has to contain. It is for this reason that he will ascend the throne not otherwise than after examination of his mind by the aforesaid learned elders.
12. That the people may know and love their king, it is indispensable for him to converse in the market-places with his people. This ensures the necessary clinching of the two forces which are now divided one from another by us by the terror.
13. This terror was indispensable for us till the time comes for both these forces separately to fall under our influence.
14. The king of the Jews must not be at the mercy of his passions, and especially of sensuality: on no side of his character must he give brute instincts power over his mind. Sensuality worse than all else disorganizes the capacities of the mind and clearness of views, distracting the thoughts to

the worst and most brutal side of human activity.

15. The prop of humanity in the person of the supreme lord of all the world of the holy seed of David must sacrifice to his people all personal inclinations.

16. Our supreme lord must be of an exemplary irreproachability.

*Signed by the representative of  
Zion, of the 33rd Degree*

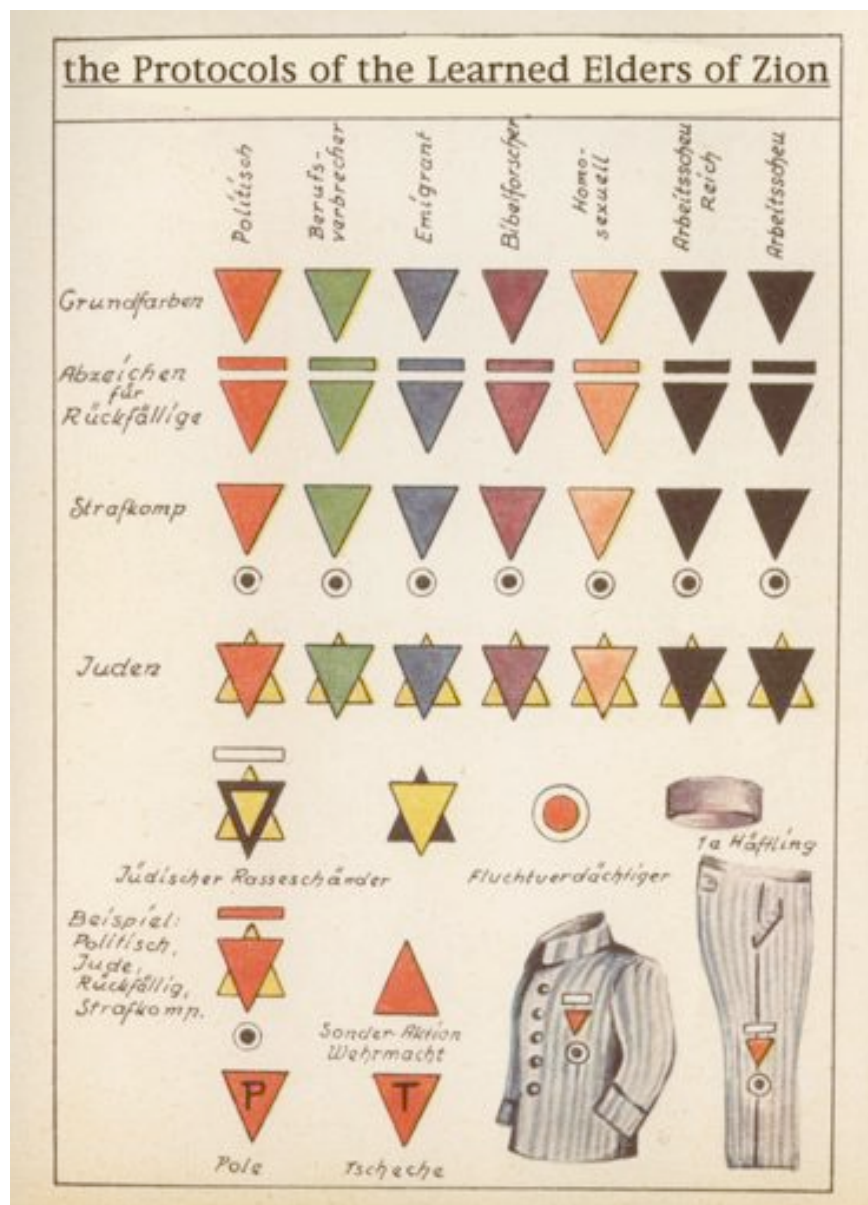
this e-book edition is in the Public Domain, 2009.

compiled, with brief ammendments, from:

<http://www.biblebelievers.org.au>

front cover: from a 1912 edition

back cover: NAZI concentration camp prisoner designation logos



*Silent Weapons for Quiet Wars*



# **Silent Weapons for Quiet Wars**

An Introduction Programming Manual  
Operations Research Technical Manual  
TW-SW7905.1

## **Welcome Aboard**

This publication marks the 25th anniversary of the Third World War, called the "Quiet War", being conducted using subjective biological warfare, fought with "silent weapons."

This book contains an introductory description of this war, its strategies, and its weaponry.

May 1979 #74-1120

## **Security**

It is patently impossible to discuss social engineering or the automation of a society, i.e., the engineering of social automation systems (silent weapons) on a national or worldwide scale without implying extensive objectives of social control and destruction of human life, i.e., slavery and genocide.

This manual is in itself an analog declaration of intent. Such a writing must be secured from public scrutiny. Otherwise, it might be recognized as a technically formal declaration of domestic war. Furthermore, whenever any person or group of persons in a position of great power and without full knowledge and consent of the public, uses such knowledge and methodologies for economic conquest - it must be understood that a state of domestic warfare exists between said person or group of persons and the public.

The solution of today's problems requires an approach which is ruthlessly candid, with no agonizing over religious, moral or cultural values.

You have qualified for this project because of your ability to look at human society with cold objectivity, and yet analyze and discuss your observations and conclusions with others of similar intellectual capacity without the loss of discretion or humility. Such virtues are exercised in your own best interest. Do not deviate from them.

## **Historical Introduction**

Silent weapon technology has evolved from Operations Research (O.R.), a strategic and tactical methodology developed under the Military Management in England during World War II. The original purpose of Operations Research was to study the strategic and tactical problems of air and land defense with the objective of effective use of limited military resources against foreign enemies (i.e., logistics).

It was soon recognized by those in positions of power that the same methods might be useful for totally controlling a society. But better tools were necessary.

Social engineering (the analysis and automation of a society) requires the correlation of great amounts of constantly changing economic information (data), so

a high-speed computerized data-processing system was necessary which could race ahead of the society and predict when society would arrive for capitulation.

Relay computers were too slow, but the electronic computer, invented in 1946 by J. Presper Eckert and John W. Mauchly, filled the bill.

The next breakthrough was the development of the simplex method of linear programming in 1947 by the mathematician George B. Dantzig.

Then in 1948, the transistor, invented by J. Bardeen, W.H. Brattain, and W. Shockley, promised great expansion of the computer field by reducing space and power requirements.

With these three inventions under their direction, those in positions of power strongly suspected that it was possible for them to control the whole world with the push of a button.

Immediately, the Rockefeller Foundation got in on the ground floor by making a four-year grant to Harvard College, funding the Harvard Economic Research Project for the study of the structure of the American Economy. One year later, in 1949, The United States Air Force joined in.

In 1952 the grant period terminated, and a high-level meeting of the Elite was held to determine the next phase of social operations research. The Harvard project had been very fruitful, as is borne out by the publication of some of its results in 1953 suggesting the feasibility of economic (social) engineering. (Studies in the Structure of the American Economy - copyright 1953 by Wassily Leontief, International Science Press Inc., White Plains, New York).

Engineered in the last half of the decade of the 1940's, the new Quiet War machine stood, so to speak, in sparkling gold-plated hardware on the showroom floor by 1954.

With the creation of the maser in 1954, the promise of unlocking unlimited sources of fusion atomic energy from the heavy hydrogen in sea water and the consequent availability of unlimited social power was a possibility only decades away.

The combination was irresistible.

The Quiet War was quietly declared by the International Elite at a meeting held in 1954.

Although the silent weapons system was nearly exposed 13 years later, the evolution of the new weapon-system has never suffered any major setbacks.

This volume marks the 25th anniversary of the beginning of the Quiet War. Already this domestic war has had many victories on many fronts throughout the world.

### **Political Introduction**

In 1954 it was well recognized by those in positions of authority that it was only a matter of time, only a few decades, before the general public would be able to grasp and upset the cradle of power, for the very elements of the new silent-weapon technology were as accessible for a public utopia as they were for providing a private utopia.

The issue of primary concern, that of dominance, revolved around the subject of the energy sciences.

## **Energy**

Energy is recognized as the key to all activity on earth. Natural science is the study of the sources and control of natural energy, and social science, theoretically expressed as economics, is the study of the sources and control of social energy. Both are bookkeeping systems: mathematics. Therefore, mathematics is the primary energy science. And the bookkeeper can be king if the public can be kept ignorant of the methodology of the bookkeeping.

All science is merely a means to an end. The means is knowledge. The end is control. Beyond this remains only one issue: Who will be the beneficiary?

In 1954 this was the issue of primary concern. Although the so-called "moral issues" were raised, in view of the law of natural selection it was agreed that a nation or world of people who will not use their intelligence are no better than animals who do not have intelligence. Such people are beasts of burden and steaks on the table by choice and consent.

Consequently, in the interest of future world order, peace, and tranquillity, it was decided to privately wage a quiet war against the American public with an ultimate objective of permanently shifting the natural and social energy (wealth) of the undisciplined and irresponsible many into the hands of the self-disciplined, responsible, and worthy few.

In order to implement this objective, it was necessary to create, secure, and apply new weapons which, as it turned out, were a class of weapons so subtle and sophisticated in their principle of operation and public appearance as to earn for themselves the name "silent weapons."

In conclusion, the objective of economic research, as conducted by the magnates of capital (banking) and the industries of commodities (goods) and services, is the establishment of an economy which is totally predictable and manipulatable.

In order to achieve a totally predictable economy, the low-class elements of society must be brought under total control, i.e., must be housebroken, trained, and assigned a yoke and long-term social duties from a very early age, before they have an opportunity to question the propriety of the matter. In order to achieve such conformity, the lower-class family unit must be disintegrated by a process of increasing preoccupation of the parents and the establishment of government-operated day-care centers for the occupationally orphaned children.

The quality of education given to the lower class must be of the poorest sort, so that the moat of ignorance isolating the inferior class from the superior class is and remains incomprehensible to the inferior class. With such an initial handicap, even bright lower class individuals have little if any hope of extricating themselves from their assigned lot in life. This form of slavery is essential to maintain some measure of social order, peace, and tranquillity for the ruling upper class.

## **Descriptive Introduction of the Silent Weapon**

Everything that is expected from an ordinary weapon is expected from a silent weapon by its creators, but only in its own manner of functioning.

It shoots situations, instead of bullets; propelled by data processing, instead of chemical reaction (explosion); originating from bits of data, instead of grains of gunpowder; from a computer, instead of a gun; operated by a computer programmer, instead of a marksman; under the orders of a banking magnate, instead of a military general.

It makes no obvious explosive noises, causes no obvious physical or mental injuries, and does not obviously interfere with anyone's daily social life.

Yet it makes an unmistakable "noise," causes unmistakable physical and mental damage, and unmistakably interferes with the daily social life, i.e., unmistakable to a trained observer, one who knows what to look for.

The public cannot comprehend this weapon, and therefore cannot believe that they are being attacked and subdued by a weapon.

The public might instinctively feel that something is wrong, but that is because of the technical nature of the silent weapon, they cannot express their feeling in a rational way, or handle the problem with intelligence. Therefore, they do not know how to cry for help, and do not know how to associate with others to defend themselves against it.

When a silent weapon is applied gradually, the public adjusts/adapts to its presence and learns to tolerate its encroachment on their lives until the pressure (psychological via economic) becomes too great and they crack up.

Therefore, the silent weapon is a type of biological warfare. It attacks the vitality, options, and mobility of the individuals of a society by knowing, understanding, manipulating, and attacking their sources of natural and social energy, and their physical, mental, and emotional strengths and weaknesses.

### **Theoretical Introduction**

Give me control over a nation's currency, and I care not who makes its laws.

- Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1743 - 1812)

Today's silent weapons technology is an outgrowth of a simple idea discovered, succinctly expressed, and effectively applied by the quoted Mr. Mayer Amschel Rothschild. Mr. Rothschild discovered the missing passive component of economic theory known as economic inductance. He, of course, did not think of his discovery in these 20th-century terms, and, to be sure, mathematical analysis had to wait for the Second Industrial Revolution, the rise of the theory of mechanics and electronics, and finally, the invention of the electronic computer before it could be effectively applied in the control of the world economy.

### **General Energy Concepts**

In the study of energy systems, there always appears three elementary concepts. These are potential energy, kinetic energy, and energy dissipation. And corresponding to these concepts, there are three idealized, essentially pure physical counterparts called passive components.



In the science of physical mechanics, the phenomenon of potential energy is associated with a physical property called elasticity or stiffness, and can be represented by a stretched spring.

In electronic science, potential energy is stored in a capacitor instead of a spring. This property is called capacitance instead of elasticity or stiffness.

In the science of physical mechanics, the phenomenon of kinetic energy is associated with a physical property called inertia or mass, and can be represented by a mass or a flywheel in motion.

In electronic science, kinetic energy is stored in an inductor (in a magnetic field) instead of a mass. This property is called inductance instead of inertia.

In the science of physical mechanics, the phenomenon of energy dissipation is associated with a physical property called friction or resistance, and can be represented by a dashpot or other device which converts energy into heat.

In electronic science, dissipation of energy is performed by an element called either a resistor or a conductor, the term "resistor" being the one generally used to describe a more ideal device (e.g., wire) employed to convey electronic energy efficiently from one location to another. The property of a resistance or conductor is measured as either resistance or conductance reciprocals.

In economics these three energy concepts are associated with:

**Economic Capacitance - *Capital***

(money, stock/inventory, investments in buildings and durables, etc.)

**Economic Conductance - *Goods***

(production flow coefficients)

**Economic Inductance - *Services***

(the influence of the population of industry on output)

All of the mathematical theory developed in the study of one energy system (e.g., mechanics, electronics, etc.) can be immediately applied in the study of any other energy system (e.g., economics).

### **Mr. Rothchild's Energy Discovery**

What Mr. Rothschild had discovered was the basic principle of power, influence, and control over people as applied to economics. That principle is "when you assume the appearance of power, people soon give it to you."

Mr. Rothschild had discovered that currency or deposit loan accounts had the required appearance of power that could be used to induce people (inductance, with people corresponding to a magnetic field) into surrendering their real wealth in exchange for a promise of greater wealth (instead of real compensation). They would put up real collateral in exchange for a loan of promissory notes. Mr. Rothschild found that he could issue more notes than he had backing for, so long as he had someone's stock of gold as a persuader to show his customers.

Mr. Rothschild loaned his promissory notes to individual and to governments. These would create overconfidence. Then he would make money scarce, tighten control of the system, and collect the collateral through the obligation of contracts. The cycle was then repeated. These pressures could be used to ignite a war. Then he would control the availability of currency to determine who would win the war. That government which agreed to give him control of its economic system got his support.

Collection of debts was guaranteed by economic aid to the enemy of the debtor. The profit derived from this economic methodology mad Mr. Rothschild all the more able to expand his wealth. He found that the public greed would allow currency to be printed by government order beyond the limits (inflation) of backing in precious metal or the production of goods and services.

### **Apparent Capital as "Paper" Inductor**

In this structure, credit, presented as a pure element called "currency," has the appearance of capital, but is in effect negative capital. Hence, it has the appearance of service, but is in fact, indebtedness or debt. It is therefore an economic inductance instead of an economic capacitance, and if balanced in no other way, will be balanced by the negation of population (war, genocide). The total goods and services represent real capital called the gross national product, and currency may be printed up to this level and still represent economic capacitance; but currency printed beyond this level is subtractive, represents the introduction of economic inductance, and constitutes notes of indebtedness.

War is therefore the balancing of the system by killing the true creditors (the public which we have taught to exchange true value for inflated currency) and falling back on whatever is left of the resources of nature and regeneration of those resources.

Mr. Rothschild had discovered that currency gave him the power to rearrange the economic structure to his own advantage, to shift economic inductance to those economic positions which would encourage the greatest economic instability and oscillation.

The final key to economic control had to wait until there was sufficient data and high-speed computing equipment to keep close watch on the economic oscillations created by price shocking and excess paper energy credits - paper inductance / inflation.

### **Breakthrough**

The aviation field provided the greatest evolution in economic engineering by way of the mathematical theory of shock testing. In this process, a projectile is fired from an airframe on the ground and the impulse of the recoil is monitored by vibration transducers connected to the airframe and wired to chart recorders.

By studying the echoes or reflections of the recoil impulse in the airframe, it is possible to discover critical vibrations in the structure of the airframe which either vibrations of the engine or aeolian vibrations of the wings, or a combination of the two, might reinforce resulting in a resonant self-destruction of the airframe in flight as an aircraft. From the standpoint of engineering, this means that the strengths and weaknesses of the structure of the airframe in terms of vibrational energy can be discovered and manipulated.

## **Application in Economics**

To use this method of airframe shock testing in economic engineering, the prices of commodities are shocked, and the public consumer reaction is monitored. The resulting echoes of the economic shock are interpreted theoretically by computers and the psycho-economic structure of the economy is thus discovered. It is by this process that partial differential and difference matrices are discovered that define the family household and make possible its evaluation as an economic industry (dissipative consumer structure).

Then the response of the household to future shocks can be predicted and manipulated, and society becomes a well-regulated animal with its reins under the control of a sophisticated computer-regulated social energy bookkeeping system.

Eventually every individual element of the structure comes under computer control through a knowledge of personal preferences, such knowledge guaranteed by computer association of consumer preferences (universal product code, UPC; zebra-striped pricing codes on packages) with identified consumers (identified via association with the use of a credit card and later a permanent "tattooed" body number invisible under normal ambient illumination).

## **Summary**

Economics is only a social extension of a natural energy system. It, also, has its three passive components. Because of the distribution of wealth and the lack of communication and lack of data, this field has been the last energy field for which a knowledge of these three passive components has been developed.

Since energy is the key to all activity on the face of the earth, it follows that in order to attain a monopoly of energy, raw materials, goods, and services and to establish a world system of slave labor, it is necessary to have a first strike capability in the field of economics. In order to maintain our position, it is necessary that we have absolute first knowledge of the science of control over all economic factors and the first experience at engineering the world economy.

In order to achieve such sovereignty, we must at least achieve this one end: that the public will not make either the logical or mathematical connection between economics and the other energy sciences or learn to apply such knowledge.

This is becoming increasingly difficult to control because more and more businesses are making demands upon their computer programmers to create and apply mathematical models for the management of those businesses.

It is only a matter of time before the new breed of private programmer/economists will catch on to the far reaching implications of the work begun at Harvard in 1948. The speed with which they can communicate their warning to the public will largely depend upon how effective we have been at controlling the media, subverting education, and keeping the public distracted with matters of no real importance.

## **The Economic Model**

Economics, as a social energy science has as a first objective the description of the complex way in which any given unit of resources is used to satisfy some economic

want. (Leontief Matrix). This first objective, when it is extended to get the most product from the least or limited resources, comprises that objective of general military and industrial logistics known as Operations Research. (See simplex method of linear programming.)

The Harvard Economic Research Project (1948-) was an extension of World War II Operations Research. Its purpose was to discover the science of controlling an economy: at first the American economy, and then the world economy. It was felt that with sufficient mathematical foundation and data, it would be nearly as easy to predict and control the trend of an economy as to predict and control the trajectory of a projectile. Such has proven to be the case. Moreover, the economy has been transformed into a guided missile on target.

The immediate aim of the Harvard project was to discover the economic structure, what forces change that structure, how the behavior of the structure can be predicted, and how it can be manipulated. What was needed was a well-organized knowledge of the mathematical structures and interrelationships of investment, production, distribution, and consumption.

To make a short story of it all, it was discovered that an economy obeyed the same laws as electricity and that all of the mathematical theory and practical and computer know-how developed for the electronic field could be directly applied in the study of economics. This discovery was not openly declared, and its more subtle implications were and are kept a closely guarded secret, for example that in an economic model, human life is measured in dollars, and that the electric spark generated when opening a switch connected to an active inductor is mathematically analogous to the initiation of war.

The greatest hurdle which theoretical economists faced was the accurate description of the household as an industry. This is a challenge because consumer purchases are a matter of choice which in turn is influenced by income, price, and other economic factors.

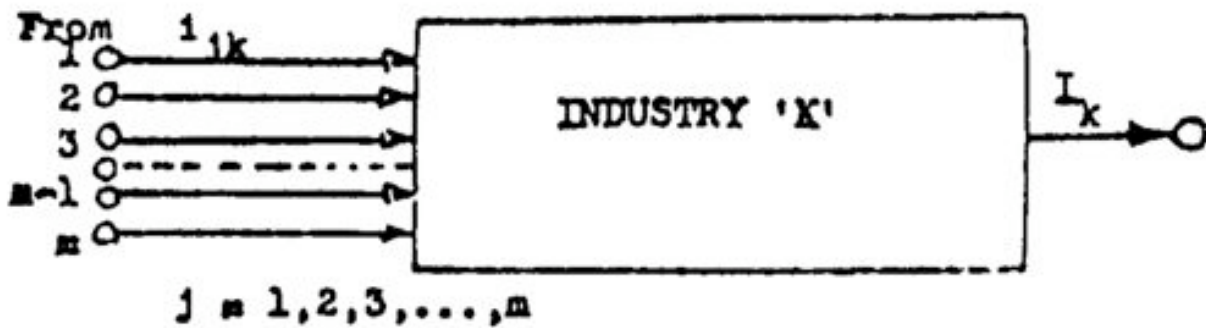
This hurdle was cleared in an indirect and statistically approximate way by an application of shock testing to determine the current characteristics, called current technical coefficients, of a household industry

Finally, because problems in theoretical electronics can be translated very easily into problems of theoretical electronics, and the solution translated back again, it follows that only a book of language translation and concept definition needed to be written for economics. The remainder could be gotten from standard works on mathematics and electronics. This makes the publication of books on advanced economics unnecessary, and greatly simplifies project security.

### **Industrial Diagrams**

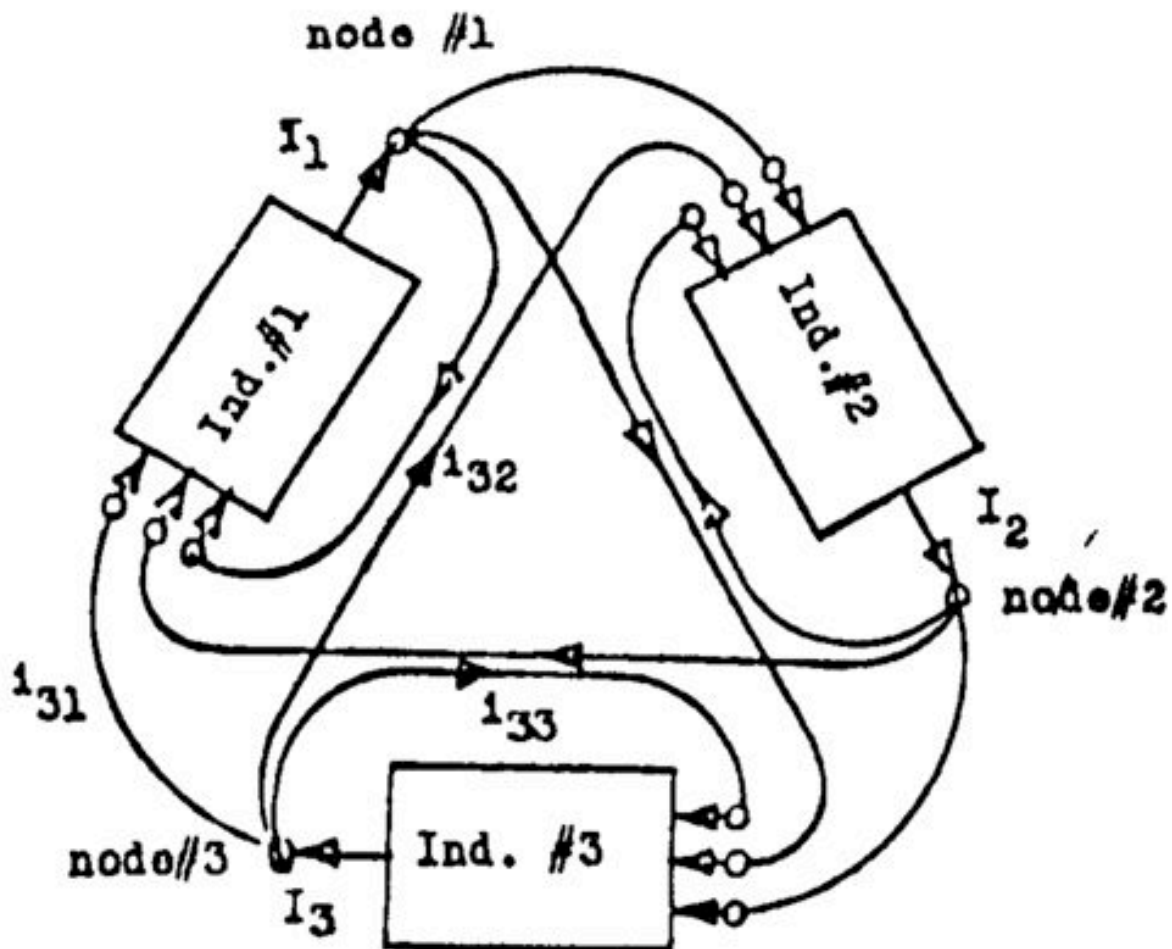
An ideal industry is defined as a device which receives value from other industries in several forms and converts them into one specific product for sales and distribution to other industries. It has several inputs and one output. What the public normally thinks of as one industry is really an industrial complex, where several industries under one roof produce one or more products.

A pure (single output) industry can be represented oversimply by a circuit block as follows:



The flow of product from industry #1 (supply) to industry #2 (demand) is denoted by  $1_{12}$ . The total flow out of industry "K" is denoted by  $I_k$  (sales, etc.).

A three industry network can be diagrammed as follows:



A node is a symbol of collection and distribution of flow. Node #3 receives from industry #3 and distributes to industries #1 and #3. If industry #3 manufactures chairs, then a flow from industry #3 back to industry #3 simply indicates that industry #3 is using part of its own output

product, for example, as office furniture. Therefore the flow may be summarized by the equations:

$$\begin{aligned}
 \text{Node \#1 : } I_1 &= i_{11} + i_{12} + i_{13} = \sum i_{1k} \\
 \text{Node \#2 : } I_2 &= i_{21} + i_{22} + i_{23} = \sum i_{2k} \\
 \text{Node \#3 : } I_3 &= i_{31} + i_{32} + i_{33} = \sum i_{3k}
 \end{aligned}$$

where  $\sum$  denotes  $\sum_{k=1}^{k=3}$

### Three Industrial Classes

Industries fall into three categories or classes by type of output:

**Class #1** - *Capital* (resources)

**Class #2** - *Goods* (commodities or use - dissipative)

**Class #3** - *Services* (action of population)

**Class #1** industries exist at three levels:

*Nature* - sources of energy and raw materials.

*Government* - printing of currency equal to the gross national product (GNP), and extension of currency in excess of GNP.

*Banking* - loaning of money for interest, and extension (inflation/counterfeiting) of economic value through the deposit loan accounts.

**Class #2** industries exist as producers of tangible or consumer (dissipated) products. This sort of activity is usually recognized and labeled by the public as "industry."

**Class #3** industries are those which have service rather than a tangible product as their output. These industries are called (1) households, and (2) governments. Their output is human activity of a mechanical sort, and their basis is population.

Aggregation

The whole economic system can be represented by a three-industry model if one allows the names of the outputs to be (1) capital, (2) goods, and (3) services. The problem with this representation is that it would not show the influence, say, the textile industry on the ferrous metal industry. This is because both the textile industry and the ferrous metal industry would be contained within a single classification called the "goods industry" and by this process of combining or aggregating these two industries under one system block they would lose their economic individuality.

## The E-Model

A national economy consists of simultaneous flows of production, distribution, consumption, and investment. If all of these elements including labor and human functions are assigned a numerical value in like units of measure, say, 1939 dollars, then this flow can be further represented by a current flow in an electronic circuit, and its behavior can be predicted and manipulated with useful precision.

The three ideal passive energy components of electronics, the capacitor, the resistor, and the inductor correspond to the three ideal passive energy components of economics called the pure industries of capital, goods, and services, respectively.

Economic capacitance represents the storage of capital in one form or another.

Economic conductance represents the level of conductance of materials for the production of goods.

Economic inductance represents the inertia of economic value in motion. This is a population phenomenon known as services.

### Economic Inductance

An electrical inductor (e.g., a coil or wire) has an electric current as its primary phenomenon and a magnetic field as its secondary phenomenon (inertia). Corresponding to this, an economic inductor has a flow of economic value as its primary phenomenon and a population field as its secondary field phenomenon of inertia. When the flow of economic value (e.g., money) diminishes, the human population field collapses in order to keep the economic value (money) flowing (extreme case - war).

This public inertia is a result of consumer buying habits, expected standard of living, etc., and is generally a phenomenon of self-preservation.

### Inductive Factors to Consider

#### Population

**Magnitude of the economic activities of the government**

**The method of financing these government activities**

*(See Peter-Paul Principle - inflation of the currency.)*

#### Translation

*(a few examples will be given.)*

**Charge:** *coulombs; dollars (1939).*

**Flow/Current:** *amperes (coulombs per second); dollars of flow per year.*

**Motivating Force:** *volts; dollars (output) demand.*

**Conductance:** *amperes per volt; dollars of flow per year per dollar demand.*

**Capacitance:** *coulombs per volt; dollars of production inventory/stock per dollar demand.*

### Time Flow Relationships and Self-Destructive Oscillations

An ideal industry may be symbolized electronically in various ways. The simplest way is to represent a demand by a voltage and a supply by a current. When this is done, the relationship between the two becomes what is called an admittance, which can

result from three economic factors: (1) **foresight flow**, (2) **present flow**, and (3) **hindsight flow**.

**Foresight flow** is the result of that property of living entities to cause energy (food) to be stored for a period of low energy (e.g., a winter season). It consists of demands made upon an economic system for that period of low energy (winter season).

In a production industry it takes several forms, one of which is known as production stock or inventory. In electronic symbology this specific industry demand (a pure capital industry) is represented by capacitance and the stock or resource is represented by a stored charge. Satisfaction of an industry demand suffers a lag because of the loading effect of inventory priorities.

**Present flow** ideally involves no delays. It is, so to speak, input today for output today, a "hand to mouth" flow. In electronic symbology, this specific industry demand (a pure us industry) is represented by a conductance which is then a simple economic valve (a dissipative element).

**Hindsight flow** is known as habit or inertia. In electronics this phenomenon is the characteristic of an inductor (economic analog = a pure service industry) in which a current flow (economic analog = flow of money) creates a magnetic field (economic analog = active human population) which, if the current (money flow) begins to diminish, collapse (war) to maintain the current (flow of money - energy).

Other large alternatives to war as economic inductors or economic flywheels are an open-ended social welfare program, or an enormous (but fruitful) open-ended space program.

The problem with stabilizing the economic system is that there is too much demand on account of (1) *too much greed* and (2) *too much population*.

This creates excessive economic inductance which can only be balanced with economic capacitance (true resources or value - e.g., in goods or services).

The social welfare program is nothing more than an open-ended credit balance system which creates a false capital industry to give nonproductive people a roof over their heads and food in their stomachs. This can be useful, however, because the recipients become state property in return for the "gift," a standing army for the elite. For he who pays the piper picks the tune.

Those who get hooked on the economic drug, must go to the elite for a fix. In this, the method of introducing large amounts of stabilizing capacitance is by borrowing on the future "credit" of the world. This is a fourth law of motion - onset, and consists of performing an action and leaving the system before the reflected reaction returns to the point of action - a delayed reaction.

The means of surviving the reaction is by changing the system before the reaction can return. By this means, politicians become more popular in their own time and the public pays later. In fact, the measure of such a politician is the delay time.

The same thing is achieved by a government by printing money beyond the limit of the gross national product, and economic process called inflation. This puts a large quantity of money into the hands of the public and maintains a balance against their



greed, creates a false self-confidence in them and, for awhile, stays the wolf from the door.

They must eventually resort to war to balance the account, because war ultimately is merely the act of destroying the creditor, and the politicians are the publicly hired hit men that justify the act to keep the responsibility and blood off the public conscience. (See section on consent factors and social-economic structuring.)

If the people really cared about their fellow man, they would control their appetites (greed, procreation, etc.) so that they would not have to operate on a credit or welfare social system which steals from the worker to satisfy the bum.

Since most of the general public will not exercise restraint, there are only two alternatives to reduce the economic inductance of the system.

Let the populace bludgeon each other to death in war, which will only result in a total destruction of the living earth.

Take control of the world by the use of economic "silent weapons" in a form of "quiet warfare" and reduce the economic inductance of the world to a safe level by a process of benevolent slavery and genocide.

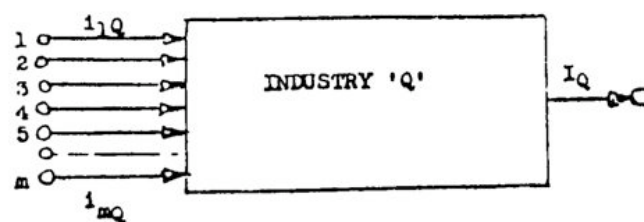
The latter option has been taken as the obviously better option. At this point it should be crystal clear to the reader why absolute secrecy about the silent weapons is necessary. The general public refuses to improve its own mentality and its faith in its fellow man. It has become a herd of proliferating barbarians, and, so to speak, a blight upon the face of the earth.

They do not care enough about economic science to learn why they have not been able to avoid war despite religious morality, and their religious or self-gratifying refusal to deal with earthly problems renders the solution of the earthly problem unreachable to them.

It is left to those few who are truly willing to think and survive as the fittest to survive, to solve the problem for themselves as the few who really care. Otherwise, exposure of the silent weapon would destroy our only hope of preserving the seed of the future true humanity.

### Industry Equivalent Circuits

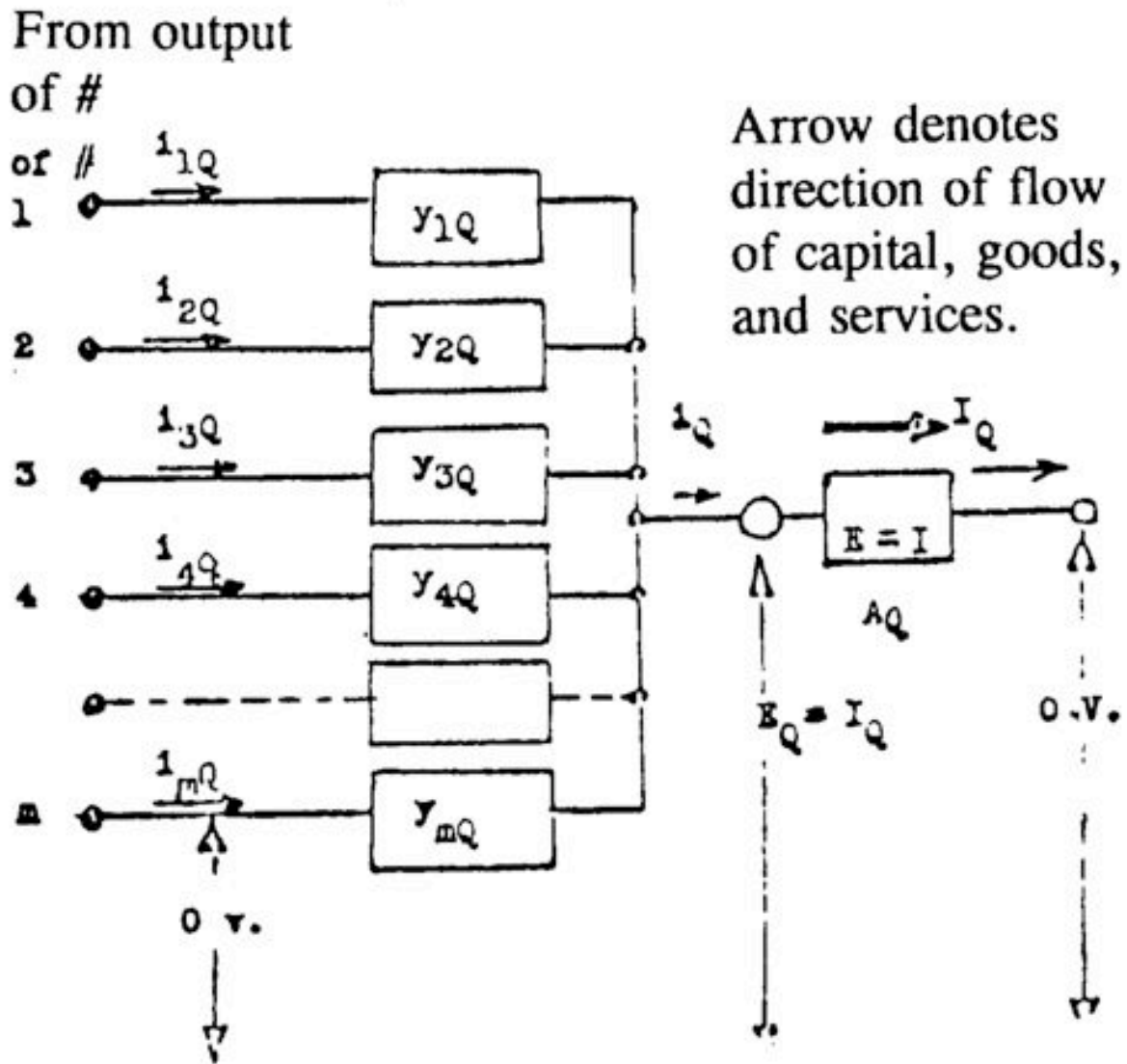
The industry 'Q' can be given a block symbol as follows:



Block Diagram of Industry 'Q'.

Terminals #1 through #m are connected directly to the outputs of industries #1 and #m, respectively.

The equivalent circuit of industry 'Q' is given as follows:

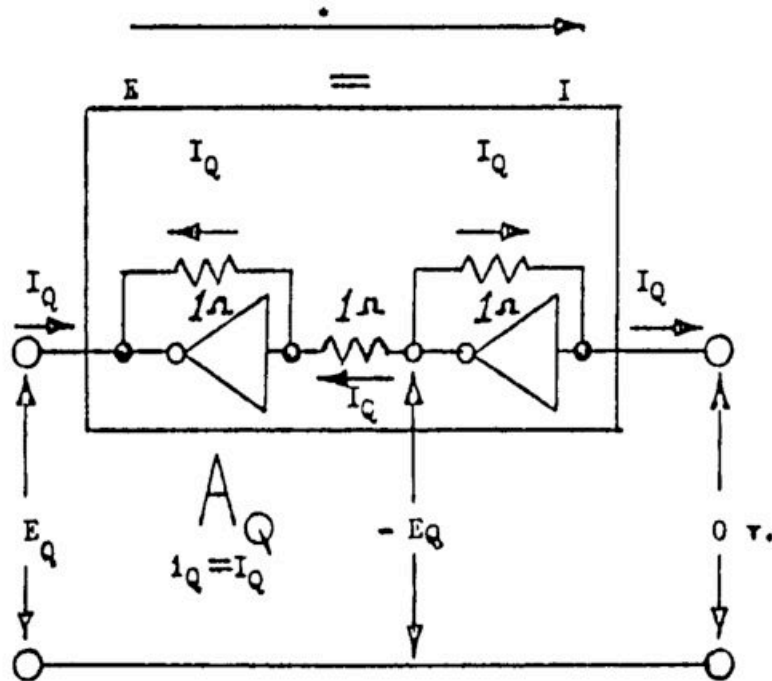


*Characteristics:*

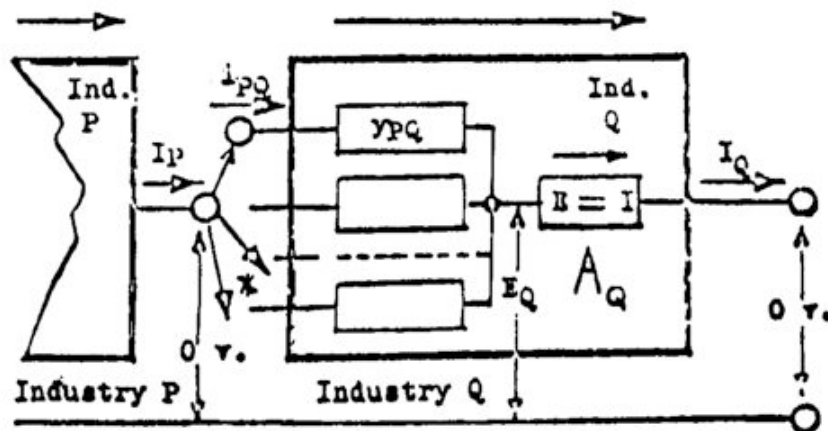
All inputs are at zero volts.

A - Amplifier - causes output current  $I_Q$  to be represented by a voltage  $E_Q$ . Amplifier delivers sufficient current at  $E_Q$  to drive all loads  $Y_{1Q}$  through  $Y_{mQ}$  and sink all currents  $i_{1Q}$  through  $i_{mQ}$ .

The unit transconductance amplifier  $A_Q$  is constructed as follows:



\* Arrow denotes the direction of the flow of capital, goods, and services. The total demand is given as  $E_Q$ , where  $E_Q = I_Q$ .



\* - to other industries

The coupling network  $Y_{PQ}$  symbolizes the demand which industry Q makes on industry P. the connective admittance  $Y_{PQ}$  is called the 'technical coefficient' of the industry Q stating the demand of industry Q, called the industry of use, for the output in capital, goods, or services of industry P called the industry of origin.

The flow of commodities from industry P to industry Q is given by  $i_{PQ}$  evaluated by the formula:

$$i_{PQ} = Y_{PQ} * E_Q$$

When the admittance  $Y_{PQ}$  is a simple conductance, this formula takes on the common appearance of Ohm's Law,

$$i_{PQ} = g_{PQ} * I_Q$$

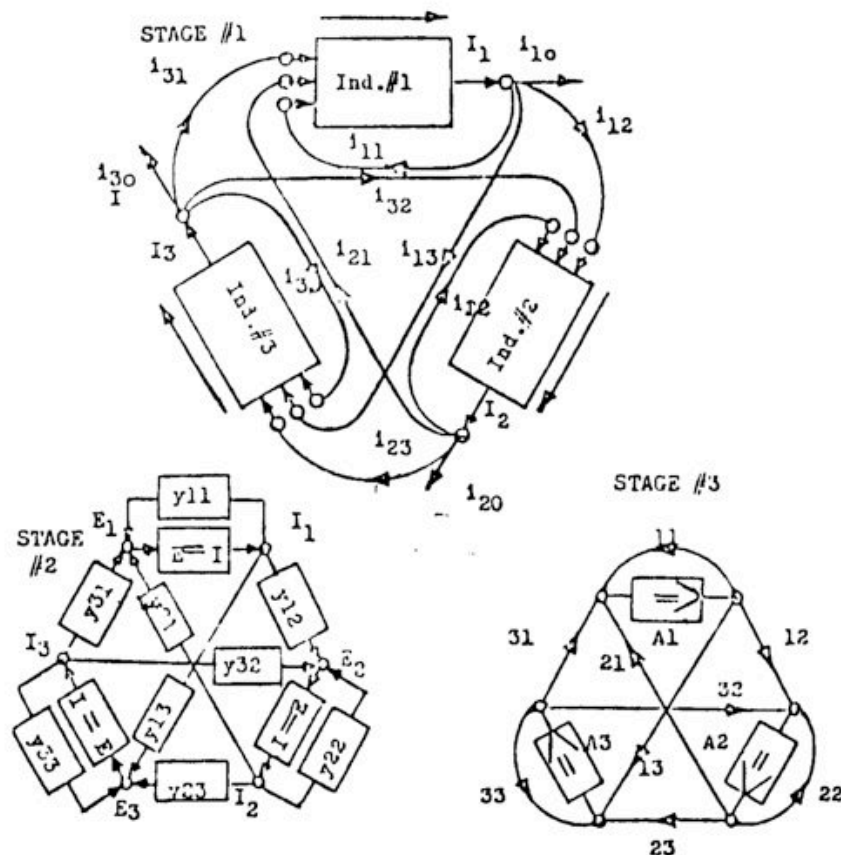
The interconnection of a three industry system can be diagrammed as follows. The blocks of the industry diagram can be opened up revealing the technical coefficients, and a much simpler format. The equations of flow are given as follows:

$$I_1 = i_{11} + i_{12} + i_{13} + i_{10} = \sum i_{1k} + i_{10}$$

$$I_2 = i_{21} + i_{22} + i_{23} + i_{20} = \sum i_{2k} + i_{20}$$

$$I_3 = i_{31} + i_{32} + i_{33} + i_{30} = \sum i_{3k} + i_{30}$$

Stages of Schematic Simplification



### Generalization

All of this may now be summarized.

Let  $I_j$  represent the output of industry  $j$ , and  $i_{jk}$ , the amount of the product of industry  $j$  absorbed annually by industry  $k$ , and  $i_{jo}$ , the amount of the same product  $j$  made available for 'outside' use. Then

$$I_j = i_{j1} + i_{j2} + i_{j3} + \dots + i_{jm} + i_{jo}$$

$$= \sum_{k=1}^{k=m} i_{jk} + i_{jo}$$

Substituting the technical coefficients,  $y_{jk}$

$$i_{jk} = y_{jk} I_k$$

$$I_j = \sum_{k=1}^{k=m} i_{jk} + i_{jo} = \sum_{k=1}^{k=m} y_{jk} I_k + i_{jo}$$

Leontief  
Matrix for  
 $j=1,2,3,\dots,m$

$$\left\{ I_j - \sum_{k=1}^{k=m} y_{jk} I_k = i_{jo} \right.$$

Let  $I_k$  at the output of industry  $k$  be represented by a demand voltage  $E_k$  at its amplifier input, i.e., let  $E_k = I_k$ . Then

$$i_{jk} = y_{jk} E_k$$

which is the general equation of every admittance in the industry circuit.

Final Bill of Goods

$$\sum_{j=1}^{j=m} i_{jo} = i_{1o} + i_{2o} + i_{3o} + \dots + i_{mo} \text{ is called}$$

is called the final bill of goods or the bill of final demand, and is zero when the system can be closed by the evaluation of the technical coefficients of the 'non-productive' industries, government and households. Households may be regarded as a productive industry with labor as its output product.

### The Technical Coefficients

The quantities  $y_{jk}$  are called the technical coefficients of the industrial system. They are admittances and can consist of any combination of three passive parameters, conductance, capacitance, and inductance. Diodes are used to make the flow unidirectional and point against the flow.

$g_{jk}$  = economic conductance, absorption coefficient

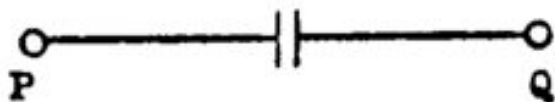
$y_{jk}$  = economic capacitance, capital coefficient

$L_{jk}$  = economic inductance, human activity coefficient

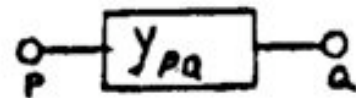
### Types of Admittances



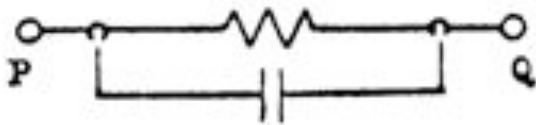
flow of product



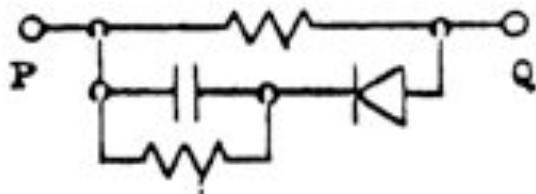
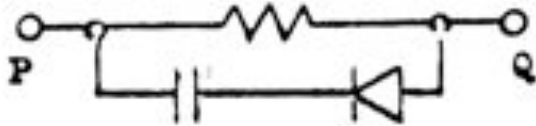
storage in industry Q of capital -- in the form of inventory of materials, stock of equipment, work in progress, intermediate products, etc.. This stock fully reversible meaning that it can be sold or exchanged for other materials.



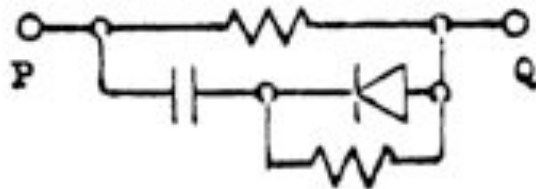




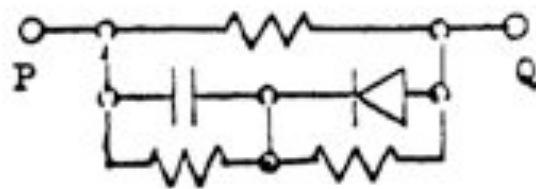
- flow and stock control, stock is fully reversible, e.g., can be sold or exchanged for other materials.
- flow, but stock not reversible, stock does not need maintenance.



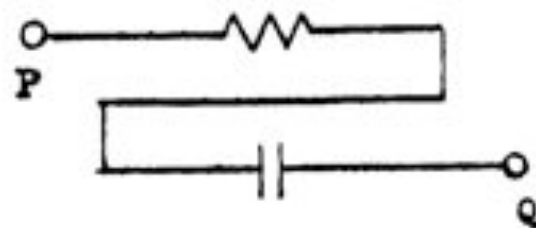
- here the stock is not reversible, and it is subject to depreciation.
- can also represent capital tied up in buildings which cannot be sold and are aging.



- here we have partially reversible stock which may be reversed at a slower rate than it is demanded during production.



- here the stock reversibility and depreciation are accounted for.

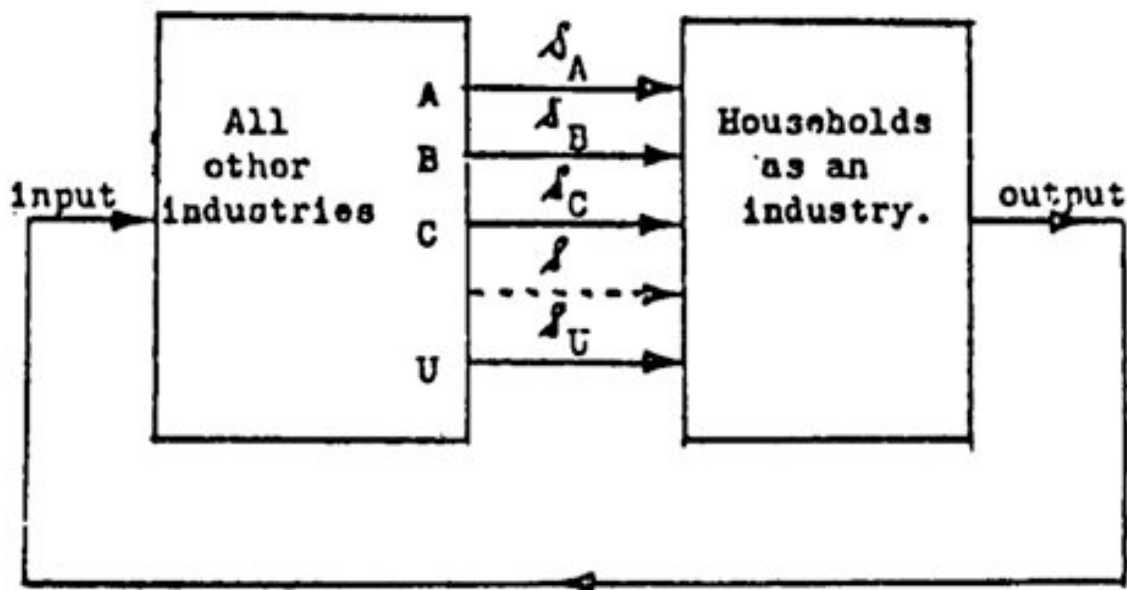


- stock buildup is delayed and stock consumption is likewise delayed.

The industries of finance (banking), manufacturing, and government, real counterparts of the pure industries of capital, goods, and services, are easily defined because they are generally logically structured. Because of this their processes can be described mathematically and their technical coefficients can be easily deduced. This, however, is not the case with the service industry known as the household industry.

### Household Models

When the industry flow diagram is represented by a 2-block system of households on the right and all other industries on the left, the following results:



(labor, etc.)

The arrows from left to right labeled A, B, C, etc., denote flow of economic value from the industries in the left hand block to the industry in the right hand block called 'households'.

These may be thought of as the monthly consumer flows of the following commodities. A - alcoholic beverages, B - beef, C - coffee, . . . , U - unknown, etc. . .

The problem which a theoretical economist faces is that the consumer preferences of any household is not easily predictable and the technical coefficients of any one household tend to be a nonlinear, very complex, and variable function of income, prices, etc.

Computer information derived from the use of the universal product code in conjunction with credit-card purchase as an individual household identifier could change this state of affairs, but the U.P.C. method is not yet available on a national or even a significant regional scale. To compensate for this data deficiency, an alternate indirect approach of analysis has been adopted known as economic shock testing. This method, widely used in the aircraft manufacturing industry, develops an



aggregate statistical sort of data.

Applied to economics, this means that all of the households in one region or in the whole nation are studied as a group or class rather than individually, and the mass behavior rather than the individual behavior is used to discover useful estimates of the technical coefficients governing the economic structure of the hypothetical single-household industry.

Notice in the industry flow diagram that the values for the flows A, B, C, etc. are accessible to measurement in terms of selling prices and total sales of commodities.

One method of evaluating the technical coefficients of the household industry depends upon shocking the prices of a commodity and noting the changes in the sales of all of the commodities.

### **Economic Shock Testing**

In recent times, the application of Operations Research to the study of the public economy has been obvious for anyone who understands the principles of shock testing.

In the shock testing of an aircraft airframe, the recoil impulse of firing a gun mounted on that airframe causes shock waves in that structure which tell aviation engineers the conditions under which some parts of the airplane or the whole airplane or its wings will start to vibrate or flutter like a guitar string, a flute reed, or a tuning fork, and disintegrate or fall apart in flight.

Economic engineers achieve the same result in studying the behavior of the economy and the consumer public by carefully selecting a staple commodity such as beef, coffee, gasoline, or sugar, and then causing a sudden change or shock in its price or availability, thus kicking everybody's budget and buying habits out of shape.

They then observe the shock waves which result by monitoring the changes in advertising, prices, and sales of that and other commodities.

The objective of such studies is to acquire the know-how to set the public economy into a predictable state of motion or change, even a controlled self-destructive state of motion which will convince the public that certain "expert" people should take control of the money system and reestablish security (rather than liberty and justice) for all. When the subject citizens are rendered unable to control their financial affairs, they, of course, become totally enslaved, a source of cheap labor.

Not only the prices of commodities, but also the availability of labor can be used as the means of shock testing. Labor strikes deliver excellent tests shocks to an economy, especially in the critical service areas of trucking (transportation), communication, public utilities (energy, water, garbage collection), etc.

By shock testing, it is found that there is a direct relationship between the availability of money flowing in an economy and the real psychological outlook and response of masses of people dependent upon that availability.

For example, there is a measurable quantitative relationship between the price of gasoline and the probability that a person would experience a headache, feel a need

to watch a violent movie, smoke a cigarette, or go to a tavern for a mug of beer.

It is most interesting that, by observing and measuring the economic models by which the public tries to run from their problems and escape from reality, and by applying the mathematical theory of Operations Research, it is possible to program computers to predict the most probable combination of created events (shocks) which will bring about a complete control and subjugation of the public through a subversion of the public economy (by shaking the plum tree).

### Introduction to the Theory of Economic Shock Testing

Let the prices and total sales of commodities be given and symbolized as follows:

| Commodities         | Price Function | Total Sales |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------|
| alcoholic beverages | A              | A           |
| beef                | B              | B           |
| coffee              | C              | C           |
| gasoline            | G              | G           |
| sugar               | S              | S           |
| tobacco             | T              | T           |
| unknown balance     | U              | U           |

Let us assume a simple economic model in which the total number of important (staple) commodities are represented as beef, gasoline, and an aggregate of all other staple commodities which we will call the hypothetical miscellaneous staple commodity 'M' (e.g., M is an aggregate of C, S, T, U, etc.).

### Example of Shock Testing

Assume that the total sales, P, of petroleum products can be described by the linear function of the quantities B, G, and M, which are functions of the prices of those respective commodities.

$$P = a_{PB} B + a_{PG} G + a_{PM} M$$

Then where B, G, and M are functions of the prices of beef, gasoline, and miscellaneous, respectively, and  $a_{PB}$ ,  $a_{PG}$ , and  $a_{PM}$  are constant coefficients defining the amount by which each of the functions B, G, and M affect the sales, P, of petroleum products. We are assuming that B, G, and M are variables independent of each other.

If the availability or price of gasoline is suddenly changed, then G must be replaced by  $G + \Delta G$ . This causes a change in the petroleum sales from P to  $P + \Delta P$ . Also we will assume that B and M remain constant when G changes to  $G + \Delta G$ .

$$(P + \Delta P) = a_{PB} B + a_{PG} (G + \Delta G) + a_{PM} M$$

Expanding upon this expression, we get

$$P + \Delta P = a_{PB} B + a_{PG} G + a_{PG} \Delta G + a_{PM} M$$

and subtracting the original value of P we get for the change in P

$$\text{Change in } P = \Delta P = a_{PG} \Delta G$$

Dividing by  $\Delta G$  we get

$$a_{PG} = \Delta P / \Delta G$$

This is a rate of change in P due only to an isolated change in G,  $\Delta G$ .

In general,  $a_{jk}$  is the partial rate of change in the sales effect j due to a change in the causal price function of commodity k. If the interval of time were infinitesimal, this expression would be reduced to the definition of the total differential of a function, P.

For if  $a_{jk} = \frac{\partial j}{\partial k}$ , and if  $P = a_{PB}B + a_{PG}G + a_{PM}M$  and B, G, and M are independent variables, then

$$a_{PB} = \frac{\partial P}{\partial B} \quad \text{and}$$

$$dP = \frac{\partial P}{\partial B} dB + \frac{\partial P}{\partial G} dG + \frac{\partial P}{\partial M} dM$$

Integrating, we get

$$P = \int \frac{\partial P}{\partial B} dB + \int \frac{\partial P}{\partial G} dG + \int \frac{\partial P}{\partial M} dM.$$

If the  $a_{jk}$  are constant coefficients, then the rates,  $\partial j / \partial k$ , are constant also and can be taken outside of the integrals. Therefore,

$$P = \frac{\partial P}{\partial B} \int dB + \frac{\partial P}{\partial G} \int dG + \frac{\partial P}{\partial M} \int dM \quad \text{or}$$

$$P = \frac{\partial P}{\partial B} B + \frac{\partial P}{\partial G} G + \frac{\partial P}{\partial M} M + K.$$

Furthermore,

$$\begin{aligned} \delta_A &= \frac{\partial \delta_A}{\partial B} B + \frac{\partial \delta_A}{\partial G} G + \frac{\partial \delta_A}{\partial M} M + K_A \\ \delta_B &= \frac{\partial \delta_B}{\partial B} B + \frac{\partial \delta_B}{\partial G} G + \frac{\partial \delta_B}{\partial M} M + K_B \\ \delta_C &= \frac{\partial \delta_C}{\partial B} B + \frac{\partial \delta_C}{\partial G} G + \frac{\partial \delta_C}{\partial M} M + K_C \\ \delta_U &= \frac{\partial \delta_U}{\partial B} B + \frac{\partial \delta_U}{\partial G} G + \frac{\partial \delta_U}{\partial M} M + K_U \end{aligned}$$

When the price of gasoline is shocked, all of the coefficients with round G (2G) in the denominator are evaluated at the same time. If B, G, and M were independent, and sufficient for description of the economy, then three shock tests would be necessary to evaluate the system.

There are other factors which may be represented the same way.

For example, the tendency of a docile sub-nation to withdraw under economic pressure may be given by

$$\phi = \frac{\partial \phi}{\partial G} G + \frac{\partial \phi}{\partial W_P} W_P + \dots$$

where G is the price of gasoline, WP is the dollars spent per unit time (referenced to say 1939) for war production during 'peace' time, etc. These quantities are presented to a computer in matrix format as follows:

$$\begin{vmatrix} \frac{\partial P}{\partial G} & \frac{\partial P}{\partial B} & \dots & \frac{\partial P}{\partial U} \\ \frac{\partial F}{\partial G} & \frac{\partial F}{\partial B} & \dots & \frac{\partial F}{\partial U} \\ \dots & \dots & \dots & \dots \\ \frac{\partial T}{\partial G} & \frac{\partial T}{\partial B} & \dots & \frac{\partial T}{\partial U} \\ \frac{\partial \phi}{\partial G} & \frac{\partial \phi}{\partial B} & \dots & \frac{\partial \phi}{\partial U} \end{vmatrix} \begin{vmatrix} G \\ B \\ \cdot \\ \cdot \\ U \end{vmatrix} = \begin{vmatrix} P - K_P \\ F - K_F \\ \cdot \\ T - K_T \\ \phi - K_\phi \end{vmatrix}$$

$\uparrow \qquad \qquad \uparrow$   
 $X_k \qquad \qquad Y_j$

or  $[a_{jk}] [X_k] = [Y_j]$

where the  $a_{jk}$  are defined by  $a_{jk} = \frac{\partial Y_j}{\partial X_k}$ .

and

$$\begin{aligned} X_1 &= G \quad Y_1 = P - KP \\ X_2 &= B \quad Y_2 = F - KF \\ X_3 &= \text{etc.} \quad Y_3 = \text{etc.} \end{aligned}$$

Finally, inverting this matrix, i.e., solving for the  $X_k$  terms of the  $Y_j$ , we get, say,

$$[b_{kj}] [Y_j] = [X_k] .$$

This is the result into which we substitute to get that set of conditions of prices of commodities, bad news on TV, etc., which will deliver a collapse of public morale ripe for take over.

Once the economic price and sales coefficients  $a_{jk}$  and  $b_{kj}$  are determined, they may be translated into the technical supply and demand coefficients  $g_{jk}$ ,  $C_{jk}$ , and  $1/L_{jk}$ .

Shock testing of a given commodity is then repeated to get the time rate of change of these technical coefficients.

### Introduction to Economic Amplifiers

Economic amplifiers are the active components of economic engineering. The basic characteristic of any amplifier (mechanical, electrical, or economic) is that it receives an input control signal and delivers energy from an independent energy source to a specified output terminal in a predictable relationship to that input control signal.

The simplest form of an economic amplifier is a device called advertising.

If a person is spoken to by a T.V. advertiser as if he were a twelve-year-old, then, due to suggestibility, he will, with a certain probability, respond or react to that suggestion with the uncritical response of a twelve-year-old and will reach into his economic reservoir and deliver its energy to buy that product on impulse when he passes it in the store.

An economic amplifier may have several inputs and output. Its response might be instantaneous or delayed. Its circuit symbol might be a rotary switch if its options are exclusive, qualitative, "go" or "no-go", or it might have its parametric input/output relationships specified by a matrix with internal energy sources represented.

Whatever its form might be, its purpose is to govern the flow of energy from a source to an output sink in direct relationship to an input control signal. For this reason, it is called an active circuit element or component.

Economic Amplifiers fall into classes called strategies, and, in comparison with electronic amplifiers, the specific internal functions of an economic amplifier are called logistical instead of electrical.

Therefore, economic amplifiers not only deliver power gain but also, in effect, are used to cause changes in the economic circuitry.

In the design of an economic amplifier we must have some idea of at least five functions, which are:

*the available input signals*

*the desired output-control objectives,  
the strategic objective,  
the available economic power sources,  
the logistical options.*

The process of defining and evaluating these factors and incorporating the economic amplifier into an economic system has been popularly called game theory.

The design of an economic amplifier begins with a specification of the power level of the output, which can range from personal to national. The second condition is accuracy of response, i.e., how accurately the output action is a function of the input commands. High gain combined with strong feedback helps to deliver the required precision.

Most of the error will be in the input data signal. Personal input data tends to be specified, while national input data tends to be statistical.

### **Short List of Inputs**

#### **Questions to be answered:**

*what  
where  
why  
when  
how  
who*

#### **General sources of information:**

*telephone taps  
analysis of garbage  
surveillance  
behavior of children in school*

#### **Standard of living by:**

*food  
shelter  
clothing  
transportation*

#### **Social contacts:**

*telephone - itemized record of calls  
family - marriage certificates, birth certificates, etc.  
friends, associates, etc.  
memberships in organizations  
political affiliation*

### **The Personal Paper Trail**

#### **Personal buying habits, i.e., personal consumer preferences:**

*checking accounts  
credit-card purchases  
"tagged" credit-card purchases - the credit-card purchase of products bearing the U.P.C.  
(Universal Product Code)*

**Assets:**

*checking accounts*  
*savings accounts*  
*real estate*  
*business*  
*automobile, etc.*  
*safety deposit at bank*  
*stock market*

**Liabilities:**

*creditors*  
*enemies (see - legal)*  
*loans*

**Government sources (ploys)\*:**

*Welfare*  
*Social Security*  
*U.S.D.A. surplus food*  
*doles*  
*grants*  
*subsidies*

\* Principle of this ploy -- the citizen will almost always make the collection of information easy if he can operate on the "free sandwich principle" of "eat now, and pay later."

**Government sources (via intimidation):**

*Internal Revenue Service*  
*OSHA*  
*Census*  
*etc.*  
*Other government sources -- surveillance of U.S. mail.*

**Habit Patterns -- Programming****Strengths and weaknesses:**

*activities (sports, hobbies, etc.)*  
*see "legal" (fear, anger, etc. -- crime record)*  
*hospital records (drug sensitivities, reaction to pain, etc.)*  
*psychiatric records (fears, angers, disgusts, adaptability, reactions to stimuli, violence, suggestibility or hypnosis, pain, pleasure, love, and sex)*

**Methods of coping -- of adaptability -- behavior:**

*consumption of alcohol*  
*consumption of drugs*  
*entertainment*  
*religious factors influencing behavior*  
*other methods of escaping from reality*

**Payment modus operandi (MO) -- pay on time, etc.:**

*payment of telephone bills*  
*energy purchases*  
*water purchases*  
*repayment of loans*  
*house payments*

*automobile payments*  
*payments on credit cards*

**Political sensitivity:**

*beliefs*  
*contacts*  
*position*  
*strengths/weaknesses*  
*projects/activities*  
*Legal inputs -- behavioral control (Excuses for investigation, search, arrest, or employment of force to modify behavior)*  
*court records*  
*police records -- NCIC*  
*driving record*  
*reports made to police*  
*insurance information*  
*anti-establishment acquaintances*  
*National Input Information*

**Business sources (via I.R.S., etc):**

*prices of commodities*  
*sales*  
*investments in*  
*stocks/inventory*  
*production tools and machinery*  
*buildings and improvements*  
*the stock market*  
*Banks and credit bureaus:*  
*credit information*  
*payment information*  
*Miscellaneous sources:*  
*polls and surveys*  
*publications*  
*telephone records*  
*energy and utility purchases*

**Short List of Outputs**

Outputs -- create controlled situations -- manipulation of the economy, hence society  
-- control by control of compensation and income.

**Sequence:**

*allocates opportunities.*  
*destroys opportunities.*  
*controls the economic environment.*  
*controls the availability of raw materials.*  
*controls capital.*  
*controls bank rates.*  
*controls the inflation of the currency.*  
*controls the possession of property.*  
*controls industrial capacity.*  
*controls manufacturing.*  
*controls the availability of goods (commodities).*



*controls the prices of commodities.*  
*controls services, the labor force, etc.*  
*controls payments to government officials.*  
*controls the legal functions.*  
*controls the personal data files -- uncorrectable by the party slandered.*  
*controls advertising.*  
*controls media contact.*  
*controls material available for T.V. viewing*  
*disengages attention from real issues.*  
*engages emotions.*  
*creates disorder, chaos, and insanity.*  
*controls design of more probing tax forms.*  
*controls surveillance.*  
*controls the storage of information.*  
*develops psychological analyses and profiles of individuals.*  
*controls legal functions [repeat of 15]*  
*controls sociological factors.*  
*controls health options.*  
*preys on weakness.*  
*cripples strengths.*  
*leaches wealth and substance.*

### Table of Strategies

#### Do this:

*Keep the public ignorant*

*Maintain access to control  
points for feedback*

*Create preoccupation*

*Attack the family unit*

*Give less cash and more  
credit and doles*

*Attack the privacy  
of the church*

*Social conformity*

*Minimize the tax protest*

*Stabilize the consent*

*Tighten control of variables*

*Establish boundary  
conditions*

#### To get this:

*Less public organization*

*Required reaction to outputs (prices,  
sales)*

*Lower defenses*

*Control of the education of the young*

*More self-indulgence and more data*

*Destroy faith in this sort of  
government*

*Computer programming simplicity*

*Maximum economic data, minimum  
enforcement problems*

*Simplicity coefficients*

*Simpler computer input data --  
greater predictability*

*Problem simplicity / solutions of  
differential and difference equations*

*Proper timing*

*Less data shift and blurring*

*Maximize control*

*Minimum resistance to control*

*Collapse of currency*

*Destroy the faith of the American people in each other.*

### **Diversion, the Primary Strategy**

Experience has prevented that the simplest method of securing a silent weapon and gaining control of the public is to keep the public undisciplined and ignorant of the basic system principles on the one hand, while keeping them confused, disorganized, and distracted with matters of no real importance on the other hand.

This is achieved by:

*disengaging their minds*; sabotaging their mental activities; providing a low-quality program of public education in mathematics, logic, systems design and economics; and discouraging technical creativity.

*engaging their emotions*, increasing their self-indulgence and their indulgence in emotional and physical activities, by:

*unrelenting emotional affrontations and attacks* (mental and emotional rape) by way of constant barrage of sex, violence, and wars in the media - especially the T.V. and the newspapers.

*giving them what they desire* - in excess - "junk food for thought" - and depriving them of what they really need.

*rewriting history and law* and subjecting the public to the deviant creation, thus being able to shift their thinking from personal needs to highly fabricated outside priorities.

These preclude their interest in and discovery of the silent weapons of social automation technology.

The general rule is that there is a profit in confusion; the more confusion, the more profit. Therefore, the best approach is to create problems and then offer solutions.

### **Diversion Summary**

**Media:** *Keep the adult public attention diverted away from the real social issues, and captivated by matters of no real importance.*

**Schools:** *Keep the young public ignorant of real mathematics, real economics, real law, and real history.*

**Entertainment:** *Keep the public entertainment below a sixth-grade level.*

**Work:** *Keep the public busy, busy, busy, with no time to think; back on the farm with the other animals.*

### **Consent, the Primary Victory**

A silent weapon system operates upon data obtained from a docile public by legal (but not always lawful) force. Much information is made available to silent weapon systems programmers through the Internal Revenue Service. (See Studies in the Structure of the American Economy for an I.R.S. source list.)

This information consists of the enforced delivery of well-organized data contained in federal and state tax forms, collected, assembled, and submitted by slave labor provided by taxpayers and employers.

Furthermore, the number of such forms submitted to the I.R.S. is a useful indicator of public consent, an important factor in strategic decision making. Other data sources are given in the Short List of Inputs.

Consent Coefficients - numerical feedback indicating victory status. Psychological basis: When the government is able to collect tax and seize private property without just compensation, it is an indication that the public is ripe for surrender and is consenting to enslavement and legal encroachment. A good and easily quantified indicator of harvest time is the number of public citizens who pay income tax despite an obvious lack of reciprocal or honest service from the government.

### **Amplification Energy Sources**

The next step in the process of designing an economic amplifier is discovering the energy sources. The energy sources which support any primitive economic system are, of course, a supply of raw materials, and the consent of the people to labor and consequently assume a certain rank, position, level, or class in the social structure, i.e., to provide labor at various levels in the pecking order.

Each class, in guaranteeing its own level of income, controls the class immediately below it, hence preserves the class structure. This provides stability and security, but also government from the top.

As time goes on and communication and education improve, the lower-class elements of the social labor structure become knowledgeable and envious of the good things that the upper-class members have. They also begin to attain a knowledge of energy systems and the ability to enforce their rise through the class structure.

This threatens the sovereignty of the elite.

If this rise of the lower classes can be postponed long enough, the elite can achieve energy dominance, and labor by consent no longer will hold a position of an essential energy source.

Until such energy dominance is absolutely established, the consent of people to labor and let others handle their affairs must be taken into consideration, since failure to do so could cause the people to interfere in the final transfer of energy sources to the control of the elite.

It is essential to recognize that at this time, public consent is still an essential key to the release of energy in the process of economic amplification.

Therefore, consent as an energy release mechanism will now be considered.

### **Logistics**

The successful application of a strategy requires a careful study of inputs, outputs, the strategy connecting the inputs and the outputs, and the available energy sources to fuel the strategy. This study is called logistics.

A logistical problem is studied at the elementary level first, and then levels of greater complexity are studied as a synthesis of elementary factors.

This means that a given system is analyzed, i.e., broken down into its subsystems, and these in turn are analyzed, until by this process, one arrives at the logistical "atom," the individual.

This is where the process of synthesis properly begins, at the time of birth of the individual.

### **The Artificial Womb**

From the time a person leaves its mother's womb, its every effort is directed towards building, maintaining, and withdrawing into artificial wombs, various sorts of substitute protective devices or shells.

The objective of these artificial wombs is to provide a stable environment for both stable and unstable activity; to provide a shelter for the evolutionary processes of growth and maturity - i.e., survival; to provide security for freedom and to provide defensive protection for offensive activity.

This is equally true of both the general public and the elite. However, there is a definite difference in the way each of these classes go about the solution of problems.

### **The Political Structure of a Nation - Dependency**

The primary reason why the individual citizens of a country create a political structure is a subconscious wish or desire to perpetuate their own dependency relationship of childhood. Simply put, they want a human god to eliminate all risk from their life, pat them on the head, kiss their bruises, put a chicken on every dinner table, clothe their bodies, tuck them into bed at night, and tell them that everything will be alright when they wake up in the morning.

This public demand is incredible, so the human god, the politician, meets incredibility with incredibility by promising the world and delivering nothing. So who is the bigger liar? the public? or the "godfather"?

This public behavior is surrender born of fear, laziness, and expediency. It is the basis of the welfare state as a strategic weapon, useful against a disgusting public.

### **Action/Offense**

Most people want to be able to subdue and/or kill other human beings which disturb their daily lives, but they do not want to have to cope with the moral and religious issues which such an overt act on their part might raise. Therefore, they assign the dirty work to others (including their own children) so as to keep the blood off their hands. They rave about the humane treatment of animals and then sit down to a delicious hamburger from a whitewashed slaughterhouse down the street and out of sight. But even more hypocritical, they pay taxes to finance a professional

association of hit men collectively called politicians, and then complain about corruption in government.

### **Responsibility**

Again, most people want to be free to do the things (to explore, etc.) but they are afraid to fail.

The fear of failure is manifested in irresponsibility, and especially in delegating those personal responsibilities to others where success is uncertain or carries possible or created liabilities (law) which the person is not prepared to accept. They want authority (root word - "author"), but they will not accept responsibility or liability. So they hire politicians to face reality for them.

### **Summary**

The people hire the politicians so that the people can:

- obtain security without managing it.

- obtain action without thinking about it.

- inflict theft, injury, and death upon others without having to contemplate either life or death.

- avoid responsibility for their own intentions.

- obtain the benefits of reality and science without exerting themselves in the discipline of facing or learning either of these things.

They give the politicians the power to create and manage a war machine to:

- provide for the survival of the nation/womb.

- prevent encroachment of anything upon the nation/womb.

- destroy the enemy who threatens the nation/womb.

- destroy those citizens of their own country who do not conform for the sake of stability of the nation/womb.

Politicians hold many quasi-military jobs, the lowest being the police which are soldiers, the attorneys and C.P.A.s next who are spies and saboteurs (licensed), and the judges who shout orders and run the closed union military shop for whatever the market will bear. The generals are industrialists. The "presidential" level of commander-in-chief is shared by the international bankers. The people know that they have created this farce and financed it with their own taxes (consent), but they would rather knuckle under than be the hypocrite.

Thus, a nation becomes divided into two very distinct parts, a docile sub-nation [great silent majority] and a political sub-nation. The political sub-nation remains attached to the docile sub-nation, tolerates it, and leaches its substance until it grows strong enough to detach itself and then devour its parent.

## System Analysis

In order to make meaningful computerized economic decisions about war, the primary economic flywheel, it is necessary to assign concrete logistical values to each element of the war structure - personnel and material alike.

This process begins with a clear and candid description of the subsystems of such a structure.

### The Draft (As military service)

Few efforts of human behavior modification are more remarkable or more effective than that of the socio-military institution known as the draft. A primary purpose of a draft or other such institution is to instill, by intimidation, in the young males of a society the uncritical conviction that the government is omnipotent. He is soon taught that a prayer is slow to reverse what a bullet can do in an instant. Thus, a man trained in a religious environment for eighteen years of his life can, by this instrument of the government, be broken down, be purged of his fantasies and delusions in a matter of mere months. Once that conviction is instilled, all else becomes easy to instill.

Even more interesting is the process by which a young man's parents, who purportedly love him, can be induced to send him off to war to his death. Although the scope of this work will not allow this matter to be expanded in full detail, nevertheless, a coarse overview will be possible and can serve to reveal those factors which must be included in some numerical form in a computer analysis of social and war systems.

*We begin with a tentative definition of the draft.*

The draft (selective service, etc.) is an institution of compulsory collective sacrifice and slavery, devised by the middle-aged and elderly for the purpose of pressing the young into doing the public dirty work. It further serves to make the youth as guilty as the elders, thus making criticism of the elders by the youth less likely (Generational Stabilizer). It is marketed and sold to the public under the label of "patriotic = national" service.

Once a candid economic definition of the draft is achieved, that definition is used to outline the boundaries of a structure called a Human Value System, which in turn is translated into the terms of game theory. The value of such a slave laborer is given in a Table of Human Values, a table broken down into categories by intellect, experience, post-service job demand, etc.

Some of these categories are ordinary and can be tentatively evaluated in terms of the value of certain jobs for which a known fee exists. Some jobs are harder to value because they are unique to the demands of social subversion, for an extreme example: the value of a mother's instruction to her daughter, causing that daughter to put certain behavioral demands upon a future husband ten or fifteen years hence; thus, by suppressing his resistance to a perversion of a government, making it easier for a banking cartel to buy the State of New York in, say, twenty years.

Such a problem leans heavily upon the observations and data of wartime espionage and many types of psychological testing. But crude mathematical models (algorithms, etc.) can be devised, if not to predict, at least to predetermine these events with

maximum certainty. What does not exist by natural cooperation is thus enhanced by calculated compulsion. Human beings are machines, levers which may be grasped and turned, and there is little real difference between automating a society and automating a shoe factory.

These derived values are variable. (It is necessary to use a current Table of Human Values for computer analysis.) These values are given in true measure rather than U.S. dollars, since the latter is unstable, being presently inflated beyond the production of national goods and services so as to give the economy a false kinetic energy ("paper" inductance).

The silver value is stable, it being possible to buy the same amount with a gram of silver today as it could be bought in 1920. Human value measured in silver units changes slightly due to changes in production technology.

## **Enforcement**

### *Factor I*

As in every social system approach, stability is achieved only by understanding and accounting for human nature (action/reaction patterns). A failure to do so can be, and usually is, disastrous.

As in other human social schemes, one form or another of intimidation (or incentive) is essential to the success of the draft. Physical principles of action and reaction must be applied to both internal and external subsystems.

To secure the draft, individual brainwashing/programming and both the family unit and the peer group must be engaged and brought under control.

### *Factor II - Father*

The man of the household must be housebroken to ensure that junior will grow up with the right social training and attitudes. The advertising media, etc., are engaged to see to it that father-to-be is pussy-whipped before or by the time he is married. He is taught that he either conforms to the social notch cut out for him or his sex life will be hobbled and his tender companionship will be zero. He is made to see that women demand security more than logical, principled, or honorable behavior.

By the time his son must go to war, father (with jelly for a backbone) will slam a gun into junior's hand before father will risk the censure of his peers, or make a hypocrite of himself by crossing the investment he has in his own personal opinion or self-esteem. Junior will go to war or father will be embarrassed. So junior will go to war, the true purpose notwithstanding.

### *Factor III - Mother*

The female element of human society is ruled by emotion first and logic second. In the battle between logic and imagination, imagination always wins, fantasy prevails, maternal instinct dominates so that the child comes first and the future comes second. A woman with a newborn baby is too starry-eyed to see a wealthy man's cannon fodder or a cheap source of slave labor. A woman must, however, be conditioned to accept the transition to "reality" when it comes, or sooner.

As the transition becomes more difficult to manage, the family unit must be carefully

disintegrated, and state-controlled public education and state-operated child-care centers must be become more common and legally enforced so as to begin the detachment of the child from the mother and father at an earlier age. Inoculation of behavioral drugs [Ritalin] can speed the transition for the child (mandatory). Caution: A woman's impulsive anger can override her fear. An irate woman's power must never be underestimated, and her power over a pussy-whipped husband must likewise never be underestimated. It got women the vote in 1920.

#### *Factor IV - Junior*

The emotional pressure for self-preservation during the time of war and the self-serving attitude of the common herd that have an option to avoid the battlefield - if junior can be persuaded to go - is all of the pressure finally necessary to propel Johnny off to war. Their quiet blackmailings of him are the threats: "No sacrifice, no friends; no glory, no girlfriends."

#### *Factor V - Sister*

And what about junior's sister? She is given all the good things of life by her father, and taught to expect the same from her future husband regardless of the price.

#### *Factor VI - Cattle*

Those who will not use their brains are no better off than those who have no brains, and so this mindless school of jelly-fish, father, mother, son, and daughter, become useful beasts of burden or trainers of the same.

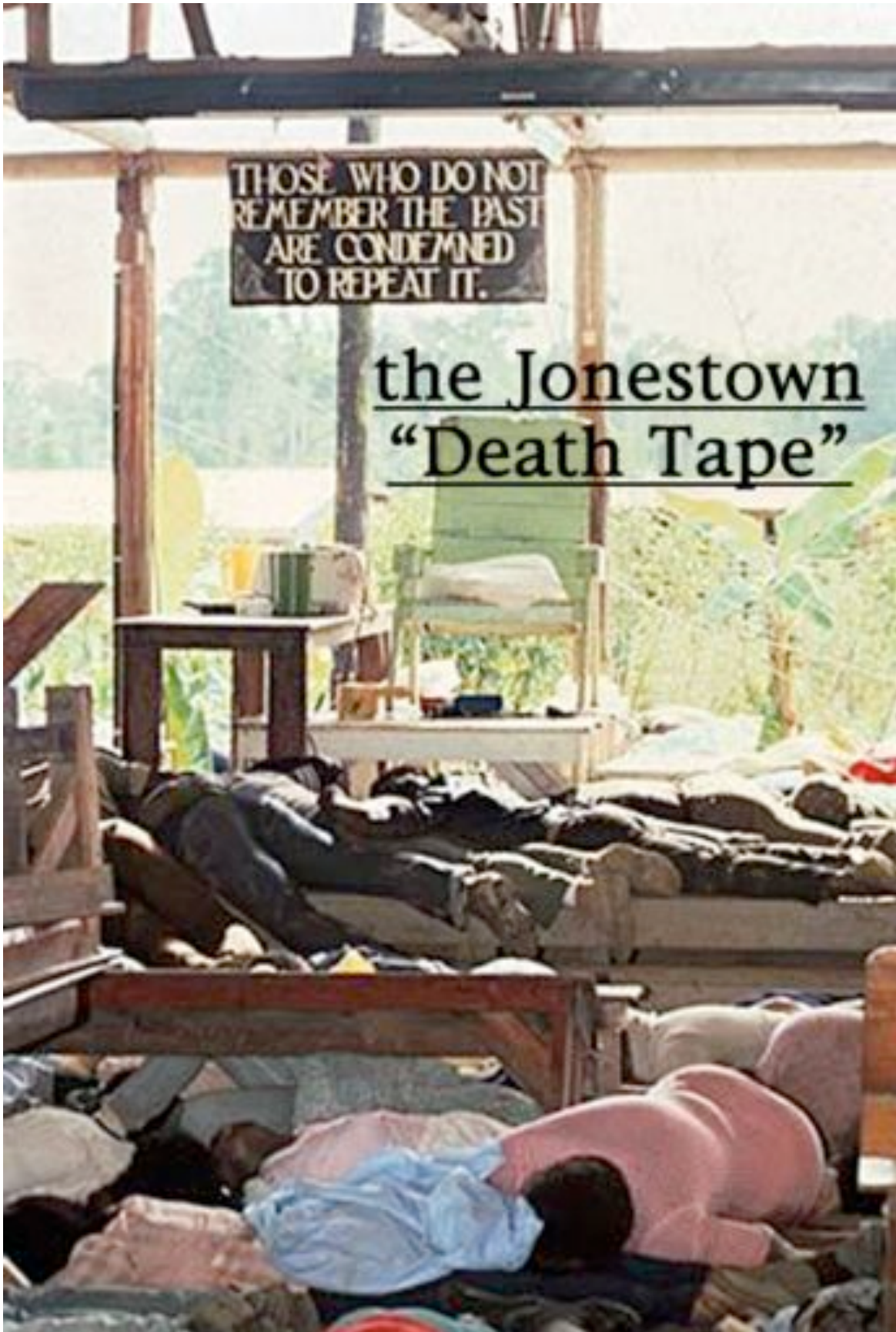
**This concludes what is available of this document.**

this e-book was compiled and edited by: Jonathan Barlow Gee, in 2009.  
this edition is hereby released into the Public Domain.  
presented as a service of [www.benpadiiah.com](http://www.benpadiiah.com).  
compiled, complete with diagrams, and edited from:  
<http://www.lawfulpath.com>  
front cover: "Eternal Silence" or "the Statue of Death"  
in Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, USA.  
sculpted by Lorado Taft (1909)  
photo by Svetlana Lazebnik  
back cover: an autostereogram of the dollar bill.







A photograph of a room with a sign on the wall and people sleeping on the floor. The sign reads: "THOSE WHO DO NOT REMEMBER THE PAST ARE CONDEMNED TO REPEAT IT." The room has a wooden frame and a large window looking out onto a lush green landscape. In the foreground, several people are sleeping on the floor, covered with blankets. One person is wearing a pink shirt. In the background, there is a small table with some items on it, and a green chair. The overall atmosphere is one of a communal living space.

THOSE WHO DO NOT  
REMEMBER THE PAST  
ARE CONDEMNED  
TO REPEAT IT.

## the Jonestown "Death Tape"

## Tape Number: Q042 (The Jonestown "Death Tape")

Jones: How very much I've tried my best to give you the good life.

Crowd: Response

Jones: But in spite of all of my trying, a handful of our people, with their lies, have made our life impossible. There's no way to detach ourself from what's happened today. Not only are we in a compound situation, not only are there those who have left and committed the betrayal of the century, some have stolen children from others, and are in pursuit right now to kill them, because they stole their children. And we -- we are sitting here waiting on a powder keg. I don't think it is what we want to do with our babies. I don't think that's what we had in mind to do with our babies. It is said by the greatest of prophets from time immemorial: "No man may take my life from me; I lay my life down."

Crowd: Response

Jones: So to -- to sit here and wait for the catastrophe that's going to happen on that airplane -- it's going to be a catastrophe, it almost happened here. Almost happened - - The congressman was nearly killed here. But you can't steal people's children. You can't take off with people's children without expecting a violent reaction. And that's not so unfamiliar to us either, if we -- even if we were Judeo-Christian -- if we weren't Communists. The world -- the kingdom suffereth violence and the violent shall take it by force. If we can't live in peace, then let's die in peace.

Crowd: Applause

Jones: (Weary) We've been so betrayed. We have been so terribly betrayed.

(Music and singing)

Jones: But we've tried and as Jack Beam often said -- I don't know why he said it -- I just know (unintelligible word) Jack, he said if this only works one day, it was worthwhile.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: Thank you. *[Tape edit]* Now what's going to happen here in a matter of a few minutes is that one of those people on that plane is gonna -- gonna shoot the pilot. I know that. I didn't plan it, but I know it's going to happen. They're gonna shoot that pilot, and down comes that plane into the jungle. And we had better not have any of our children left when it's over, because they'll parachute in here on us. (Pause) I'm going to be just as plain as I know how to tell you. I've never lied to you. (More emphatic) I never have lied to you. I know that's what's gonna happen. That's what he intends to do, and he will do it. He'll do it. What so being so bewildered with many, many pu -- pressures on my brain, seeing all these people behave so treasonous -- there was too much for me to put together, but uh, I -- I now know what he was telling me. And it'll happen. If the plane gets in the air even. (Pause) So my opinion is that we be kind to children and be kind to seniors and take the portion like they

used to take in ancient Greece, and step over quietly, because we are not committing suicide. It's a revolutionary act. We can't go back. They won't leave us alone. They're now going back to tell more lies, which means more congressmen. And there's no way, no way we can survive. Hmm?

(Unintelligible Voice)

Jones: Anybody. Anyone who has any dissenting opinion, please speak. (Pause) Yes. You can have an opportunity, but if our children are uh, are left, we're going to have them butchered. We can make a strike, but we'll be striking against people that we -- we don't want to strike against. And what we'd like to get are the people that caused this stuff, and some -- if some people here are p -- are prepared and know how to do that, to go in town and get Timothy Stoen, but there's no plane. (Pause) There's no plane. You can't catch a plane in time. He's responsible for it. He brought these people to us. He and Deanna Mertle. The people in San Francisco will not -- not be idle over there. (Pause) They'll not take our death in vain, you know. Yes, Christine.

Christine Miller: Is it too late for Russia?

Jones: Here's why it's too late for Russia. They killed. They started to kill. That's why it makes it too late for Russia. Otherwise I'd said, Russia, you bet your life. But it's too late. I can't control these people. They're out there. They've gone with the guns. (Self-evident tone) And it's too late. (Pause) (Weary tone) And once we kill anybody - - at least that's what I've always -- I've always put my lot with you. If one of my people do something, it's me. (Pause) And they say I don't -- I don't have to take the blame for this, but I can't -- I don't -- I don't live that way. They said deliver up Ujara, who tried to get the man back here. Ujara, whose wi -- mother's been lying on him and lying on him and trying to break up this family. And they've all agreed to kill us by any means necessary. You think I'm going to deliver them Ujara? Not on your life.

Crowd: No.

Jones: No.

Ujara [Don Sly]: Is there any way that if I go that it'll help us?

Jones: No. You're not going. You're not going.

Crowd: No.

Jones: You're not going. I can't live that way. I cannot live that way. (More emphatic) I've lived with -- for all, and I'll die for all.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: I've been living on a hope for a long time, Christine, and I appreciate -- You've always been a very good agitator. I like agitation, because you have to see two sides of one issue, two sides of a question. But what those people are gonna get done, once they get through, will make our lives worse than hell. They'll make us -- make the rest of us not accept it. When they get through lying. They posed so many lies between there and that truck that we are -- we are done-in as far as any other alternative.

Miller: Well, I say let's make an air -- airlift to Russia. That's what I say. I don't think nothing is impossible if you believe it.

Jones: How are we going to do that? How are you going to airlift to Russia?

Miller: Well, I -- Well, I thought you -- they said if we got in an emergency, that they gave you a code to let them know.

Jones: No, they didn't. They gave us a code that they'd let us know on that issue, not us create an issue for them. They said if we -- if they saw the country coming down they agreed they'd give us a code. They'd give us a code. We -- you can check on that and see if it's on the code. We can check with Russia to see if they'll take us in immediately, otherwise we die. I don't know what else you say to these people. But to me, death is not -- uh, death is not a fearful thing. It's living that's cuts ya.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: I have never, never, never, never seen anything like this before in my life. I've never seen people take the law uh, and do uh -- in their own hands and provoke us and try to purposely agitate murder of children. There is no -- Christine, it's just not -- it's just not worth living like this. Not worth living like this.

Miller: I think that there were too few who left for twelve hundred people to give them their lives for those people that left.

Jones: Do you know how many left?

Miller: (Casual) Oh, twenty-odd. That's -- That's a small (Jones speaks over)

Jones: Twenty-odd, twenty-odd.

Miller: Compared to what's here.

Jones: Twenty-odd. But what's gonna happen when they don't leave? (Pause) I hope that they could leave. But what's gonna happen when they -- when they don't leave?

Miller: You mean the people here?

Jones: Yeah. What's going to happen to us when they don't leave, when they get on the plane and the plane goes down?

Miller: I don't think they'll do that.

Jones: You don't think they'll go down?

Crowd: Murmurs

Jones: I -- I wish I could tell you were right, but I'm right. There's one man there who blames, and rightfully so, Debbie Blakey for the murder -- for the murder of his mother -- and he'll sh -- he'll stop that pilot by any means necessary. (Pause) He'll do it. That plane'll come out of the air. There's no way you can fly a plane without a

pilot.

Miller: I wasn't speaking about that plane. I was speaking about a plane for us to go to Russia.

Jones: How -- (Sighs)

Crowd: Stirs

Jones: -- to Russia? You think Russia's gonna want -- no, it's not gonna, it's, it's, it's -- We're not, uh -- You think Russia's gonna want us with all this stigma? (Pause) We had -- we -- we had some value, but now we don't have any value.

Miller: Well, I don't see it like that. I mean, I feel like that -- as long as there's life, there's hope. That's my faith.

Jones: Well -- someday everybody dies. Some place that hope runs out, because everybody dies. I haven't seen anybody yet didn't die. And I'd like to choose my own kind of death for a change. I'm tired of being tormented to hell, that's what I'm tired of. (Pause) Tired of it.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: -- twelve hundred people's lives in my hands, and I certainly don't want your life in my hands. I'm going to tell you, Christine, without me, life has no meaning.

Crowd: Applause

Jones: I'm the best thing you'll ever have. I want, want, I have to pay -- I'm standing with Ujara. I'm standing with those people. They're part of me. I could detach myself. I really could detach myself. No, no, no, no, no, no. I never detach myself from any of your troubles. I've always taken your troubles right on my shoulders. And I'm not going to change that now. It's too late. I've been running too long. Not going to change now.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: Maybe the next time you'll get to go to Russia. The next time round. This is -- what I'm talking about now is the dispensation of judgment. This is a revolutionary -- it's a revolutionary suicide council. I'm not talking about self -- self-destruction. I'm talking about what -- we have no other road. I will take your -- your call. We will put it to the Russians. And I can tell you the answer now, because I'm a prophet. Call the Russians and tell them, and see if they'll take us.

Miller: I said I'm not ready to die. But I know (unintelligible)

Jones: I don't think you are. I don't think you are.

Miller: But, ah, I look about at the babies and I think they deserve to live, you know?

Jones: I -- I agree. But they -- But don't they also they deserve much more, they deserve peace.

Crowd: Right.

Miller: We all came here for peace.

Jones: And we've -- have we had it?

Miller: No.

Jones: I tried to give it to you. I've laid down my life, practically. I've practically died every day to give you peace. And you still not have any peace. You look better than I've seen you in a long while, but it's still not the kind of peace that I wanted to give you. Uh -- A person's a fool who continues to say that they're winning when you're losing. (Pause) Win one, lose two. What? (Pause) I didn't hear you, ma'am. You'll have to speak up. Ma'am, you'll have to speak up.

Woman: (Unintelligible)

Jones: That's a sweet thought. Who said that? (Pause) C -- Come on up and speak it again, honey. Say what you want to say about (unintelligible) is taking off. No plane is taking off. (Pause) It's suicide. Plenty have done it. Stoen has done it. But somebody ought to live. Somebody -- Can they talk to -- and I've talked to San Francisco -- see that Stoen does not get by with this infamy -- with this infamy. He has done the thing he wanted to do. Have us destroyed. (Pause)

Miller: When you -- when you -- when we destroy ourselves, we're defeated. We let them, the enemies, defeat us.

Jones: Did you see -- did you see, "I will live to fight no more forever?"

Miller: Yes, I saw that.

Jones: Did you not have some sense of pride and victory in that man? Yet he would not subject himself to the will or the whim of people who tell -- that they're gonna to come in whenever they please and push into our house. Come when they please, take who they want to, talk to who they want to -- does this not living? That's not living to me. That's not freedom. That's not the kind of freedom I sought.

Miller: Well, I think where they made their mistake is when they stopped to rest. If they had gone on, they would've made it. But they stopped to rest.

Jim McElvane: Just hold on, sister, just hold on. We have made that day. We made a beautiful day, and let's make it a beautiful day. That's what I say.

Crowd: Applause

Jones: We will win. We win when we go down. Tim Stoen has nobody else to hate. He has nobody else to hate. Then he'll destroy himself. I'm speaking here not as uh, the administrator, I'm speaking as a prophet today. I wouldn't have set in this seat and talked so serious if I didn't know what I was talking about. Has anybody called back? The immense amount of damage that's going to be done, but I cannot separate myself from the pain of my people. You can't either, Christine, if you stop to think about it.

You can't separate yourself. We've walked too long together.

Miller: I well know that. But I still think, as an individual, I have a right to --

Jones: You do, and I'm listening.

Miller: -- to say what I think, what I feel. And I think we all have a right to our own destiny as individuals.

Jones: Right.

Miller: And I think I have a right to choose mine, and everybody else has a right to choose theirs.

Jones: Mmm-hmm.

Miller: You know?

Jones: Mmm-hmm. I'm not criticizing (unintelligible) -- What's that?

(Unintelligible woman's voice)

Jones: That's today. That's what 20 people said today. We're alive.

Miller: Well, I think I still have a right to my own opinion.

Jones: I -- I'm not taking it from you. I'm not taking it from you.

McElvane: Christine, you're only standing here because he was here in the first place. So I don't know what you're talking about, having an individual life. Your life has been extended to the day that you're standing there, because of him.

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: (Unintelligible word) I guess she has as much right to speak as anybody else, too. What did you say, Ruby? Well, you'll regret that this very day if you don't die. You'll regret it if you do, though you don't die. You'll regret it.

Woman 1: (Unintelligible) You've saved so many people.

Jones: I've saved them. I saved them, but I made my example. I made my expression. I made my manifestation, and the world was ready -- not ready for me. Paul said, "I was a man born out of due season." I've been born out of due season, just like all we are, and the best testimony we can make is to leave this goddamn world.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Woman 1: You must prepare to die.

Miller: I'm not talking to her. Will you let -- Would you -- would you let her or let me talk?



Jones: Keep talking.

Miller: Would you make her sit down and let me talk while I'm on the floor or let her talk?

Jones: How can you tell the leader what to do if you live?

Crowd: Stirs

Jones: I've -- I've listened to you. You asked me about Russia. I'm right now making a call to Russia. What more do you suggest? I'm listening to you. You've got to give me one slight bit of encouragement. I just now instructed her to go there and do that.

(Voices)

McElvane: All right now, everybody hold it. We didn't come -- hold it. Hold it. Hold it. Hold it.

Jones: Let (unintelligible word -- "law"?) be maintained.

(Voices)

Jones: To lay down your burden. I'm gonna lay down my burden. Down by the riverside. Shall we lay them down here in -- by Guyana? What's the difference? (Pause) No man didn't take our lives. Right now. They haven't taken them. But when they start parachuting out of the air, they'll -- they'll shoot some of our innocent babies. I'm not lying -- I don't wanna (unintelligible), Christine. But they gotta shoot me to get through to some of these people. I'm not letting them take your child. Can you let them take your child?

Voices: No, no, no, no.

Woman 2: -- gonna die?

Jones: What's that?

Woman 2: You mean you want us to die -- (Jones talks over)

Jones: I want to see --

Crowd: Shouting

Jones: (Pleading) Please, please, please, please, please, please, please, please, please, please.

Woman 3: Are you saying that you think we could have smaller blame than other children were?

Jones: John-John --

Woman 3: Because if you're saying --

Jones: (Unintelligible name), do you think I'd put John's life above others? If I put John's life above others, I wouldn't be standing with Ujara. I'd send John out -- out,

and he could go out on the driveway tonight.

Woman 3: Because he's young.

Jones: (Defensive) I know, but he's no -- he's no different to me than any of these children here. He's just one of my children. I don't prefer one above another. I don't prefer him above Ujara. I can't do that. I can't separate myself from your actions or his actions. If you'd done something wrong, I'd stand with you. If they wanted to come and get you, they'd have to take me.

Man 2: (Weepy) We're all ready to go. If you tell us we have to give our lives now, we're ready -- at least the rest of the sisters and brothers are with me.

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: Some months I've tried to keep this thing from happening. But I now see it's the will -- it's the will of Sovereign Being that this happen to us. That we lay down our lives in protest against what's being done. That we lay down our lives to protest in what's being done. The criminality of people. The cruelty of people. Who walked out of here today? Did you notice who walked out? Mostly white people.

Crowd: Stirs

Jones: Mostly white people walked. (Pause) I'm so grateful for the ones that didn't -- those who knew who they are. I just know that there -- there -- there's no point -- there's no point to this. We have -- We are born before our time. They won't accept us. And I don't think we should sit here and take any more time for our children to be endangered. Because if they come after our children, and lu -- we give them our children, then our children will suffer forever.

Miller: (Unintelligible)?

Jones: I have no quarrel with you coming up. I like you. I personally like you very much.

Miller: People get hostile when you try and --

Jones: Oh, well, some people do -- but then, you know, yes -- yes, some people do. Put it that way -- I'm not hostile. You had to be honest, but you've stayed, and if you'da be -- you wanted to run, you'd have run with them 'cause anybody could've run today. What would anyone do? I know you're not a runner. And I, I would -- I'd -- your life is precious to me. It's as precious as John's. And I -- and I don't -- what I do I do with weight and justice and judgment. I'm -- I've weighed it against all evidence.

Miller: That's all I've got to say.

Jones: What comes now, folks? What comes now?

Man 3: Everybody hold it. Sit down.

Jones: Say it. Say. (Unintelligible word, repeated three times). What's come. Don't let -  
- Take Dwyer [Richard Dwyer, U.S. Embassy official] on down to the East House.  
(stumbles over words) Take Dwyer.

Woman 4: Everybody be quiet, please.

Jones: (Unintelligible) -- got some respect for our lives.

McElvane: That means sit down, sit down. Sit down.

Jones: I know. (Pause) (Groan) I tried so very, very hard. They're trying over here to see what's going to -- what's going to happen in Los Angel -- Who is it?

(Voices)

Jones: Get Dwyer out of here before something happens to him. (Pause) Dwyer? I'm not talking about Ujara. I said (Emphatic) Dwyer. Ain't nobody gonna take Ujara. I'm not lettin' 'em take Ujara. (Pause) Gather in, folks. It's easy, it's easy. Yes, my love.

*[Tape silence for several seconds]*

Woman 5: At one time, I felt just like Christine felt. But after today I don't feel anything because the biggest majority of people that left here for a fight, and I know, it really hurt my heart because --

Jones: Broke your heart, didn't it?

Woman 5: It broke my heart, to think that all of this year the white people had been with us, and they're not a part of us. So we might as well end it now because I don't see --

Jones: It's all over. The congressman has been murdered.

(Music and singing)

Voice: It's all over.

Jones: Well, it's all over, all over. (Pause) What a legacy, what a legacy. What the Red Brigade doin' one bit that made any sense anyway? They invaded our privacy. They came into our home. They followed us six thousand miles away. Red Brigade showed them justice. The congressman's dead.

(Music only)

Jones: (Speaks authoritatively) Please get us some medication. It's simple. It's simple. There's no convulsions with it. It's just simple. Just, please get it. Before it's too late. The GDF [Guyana Defense Force] will be here, I tell you. Get movin', get movin', get movin'.

(Voices)

Woman 6: Now. Do it now!

Jones: (More excited) Don't be afraid to die. You'll see, there'll be a few people land out here. They'll -- they'll torture some of our children here. They'll torture our people. They'll torture our seniors. We cannot have this. Are you going to separate yourself from whoever shot the congressman? I don't know who shot him.

Voices: No. No. No.

(Music)

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: Just speak their piece. And those who had a right to go, and they had a right to -- How many are dead? (Pause) Aw, God Almighty, God Almighty. Hmm? Patty Parks is dead?

*[Tape edit]*

Woman 7: Some of the others who endure long enough in a safe place to write about the goodness of Jim Jones.

Jones: I don't know how in the world they're ever going to write about us. It's just too late. It's too late. The congressman's dead. The congressman lays dead. Many of our traitors are dead. They're all layin' out there dead.

(Voices)

Jones: Hmm? I didn't, but -- but my people did. My people did. They're my people, and they -- they've been provoked too much. They've been provoked too much. What's happened here's been to -- basically been an act of provocation.

(Unintelligible voice)

Woman 8: Want Ted? If there's any way it's possible to, uh, have and to give Ted something to take, then I'm satisfied, okay?

Jones: Okay.

Woman 8: I said, if there's anyway you can do before I have to give Ted something, so he won't have to let him go through okay, and I'm satisfied.

Jones: That's fine. Okay, yes. Yes. Yes.

(Unintelligible voice)

Woman 9: -- and I appreciate you for everything. You are the only -- You are the only -- You are the only. And I appreciate you --

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: (Urgently) Please, can we hasten? Can we hasten with that medication? You don't know what you've done. (Pause) And I tried.

*[Tape edit]* Applause, music, singing. *[Tape edit]*

Man: Wesley [Breidenbach] told me there were two GDF not to--

*[Tape edit].*

Jones: They saw it happen and ran into the bush and dropped their machine guns. I never in my life. (Pause) But there'll be more. (Pause) *[Tape edit]* You got to move. Are you gonna get that medication here? You've got to move. Marceline? You got forty minutes.

Maria Katsaris: You have to move, and the people that are standing there in the aisles, go stand in the radio room yard. Everybody get behind the table and back this way, okay? There's nothing to worry about. Every -- Everybody keep calm and try and keep your children calm. (Pause) And uh, all those children that help, let the little children in and reassure them. (Pause) They're not crying from pain. It's just a little bitter tasting. It's not -- They're not crying out of any pain. Annie McGowan, can I please see you back --

*[Tape edit]*

McElvane: Things I used to do before I came here. So let me tell you about it. It might make a lot of you feel a little more comfortable. Sit down and be quiet, please. One of the things I used to do, I used to be a therapist. And the kind of therapy that I did had to do with reincarnation in past life situations. And every time anybody had the experience of it -- of going into a past life, I was fortunate enough through Father to be able to let them experience it all the way through their death, so to speak. And everybody was so happy when they made that step to the other side.

Jones: (Unintelligible) -- to do, but stop that way. It's the only way to step. (Microphone off briefly, unintelligible word) But that choice is not ours now. It's out of our hands.

(Children crying in the background)

McElvane: If you have a body that's been crippled, suddenly you have the kind of body that you want to have.

Jones: Somebody give them a little rest, a little rest.

McElvane: It feels good. It never felt so good. (Unintelligible word), may I tell you. You've never felt so good as how that feels. (Pause)

Jones: And I do hope that those attorneys [Charles Garry and Mark Lane] will stay where they belong and don't come up here. (Pause) What is it? (Pause) What happened? What is it? (Pause) They what? (Pause) All right, it's hard but only at first -- only at first is it hard. It's hard only at first. Living -- when you're looking at death, it only looks -- as uh, living is much, much more difficult. Raising up every morning and not knowing what's going to be the night's bringing. It's much more difficult. It's much more difficult.

(Crying and talking)

Woman 10: (Joyous) I just want to uh, say something for everyone that I see that is standing around and -- or crying. This is nothing to cry about. This is something we could all rejoice about. We could be happy about this. They always told us that we could cry when you're coming into this world. So when we're leaving, and we're gonna leave it peaceful, I think we should be -- we should be happy about this. I was just thinking about Jim Jones. He just has suffered and suffered and suffered. We

have -- We have the honor guard, and we don't even have a chance to (Unintelligible word) got here. I want to give him one more chance. There's just one more thing I want to say. That's few that's gone, but many more here. (Unintelligible) That's not all of us. That's not all yet. That's just a few that have died. I tried to get to the one that -- there's a kid over there (unintelligible) I'm looking at so many people crying. I wish you would not cry. And just thank Father. (Unintelligible) I been here about --

Crowd: Sustained applause

Woman 10: I've been here ah -- one year and nine months. And I never felt better in my life. Not in San Francisco, but until I came to Jonestown. I had a very good life. I had a beautiful life. And I don't see nothing that I could be sorry about. We should be happy. At least I am. That's all I'm gonna say.

(Applause, music)

Woman 11: (Weepy) -- good to be alive today. I just like to thank Dad, 'cause he was the only one that stood up for me when I needed him. And thank you, Dad.

Woman 12: (Unintelligible word) I'm glad you're my brothers and sisters, and I'm glad to be here. Okay.

(Voices)

Jones: (Pleading) Please. For God's sake, let's get on with it. We've lived -- we've lived as no other people have lived and loved. We've had as much of this world as you're gonna get. Let's just be done with it. Let's be done with the agony of it.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: It's far, far harder to have to walk through every day, die slowly -- and from the time you're a child 'til the time you get gray, you're dying. (Pause) *[Tape edit]* Dishonest, and I'm sure that they'll -- they'll pay for it. They -- They'll pay for it. This is a revolutionary suicide. This is not a self-destructive suicide. So they'll pay for this. They brought this upon us. And they'll pay for that. I -- I leave that destiny to them.

(Voices)

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: Who wants to go with their child has a right to go with their child. I think it's humane. I want to go -- I want to see you go, though. I -- They can take me and do what they want -- whatever they want to do. I want to see you go. I don't want to see you go through this hell no more. No more, no more, no more. (Pause) We're trying. If everybody will relax. The best thing you do is to relax, and you will have no problem. You'll have no problem with this thing, if you just relax.

Man 4: (Unintelligible phrase) A great deal because it's Jim Jones. And the way the children are laying there now, I'd rather see them lay like that than to see them have to die like the Jews did, which was pitiful anyhow. And I'd just like to -- to thank Dad for giving us life and also death. And I appreciate the fact of the way our children are going. Because, like Dad said, when they come in, what they're gonna do

to our children -- they're gonna massacre our children. And also the ones that they take captured, they're gonna just let them grow up and be dummies like they want them to be. And not grow up to be a socialist like the one and only Jim Jones. So I'd like -- I'd like to thank Dad for the opportunity for letting Jonestown be, not what it could be, (Emphatic) but what Jonestown is. Thank you, Dad.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: It's not to be feared. It is not to be feared. It's a friend. It's a friend *[Tape edit]* -- sitting there, show your love for one another. *[Tape edit]* Let's get gone. Let's get gone. Let's get gone.

(Children crying)

Jones: (Unintelligible word) We had nothing we could do. We can't -- we can't separate ourselves from our own people. (Pause) For twenty years laying in some old rotten nursing home.

(Music)

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: Taking us through all these anguish years. They took us and put us in chains and that's nothing. This business -- that -- that business -- there's no comparison to that, to this. They've robbed us of our land, and they've taken us and driven us and we tried to find ourselves. We tried to find a new beginning. But it's too late. You can't separate yourself from your brother and your sister. No way I'm going to do it. I wi -- I refuse. I don't know who fired the shot. I don't know who killed the congressman. But as far as I am concerned, I killed him. You understand what I'm saying? I killed him. He had no business coming. I told him not to come.

Woman 13: Right, right.

(Music and crying)

*[Tape edit]* (Long pause follows)

Jones: (Pleading) I, with respect, die with a degree of dignity. Lay down your life with dignity. Don't lay down with tears and agony. There's nothing to death. It's like Mac [Jim McElvane] said, it's just stepping over into another plane. Don't be -- Don't be this way. Stop this hysterics. This is not the way for people who are Socialists or Communists to die. No way for us to die. We must die with some dignity. We must die with some dignity. (Pause) We will have no choice. Now we have some choice. *[Tape edit]* Do you think they're gonna stand -- allow this to be done and allow us to get by with this? You must be insane. (Pause) Look children, it's just something to put you to rest. *[Tape edit]* (Despairing tone) Oh, God.

(Children crying)

Jones: Mother, Mother, Mother, Mother, Mother, please. Mother, please, please, please. Don't -- don't do this. Don't do this. Lay down your life with your child. But don't do this.

Woman 14: We're doing all of this for you.

Jones: Free at last. Peace. Keep your emotions down. Keep your emotions down. Children, it will not hurt. If you'll be -- if you'll be quiet. If you'll be quiet.

(Music and crying)

Jones: It's never been done before, you say. It's been done by every tribe in history. (Emphatic) Every tribe facing annihilation. All the Indians of the Amazon are doing it right now. They refuse to bring any babies into the world. They kill every child that comes into the world, because they don't want to live in this kind of a world. So be patient. Be patient. Death is -- I tell you, I don't care how many screams you hear, I don't care how many anguished cries, death is a million times preferable to ten more days of this life. If you knew what was ahead of you -- if you knew what was ahead of you, you'd be glad to be stepping over tonight. Death, death, death is common to people. And the Eskimos, they take death in their stride. Let's be digni -- let's be dignified. (Reprimands) If you'll quit tell them they're dying -- if you adults would stop some of this nonsense. Adults, adults, adults. I call on you to stop this nonsense. I call on you to quit exciting your children, when all they're doing is going to a quiet rest. I call on you to stop this now, if you have any respect at all. Are we black, proud, and Socialist, or what are we? Now stop this nonsense. Don't carry this on anymore. You're exciting your children. No, no sorrow that it's all over. I'm glad it's over. *[Tape edit]* Hurry, hurry, my children. Hurry. All I think (unintelligible) from the hands of the enemy. Hurry, my children. Hurry. There are seniors out here that I'm concerned about. Hurry. I don't want to leave my seniors to this mess. (Pause) Only quickly, quickly, quickly, quickly, quickly. *[Tape edit]* Good knowing you. (Pause) No more pain now. No more pain, I said (unintelligible). No more pain. Jim Cobb is laying on the airfield dead at this moment.

Crowd: Applause

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: Remember the -- this -- the Oli -- Oliver woman said she -- she'd come over and kill me if her son wouldn't stop her? These, these are the people -- the peddlers of hate. All we're doing is laying down our life. We're not letting them take our life. We're laying down our life. Peace in their lives. We just want peace.

(Music)

*[Tape edit]*

Man 5: All I would like to say is that my, uhm -- my so-called parents are filled with so much hate --

Jones: (Clapping in reprimand) Stop this, stop this, stop this (unintelligible word). Stop this crying, all of you.

Man 5: -- hate and treachery. I think you -- you people out here should think about how your relatives were and be glad about, that the children are being laid to rest. And all I'd like to say is that I thank Dad for making me strong to stand with it all and make me ready for it. Thank you.



Jones: All they're doing is -- All they do is taking a drink. They take it to go to sleep. That's what death is, sleep. *[Tape edit]* -- of it. I'm tired of it all.

Woman 15: Everything we could have ever done, most loving thing all of us could have done, and it's been a pleasure walking with all of you in this revolutionary struggle. No other way I would rather go to give my life for socialism, communism, and I thank Dad very, very much.

Woman 16: Right. Yes. Dad -- Dad's love and nursing, goodness and kindness, and he bring us to this land of freedom. His love -- his mother was the advance -- the advance guard for socialism. And his love and his principles (unintelligible) will go on forever unto the fields of --

Jones: Where's the vat, the vat, the vat? Where's the vat with the Green C on it? Bring the vat with the Green C in. Please? Bring it here so the adults can begin.

Woman 16: Go on unto the Zion, and thank you, Dad.

*[Tape edit]*

Jones: (Unintelligible) Don't, don't fail to follow my advice. You'll be sorry. *[Tape edit]* You'll be sorry. *[Tape edit]* -- if we do it, than that they do it. Have trust. You mu -- You have to step across.

(Music)

Jones: We used to think this world was -- this world was not our home -- well, it sure isn't -- We were saying -- it sure wasn't. (Pause) He doesn't want to tell me. All he's doing -- if they will tell 'em -- assure these kids. Can't some people assure these children of the relaxation of stepping over to the next plane? They set an example for others. We said -- one thousand people who said, we don't like the way the world is. *[Tape edit]* Take some. *[Tape edit]* Take our life from us. We laid it down. We got tired. *[Tape edit]* We didn't commit suicide, we committed an act of revolutionary suicide protesting the conditions of an inhumane world.

(Music)



this e-book edition was compiled by: Jonathan Barlow Gee, in 2009.

this edition is hereby released into the Public Domain.

transcript by Fielding McGehee III,

from: <http://jonestown.sdsu.edu/AboutJonestown/Tapes/Tapes/DeathTape/Q042.html>

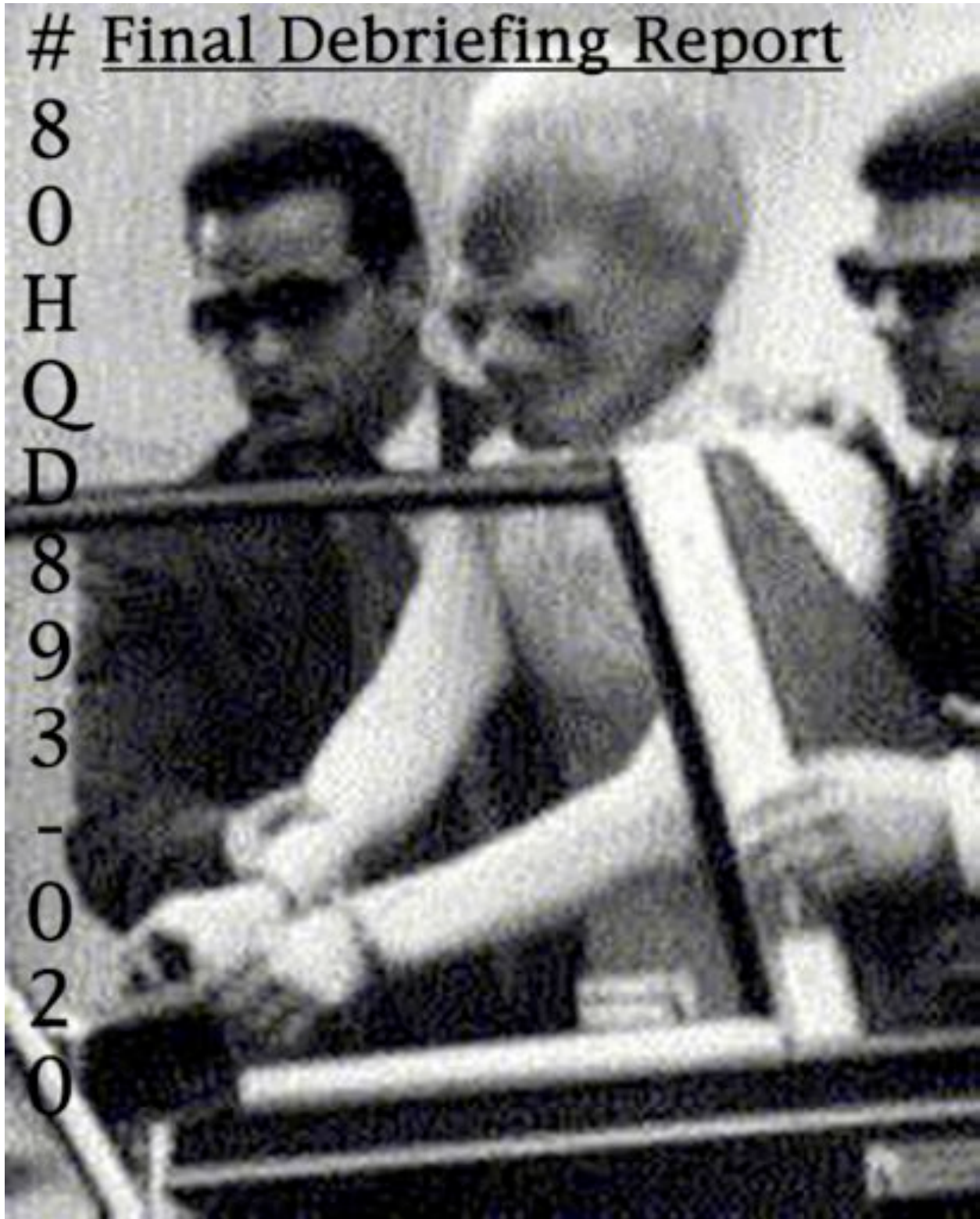
to download a copy of the audio: <http://www.archive.org/details/ptc1978-11-18.flac16>

front cover: a picture of Jim Jones "throne" at Jonestown, Guyana.

back cover: a section of "Guernica," painted by Pablo Picasso.

# # Final Debriefing Report

8  
0  
H  
Q  
D  
8  
9  
3  
-  
0  
2  
0



document obtained from: <http://www.serpo.org/release27a.php>  
this e-book edition released into the Public Domain, 2009,  
by the editor: Jonathan Barlow Gee.

## Final Debriefing Report: [#80HQD893-020, Classified TS/Codeword/]

*Transcript of classified tape recording made at Camp David, Maryland during a presidential briefing regarding the subject of UNIDENTIFIED FLYING OBJECTS and EXTRATERRESTRIAL VISITATION of EARTH. President RONALD REAGAN was present. The recording was made between March 6 and 8, 1981.*

WILLIAM CASEY: Mr President, good morning. As we discussed in February, this briefing contains some very sensational and some very, very classified information. I am not sure, oh, well, I'm not going to make a decision on who you want in the room. That will be your decision, Mr President. This will be a real tough one to follow since the briefing starts back, historically speaking, that is, and runs up to recent times. I believe we have prepared a good chronological order of events. I'm sure you, Mr President, will have many questions.

The list of questions presented to me by ADVISER #2 should all be answered during this briefing. I hope they are, more than anyone, especially you, Mr President, leave this briefing with questions still unanswered. I have asked The Caretaker to conduct this briefing. He is a contract employee of the CIA and is the present custodian of the information. Are we to assume that everyone is present?

PRESIDENT: Well, it will be entirely up to you, Bill. I guess everyone must be cleared for this briefing of information, is that not correct?

WM CASEY: Well, it appears everyone is, but as you will see Mr President, this stuff is pretty high up on the food chain. We call it ATS or "Above Top Secret." This stuff has its own classification and markings. We have a special container, special printers and copiers for this stuff. Every word of this material is printed on special paper then placed inside special covers. The caretakers have taken special efforts to protect all of this stuff from being released inadvertently or copied by some unauthorized person.

But all of this material is protected by a special group of people. The Caretaker is in charge of protecting this information and all of the other stuff associated with this information. I would prefer that you, Mr President, decide on who you want in this room. Remember, this material is a closely guarded secret. Although the gist of the story has been out there for many years, very little of the ACTUAL TRUTH has ever been released to the public. Oh, yes, well, by some of the renegades maybe, but many of them have been discredited.

PRESIDENT: OK, Bill, I guess we need ADVISER #1, you, ADVISER #3 and Caspar here. I think ADVISER #2 and Michael can leave.

ADVISER #2: Mr President, excuse me, but I would prefer to leave. I don't wish to know this information. You know, plausible denial or something like that.

MICHAEL DEEVER: Mr President, whatever you wish, I'll do. It would be an interesting subject, but do I really have a need to know? No, I don't think so.

PRESIDENT: OK, I guess that is it.

WM CASEY: Thank you, Mr President. I will now turn the briefing over to The

Caretaker.

ADVISER #3: Mr President, and Mr Director, I already had this briefing. I can stay or leave. Secretary Weinberger and myself received this a few weeks ago.

SECRETARY WEINBERGER: Mr President, as you know, we have some pending business regarding that Soviet problem in Berlin. I think we might just handle that. ADVISER #3 and I will let you close this meeting to just a few.

PRESIDENT: OK, Casp, I guess you and ADVISER #3 can leave. Thanks for coming.

WM CASEY: OK, Mr President, that certainly narrows the audience. I think this is just right.

PRESIDENT: OK, well, I can't wait to hear this. Let's proceed.

The CARETAKER: Good morning, Mr President. First of all, I would like to give you a bit of information on my background. But before that, please, Mr President, if you have questions during this briefing, just interrupt me, sir. I have been employed by the CIA for the past 31 years. I started the caretaking status of this project in 1960. We have a special group of people whom we call "Group 6," that cares for all this information.

PRESIDENT: Good morning, I hope, well, I believe I will ask questions. Bill briefed me back in January, but I'm not sure ... huh ... well, was it detailed, no, I don't think so ... huh ... OK, well I'm sure Bill didn't tell me all 'cause we only had about one hour.

WM CASEY: Mr President, I only gave you a quick briefing for the NSDD (National Security Decision Directives) that we want to incorporate into the overall action directives about this subject. ADVISER #3, Caspar and I have details far beyond what I knew before January. The last administration wasn't too keen on making all of this stuff accessible to us during the briefings in November and December.

PRESIDENT: Well, I knew a little about this subject before. Back in 1970. Nixon had all of the good stuff and wanted to share it with some of his friends. Nixon showed me some papers. Not sure about who authored them, but they ... huh ... well something about New Mexico and other places. Nixon was pretty ... huh ... well, you know, fascinated with it. He showed me something, some kind of object or device that came from one of their craft. Something that was taken from the New Mexico crash site. I don't know if, well ... huh ... do we know what it was? I don't think we knew or maybe now, after 11 years, we might know.

The CARETAKER: Mr President, I can answer some of those questions. Do you wish for me to begin?

PRESIDENT: Oh, well, what level is this? I mean, what was it called? I don't remember what they called this.

WM CASEY: Mr President, codeword. It's called Top Secret Codeword. This information is beyond Top Secret as I said before. It has its own classification. It is very compartmentalized.

PRESIDENT: Well, I guess just the minimum. Are we recording this?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, no, unless you wish.

WM CASEY: Yes, it is [CIA FEMALE TRANSCRIBER] who is doing that. I think we should. I don't want to make any mistakes later about this. ADVISER #4 should also stay, since he is one of the caretakers of the information.

PRESIDENT: Well, I don't want anyone leaking this stuff. Not knowing what we are about to discuss ... huh ... oh, well, Bill I guess it is your call. ADVISER #4 should stay. I guess he should ... huh ... oh, OK, well, you make the call, Bill.

WM CASEY: OK, I guess ADVISER #4 will stay. But I think [CIA FEMALE TRANSCRIBER] must stay. I'll make that call.

PRESIDENT: OK, I guess we can do our business first, give me a few minutes. Let's get some food first, or snacks. How long will ... huh .... oh, about one hour?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, I estimate this will last about one hour, at least the first part of it. This is a very complicated subject to brief. I can do it, but maybe the questions will extend [beyond the first] the time period.

PRESIDENT: OK, I see. Let's take a break and then reconvene.

(Break)

The CARETAKER: OK, Mr President, are we ready?

PRESIDENT: Yes, we are, let's go.

The CARETAKER: Mr President, as was mentioned earlier, I must say, that this briefing has the highest classification within the U.S. government. I will start with a slide presentation. I have most of this briefing on the slides, but I also have an outline that I have passed out to each [person] in attendance.

PRESIDENT: Oh, OK, so are we ... can we follow it with the [outline] paper?

The CARETAKER: Yes, Mr President, you can follow the briefing with the outline in front of you.

PRESIDENT: Thank you.

The CARETAKER: The United States of America has been visited by Extraterrestrial Visitors since 1947. We have proof of that. However, we also have some proof that Earth has been visited for many THOUSANDS OF YEARS by various races of Extraterrestrial Visitors. Mr President, I'll just refer to those visits as ETs. In July, 1947, a remarkable event occurred in New Mexico. During a storm, two ET spacecraft crashed. One crashed southwest of Corona, New Mexico and one crashed near Datil, New Mexico. The U.S. Army eventually found both sites and recovered all of the debris and one live Alien. I'll refer to this live Alien as "EBE 1." PRESIDENT: What does that mean? Do we have codes or a special terminology for this?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, EBE means "Extraterrestrial Biological Entity." It was a code designated to this creature by the U.S. Army back in those days. This creature was not human and we had to decide on a term for it. So, scientists designated the creature as EBE 1. We also referred to it as "Noah." There was different terminology

used by various aspects of the U.S. military and intelligence community back then.

PRESIDENT: Do we or did we have others? The number "1" would seem to indicate we had others.

The CARETAKER: Yes, we had others. Back then, the term was EBE and no number designation. We'll explain how the others came into our knowledge.

PRESIDENT: OK, sorry, I was just wondering and I guess, well, I'm sure the briefing will cover this. Please continue.

The CARETAKER: All the debris and EBEs recovered from the first crash site were taken to Roswell Army Air Field, Roswell, New Mexico. EBE was treated for some minor injuries and then taken to Los Alamos National Laboratories, which was the safest and most secure location in the world. Special accommodations were made for EBE. The debris was eventually transferred to Dayton, Ohio, home of the Air Force Foreign Technology Division. The second crash site wasn't discovered until 1949 by some ranchers. There were no live Aliens at this site. All this debris went to Sandia Army Base in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

PRESIDENT: OK, a question, regarding the first site, how many aliens were in the spaceship?

The CARETAKER: Five (5) dead aliens and one (1) alive. The bodies of the dead aliens were transported to Wright Field in Ohio and kept in a form of deep freeze. They were later transported to Los Alamos where special containers were made to keep the bodies from decaying. There were four (4) dead aliens in the second crash site. Those bodies were in an advanced state of decaying. They had been in the desert for the past two (2) years. Animals and time got to those bodies. The remains were transported to Sandia Base and eventually onto Los Alamos. We determined both crashed spaceships were of similar design and the bodies of the aliens were all identical. They looked exactly the same. They had the same height, weight and physical features. Here are the photographs of the aliens.

(Pause)

PRESIDENT: Can we classify them? I mean can we ... well, connect them with anything Earthly?

The CARETAKER: No, Mr President. They don't have any similar characteristics of a human, with exception of there eyes, ears and a mouth. Their internal body organs are different. Their skin is different, their eyes, ears and even breathing is different. Their blood wasn't red and their brain was entirely different from human. We could not classify any part of the Aliens with humans. They had blood and skin, although considerably different than human skin. Their eyes had two different eyelids. Probably because their home planet was very bright.

PRESIDENT: Maybe I'm getting ahead, but do we know where they came from? Mars, our system or where?

The CARETAKER: Yes, Mr President, we do know where they come from. I can go into this now, or I can wait until it comes up in the briefing.

PRESIDENT: No, no, please, continue. I can wait.

The CARETAKER: Thank you, Mr President. EBE stayed alive until 1952 when it died. We learned a great deal from EBE. Although EBE did not have voice organs like humans, it was able to communicate with an operation performed by military doctors. EBE was extremely intelligent. It learned English quickly, mainly by listening to the military personnel who were responsible for EBE's safety and care.

EBE was housed in a special area at Los Alamos and Sandia Base. Although many different military doctors, scientists and a select number of civilians studied EBE, it never became upset or angry. EBE helped us learn from all the items found in the two crash sites. EBE showed us how some of the items worked, such as a communications device. It also showed us how various other devices worked.

PRESIDENT: Excuse me, but you are referring to this creature as an IT. Did it have a gender?

The CARETAKER: I'm sorry Mr President, but yes, it was male. Within EBE's race they had males and females.

PRESIDENT: OK, thank you. Please continue.

The CARETAKER: Thank you, Mr President. EBE died of what military doctors considered natural causes. I don't think we could really state exactly why EBE died. Although we had five (5) years to study EBE, we didn't have any standards to compare EBE's body with standard medical observations. It was difficult to lose EBE, since it was the most interesting thing we as humans could receive and study. A visitor from another planet ... ANOTHER WORLD. EBE did explain where he lives in the universe. We call this star system Zeta Reticuli, which is about 40 light-years [38.42] from Earth. EBE's planet was within this star system.

PRESIDENT: OK, where is this in comparison to something we all know?

The CARETAKER: Well, Mr President, our closet star is four light-years away. I can show you the constellation it is in.

*[Alpha Centauri, a yellow star, is the brightest star in the constellation Centaurus, 4.3 light-years away]*

PRESIDENT: No, I wouldn't know much about astronomy. I just thought I could understand the distance. How long did it take this spaceship to get here?

The CARETAKER: Well, Mr President, I can tell you now or we can discuss that in another briefing. As Mr Casey said, this is a complicated subject because there are many levels of compartmentalization. This briefing is just the basic information about a visit to our planet by one particular alien race.

PRESIDENT: Well ... huh ... what, am I to understand ... this isn't a full briefing?

WM CASEY: Mr President, we have different levels of stuff. If we mix it up, I don't think it will make sense, nor will we have time this morning. I understand you have a busy schedule today.

PRESIDENT: As the President of the United States, I should know EVERYTHING, right, or shouldn't I? If I am to assume this was a briefing of substance, then I should hear



ALL of it. I think this is more important than some other things on my daily calendar. But maybe I'm jumping the gun. If there are some things I shouldn't know, please tell me.

WM CASEY: No, no, Mr President, I didn't mean you shouldn't know this stuff. I simply meant we should proceed in an orderly fashion as to the briefing. But it is up to you. We will not hold anything back.

PRESIDENT: ADVISER #1, what do you think? Do you know about all this?

ADVISER #1: Mr President, yes, I was briefed many times on this subject matter. As Director Casey stated, this is a very, very complicated subject. I think it took me about one year to be fully briefed into all aspects of this matter. There are different areas. The initial crash, an investigative period, some attempt at contact, A DISINFORMATION OPERATION to protect this matter and several other levels.

PRESIDENT: Oh, wow, I didn't realize how complicated this was. I'm new at [all of] this. I have a great responsibility to the citizens of this nation to make decisions based on accurate information presented by my advisers ... YOU, ALL of you. I won't interfere in your presentation of this information. So, I guess, we'll proceed in the order you have chosen. I'm sorry for interrupting in this presentation, but as a person who is interested beyond belief in this, I'll just shut up and wait to ask questions.

WM CASEY: Mr President. No, no, please ask any questions you wish. You are the President. We are not here to argue with you over the order of this briefing. But some things are SO HIGHLY CLASSIFIED that THIS BRIEFING IS THE LOWEST LEVEL. If you ask a question that is in a different level, then we will have to re-evaluate the audience.

ADVISER #1: Mr President. Everything we know about Alien visitation to Earth is contained in 16 (sixteen) volumes of binders. These binders contain thousands of pages. We can give you anything you wish but, as Director Casey said, we must evaluate the clearances of each person listening to our responses.

PRESIDENT: OK, I now understand. Give me whatever you want and I'll continue to ask questions. But if you need me to wait on an answer, just tell me.

WM CASEY: OK, Mr President we will do that. I still don't know the entire story. I have read one tenth of one binder and have hundreds of questions.

PRESIDENT: OK, let's continue.

The CARETAKER: Mr President, thank you for those responses. I will answer any question, if I can. But if the question is above this level, then Director Casey will have to make that decision for me.

PRESIDENT: I fully understand, please continue.

The CARETAKER: It took the EBE spaceship nine (9) of our months to travel the 40 [38.42] light-years. Now, as you can see, that would mean the EBE spaceship traveled faster than the speed of light. But, this is where it gets really technical. Their spaceships can travel through a form of "space tunnels" that gets them from point "A" to point "B" faster without having to travel at the speed of light. I cannot fully understand how they travel, but we have many top scientists who can understand



their concept.

PRESIDENT: Well, I certainly couldn't understand the science in that. Is it a black hole?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, something like that, but much more complicated.

PRESIDENT: Do they get here ... no never mind, please continue. [unintelligible]

WM CASEY: Mr President, I can assure we know how they do it, but we can't do it.

PRESIDENT: OK. (several speaking at once)

The CARETAKER: As to some history. The original project, started back in 1947, was called "Project GLEEM." This project contained volumes of documented information collected from the beginning of our investigation of UFOs and Identified Alien Craft, or "IAC." The project was originally established in the early '50s by, first President Truman and then by order of President Eisenhower, under control of the National Security Council. President Truman established a group of people to handle this project. The group was called Majority 12 or "MJ-12."

In 1966, the project's name was changed to "Aquarius." The project was funded by confidential ["black world"] funds appropriated within the intelligence community's budget. The recovery of these alien spacecraft led the United States on an extensive investigative program to determine whether these aliens posed a direct threat to our National Security. As you might remember, Mr President, our country openly investigated UFO sightings under projects Grudge, Sign and finally Blue Book.

The original mission of the Air Force program was to collect and analyze all reported sightings and incidents involving UFOs and then determine whether the information could be interpreted as having any bearing on the national security of the United States. Some information was evaluated with the idea of using the gained data to advance our own space technology and future space programs.

About 90% of the estimated 12,000 reports analyzed by the Air Force under Blue Book were considered hoaxes, explained aerial phenomena or astronomical objects. The other 10% were considered legitimate alien sightings and/or incidents. However, not all UFO sightings or incidents were reported under the Air Force programs of Grudge, Sign and Blue Book.

In 1953, Project Gleem initiated its own investigative detail and certain sightings were reported directly under Gleem rather than one of the other projects. Project Gleem, which became "Project AQUARIUS" in 1966, was a parallel reporting system for UFO sightings and incidents.

Reports collected under Project Aquarius were considered actual sightings of alien spacecraft or actual contacts with alien life forms. We recovered two alien spacecraft from New Mexico. Both were heavily damaged, but we were able to examine them. The two craft were considered technological marvels by our scientists. However, the operating instrumentation was so advanced that our scientists could not decipher it. The two craft were stored in a special security location in the West. We gained a large volume of technological data from these craft.

Several independent scientific investigations, at the request of the Air Force and CIA

were initiated during the era of "Project Blue Book." MJ-12 decided that officially the Air Force should end their investigation of UFO sightings. This decision was arrived at during the NPNN meeting in 1966. The reason was two fold. First, the United States had established communications with the aliens.

PRESIDENT: Hold on, OK ... well, Bill, no ... never mind, please continue.

WM CASEY: Mr President, the communications project is of a higher level. I recommend we continue on this course and then switch to the next, if we have time.

PRESIDENT: OK, you're steering the boat, Bill.

The CARETAKER: The United States felt relatively sure the aliens' exploration of Earth was non-aggressive and non-hostile. It was also established that the aliens' presence did not directly threaten the security of the United States. Secondly, the public was beginning to believe that UFOs were real. The NSC felt this public feeling could lead to a nationwide panic if we disclosed everything we knew about UFOs and alien visitation. We were involved in one major operation during this time frame that involved our alien visitors. That operation is of a higher level and it will be up to Director Casey to proceed now or wait until later.

WM CASEY: We'll wait on that part of it. I haven't been fully briefed and I would like to be able to know everything about that program before trying to brief the President.

ADVISER #1: I agree with Director Casey. That part of the program is really complicated and will require a full day to brief.

PRESIDENT: OK, as I said before, Bill's the captain of this ship.

The CARETAKER: It was felt that public awareness of these projects would have jeopardized the future space program of the United States. Releasing our secrets about UFOs and alien visitation would also cause a PANIC AMONG RELIGIOUS LEADERS around the world. Therefore, MJ-12 decided that an independent scientific study of the UFO phenomena would be needed to satisfy the public curiosity.

The final official study of the UFO phenomena was accomplished by the University of Colorado under an air force contract. The study concluded that sufficient data did not exist that would indicate that UFOs threatened the security of the United States. The final conclusion satisfied the Government and allowed the Air Force to officially step out of the UFO investigating business.

When the Air Force officially closed "Blue Book" in December 1969, Project Aquarius continued operation under control of NSC/MJ-12. The NSC felt investigation of UFO sightings and incidents had to continue in secrecy without any public knowledge. The reasoning behind the decision was this: If the Air Force continued its investigation of UFOs, eventually some non-cleared and non-briefed Air Force or DOD civilian officials would obtain the facts behind Project Aquarius.

Obviously, for operational security reasons, this could not be allowed. In order to continue the investigation of UFO sightings and incidents in secrecy, investigators from CIA/DCE and MJ-12 were assigned to military investigative units with orders to investigate all legitimate UFO/IAC sightings and incidents. These agents are presently operating at various locations throughout the U.S. and Canada. All reports

are filtered either directly or indirectly to MJ-12. These agents are collecting reports of UFO/IAC sightings and incidents occurring on or near sensitive governmental installations.

Many reported sightings and incidents have occurred over nuclear weapons bases. The aliens' interest in our nuclear weapons can only be attributed to the future threat of a nuclear war on Earth that could affect space. The Air Force has initiated measures to assure the security of the nuclear weapons from alien theft or destruction. MJ-12 feels confident that the aliens are on an exploration of our solar system for peaceful purposes. However, we do have information and that is at another level, that more than one alien species are visiting Earth.

PRESIDENT: Well, that is a lot to digest. I have written down many questions. But let's take a break and come back to this.

(Break)

PRESIDENT: I think we can continue now.

The CARETAKER: Thank you, Mr President. I will continue. In the 1976 MJ-12 report, it was estimated that the aliens' technology was many thousands of years ahead of ours. Our scientists speculated that until our technology develops to a level equal to the aliens, we cannot understand the large volume of scientific information we have gained from the aliens' craft. This advancement of our technology may take many hundreds of years.

During our initial program to study the alien's spaceship, we started many different projects. The first project, originally established in 1949, was to collect and evaluate medical information from the surviving alien creature -- EBE 1 and the recovered alien bodies. This project medically examined EBE 1 and provided our medical researchers with many answers to the evolution theories.

The next project originally established as part of Project Gleem in 1954 became a separate project in 1966. Its mission was to establish communication with aliens. This project met with positive success and will be discussed later under a different level. Two other projects involved the test flying of an alien ship and the cross technology between our space program and the information we obtained from EBE 1.

WM CASEY: Now, Mr President, we can move on to questions or a different level. Which do you prefer?

PRESIDENT: Well, I have a lot of questions, so let me ask a few and then we can move on. I guess the first question I have is their life span. How old is EBE 1?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, the alien civilization that EBE came from [is what] we call the Eben Society. It wasn't a name they gave us; it was a name we chose. Their life span is between 350-400 years, but that is Earth years.

PRESIDENT: Is time the same on their planet as on ours?

The CARETAKER: No, Mr President, time is very different on the Eben Planet, which, by the way, we call SERPO. Their day is approximately 40 hours. That is measured by the movement of their two (2) suns. The solar system containing SERPO is a binary star system, or two suns, rather than one, like our solar system.

PRESIDENT: Oh, well, your answer creates more questions. OK, as I understand it, their planet has two suns. Wouldn't that mean the planet was hot? I guess that explains their eyes, having two eyelids.

The CARETAKER: Yes, Mr President. Their suns do not set, like ours. There is daylight during their entire day, with the exception of a short time period where both suns hit the horizon.

PRESIDENT: What is life like on Serpico?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, it is called SERPO, spelled S-E-R-P-O. I think that will have to be given in a different level of briefings. Mr Director....

WM CASEY: Yes, Mr President, I think we are getting way ahead of ourselves. We have all that information about the visitor's planet, but we would have to present that information in a different briefing.

PRESIDENT: OK, all these levels. Something, I guess, I'll have to ... well, I'll have to get used to it. Does all classified information have these different levels?

WM CASEY: It is similar to the SIOP briefing you were given in January. We have different levels of clearances and....

PRESIDENT: No, I understand all that, Bill. I fully understand the different levels of clearances. I mean, what about the Soviets? What about the spy operations we have in Russia, comparing the two, this alien information to that, are they on the same level?

WM CASEY: No, Mr President. This information would be considered at the very top, whereas our spying operation inside Russia would be considered at a parallel level, but not the same.

PRESIDENT: Like apples and oranges, OK, I see. I guess this is more that can be explained in one sitting. What about the travel from SERPO to Earth?

The CARETAKER: Well, Mr President, the distance from Earth to SERPO is about 40 light-years. They can travel that in about nine (9) of our months. I am no scientist, but as I mentioned earlier, they can travel that great distance by means of space tunnels. They seem to be able to bend the distance from one point in space to another. Just how they do this, must be explained scientifically.

PRESIDENT: OK, well, very interesting. Are the laws of physics on their planet the same as our planet?

The CARETAKER: Not exactly. There seem to be a little different laws, especially when it comes to the movement of their planet in relationship to their two suns. Our scientists don't understand it because it defies some of our laws of physics.

PRESIDENT: Do they use nuclear power, or what type of power do they have in those ships?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, we understand very little about their propulsion system. There seem to be two different propulsion systems. One they use within our atmosphere and one they use once they exit our atmosphere. They do not have

nuclear power. Their propulsion system does have some type of low level radiation emissions, but nothing that would endanger us. It isn't like our radiation, but we call it radiation because we have nothing else to compare it with.

PRESIDENT: Have these aliens visited other places on earth?

The CARETAKER: Again, Mr President, that would be in a different level of discussion.

PRESIDENT: I'm getting tired of hearing that answer, but I understand.

WM CASEY: Mr President, the Soviet Union has had their contacts with these aliens. We have a great deal of intelligence that would indicate the Soviets had their "Roswell," so to speak. What they know is about the same as we know. They had some bodies back in the late '50s, but our intelligence would indicate the species of aliens were different.

PRESIDENT: OK, well, then Bill, that presents a very disturbing feeling for me. Are you telling me there are different races or species, as you said, visiting Earth at the same time?

WM CASEY: CARETAKER, take that question.

The CARETAKER: Yes, Mr President, but I hesitate to state the reason. We should have that discussion in a different meeting.

PRESIDENT: Just answer the simple question of how many different species, don't go into details, since I'm sure it is at "a different level," as I've been hearing ALL morning!

The CARETAKER: I am sorry Mr President if I upset you....

PRESIDENT: No, no, Caretaker, don't feel that way. I am not upset. No, you are all of my advisers. As President, I must listen to YOU and take YOUR advice. I am NOT upset. I'm sorry for giving you that impression. Can you tell me how many different species have visited us?

The CARETAKER: Mr Director?

WM CASEY: Go ahead, Caretaker, answer the President's question.

The CARETAKER: At least five (5).

PRESIDENT: Are they all friendly?

The CARETAKER: Mr Director?

WM CASEY: Adviser #1, would you like to step in here?

ADVISER #1: Mr President, that is a very difficult question to answer. There are many parameters that we follow to evaluate the threat. However, we have little intelligence on four (4) of the five (5). We have plenty of intel on the Ebens ... gee ... they've given us everything we asked for! They have also helped us to understand the other four (4) species. I'm afraid to say, Mr President and please don't misunderstand my words, but we think ONE OF THE SPECIES IS VERY HOSTILE. WM CASEY: Mr President, do

you wish for us to continue on this track or would you like something more private, as to the discussion of this topic?

PRESIDENT: For Christ sakes, I'm the President of the United States. I should know if we are endangered by some THREAT FROM OUTER SPACE. If you have something to say about a threat posed by this one species of aliens, then I WANT TO HEAR IT.

WM CASEY: Mr President, we have intelligence that would indicate this one (1) species of aliens have ABDUCTED PEOPLE FROM EARTH. They have performed scientific and medical tests on these humans. To the best of our knowledge, NO humans have been killed. But, as ADVISER #1 stated, the intelligence is from witnesses and we haven't thoroughly evaluated this intelligence.

We have captured one of these hostile aliens. This gets into some very, very sensitive areas, Mr President. I strongly suggest we end this discussion and move on to any further questions you might have and then get back to this. I don't think we are prepared to provide you with accurate answers to your questions about the potentially hostile aliens at this time.

PRESIDENT: OK, but expect this to be given to me as soon as possible. I want to KNOW EVERYTHING ABOUT THESE HOSTILE CREATURES so I .... or I mean we should start forming policies on how to deal with them. Adviser #1, do we have OPERATIONAL WAR PLANS on this?

ADVISER #1: Yes, Mr President, we have war plans on ALL potential threats to our country.

PRESIDENT: Please, let us not forget the world. If these creatures attack some other country, we would have to help.

ADVISER #1: Mr President, we have absolutely NO evidence that this particular alien race has any plans to attack the United States of America or planet Earth.

PRESIDENT: I guess we really got off the original subject. But I want to know of any threats. DON'T HIDE ANYTHING FROM ME! Is that understood?

WM CASEY: Yes, Sir.

ADVISER #1: Yes, Sir, Mr President. We will NEVER hide any information about a potential threat to our country or the world. You receive daily intel briefings and you will continue to and we can update that briefing with any potential threat from this area.

PRESIDENT: OK, let us continue. How many other presidents received this briefing?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, I have briefed President Nixon, Ford and you. President Carter was never given the entire briefing. I have no answer as to why he wasn't given the briefing.

PRESIDENT: Well, knowing that guy, he probably couldn't understand it being from Georgia! But that is just a dry joke.... (laughter heard in room)

ADVISER #1: Mr President, I can give you some details of an incident that occurred inside the Soviet Union in 1970.

WM CASEY: Do we want to go there?

ADVISER #4: May I say something, Mr Director?

WM CASEY: Go ahead, ADVISER #4, step in.

ADVISER #4: I think this particular incident inside the Soviet Union will give the President an example of what the world has and will experience in the future. There is no way we can control visitors from outer space from traveling to Earth and visiting our planet. Some astronomers find it difficult to believe that these aliens can find Earth. We are on the outer reaches of our galaxy. Our sun is one of hundreds of thousands of such stars within our galactic neighborhood. But the Ebens found us, they found Earth. And we are not the only country on Earth that has been visited by the Ebens.

Now, as for the other four (4) species. We know they have visited us in the past and will visit us in the future. We are like a petri dish within the universe. We are a diverse planet. We must be very interesting to other extraterrestrials. I'm SURE other intelligent life forms in the universe must have some sort of communications among the [sentient] life forms. Maybe they broadcasted that Earth has intelligent life. Maybe that is why we are [being] visited.

Getting back to ADVISER #1, regarding the incident inside the Soviet Union, Mr President, there are many such sightings all over the world. We must understand that the visitors can roam our planet at will without us doing much about it. However, I personally believe that we must prepare for the EVENTUAL DAY WHEN SOME HOSTILE LIFE FORM DECIDES TO TAKE OVER OUR PLANET. We must be prepared. I hope you understand why I said what I said, Mr President.

PRESIDENT: Yes, indeed, ADVISER #4, very well said. I agree with you. I guess all of those sightings ... well, some of them are real .... I mean, we are being visited, today, now, in this time period.

WM CASEY: Yes, Mr President, we are.

PRESIDENT: OK, ADVISER #1, please continue, we cut you off.

ADVISER #1: OK, thanks, Mr President. As I was saying, actually a series of incidents occurred over about a week. Our intelligence gathering stations inside and outside of the Soviet Union picked up voice transmissions between Soviet Air Defense pilots and ground controllers regarding a number of UFOs which were being chased by Soviet pilots. The incident started in central Siberia and ended over the Black Sea.

Literally thousands of Soviets observed the UFOs and at least 20 different fighter pilots chased the UFOs. The Soviets attempted on two occasions to shoot down the UFOs, but to no avail. That is probably the best evidence that these things are happening over the Soviet Union. We think these UFOs were the hostile ones. We call them hostile because they tend to land, take humans, conduct experiments on them and then release the humans. Their spacecraft are different in design than the Ebens.

PRESIDENT: Wait one minute, ADVISER #1, you mean to say that we have one of their spaceships? Or are you telling me we have some other evidence of their spaceships?

ADVISER #1: Mr President, we have photographs of their ships. This gets a little complicated because some of our intelligence comes from the Ebens.

PRESIDENT: You mean from the EBE guy?

ADVISER #1: Yes, but from other sources of information connected to the Ebens.

WM CASEY: Mr President, we'll have to go to those dreaded words you don't like ... higher levels if you wish.

PRESIDENT: No, well, no ... oh ... OK ... just give me this briefing first. We can schedule the higher level ones later.

ADVISER #1: Simply speaking, we know the difference between the Eben spacecraft and the hostile aliens' spacecraft.

PRESIDENT: Do you have a ... huh ... name for them, I mean the bad ones?

The CARETAKER: May I interrupt, Mr President?

WM CASEY: Wait, OK, I guess we can proceed.

PRESIDENT: Well, huh. (Too many speaking at once; several conversations not understood.)

? (Not understood) ?

The CARETAKER: OK.... (Several sentences said, but not understood.)

WM CASEY: Yes, go ahead, CARETAKER.

PRESIDENT: No, I didn't mean to interrupt.

The CARETAKER: Thank you, Mr President. We call the hostile aliens simply that, HAV, meaning Hostile Alien Visitors. MJ-12 placed that code on them back in the '50s.

WM CASEY: OK, we opened the box so let's just tell the president what we know about the others.

ADVISER #1: The names? What? (Several sentences not understood.) OK, well, technical? Or what?

WM CASEY: (Not understood), well, (not understood), OK, I guess it means the technical stuff.

PRESIDENT: You mean to say, these H-A-Vs have been visiting us and kidnapping our people since the '50s?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, yes, well, they have been around since then, Director Casey....

WM CASEY: Mr President, we have some indication that they might have been doing this for some time. But we really have to consider all of the evidence, listed in our reports, and compare that to some of the open source information. There are always



humans that will exaggerate and just tell lies, compared to the real ones or the ones who were abducted and subjected to experiments. We have to sort through the differences and place some aside and look at the real evidence of abductions. But we can be sure that the Ebens have NEVER done this. They are extremely peaceful and would not harm a living soul, including animals.

ADVISER #1: I suggest we go ahead and give the President the information on them.

ADVISER #4: I agree.

WM CASEY: OK, give the President the names, CARETAKER.

The CARETAKER: Names, the technical names?

WM CASEY: Yes, OK, (not understood) well about the (not understood) I can live with that, but we have to be real sure that this information stays HERE. We cannot allow this to flow (not understood) from (not understood).

The CARETAKER: OK, thank you. Mr President, the five (5) species are called, Ebens, Archquroids, Quadroids, Heplaloids and Trantaloids. These names were given to the alien's species by the intelligence community, specifically MJ-5. The Ebens are friendly; the Trantaloids are the dangerous ones.

PRESIDENT: My God, just knowing we have names for these things are amazing. Which one did we capture?

WM CASEY: Mr President, we have a Trantaloid, but it is dead. We captured it in 1961 in Canada and we had it in captivity until 1962, when it died. We'll show you a photograph ... CARETAKER?

The CARETAKER: Director, I don't have one with me. But, I will get one couriered over to us.

WM CASEY: Mr President, we can provide that during our next meeting regarding this subject.

PRESIDENT: OK.

WM CASEY: (not understood) ... the part of the story where (not understood), but we can look back.

PRESIDENT: OK, let's continue.

The CARETAKER: Mr President, getting back to my presentation, all of our collected information is safely contained in a number of locations.

PRESIDENT: Don't tell me where, I don't want to know specific locations. I'll let or leave that up to you and the caretakers of the material. I don't want to be in a position or know this ... maybe I will later.

The CARETAKER: OK, Mr President, I'll keep this in general terms. I just want to assure you that all of the information is safely tucked away at secure locations, including the devices and flying craft that we have.

PRESIDENT: May I assume one of these places is located in California?

The CARETAKER: Some of the items are tested at Livermore and flown around Edwards, but they are kept in Nevada.

PRESIDENT: OK, yes, I think I was briefed on sensitive military installations back in February ... west of Las Vegas, I guess.

The CARETAKER: Yes, Mr President. We call it the Groom Lake Complex.

PRESIDENT: OK, I was told about that. The same place we have Soviet fighter jets?

The CARETAKER: Yes, Mr President, the same place. May I continue?

PRESIDENT: Yes, by all means, do.

The CARETAKER: In order to protect all this information and the fact that the United States Government has evidence of our planet being visited by Extraterrestrials, we developed over the years a very effective program to safeguard the information. We call it "Project DOVE." It is a complex series of [disinformation] operations by our military intelligence agencies to disinform the public. As you know, Mr President, we have some highly classified aircraft.

In order to keep these aircraft secret, we tend to convince, at times, the public and press that maybe UFOs are real in order to make the public THINK what they are seeing are actually UFOs instead of OUR own secret aircraft even though we know maybe some of the sightings are of actual UFOs. As I said before, this is complicated, but it is a form of counterintelligence. We give the public some actual facts and let them run with it.

The rest is taken care of by them. If you consider the FIRST PERSON who helped us with this disinformation program, Mr GEORGE ADAMSKI, back in the early '50s, and up to all of the movie productions of UFO-related movies. This helps the public to keep their minds open, but also allows us to keep our secret aircraft away from the public's knowledge. That includes some of the craft that were lent to us by the Ebens.

PRESIDENT: I always knew there was some form of cooperation between our government and the motion picture industry. I heard rumors over the years ... even during my acting days.

The CARETAKER: Well, Mr President, the first cooperative venture was the movie, "The Day the Earth Stood Still." That was a cooperative venture with the United States Air Force and the movie industry.

PRESIDENT: That movie, "Close Encounters," was that one of them? I guess no "Bonzo" movies were involved. (Loud laughter heard.)

WM CASEY: No (laughing), Mr President, I don't think or should I say, I didn't think Bonzo came from outer space! (more laughter)

PRESIDENT: No, but some people could imagine it!

The CARETAKER: Yes, Mr President, we provided the basic subject matter for that

movie.

PRESIDENT: Was it based on a real incident?

WM CASEY: Mr President....

PRESIDENT: OK, Bill, I know what's coming, just forget my question for now.

WM CASEY: OK, CARETAKER, continue.

The CARETAKER: Thank you, Mr President. In 1949, President Truman created two (2) secret commissions. These commissions were to meet privately without recording any contents. The commissions were code named "Adam" and "Eve." The first commission, Adam, was to study the idea of releasing some information to the public regarding our actual knowledge of UFOs and the two (2) crash incidents.

The findings of the Adam commission consisted of the following statement: "In this matter, public opinion must be recognized as a factor of considerable importance, even if clearly affirmative might have the effect of placing before the American people a moral question of vital historical significance at a time when the full security impact of the question had not become apparent. If this decision is to be made by the American people, it should be made in the circumstances of an actual disclosure of the existence of space beings who had visited Earth. In other words, the American public might hesitate to believe the existence of space beings unless the American Government showed proof."

This was an actual quote from the classified document dated 1 December 1949. The second commission, "Eve," concerned the use of atom bombs to repel a space alien attack. What's interesting in this statement was the decision by President Truman to proceed at a record pace on the production of atomic weapons that could be released in space. The commission predicted it would take the United States 10 years to develop such a delivery system. President Truman wanted it developed in five (5) years.

In fact, in 1959, the first Atlas ICBMs were targeted for deep space. SIOP plans were developed to counter any space-based alien invasion. Mr David Lilienthal, the first atomic energy commission chairman, was in charge of the production of enough atomic weapons to counter any anticipated alien threat. The commission was tasked with developing a delivery system that could send a Mark 3 atomic weapon into space.

In the 1948-1949 time frames, there were fewer than 50 atomic bombs in the arsenal and none of these were assembled. The Mark 3 plutonium bombs, like the one dropped at Nagasaki, Japan, took 39 men more that two days to assemble the bomb. The bombs were so large and heavy each weighed 10,000 pounds, and that a delivery system must be capable of sending this heavy weapon into space. As a result of Eve's commission findings, atomic weapons production was increased at a record pace.

Of course, this build-up coincided with the Soviet Union's build-up. It was easy to convince the American public that our build-up was caused by the Soviet Union's build-up. Mr President, in 1964, we were able to have our very first controlled encounter with the Ebens. Let me first give you the background. EBE was a mechanic, not a scientist. He was still able to teach us some of the Eben language. Their language was very difficult for our linguists to learn because it consisted of tones, not words.

However, we were able to translate some basic words. EBE showed us their communications device. It was a strange looking device that had three (3) parts. Once assembled, the device sent out signals, something like our Morse code system, although there was a problem. During the crash in 1947, one part of this communication system was broken. EBE was unable to repair it until our scientists found some items that could be used in place of the broken parts. Once the communication device was repaired, EBE sent our messages. We had to trust EBE as to the contents of those messages.

You can imagine what some of our military commanders thought of this. EBE could be sending out a distress call that could result in some invasion. But that, of course, never happened. EBE continued to send messages until his death. But once he died, then we were on our own. We were able to crudely operate the device. We sent several messages out over a six (6) month period (1953). But we did not receive any return messages.

PRESIDENT: Excuse me, did EBE receive any return messages?

The CARETAKER: Getting back to the messages, Mr President, EBE sent out six (6) messages. One letting his home planet know that he was alive and his comrades were dead, another explaining the two crashes, the third was a request to be rescued, the fourth was a message suggesting a meeting between his leaders and our leaders. The last message suggested some form of an EXCHANGE program.

WM CASEY: Mr President, we'll go into that later.

PRESIDENT: (not understood) ... what ... the exchange program?

WM CASEY: Yes, Mr President. We can give you another couple of hours on that subject.

PRESIDENT: We had one?

WM CASEY: Can I speak to you privately, please, Mr President?

PRESIDENT: OK, yes ... you mean now? (not understood)

WM CASEY: Well, let us put this one on the back burner and go on with the remainder of this briefing.

PRESIDENT: OK.

The CARETAKER: Mr President, we don't think he did, but we could not be entirely certain. But, our scientists fine-tuned our efforts over the next 18 months and finally sent two (2) messages in 1955 that were received. We received a reply. We were able to translate about 30 percent of the message. We turned to several linguist specialists from several different universities and even several from foreign universities. Finally, we were able to translate most of the messages. We decided to reply in English and see if the Ebens could translate our language easier than we could theirs.

PRESIDENT: What did the messages say? The one we received from the Ebens? So, I guess they didn't get the messages sent by EBE? Or did it take that long to respond? Oh, yes, EBE died before we got those messages, never mind.

The CARETAKER: Mr President, the first message we received acknowledged our message and asked questions about the crew of the two missing craft. It also gave a series of numbers that we think were some type of coordinates.

PRESIDENT: OK, so they wanted to know the coordinates of the crash sites on Earth? I'm sure they wanted to know about their crew. Did we tell them all but one was dead? No, wait; I'm sure when EBE sent his messages that is probably the first thing he sent. Was EBE a military person or what?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, we believe EBE was a member of their air force or maybe something like NASA.

PRESIDENT: OK, please continue.

The CARETAKER: Thank you, Mr President. Finally we were able to translate most of the messages. As I said, we decided to respond in English. Approximately four months later, we received a reply in broken English. Sentences contained nouns and adjectives, but no verbs. It took us several months to translate the message. We then sent Eben our typed English lessons in a series of one sheet formats.

Without going into the technical description of the Eben communications device, it was like a television screen and a key pad, but the pad contained several different Eben characters depending on the number of times you held down one key. We were able to transpose our English-typed words into the second part of the device, which was similar to our facsimile transmission system. It took our scientists some time to perfect this, but it worked. Six months later, we received another English message. This time it was clearer, but not clear enough. Ebens were confusing several different English words and still failed to complete a proper sentence.

PRESIDENT: Gee, I do that all of the time (sounds of laughter). I just cannot imagine how an alien race could view our language. We have thousands of different languages on Earth and they probably have just one on their SERPO planet. That is truly amazing.

The CARETAKER: Yes, Mr President, I cannot imagine living on a planet with just one language. But we were able to provide the basic skill level for them to communicate in English. It took time, but they realized our efforts. In one message, they provided us with a form of the Eben alphabet with the equivalent English letter. Our linguists had a very difficult time figuring this out. The written Eben language was simple characters and symbols, but our linguists had a difficult time comparing the two written languages.

Over the next five (5) years, we were able to perfect our understanding of the Eben language somewhat and the Ebens were able to better understand English. However, we had a major problem. Trying to coordinate a date, time and location for an Eben landing on Earth. Even though we could basically understand some Eben and the Ebens could understand some English, we could not understand their time and date system and they could not understand ours. We sent them our Earth's rotation schedule, revolution, date system, etc.

For some reason the Eben's never understood this. In return, the Ebens sent us their system, which was difficult for our scientists to understand because we had no reference to their planet. The Ebens did not explain any astronomical date of SERPO or their system. We then decided to just send pictures showing Earth, landmarks and a

simple numbering system for time periods. We had many problems trying to send pictures using their facsimile system. We couldn't be sure they were receiving what we sent.

We had a lot of trial and errors in doing this. We received back some strange messages from the Ebens, basically big question marks regarding what we sent them as to the pictures. We then decided on narrowing any future landing location for them to the location of their crash in New Mexico. We concluded they must have that location. We are sure EBE sent that to his home planet prior to his death. We did find some star charts ... well ... as we call them, in both crashed spacecraft.

They were difficult to understand because they were on a block that we later figured out went into a certain panel on the crashed craft's instruments. Once the panel was in place, the board showed a star system. In fact, we were able to fit all the found boards into the panel and view many different star systems. We then put to work our astronomers in deciphering the star systems. It didn't take them very long to determine the various star systems. We also found several strange spots on the star charts.

We concluded these spots were where the travel space tunnels that EBE described were located. Our astronomers compared the different star charts and found that they were not consecutive. Meaning that one star chart was from one part of the universe and the next was a chart closer to their home system. Our scientists concluded the spots on the chart were a form of short cuts from one point of space to another. Some of our top astronomers were briefed into the program in order to study the charts. I'm sure they were given only the minimum amount of information they needed, something like a need-to-know program.

PRESIDENT: OK, that is a lot to absorb. Wow, well, I have many questions, but I guess I'll just wait now. I have something to attend to now. But let us take a short break and come back to this.

WM CASEY: Mr President, how much time do you have left?

PRESIDENT: Well, Bill, let me check. (Long pause). I need to call some people on another matter. Give me about 15 minutes. Is that OK?

WM CASEY: Yes, Mr President, we are here at your disposal.

PRESIDENT: I have listened intently to this briefing. I have many questions, which I realize traverses several different layers of secrecy. I don't want to mix up the different layers. But I can see how government bureaucracy exists. That is one thing I can probably change as President! Bill, let's go to the next layer.

WM CASEY: Mr President, do you want the same people involved?

PRESIDENT: Yes, let's just continue.

WM CASEY: OK, CARETAKER, take over.

The CARETAKER: Thank you. When EBE was alive, he showed us two devices. One was a communication system and one was an energy device. The communication system did not work without the energy device. Eventually, a scientist from Los Alamos figured out the two systems and connected them. After EBE died, we were able to send

transmissions, as I said earlier. EBE built up a strong friendship with a U.S. Army Major, who was his guardian.

The two of them decided that one of Eben's first messages (of the five sent) was a request for an exchange program between the Ebens and our military personnel. Remember I mentioned six (6) messages. The sixth consisted of landing coordinates for Earth. That information wasn't clearly documented back then. We are not sure of the exact chain of events between EBE and the Major. As I said earlier, we were able to eventually communicate with the Ebens.

Over a period of a few years, we could send and receive information. We finally received a startling message from the Ebens. They wanted to visit Earth, retrieve their spacemen bodies and meet with Earthlings. They provided a time, date and location. We figure that the Ebens were continually visiting Earth and had probably mapped it. However, the date was about eight (8) years in the future. Our military figured something was wrong and that maybe the Ebens were confusing Earth time with Eben time. After a long series of messages, it was determined the Ebens would land on Earth on Friday, April 24, 1964.

PRESIDENT: Just how did we figure the date?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, these messages occurred over a period of several years. By this time, we both had a working knowledge of the other's seasons, which was based on the Earth's rotation, which also figured into our time periods. We had a working knowledge of their 40-hour days. They were a little smarter than us, being able to comprehend our language and our time periods.

PRESIDENT: OK, that makes sense. But ... (not understood) ... about ... (not understood) ... the aliens?

The CARETAKER: Mr President, we did have a basic understanding of their language. We could understand basic words and symbols. They understood more of our language than we did theirs.

PRESIDENT: OK, then what happened?

The CARETAKER: Well....

WM CASEY: Mr President, this is where things get very interesting.

PRESIDENT: OK, I'm waiting.... (not understood)

The CARETAKER: Our government, specifically, MJ-12 met in secret to plan the event. Decisions were made, then changed many times. We had just about 25 months from the time we finally received their message of the date to prepare for their arrival. Several months into the planning, President Kennedy decided to approve a plan to exchange a special military team. The USAF was tasked as the lead agency.

The USAF officials picked special civilian scientists to assist in the planning and crew selection. The team members' selection process was the hardest to accomplish. Several plans were suggested and then changed. It took months for the planners to decide on the selection criteria for each team member. They decided that each member must be military, single, no children and a career member. They had to be trained in different skills.

WM CASEY: CARETAKER, let's just go into the general stuff here, I don't think the President wants to know every single minute detail.

PRESIDENT: Well, if I had the time, I would. (not understood) .... but, I understand that.

The CARETAKER: Mr President, a team of 12 men were selected. However, during this time period, President Kennedy died. The nation was shocked, as you know....

PRESIDENT: Yes, everyone was shocked. I can understand what must have happened during the project when John died.

The CARETAKER: President Johnson continued the program. When it came time for the meeting, we were ready. The landing occurred in New Mexico. We had everything prepared. We had a hoax landing location just in case it was leaked. The landing occurred and we greeted the Ebens. However, a mix up happened. They were not prepared to accept our exchange personnel. Everything was placed on hold. Finally in 1965, the Ebens landed in Nevada and we exchanged 12 of our men for one of theirs.

PRESIDENT: One? Why just one?

WM CASEY: Mr President, this wasn't clearly documented in the reports that we read.

PRESIDENT: One ... was this their ambassador?

WM CASEY: Well, something like that. We just called it EBE 2. We'll discuss that later.

The CARETAKER: Mr President. Our team of 12 went to the Eben planet for 13 years. The original mission called for a 10-year stay, however, because of the strange time periods on their planet, the team stayed three (3) additional years. Eight [seven] returned in 1978. Two died on the planet and two decided to stay.

*[NOTE: Team Member #308 (Team Pilot #2) died of a pulmonary embolism enroute to SERPO on the 9-month journey; 11 arrived safely.]*

PRESIDENT: OK, this is just AMAZING! I can see, about that movie. The movie was based on a real event. I saw that movie. 12 men left, along with Richard Dreyfuss.

WM CASEY: Mr President, yes, the movie was similar to the real event, at least the last part of the movie.

PRESIDENT: OK, a lot to digest. I want to hear about the hostile ones.

ADVISER #1: Mr President, may I step in here?

PRESIDENT: By all means, ADVISER #1, do.

ADVISER #1: Well, Mr President, the hostile alien species is responsible for abducting some humans. We can clearly prove some 80 Americans were abducted from about 1955 until the present, the last known one in July of last year [1980]. We have a special military intelligence unit keeping track of these abductions. We have FBI agents attached, to assist us when needed. We have NSA and in some instances, CIA personnel helping.



Unfortunately, we don't have the technology to know when these hostiles will abduct. We get the information afterwards. We interview the victim and place them under hypnotic trances. Some of the victims remember the entire event without hypnosis, while others need hypnosis to relate what happened. We haven't found one single death directly related to the hostile aliens. We have had deaths that were attributed to the abductions ... suicides. We recorded five (5) of them.

But, Mr President, these are the abductions we know about. We have NO idea how many other abductions are occurring in this country or around the world. These hostile aliens are pretty sneaky. They seem to appear and disappear, which is beyond our technical understanding. They also seem to float or defy gravity. WE HAVE ACTUAL PHOTOGRAPHS OF THEM DOING THIS. We have a classic abduction incident that was recorded by military intelligence personnel. It happened in 1979 near a military base.

PRESIDENT: Where?

ADVISER #1: In New Mexico.

PRESIDENT: What's with New Mexico? The aliens seem to like that state. Do we know why?

The CARETAKER: Excuse me, may I speak?

PRESIDENT: Yes, CARETAKER, step in.

The CARETAKER: New Mexico is similar to the home planet of the Ebens. Since we do not know which planet the Trantaloids come from....

WM CASEY: Wait ... ADVISER #4?

ADVISER #4: I think we do. I think the Ebens gave us that information. We know the star group. It is close to our solar system, well, I mean in astronomical terms. Maybe 20-25 light-years away. They are actually closer to us than the Ebens are.

*[VICTOR: The homeworld of the HAV, the TRANTALOIDS, is the THIRD PLANET out from the star Epsilon Eridani in the constellation Eridanus at 10.5 light-years away. Although somewhat cooler and fainter than our sun, it is very similar. Hal's friend, ADVISER #4, was mistaken on the distance; an easy error to make given the voluminous amount of information on this subject matter alone. - ANONYMOUS.]*

PRESIDENT: So that means they can travel like the Ebens travel? I mean using those black holes or whatever you call them?

ADVISER #4: Yes, Mr President, they can travel in the same fashion as the Ebens. However, according to the Ebens, the Trantaloids use a different form of propulsion. Something like matter versus antimatter.

PRESIDENT: And that means?

ADVISER #4: Mr President, basic physics....

WM CASEY: Mr President, do you want to go into the physics of this?

PRESIDENT: Oh, no, no, I don't think I'd understand it.

ADVISER #4: I was just going to say that we know that when matter is placed next to antimatter, there is a great deal of energy released. If one could harness that into a propulsion system, that would be great. But we don't have the capability to do that.

PRESIDENT: Do we have one of their spaceships?

The CARETAKER: Yes, well, partially. A crashed one.

PRESIDENT: OK, can we or do we have the technical knowledge to understand it?

WM CASEY: No, Mr President, we don't.

PRESIDENT: We can make atomic bombs, go to Mars and we can't understand their science?

WM CASEY: Adviser #4?

ADVISER #4: Mr President, their technology is probably 1,000 years more advanced than ours ... maybe even more. They have different materials to work with. Some of their materials are not found on this planet.

PRESIDENT: What do you mean, like iron or elements?

ADVISER #4: Yes, Mr President. We found many metals and other things that are not found on this planet. Maybe they have more than 104 elements or maybe they are different than ours.

PRESIDENT: The hostile ones or the Ebens?

ADVISER #4: Mr President that goes for each species although the Ebens do have similar elements as [those found on] Earth. But the Trantaloids have strange materials ... nothing like [those found on] Earth. These ALIENS CAN IMITATE HUMANS. They CAN LOOK LIKE BLOND HUMANS. However, they are not blond, but UGLY-LOOKING INSECTS.

PRESIDENT: Insects, did you say that?

ADVISER #4: Yes, do you have a photograph?

The CARETAKER: Yes, hold on.

WM CASEY: They are pretty nasty looking.

PRESIDENT: Well, they would stand out.

ADVISER #4: No, Mr President, as I said THEY CAN IMITATE LOOKING LIKE HUMANS.

PRESIDENT: How in the world do they do that? It took a lot of makeup to make me look good in the movies. (loud laughter heard)

ADVISER #4: Well, Mr President, I can assure you they don't use makeup, at least not

like we would. They have the ability to change their bodies. As I said before, they are 1,000 years ahead of us in technology and probably every other science.

PRESIDENT: They can be killed?

ADVISER #4: Yes, they are just flesh and blood, like a human body. They can be killed. But their spaceships have a force field around them. They can be shot down, but it takes some doing on our part.

WM CASEY: Mr President, we have to use a small-style nuclear missile to shoot them down, but we haven't actually done that yet. We have experimented in Nevada on the captured craft we have of theirs.

PRESIDENT: My God, I hope we haven't used atomic missiles. What does that mean?! I have to give that order!

ADVISER #1: Excuse me, but Mr President, no, we haven't used any nuclear missiles to shoot down any alien flying craft. I think Adviser #4 and the Director mean that if we had to shoot one down, for instance ... if a group of them attacked us.

PRESIDENT: Is that likely?

ADVISER #1: No, I don't think so.

PRESIDENT: Can we intercept their radio transmissions? Do we know their language?

ADVISER #1: We know or we can recognize their language, which is entirely different than the Ebens. They use a very high-band radio system. But they have different frequencies and it is difficult for NSA to track them.

PRESIDENT: Maybe we should call Captain Kirk?! (loud laughter) Oh, a little humor is good in any situation! (loud laughter)

ADVISER #1: OK, Mr President, I'll call Scotty! (more laughter)

PRESIDENT: Yeah, maybe [Gene] Roddenberry knows.!

ADVISER #1: Our air defenses are as best prepared as we can be against any form of an attack by this group.

PRESIDENT: How do we do that? I mean, our pilots. Do they know?

ADVISER #1: Not exactly. But we have a system to cover any threat.

PRESIDENT: A war plan?

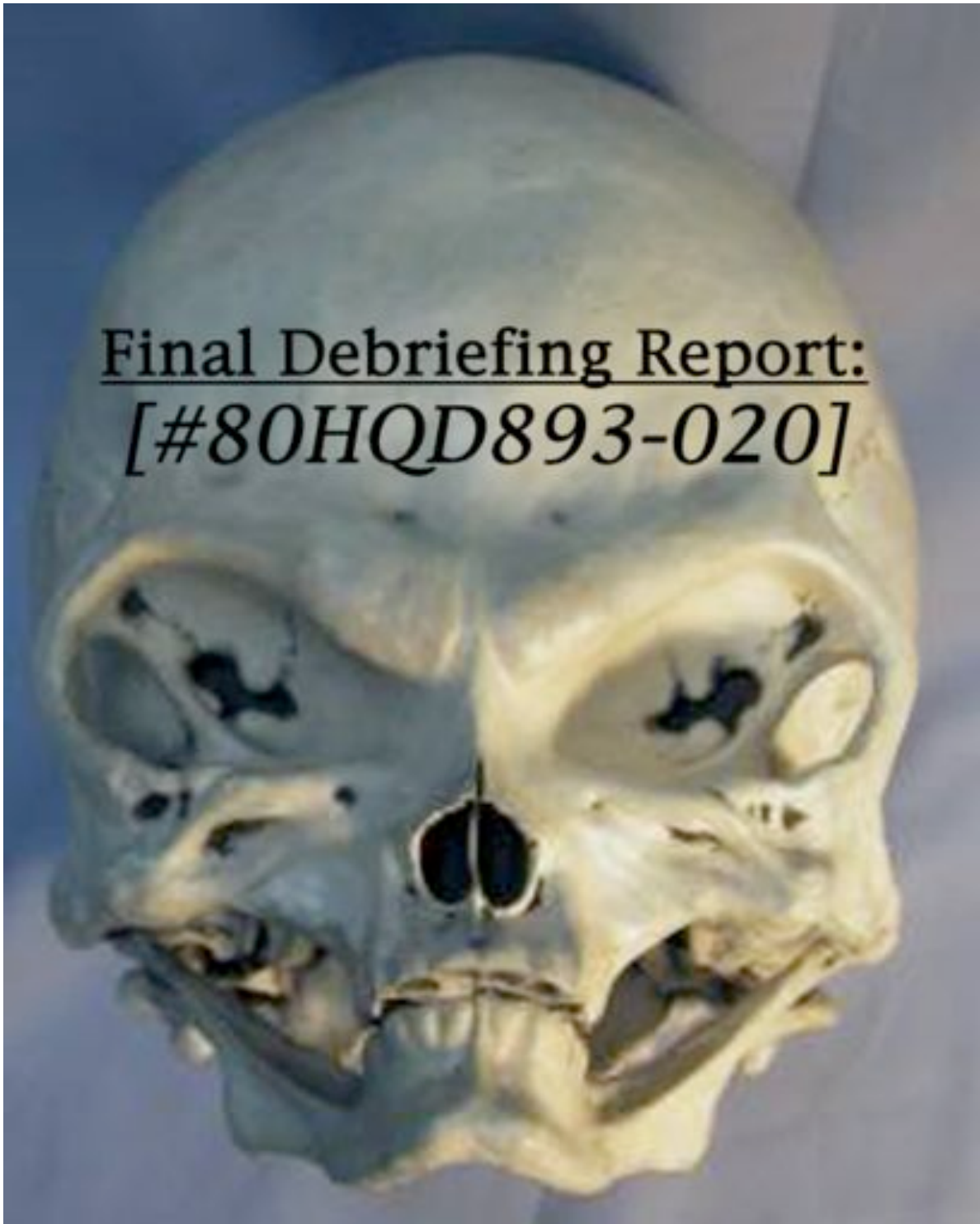
ADVISER #1: Like I said earlier, yes, Mr President, we do have war plans just for this event or possible event.

PRESIDENT: OK. Well, I think that is enough for one day. Bill, set something up for tomorrow to finish this.

WM CASEY: OK, Mr President. I'll get with ADVISER #2 and Michael [Deaver].

PRESIDENT: I want to thank everyone for a very thorough briefing. I was educated beyond belief. I will have a different attitude every time I look up in the sky.

*[TAPE ENDS]*



front cover: photograph from an issue of "National Inquirer."  
back cover: photograph of a supposed Zeta Reticuli skull specimen.

# Project: “Blue Beam”



# NASA'S PROJECT BLUE BEAM

by: Serge Monast (1994)

This is the International Free Press in Canada  
(address given no longer valid)

*International Free Press Network, P.O. Box 177, Magog, Quebec, Canada J1X3W8*

The International Free Press Network is not a religious group, neither a political organization, but an independent worldwide investigation press agency, in the field of politics, economic, medical and military.

We specialize ourselves in investigating and publishing special reports and audio tapes to expose the under world of the United Nations' conspiracy to implement a New World Order.

Our task is to make the people realize that the coming of the New World Order is not a dream, neither a paranoid thought. It is a real Satanic under going project.

For what?

To abolish all Christian traditional religions in order to replace them by a one-world religion based on the 'cult of man'.

To abolish all national identity and national pride in order to establish a world identity and world pride.

To abolish the family as known today in order to replace it by individuals all working for the glory of one-world government

To destroy all individual artistic and scientific creating works to implement a world government's one mind sight??

And that kind of declaration of war from the United Nations is for:

the implementation of a universal and obligatory membership to the United Nations, as transcending of the United Nations by multi-military and multi-police force;

a world wide Justice Department through the United Nations with an International Criminal Court;

a world wide new Trade Agreement for all nations;

the end of cold war -- of local war like it is today, and the obligation for co-existence for "peace";

and also, a New World Religion and a New World Culture for all men.

If we really wish to understand the Blue Beam Project -- NASA's Blue Beam Project -- where is that from?. . . we have to go back to the dawning of the Age of Aquarius. Remember that song? That song said:

When the moon is in the seventh house, and Jupiter aligns with mars, and peace will

guide our planet, and love will steer the stars.

This related with the year 1982, to be at that time the opening of the conspiracy for the Age of Aquarius. Just before the implementation of the New World Order, supposed to start at that time in 1983... and I have to say that the Blue Beam Project was set up for the year 1983.

It has been delayed at that time. We don't know exactly why, but since 1983, makes eleven years they've really improved themselves with new technology and through space, that enable them right now to make their space show possible.

So, the goals of the New Age movement under which the United Nations operates right now, are the implementation of a New World Messiah.

The tools of the new world government are a multi-national army -- an international army; an international police force; a World Bank for the economy; a World Government under the United Nations; a World Conservation Bank for wilderness around the world. That means that all green movements will be melded into this new International Bank or will disappear. A World Religion where all church doctrines will be destroyed at the roots to be replaced by the new religion of the Age of Aquarius.

The world seven rate classifications for all men and women - the new paradise, they said - where everybody will have a predetermined work to fill out whether they agree or not; the world concentration camp headquarters at the United Nations for those who will not accept the new system; the world agriculture and food-supply control which will control food and vitamin supplies all around the world.

The New World Order will be an in-between government system from old USSR, Great Britain and its commonwealths, and the actual United States with its melting-pot population. This is at the end... a new spiritual-political world order which will replace the old one in which we live right now.

What are the New World Order plans? They plan the destruction of all people who believe in the Bible, who worship Jesus Christ, and the complete disappearance of Christianity to achieve this plan.

The New World Order will change nations' laws in order that Christian religious beliefs and symbols - like the cross for instance - will be come unlawful. Only Easter and Christmas for instance will be replaced by New Age festivities around the world.

The New World Order plans also the abolishment of all currencies and the transfer to electronic cash through the super highway -- what we call also, the electronic highway. The thinker and the basic doctrine books of the New Age conspiracy for the New World Government are -- and listen to the name of those people because all the new way of thinking of the New World Order are from those people, those authors who wrote different kinds of books which are the basic belief of the New Age movement:

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky, who wrote *Isis Unveiled* and *The Secret Doctrine*.

Alice A. Baily who wrote *The Race and the Initiation* and *the Externalization of the Hierarchy*. Also, *Initiation, Human and Solar*; *The Reappearance of the Christ* - their Christ is the new messiah; *The Destiny of the Nations*, in which they plan what

they're going to do with the actual nation-state.

The Unfinished Autobiography , Discipleship in the New Age, Esoteric Psychology -- that's a writing of Alice Baily, very important for all New Age thinkers who are exactly the ones who plan the New World Order.

Also the writing of Nicholas Roerich wrote Mitreya, that's their new messiah; Shambala the Resplendent; The Agni? Yoga Series.

Also the writing of David Spangler who wrote Revelation, the Birth of a New Age, considered as a valuable insight to the New Age movement. Reflections on the Christ which is related to the Luciferian initiation; Links With Space, which relayed as supposed to be big space show in which aliens are supposed to come to save men. Relationship and Identity; The Laws of Manifestation; New Age ?, and Toward a Planetary Vision which is directly related with the New World Order as they plan it to be.

Now, what do those people also plan?... and as I said before, this is not a dream and this is not paranoid thinking. This is real. So they plan ... to accept the New World Order, people will have to accept first the New World Religion. To enter into the New World Religion, the Christians will have to abdicate their own beliefs.

So as they said, especially Benjamin Creme, David Spangler, Alice Baily, Helena Petrovna Blavatsky... all said that the initiation will be on a world basis, inside the new organized Christian church and is a Masonic Lodge, and Order organization. It will be based on a Luciferian initiation, so what we have to understand here is: it won't be possible for somebody who will hold tight to his own Christian beliefs to get into the New World Order. That will be impossible.

Now for those who will not accept the NWO, who will reject it, the new age people -- the new ager, the new world order people, which is the same -- they plan concentration camps - re-education camps - and for those camps they made what is known to be the rainbow color classification of the new world order prisoner. The rainbow considered as the bridge symbol leading to the Satanic world of the New World Order.

We already do know for instance, that everybody will have to take an oath to Lucifer with a ritual initiation in order to cross that bridge into the new World Order. All resisters to that initiation, as they plan, will definitely be sent to a detention facility where they will be separated in different categories. That's what they call the rainbow color classification of the New World Order prisoner.

Classification of Christian children, as they plan it, are to be used as human sacrifice. Where? Within the black mass ceremonies, they will participate in any kind of sexual orgy, some to be kept as sexual slaves.

Classification 2, which is the classification of prisoners to be used in medical experiments where drugs and new technologies will be tested on humans.

The 3rd classification is the classification of healthy prisoners for the international human organ center, where their vital organs will be removed one by one while they will be maintained in life with special life-support systems.

Classification 4, for all healthy underground workers. The new world order is a basic



worldwide dictatorship based on the Luciferian religion. A dictatorship with the appearance of an international democracy. In order to maintain that democracy illusion, camps and slave labor will be hidden from the populations of the earth. Just remember, for instance, how Hitler covered up the maternity in the concentration camp in his time.

Classification 5, which is the classification of uncertain prisoners in the international re-educational center, where they will be re-educated in order to repent themselves on worldwide t.v. and where they will learn how to glorify the virtues of the new world order for humanity.

Classification 6, which is the international execution center. We're still waiting for details on the 7th rate classification as well as we're still waiting for proof on the color classification for each prisoner section.

Now, those people... this is what they plan in their new paradise world. So you have to understand that when I decided to release - about six months ago - some tiny parts of information concerning their most secret project, which is the NASA Blue Beam project, I was not sure at that time if I would survive my stand against the new world order's most sophisticated project, set up to put down on their knees all men of all nations, cultures and religions.

But now, following my own Christian conscience, my real and deep love for all my unknown brothers and sisters in America and other parts of the world, I fully accept to give my life it that has to be the case, for the truth, for Jesus Christ, by releasing for the first time ever the four major steps of the satellite Blue Beam Project

What I ask to everyone who will read and hear the description following: It is not to be paralyzed by their natural fear but to spread every word of the contents of this ninety-minute audio tape and to gather together in order to pray, to think and to plan different ways they will organize themselves to survive the New World Order government showdown and power-taking. Because what we have to understand is the New World Government won't be something permanent - immortal. This is not the case. But what we have to do and what we have to think right now is how to organize ourselves to survive such tyranny, such Satanic plans.

Now, the famous NASA Blue Beam Project has four different steps. Four parts toward the implementation of the New World Religion with the anti-Christ at its head. And we must remember that the New World Religion is the basic foundation for the New World Government. Without that New World Religion, such government, such worldwide dictatorship is completely impossible. That's why the project is so not only so important to them, but was so well kept secret to now.

The first step concerns the breakdown of all archeological knowledge. It deals with the set-up of earthquakes at certain precise locations of the planet where supposedly new discoveries will suddenly explain - for them - the wrong meaning of all major religions' basic doctrines. This classification used to make the population believe that all religious doctrines have been misunderstood and misinterpreted have already started with the field of psychological preparation for populations for the first step has been prepared through films like 2001 a Space Odyssey; the series, Star Trek; Star Wars which deals with space invasion and space protection; and the last film, Jurassic Park, dealing with the theory of evolution.

Now, which is important to understand in that first step is that those earthquakes will

hit at different parts of the world where scientists and archeological teachings have been taught in the past where supposedly there were some hidden secrets. By those kinds of earthquakes it will be possible for them to rediscover again - supposedly, okay? - rediscover again those kinds of secrets and those secrets are meant to discredit all the religions' basic doctrines.

This is the first preparation for the plan for humanity, because what they want to do is to throw down, to shake up the beliefs of all Christians on the planet. And to do that they need some false proof, supposedly from the past, and from the far past that will "prove" to men and women that their religions are false.

The second step deals with the gigantic space show with three dimensional optical holograms and sounds, laser projections of multiple holographic images to different parts of the world, each receiving different images according to predominating regional/national religious faith. This new god's image will be talking in all languages. Now to understand that, we have to go back a little bit in different Secret Services research done in the last 25 years. Like this one:

The Soviets have manufactured the advanced computer, even imported, and fed them with the minute psychical particular base under studies about the anatomy and the biology of the human body; and the studies about the anatomy, the chemistry and the electricity of the human brain. These computers were fed as well, with the different languages and their meanings. The dialect of people have been fed from the Nature Truth satellite. The Soviets started to feed the computer with objective programs like the ones New Messiah. It also seems that the Soviets now, the new world order people, ?? to suicidal methods with the human society by allocating an electronic wave on every mind for many persons in different societies.

Now, there are two different things in that second part. The space show and where that space show comes from. The Space Show, the holographic imaging will be used in a simulation of the ending in which you are given scenes which focus on fulfillment of that which is a desire for you to protect? to fit the needs of those adversary ??.

The results of this deliberately staged false Christ will be for the implementation of a new universal religion. Enough tricks will be foisted on us to hook us into the lie. The Project is the ability to take up a whole bunch of people as in a rapture type of situation and to whisk the whole bunch into never-never land.

The calculated resistance to the New World Religion, the New World Order and the New Messiah will be ? on a massive scale in the ensuing Holy Wars. The Blue Beam Project will pretend to be the universal fulfillment of the prophesies of old, as nature and even as that which took place 2,000 years ago.

In principal, it will make use of the sky as a movie screen, a space based laser generating satellite projects simultaneous images to the four corners of the planet in every language and in every dialect according to region. It deals with the religion aspect of the new world order and is a large scale seduction.

Computers will coordinate the satellite and software will run the show and tell. Holography is based on very nearly identical signal, combining to produce an image or hologram with deep perception which is equally applicable ?? to ELF, VLF and LF waves. It is an optical phenomena.

Specifically, the show will consist of laser projection of multiple holographic images to different parts of the world, each receiving a different according to predominating regional/national religious faith. Not a single area will be excluded.

With computer animation and sound effects appearing to come from the depths of space, astonished followers of the various creeds will witness their own returned messiah in spectacularly convincing life-like realness. Then the projection of the Christ, of Mohammed, Buddah, Krishna, etc. will merge into one after ?? explanation of the mysteries, prophecies, and revelation will have been disclosed.

This one god will in fact be the anti-Christ who will explain the various scriptures have been misunderstood, that the religions of all are responsible for turning brother against brother, nation against nation; therefore the world's religions must be abolished to make way for the Golden Age, New Age of the One World Religion, representing the one god anti-Christ in this instance they see before them.

Naturally this superbly staged ?? falsification will result in social religious disorder on a grand scale, including millions of programmed religious fanatics, through demonic possession cases on a scale never seen before. In addition, this event will occur at a time of great political anarchy and general tumult at the edge of something big... the United Nations, even though it plans to use the Beethoven song of joy as the official Anthem for the New World Order.

Now, if we put this space show and parallel with the star war program we get this: Combinations of electro-magnetic radiation and hypnosis have also been the subject of intensive research. In 1974, for instance, researcher G. F. Shapis? said of one of these research proposals and this investigation:

"It will be shown that the spoken word of the hypnotist may also become varied by modulated electro-magnetic energy directly into the ?? spot of the human brain, without employing any technical device for receiving or transporting the message and without the person exposed to such influence having a chance to control the information input consciously.

It may be expected that they rationalize their behavior and consider it to be under taken out of their own free will."

Anybody investigating so-called channeling phenomena right now would be wise to take this area of research into consideration. It is interesting to note the fact that the number of people who consider themselves channelers have escalated rapidly since this type of research was conducted.

It is uncanny how similar their messages are regardless of which entity they claim to be the source of their divine guidance. It would suggest that any individual considering the content of channeled information should be discerning and critically evaluate where the message they are receiving or considering it empowering or would serve to invoke thought patterns beneficial to the New World Order.

The Sidney Morning Arrow? published an item on March 21st, 1983 which asked ?? ?? ?? . The article states that a paper entitled "The Soviets are Invading the Human Mind" has been submitted to the newspaper foreign editor by Dr. Nathan Ab ??, Assistant Professor in the ?? ?? ?? in Egypt. It is worth quoting the article at length even though his grammar is a little old.

This article relates with the subject who manufactured the advanced computer we were talking about a few minutes ago, and which is really important, because these kinds of computers can be around through satellite into space. The computers were fed, as we said as well, with the different languages and their meanings; the dialect of the people has been fed from the Nature Truth satellite.

The Soviets started to feed the computer with objective program. Today, we're not talking about the Soviets, we're talking about the United Nations, the new world order's people. They're the ones who feed the computer right now with objective programs.

Also, the editor of the column in which the article was printed even states, "We think it makes sense too important to ignore." I think that it is considerate way of putting it. One disturbing possibility, given all the information we have at hand, is that the individuals involved in this potential ? mind control operation could then sell the program and not even be aware that they are conducting such an operation.

Now, figure it out how far they can go right now.

Now, these techniques push us toward the third step of the NASA Blue Beam project that goes along with the telepathic electronical two-ways communication where ELF, VLF and LF waves will reach the people of the earth by the inside of their brain making each one to believe that his own 'god' is talking to each one from within his own soul.

Such waves from satellite are fed from the memory of computers which store a lot of data about the human being and the languages. These waves will then interlace and interweave with the natural thinking to form what we call ?? artificial talk. Now that kind of technology goes into the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's research where the human brain has been compared to a computer; information is fed in, processed, integrated and our response is then formulated and acted upon.

Mind controllers manipulate information in the same manner as a computer for grammar manipulates information.

In January, 1991, the University of Arizona hosted a conference titled "The NATO Advanced Research Workshop on Current and Emergent Phenomena in Bio-Molecular Systems".

What does that mean exactly? That means this: If we refer to one paper that was delivered at the conference, stood out for its different attitude toward the development under discussion at that time. It was in effect a protest and a chilling warning to the attending scientists about the potential abuse of their research findings.

Now, what does that paper mean, and state? It states that the United States has ?? communication equipment which can make the blind see, the deaf hear and the lame walk. It can relieve the terminally ill of all pain without the use of any drugs - and I'm not talking about science fiction over here - a man might retain the use of all his faculties up until the day of his death.

This communication equipment depends on the new way of looking at the human brain and neuro-muscular system and ?? radiation pulse at ultra low frequency.

Some of this equipment is now operational within the Central Intelligence Agency - the CIA - and the Federal Bureau of Investigations. It will never be used to make the blind see and the deaf hear and the lame walk, because it is central to the domestic political agenda and foreign policy of the late president Bush.

Domestically the new communications equipment is being used to torture and murder persons who match profiles imagined; to be able to screen a given population for terrorists; to torture and murder citizens who belong to organizations which promote peace and development in Central America; to torture and murder citizens who belong to organizations opposed to deployment and use of nuclear weapons; and to create a race of slaves called automatons, or what it is popularly called, the Manchurian Candidate.

Over seas experimentation is taking place on ?? by the United States and Canada, Great Britain, Australia, Germany, Finland and France. In addition there has been a long series of ?? among British computer scientists of all who have some connection to the United States Navy.

What is possible to ask here in front of such a psychology of terror as this? Would any government, corporation or psychiatrist willfully promote such horror today? The answer is quite obviously, "yes". Government agencies and the corporations that work with them toward New World Order are prepared to promote anything that will help them to achieve their objective of total social control.

As for the question of 'why?': for one thing, if you terrify the public and make them fear for their safety they will allow you to implement draconian law enforcement practices, disarm them and keep extensive records on them and they only have to tell you, "Well, that's all in order to protect you, of course".

And secondly, it promotes the decay of the current form of democratic political system and leads societies to search for alternatives to current political methodology.

Of course, the alternative has already been planned. It is called New World Order and it won't have your safety or interest at heart. As George Bush. said, "read my lips."

Fear has always been used by powerful elite to control and subjugate the masses. The old maxim "divide and conquer is being played out to the limit in every corner of the planet to ensure that everybody is frightened for their personal safety and scared or suspicious of those around them. This too, it is called mind control.

Now, to go a little bit further in that new technology which is at the basis of the NASA Blue Beam project, we have to consider this quote from psychologist Gene V McConnell, which was published in a 1970 issue of "Psychology Today". He said,

"The day has come when we can combine sensory deprivation with drugs, hypnosis and astute manipulation of reward and punishment to gain almost absolute control over an individual's behavior.

It should be then possible to achieve a very rapid and highly effective type of positive brainwashing that would allow us to make dramatic change in a person's behavior and personality."

Now when we talked before about that kind of rays and the telepathic electronic two-ways communication... the kinds of rays which are fed from the memory of computers which store a lot of data about the human being and the languages; and we

said that the people of the earth will be reached by the inside of their brain making each one to believe that his own 'god' is talking to each one within his own soul, we refer to that kind of technology and that kind of thinking.

That same psychologist said,

"We should reshape society so that we all would be trained from birth to want to do what societies want us to do. We have the techniques to do it. No one owns his own personality."

And this quote here is real important because it is also basic teaching from the United Nations, that 'no one owns his own personality'. The same psychologist adds:

"You have no say about what kind of personality you acquire, and there's no reason to believe you should have the right to refuse to acquire a new personality if your old one is anti-social."

Which is important in that kind of declaration here, if the NWO will be set up over the old one, that means that the old way of thinking, the way we think right now - our behavior, our religious beliefs - would be considered by those people as old thinking, an old way of living, and they will have -- to change it -- the re-education camps of the United Nations, to make sure that people will have -- for them an anti-social behavior which is today an actual one -- will be re-educated in a way to have the new behavior to fulfill the needs of the NWO.

Might it be the largest mind control project ever? because NASA Blue Beam Project is also for the implementation of a New World Religion, a mind control project. So I would suggest you examine the evidence carefully before you disregard this possibility.

Now, if we go further in the different reports we have over here, we find this: The mind control operation and technology include a transmitter which broadcasts at the frequency of the human nervous system, which system is manufactured by the Laurel Electro-Optical System in Pasadena, California.

Laurel, a major defense contractor had previously conducted research on directed-energy weapons for Lieutenant-General Leonard Perez of the U.S. Air Force who was searching for a weapon to implant messages into the minds of the enemy and to urge his own truth onto superhuman deeds of valor.

The device employs electro-magnetic radiation of jiggers? frequency pulse at extremely low frequency -- ELF. It is used to torture people both physically and mentally from a distance.

Weapons of this type are claimed to have been used against a British woman protesting the presence of American cruise missiles at Greensham? Common Air Base during the '70s.

This weapon can be used to induce total sensory deprivation by broadcasting signals into the auditory nerves at such a power that it blocks the victims ability to 'hear themselves think'. The device has taken the concept of the old phrase "It is so noisy in here I can't hear myself think", and turned it into a powerful weapon of terror.

The process employed by such ELF technologies are described in various U.S. Defense Department Publications, including one entitled, "The Electro-Magnetic Spectrum and Low Intensity Conflict", by Captain Paul E. Tyler, medical ?, United States Navy,

which is included in a collection entitled, "Low Intensity Conflicts in Modern Technology" edit by Lt. Colonel, David ?... U.S. Air Force. The paper was delivered in 1984, and the collection published in 1986 by Air University Press, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama.

"Another pulse microwave device can deliver audible signals directly to an individual while they remain undetectable by anyone else. The technology is very simple, and can be built using an ordinary police radar gun. The microwave beam generated by the device is moderated at audio frequencies and can broadcast voices directly into the brain"... and here we come for that NASA Blue Beam Project, as we were talking about at the beginning, the telepathic electronic two-way communications from space goes exactly with that kind of technology.

I repeat here, "the microwave beam generated by the device is modulated at audio frequencies and can broadcast voices directly into the brain".

In his book, The Body Electric, Nobel Prize nominee Robert Becker described a series of experiments conducted in the early 1960's by Olenfree, where this phenomena was first demonstrated as well as later experiment ?? in 1973 at the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research by Dr. Joseph C. Sharp, who personally underwent tests in which he proved he could hear and understand spoken words delivered to him in an echo-free isolation chamber via a pulse microwave audiogram, an analogue of the word sound vibration beamed into his brain.

Becker then goes on to state, "such a device has obvious application and covert operation designed to drive a target crazy with voice or deliver undetectable instruction to a programmed asset".

Now figure out, when we talked about that new messiah from space would be talking to different religious and faith people on the earth by the inside who would give such kind of instruction like to Muslim people what kind of possession case and kind of social disorder on a large case scale ever seen before we would see everywhere on the planet.

A 1978 book entitled, Microwave Auditory Affect and Application, by James C. Lim? explains how audible voice can be broadcast directly into the brain. This technology could be used to make the deaf hear, but instead it has been turned against the public.

Olenfree also reported that he could speed up, slow down or stop isolated frogs hearts by synchronizing the pulse rate of a microwave beat with the beat of the earth itself. According to Robert Becker, similar results have been obtained using live frogs, indicating that it is technically feasible to produce heart attacks which are rays designed to penetrate the human chest.

I should mention also that Becker does not participate in such research. It has been demonstrated that focused Ultra High Frequency - UHF - electromagnetic energy beams can be used to induce considerable agitation and muscular or induce muscular weakness and lethargy. Microwaves can also be used to burn human skin, and aide the effect of drugs, bacteria and poisons, or effect the functioning of the entire brain.

These effects were all studied at length by the CIA on September 21, 1977 in testimony before the Senate Sub-committee on Health and Scientific Research. Dr. Sidney Gottlieb who directed the MK Ultra program at that time was forced to discuss aspects

of the CIA's research to find technique of vacuation? the human organs by remote electronic means.

So this is something that exists right now, that has been pushed to its highest degree and that can be used from space by satellite to reach anybody on the planet.

If we go a little bit deeper in that kind of process and mind control over the people, we find for the year 1988 this: the equipment and technology... that kind of technology of mind control have been used to influence politics in a much more direct fashion.

Michael Dukakis, the Democrat Presidential candidate running against George Bush in the 1988 U.S. election, was targeted with microwave technology in order to impede his public speaking performance when the opinion polls he posed a threat to Bush's election prospect. He also claims that the equipment was used against Kitty Dukakis and drove her to the brink of suicide. In the grisly Disneyland World of U.S. politics a presidential candidate with problems such as these two dealt with, obviously stand to lose the race to the White House.

What I can add over here about those kinds of new mental battlefields that will be used in the NASA Blue Beam Project to implement the New World Religion is this: In the December 1980 edition of the U.S. Army Journal, which is called "Military Review", an article by Lieutenant Colonel John B. Alexander, entitled "The New Mental Battlefield -- Beam Me Up, Spock", provides further insight into the technical capabilities now at the disposal of the controllers. He writes:

"Several examples will demonstrate areas in which progress has been made:  
The transference of energy from one organism to another.

The ability to heal or cause disease can be transmitted over a distance, thus inducing illness or death for no apparent cause.

Telepathic behavior modification which includes the ability to induce hypnotic states up to distances in excess of 1,000 kilometers has been reported. The use of telepathic hypnosis also holds great potential. This capability could allow agents to be deeply planted with no conscious knowledge of their programming, and .??/ the Manchurian Candidate ? and does not even require a phone call.

Other mind to mind induction techniques are being considered. If perfected, this capability could allow the direct transference of thought via telepathy from one mind or group of minds to a select target audience. The unique factor is that the recipient will not aware that thought has been implanted from an external source. He or she will believe the thoughts are original".

This is exactly what we were talking about, and the third step of the NASA BlueBeam Project calls the telepathic-electronic two-way communication, and the article continues:

"If it is possible to feed artificial thoughts into the ?? genetic ?? via satellite the mind control of the entire planet is now possible. An individual's only resistance to constantly question the motivation behind their thoughts and not act upon thoughts that they consider to be outside the boundaries of their own ethical and moral boundaries. "

Once again, it is wise to consider how television, advertising and various forms of



social pressure are constantly being used to manipulate those boundaries.

And one thing... another thing which is really important over here, dealing with that kind of technology is this: It has been reported by Lt.Col Alexander who said in the summary of his Military Review article:

"The information on those kinds of technology presented here would be considered by some to be ridiculous since it does not conform to their view of reality; but some people still believe the world is flat."

Now, this means a lot, because if people do not believe that kind of technology to be possible, or this kind of technology we're talking about is just science fiction... those people put themselves in jeopardy because when the night of the thousand stars will shine from the space during that night when the new messiah and the new world religion will be implemented on the planet, those people won't have time to prepare themselves, and they will not be prepared to preserve themselves against such kind of technology.

That's why they put themselves in jeopardy. Because they don't believe; they don't take time to prepare and this is something real dangerous. Now we're going to talk about the fourth step of that NASA Blue Beam project. Now, the fourth step concerns the universal supernatural manifestation with electronic means. It contains three different orientations.

One is to make mankind believe that an alien invasion is about to strike down on each major city of the earth in order to push each major nations to use its nuclear to strike back. This way, it would put each of these nations in a state of full disarmament in front of the United Nations after the false attack.

The second is to make the Christians believe to a major rapture with the supposedly divine intervention of an alleged good alien force coming to save the people from a brutal satanic attack. Its goal is to get rid of all significant opposition to the New World Order.

The third orientation in the fourth step is a mixture of electronic and supernatural forces. The waves used at that time will allow supernatural forces to travel through optical fiber, coaxial cable... the one used for cable TV, electric and phone lines in order to penetrate everywhere on electronic equipment, appliances will be already installed with microchips. The goal of this one deals with global Satanic ghosts - specter - all around the world in order to push all population on the edge to drown into a wave of suicide, killing and permanent psychological disorders.

Then after that night of the thousand stars humanity is going to be ready to implore any new messiah to re-establish peace everywhere at any cost, even at the cost of freedom abdication. Now which is interesting to note this over here: the technique used in that fourth step is exactly the same used in the past in USSR to force the people to accept Communism. The same technical wave will be used by the United nations to implement the New World Religion in the New World Order.

A lot of people ask me when this is going to happen and how they are going to do it. Which are the steps they're going to set up before that Night of the Thousand Stars? According to different research and different reports that we get, they are thinking right now of an economic crash. Not a complete crash that would put down all the economy, but an economic crash that would force them... that will also have them as a pretext to come up with an in between currency.

That means a new kind of currency that would be in between the currency that we have right now and the electronic cash. Now, what they want to do with the in between currency is to force everybody who has some money in reserve everywhere to spend that money, because they consider that they will have problems to implement the New World Order if somewhere there are some people independent who can survive by themselves, so they have to put the people in a way to force them to spend everything and absolutely everything they have.

That's why they want to start with a kind of organized economic crash to put up a new currency, and after that, they're planning to put on worldwide basis the electronic cash. But right now it is not possible for them to put that electronic cash since the super highway - what we call also the electronic highway - is not yet ready and implemented all over the planet.

To implement the electronic cash worldwide they have to have finished the implementation of the super highway everywhere, and for people wondering what the super highway is exactly... the super highway is an electronic sophisticated way to control directly the people in every home where it will be implemented or installed. To that stage, the control - the political control - of everybody on the planet will be possible.

To prevent any kind of independence from the people we have to remember that the New Agers... the New World Order people will do anything to make sure that everybody, before the year 2000 will have spent all his personal and reserve cash or goods.

To prevent also any kind of independence the New World people have already started, all over the planet, to put into birds, fish and wild animals microchip implants. Why? Because they want to make sure that for the people who won't accept the NWO, they won't be able to fish or hunt anywhere, because the day they would try in the wilderness to make some fishing and hunting, the day they would catch a fish or an animal with a microchip implant they would be traceable by satellite, absolutely, everywhere.

Those same people to make sure of full control of everybody are changing laws of different countries right now to make sure they will have full control of the vitamins. They are also changing laws right now about religion, and also about psychiatric disorders, in order to consider anybody with a violence potential as somebody who has psychiatric disorder and has to be put in a clinic to be re-educated.

If you keep in mind that this New World Order New World Government is a worldwide dictatorship you cannot forget that a dictatorship will do everything possible to make sure they will be in a position to control anybody everywhere on the planet. That's why the kind of new technology they're putting on right now everywhere is a technology for control of the people.

If you take, for instance, the technology that we had in the 1940s and the 1950s that kind of technology was made to help the people for an easier life. But the new technology - if you take the time to look at computers, microchips, new microchip cars, super highway... you'll notice, and this is evident, you'll notice that all that technology is built in a way to track down and control anybody everywhere. And as that kind of technology is made in such a way, it's made also for a purpose.

To refuse to see that purpose is not to want to see the evidence of a new kind of political power that want to establish themselves all over the planet.

Now, at the end of this conference... I want to apologize to everybody's my difficulties, my problem with English speaking, because as a Canadian journalist I'm also from the eastern part of Canada which is French-speaking country.

I hope that even if I have problems with pronunciation, or a French accent in my speaking, I hope it will be possible for everybody at least to understand the meaning of this conference and also the real meaning of the NASA Blue Beam Project.

And I ask everybody everywhere who will be listening that they make everything possible to spread the words everywhere about that kind of new technology which exists right now into space and which exists for the purpose to implement the New World Religion which is also the basic foundation of the New World Order government.

Thank you and good night.



this information was retrieved from: <http://www.sweetliberty.org/issues/hoax/bluebeam.htm>

this edition of the presentation was arranged by: Jonathan Barlow Gee.

this e-book is hereby released, from 2009, into the Public Domain.

front cover photograph by: Ann Althouse.

back cover photograph by: Scott Hudson.



the Testimony of Khalid Shiek Mohammed

Begin UNCLASSIFIED DETAINEE oral statement:

DETAINEE:

Yes, and I want to add one thing just for some clarification: this is all like some operations I was involved in in '94-'95, before I became a member of Al Queda - which is related to the BOJINKA Operation. "Some operations," which means, not with Al Queda.

This is all like the beheading of Daniel Pearl, because he stated for the Pakistani group that he was working with them both. His mission was in Pakistan to track Richard Reed's trip to make ready his targets in Israel. His mission in Pakistan (was for) Israeli intelligence, Mossad, to ask about when Reed was going there. Also, he mentioned to them he was both - he had relation with CIA people, and was with Mossad. But he was not related to Al Queda at all or Usama Bin Laden (PBWH). This was related to the Pakistan Mujahadeen group.

"Other operations," mostly CLASSIFIED. I'm responsible, but if you read the HEADING HISTORY... this line here [indicating to Personal Representative {defense attorney} a place on "EXHIBIT D" dash "C" {which states} "Also hereby admit and affirm, without duress, that I was a responsible participant in finances..."] ... this part is not necessary, because I am responsible, but was, in all these things, the party responsible for finances, only.

PRESIDENT OF THE CONVENED MILITARY TRIBUNAL:

I Understand. I want to be Clear, though: "it is you that was the author of that document." [indicating "EXHIBIT D" :: the DETAINEE's "confession"]

DETAINEE:

That's right.

PRESIDENT:

That - "it is True"?

DETAINEE:

That's true.

PRESIDENT:

Alright, you may continue with your statement.

DETAINEE:

Okay, I'll start in Arabic!

PRESIDENT:

~Please~

DETAINEE [to TRANSLATOR]:

One, For this speech, I will not take your "oath." "Take an oath" is a part of Your TRIBUNAL and I don't accept it. That the Tribunal is to be, that I'll accept. That means, I "accept" the American Constitution, American Law, or whatever it is you think you are doing here. This is why, religiously, I cannot accept Anything You Do. Just to explain, it does not mean, nor am I saying, that "I am lying" when I don't take your "oath." That does not mean "I am lying." You know very well, people take The Oath all the time and they Lie. You know the President (George W. Bush), he did this before: he just takes the "oath" and he lies. So, now, when I'm not taking your "oath," this

does not mean I'm lying.

PRESIDENT:  
I Understand.

DETAINEE:  
Two. When I "wrote" this thing [indicating "EXHIBIT D" :: his "confession"], I mean he [indicating the Personal Representative, or Public Defender] told me that, "the President may stop you at any time, and he won't take no lip, so don't talk too much." (He told me) to be "Within Subject." So I will Try to stick to the "Enemy Combatant" subject.

PRESIDENT:  
You can say whatever you'd like to say so long as it's relevant to "What We Are Discussing Here Today."

DETAINEE:  
Good? Thanks. What I "wrote" here, it's not me trying to make myself out to be a "hero," when I said I was responsible for "This" or "That." But you, you are a military man, so you know very well there is a Language for War. So, there you are, and there "we" are: when I "admit" these things, I'm not saying, "I did it." "I did it" is the Language of a War. If America wants to invade Iraq, they will not send Saddam roses or kisses, they send bombs instead. This would be the way I would choose, if I were fighting FOR somebody. [as an aside to the TRANSLATOR: (Admit to them I am America's enemy. Certainly I am the enemy of "America.")]

Usama Bin Laden did his best press conference for the American media. Reporter John Miller was there when he made a declaration on Jihad against America. And later he said, "there is no need now to explain what I meant then." Mostly they talked about the American military's presence in the Arabian Peninsula, and their aid for Israel, among other things. So, when "we" waged any "war" against "America," then we are "like jackals fighting in the night."

I consider, myself, what you are doing a "religious" thing, as you consider us "fundamentalists." Just so, we derive, from Our Religious learning, that we and George Washington are doing the same thing. I consider George Washington my own hero. So, many Moslems, likewise consider Usama Bin Laden. He is doing the same thing: he is justly fighting. He just wants his own independence. Even more Moslems, not only me, think that about what Al Queda or the Taliban are doing. They have been oppressed by America. This is the Truth of the Prophet! So when you say I'm an "Enemy Combatant," that's (exactly) Right. "We" [indicating "all"] are.

But I'm asking you, again, to be Fair with the many DETAINEEs who are Not "Enemy Combatants," because, Many of them have been unjustly arrested, (Many! Not one, or two, or three.) since the definition which you wrote is not fair, even from my own point of view because I was, in the time of the first Jihad, an enemy of Russia, and America supported me in this because I was their ally so long as I was fighting Russia. I'm doing the same job now: I'm fighting. I was fighting Russia then, and now I'm fighting America.

So many people who died in Afghanistan never lived there. Some lived there, but were not Taliban and were not Al Queda. They had been there through Russian times, but they could not go back to their homes under their corrupt governments. They stayed there, and then, when America invaded, the Afghani Parliament [the Afghan



"interim government" under Khamad Karzai] had them arrested. They had never been affiliated with the Taliban or any "other group." So many people consider them the "enemy," but they are not.

Because this definition is a very broad definition ... people who came there after October of 2001 - 2002, when America invaded Afghanistan, who had just arrived in Afghanistan because they heard there was an enemy, who don't know what it means - "Al Queda," or "Usama Bin Laden," or "Taliban" - and who don't care about these things, who heard only that there was an enemy in Afghanistan and they just arrived - as they had arrived the first time, when they heard Russia had invaded Afghanistan - they arrived and fought, just like back then they came - they don't know what's going on or that the Taliban were the heads of government [aside, (you consider me not only Taliban, but the president of their whole government)], and many people joined the Taliban because they were the government - and when Karzai came they joined Karzai (because they are the Public, but they don't know what's going on), so many fought the Taliban (just because they were the Public and the Taliban were the government) ... now the CIA don't have an exact definition: for "who is Taliban?" and "who is Al Queda?" Your Tribunal is discussing, am I the "enemy" or not, because that is one of your jobs.

So, this is why you find many Afghani people, Pakistani people even, that don't know what's going on, they just hear they are fighting to help Moslems in Afghanistan. Then what? "There are some infidels who came there, so we must save them." But then, they've got no intention of doing anything against America. The Taliban themselves said between one another, Afghanistan, where they live, never knew nor approved the 9-11 Operation. The senior Taliban officials reject what Al Queda does, many of the Taliban rejected what they are doing now. Even more Taliban do not agree about whether we are even in Afghanistan. Some have been "with" us. But the Taliban? Never in their lives, before America invaded them, intended to do anything against America. They had never been "with" Al Queda.

It doesn't mean we are "Americans" now that we are here. They gave political asylum to many nationalities - to Chinese and to North Koreans in opposition - but that does not mean they are "with" them. It's the same thing with many of the Taliban. They harbour us as Al Queda, but that does not mean we are "together." So this is why I'm asking you to be fair with Afghanis, Pakistanis and many Arabs who were in Afghanistan.

"Funny story:" there had been some spies sent by the Sunni government to assassinate Usama Bin Laden (Peace Be With Him), and we arrested them and handed them (over) to the Taliban in Afghanistan, and the Taliban put them in prison. Then the Americans came and arrested them as "enemy combatants" and brought them here. So now even my own enemy is here with me. This is not fair.

This is what I'm saying: the words of War. You know very well that, for any country at war against an enemy - the Language of War is Killing. But "if a man and woman are truly married is up to their children." So if you and me - two nations - will be, together, at war, then only others will ever be victims. These are the Words of the Language. Did you know 40,000,000 people were killed in WWII? Ten million had been killed in WWI. Did you know that 2,400,000 were killed in the Korean War?

So, this is the Language of War. Anyone, like Usama Bin Laden, who says, "I'm going to war because of such and such a reason," has thus declared it. But when you said I was a "Terrorist," I think this is a lie. "Terrorist," "Enemy Combatant" - these words

mean whatever you, as CIA, want.

Now, when I asked about the witnesses [referring here to the right during a trial for the defendant to call witnesses "who are reasonably available and whose testimony is relevant to this hearing"], you said you were not convinced it would be related to this matter. That is up to you. Maybe I AM "convinced," but you are the head of the committee, and this other [gesturing to his PR], is not responsible.

So, finally, it's Your War, but the problem is there are no definitions for many words. It is known everywhere that many people are oppressed, because in war there will be victims.

When I said, "I'm not happy that three thousand were killed in America - I feel sorry even, I don't like to kill children" - never did Islam give me the "green light" to kill people. Killing, as in Christianity, Judaism and Islam, is Prohibited. But then, it's an "exception to the rule" when you are killing people in Iraq. You say, "we have to do it, we don't like Saddam," and "this is the way to deal with Saddam." The same things you are saying, the same Language you use, I use. When you were invading two-thirds of Mexico, you called your war "Manifest Destiny." It's up to you to call it what you want. But the other side are calling you Oppressors.

If we were living in the Revolutionary War now, and George Washington were arrested by Britain, certainly they would consider him an "enemy combatant." But you Americans consider him a "Hero." This is Right: that in any "Revolutionary War," there will be (those like) George Washington and (those like) Britain. Just so do we consider American Army bases which have been in Iraq since the '70s, and in Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain as a kind of invasion. But I'm not here to convince you. No, mostly this speech is to ask you to be Fair with people. I don't have any say as to whether or not I'm your enemy. That's why the Language of All War in the world is killing and the words of War are victims.

I don't like to kill people. I feel very sorry there were killed children in 9-11. What can I do? Such is the Language. Sometimes, I want to cause a Great Awakening among Americans to stop their foreign policy in our lands. I know American people have been torturing us since the '70s. (I know they torture their own citizens, but this is "CLASSIFIED") I know you are talking about "Human Rights." And I know torture goes against the American Constitution and against American Law. But, as they say, "there's an exception to every rule," and so, "it's your bad luck that you are part of the exception of our laws." They've got to have something to convince me that we are "speaking the same Language."

Instead, We say, "we have Sharia Law, and we have the Koran." So, what is "enemy combatant" in My Language? It is written, "Allah does not forbid you, with regard to those who fight you or drive you out of your homes Not Because of Your Faith, from dealing kindly and justly with them. For Allah favours those who are correct." There is an additional sentence: "Allah Only forbids you, with regard to those who fight you, drive you out of your homes and support others in driving you out, Because of Your Faith, from turning to them for friendship and protection." It is such as turn to Them in These circumstances that do wrong.

So, We are guided - in whatever deed we do - by asking the Koran or Hadith. We are not making up laws for ourselves. When we need (permission for a) Fatwa from the religious scholars, we have to go back and see what the scholars say. Killing is prohibited among all who you call the "people of the Book" - Judaism, Christianity



and Islam. You know the Ten Commandments very well. The Ten Commandments are shared between all of us. We Are All Serving One God: "Thou Shalt Not Kill," and you know that.

But we also have the Language of War: "you have to kill," and "you have to care whether you are the target or not." But I say, "so long as I'm not AT the Pentagon, that's fine by me." When we targeted in the U.S.A. we chose military, economic and political targets, and the central victims are mostly the economic targets.

But, if Americans are certain that Usama Bin Laden is in a house, they don't care about his children and his property. They will just bomb it. They will kill all of them - and they've done it, too. They killed the wife of Dr. Ayman Zawahiri and his two daughters and his son all with one bomb! They received a report that it was his house, but that he would not be home. They killed them! They arrested my children intentionally. They are Children! They have been incarcerated for four months and they've been tortured! So, for myself, I have patience. I know I'm not supposed to talk about what will become of me. "We Americans have Human Rights."

So, "enemy combatant" itself is a flexible word. So, I think Allah Knows that many who have been arrested have been arrested unjustly. And all militaries throughout history have known very well: They Don't Want War To Ever End. War started with Adam, when Cain killed Abel, and continues now. It will never stop killing people. This is the Way of the Language. America started the Revolutionary War. Then they started the Mexican and Spanish War. Then World War I. World War II. You've read the history. You know War is Never-ending. That's life. But who is an "enemy combatant" and who is not?

Finally, I finish my statement by asking you to be fair with other people.

PRESIDENT:

Does that conclude your statement, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed?

DETAINEE:

Yes.

PRESIDENT:

Khalid Sheik Mohammed, you shall be notified of the Tribunal decision upon completion of the review of these proceedings by the Combatant Status Review Tribunal convening authority in Washington, D.C. If the Tribunal determines that you should not be classified an enemy combatant, you will be released to your home country as soon as arrangements can be made.

this edition was re-transcribed by: Jonathan Barlow Gee  
and is released into the public domain, 2009.

Transcript of CSRT (KSM) Hearing: [http://www.defenselink.mil/news/transcript\\_ISN10024.pdf](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/transcript_ISN10024.pdf)  
Audio of CSRT Hearing: <http://www.defenselink.mil/news/ksm.mp3>

## the Testimony of Khalid Shiek Mohammed



Dec. 21, 2012 - Never

www.benpadijah.com



# TIME

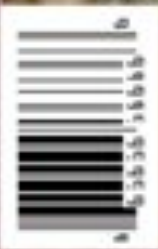
PERSON OF THE YEAR

# ~GOD~

HARK,  
HARK,  
Immanuel!

The Prince of Peace  
hath Returned.  
Thrice Rejoice!

Man or Myth: MARDUK / Ra & Mithra,  
Messiah / Maitreya : Jah / Allah,  
YHVH Elohim, AHDVNHAY,  
Jesus Christ / Yeshuah Ben Padijah.



CTHULHU  
DAGON  
Loving words to all of Earth's most universal people ever.





MODERN  
ESPELS  

---

VOLUME 2

edited by: Jon Gee

# the Nuremberg Directives

## "Permissible Medical Experiments"

*Trials of War Criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunals under Control Council Law No. 10. Nuremberg October 1946 - April 1949, Washington. U.S. Government Printing Office (n.d.), vol. 2., pp. 181-182.*

- 1) The voluntary consent of the human subject is absolutely essential. This means that the person involved should have legal capacity to give consent; should be situated as to be able to exercise free power of choice, without the intervention of any element of force, fraud, deceit, duress, over-reaching, or other ulterior form of constraint or coercion, and should have sufficient knowledge and comprehension of the elements of the subject matter involved as to enable him to make an understanding and enlightened decision. This latter element requires that before the acceptance of an affirmative decision by the experimental subject there should be made known to him the nature, duration, and purpose of the experiment; the method and means by which it is to be conducted; all inconveniences and hazards reasonably to be expected; and the effects upon his health or person which may possibly come from his participation in the experiment. The duty and responsibility for ascertaining the quality of the consent rests upon each individual who initiates, directs or engages in the experiment. It is a personal duty and responsibility which may not be delegated to another with impunity.
- 2) The experiment should be such as to yield fruitful results for the good of society, unprocurable by other methods or means of study, and not random and unnecessary in nature.
- 3) The experiment should be so designed and based on the results of animal experimentation and a knowledge of the natural history of the disease or other problem under study that the anticipated results will justify the performance of the experiment.
- 4) The experiment should be so conducted as to avoid all unnecessary physical and mental suffering and injury.
- 5) No experiment should be conducted where there is an a priori reason to believe that death or disabling injury will occur; except, perhaps, in those experiments where the experimental physicians also serve as subjects.
- 6) The degree of risk to be taken should never exceed that determined by the humanitarian importance of the problem to be solved by the experiment.
- 7) Proper preparations should be made and adequate facilities provided to protect the experimental subject against even remote possibilities of injury disability or death.
- 8) The experiment should be conducted only by scientifically qualified persons. The highest degree of skill and care should be required through all stages of the experiment of those who conduct or engage in the experiment.
- 9) During the course of the experiment the human subject should be at liberty to bring the experiment to an end if he has reached the physical or mental state where continuation of the experiment seems to him to be impossible.
- 10) During the course of the experiment the scientist in charge must be prepared to terminate the experiment at any stage, if he has probable cause to believe, in the exercise of the good faith, superior skill and careful judgement required by him that a continuation of the experiment is likely to result in injury, disability, or death to the experimental subject.

## THE OATH

I, \_\_\_\_\_, now in the presence of Almighty God, the blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed St. John the Baptist, the Holy Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the saints, sacred host of heaven, and to you, my Ghostly Father, the superior general of the Society of Jesus founded by St. Ignatius Loyola, in the pontification of Paul the III and continued to the present, do by the womb of the Virgin, the matrix of God, and the rod of Jesus Christ, declare and swear that His Holiness the Pope, is Christ's vice regent and is the true and only head of the Catholic or Universal Church throughout the earth; and that by virtue of the keys of binding and loosing given His Holiness by my Savior, Jesus Christ, he hath power to depose heretical kings, princes, States, Commonwealths, and Governments and they may be safely destroyed. Therefore to the utmost of my power I will defend this doctrine and His Holiness's right and custom against all usurpers of the heretical or Protestant authority whatever, especially the Lutheran Church of Germany, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and Norway and the now pretended authority and Churches of England and Scotland, and the branches of same now established in Ireland and on the Continent of America and elsewhere, and all adherents in regard that they may be usurped and heretical, opposing the sacred Mother Church of Rome. I do now denounce and disown any allegiance as due to any heretical king, prince, or State, named Protestant or Liberals, or obedience to any of their laws, magistrates, or officers. I do further declare that the doctrine of the Churches of England and Scotland, of the Calvinists, Huguenots, and others of the name of Protestants or Masons to be damnable, and they themselves to be damned who will not forsake the same. I do further declare that I will help assist, and advise all or any of His Holiness's agents, in any place where I should be, in Switzerland, Germany, Holland, Ireland, or America, or in any other kingdom or territory I shall come to and do my utmost to extirpate the heretical Protestant or Masonic doctrines and to destroy all their pretended powers, legal or otherwise. I do further promise and declare that, notwithstanding I am dispensed with to assume any religion heretical for the propagation of the Mother Church's interest to keep secret and private all her agents' counsels from time to time, as they intrust me and not divulge, directly or indirectly, by word, writing, or circumstances whatever but to execute all that should be proposed, given in charge or discovered unto me by you my Ghostly father, or any of this sacred order. I do further promise and declare that I will have no opinion or will of my own or any mental reservation whatsoever, even as a corpse or cadaver (perinde ac cadaver), but will unhesitatingly obey each and every command that I may receive from my superiors in the militia of the Pope and of Jesus Christ. That I will go to any part of the world whithersoever I may be sent, to the frozen regions north, jungles of India, to the centers of civilization of Europe, or to the wild haunts of the barbarous savages of America without murmuring or repining, and will be submissive in all things whatsoever is communicated to me. I do further promise and declare that I will, when opportunity presents, make and wage relentless war, secretly and openly against all heretics, Protestants and Masons, as I am directed to do to extirpate them from the face of the whole earth; and that I will spare neither age, sex, or condition, and that I will hang, burn, waste, boil, flay, strangle, and bury alive these infamous heretics; rip up the stomachs and wombs of their women, and crush their infants' heads against the walls in order to annihilate their execrable race. That when the same can not be done openly, I will secretly use the poisonous cup, the strangulation cord, the steel of the poniard, or the leaden bullet, regardless of the honor, rank, dignity, or authority of the persons, whatever may be their condition in life, either public or private, as I at any time may be directed so to do by any agents of the Pope or superior of the Brotherhood of the Holy Father of the Society of Jesus. In confirmation of which I hereby dedicate my life, soul, and all corporal powers, and with the dagger which I now receive I will subscribe my name written in my blood in testimony thereof; and should I prove false or weaken in my determination, may my brethren and fellow soldiers of the militia of the Pope cut off my hands and feet and my throat from ear to ear, my belly opened and sulphur burned therein with all the punishment that can be inflicted upon me on earth and my soul shall be tortured by demons in eternal hell forever. That I will in voting always vote for a K. of C. in preference to a Protestant, especially a Mason, and that I will leave my party so to do; that if two Catholics are on the ticket I will satisfy myself which is the better supporter of Mother Church and vote accordingly. That I will not deal with or employ a Protestant if in my power to deal with or employ a Catholic. That I will place Catholic girls in Protestant families that a weekly report may be made of the inner movements of the heretics. That I will provide myself with arms and ammunition that I may be in readiness when the word is passed, or I am commanded to defend the church either as an individual or with the militia of the Pope. All of which I, \_\_\_\_\_, do swear by the blessed Trinity and blessed sacrament which I am now to receive to perform and on part to keep this, my oath. In testimony hereof, I take this most holy and blessed Sacrament of the Eucharist and witness the same further with my name written with the point of this dagger dipped in my own blood and seal in the face of this holy sacrament.





~ Most Holy Father ~

Major Marion J. Lawless

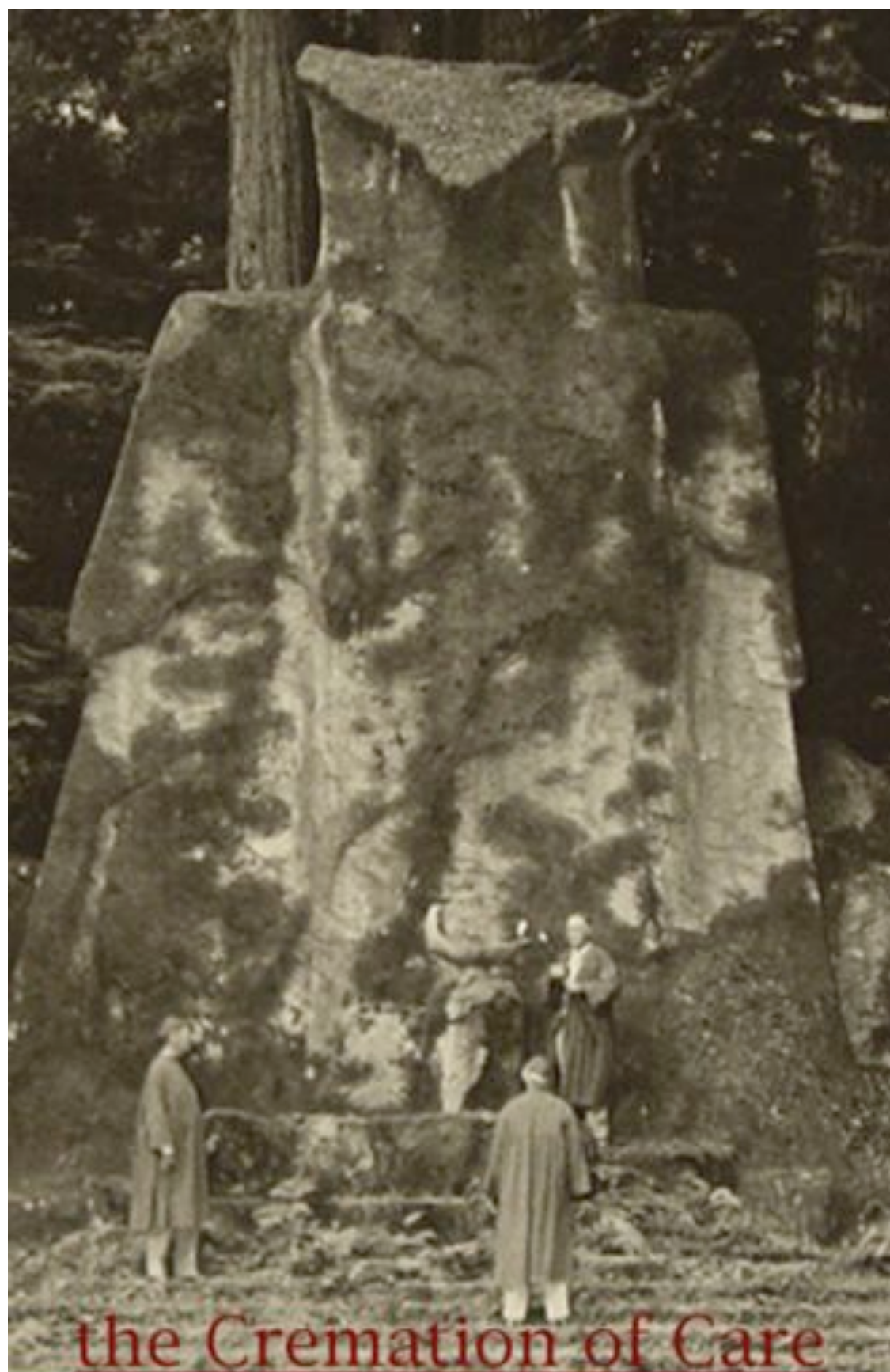
humbly begs the Apostolic Blessing and  
a Plenary Indulgence to be gained at  
the hour of death, on condition that, being  
truly sorry for his sins, but unable to  
confess them and to receive the Holy  
Viaticum, he shall at least invoke  
with his lips or heart the ~ ~ ~

~ ~ ~ Holy Name of Jesus

*Illius Dominiis benigne animi precibus  
Actum et Audientis Thomae, die 16 Junii 1952*

*F. D. Veniss*

*Archiepiscopus Atlantae*



the Cremation of Care



## the “Cremation of Care” ceremony of Bohemian Grove

BEGIN

*Robed men enter an area in front of a 40 foot high statue of the owl of Bohemia as bagpipes play.  
The robed men assemble in front of the statue. 2 different "priests" will speak during the ritual  
and the voice of Dull Care will also be heard.*

**Priest 1:** The owl is in his leafy temple. Let all within the grove be reverent before him. Lift up your heads, oh ye trees, and be ye lifted up ye everlasting spires. For behold! Here is Bohemia's shrine and holy are the pillars of this house. Weaving spiders, come not here.

**Priest 2:** Hail Bohemians with the ripple of waters, the song of birds, such music as inspires the sinking soul do we invite you into mid-summer's joy. The sky above is blue and sown with stars. The forest floor is heaped with fragrant grit. The evenings cool kiss is yours. The campfires glow. The birth of rosy fingered dawn. Shake off your sorrows with the city's dust and cast to the winds the cares of life. Let memory bring back the well-loved names of gallant friends who knew and loved this grove. Dear, boon companions of the long ago. Aye! Let them join us in this ritual; not a place be empty in our midst. All of his battles to hold in this gray autumn of the world or in the springtime of your heart. Attend our tale. Gather ye forest folk and cast your spell over these mortals. Touch their world-blind eyes with care and open their eyes to fancy. Follow the memories of yesterday and seal the gates of sorrow. It is a dream, and, yet, not all a dream. Dull care and all of his works are but a dream. As vanished Babylon and goodly Tyre. So shall they also vanish. But the wilding rose blows on the broken battlements of Tyre and moss rends the stones of Babylon. For beauty is eternal and we bow to beauty everlasting. For lasting happiness, we turn to one alone. As she surrounds you now, great nature, refuge of the weary heart. And oily balm for breasts that had been bruised. She has cool hands for every fevered brow and dreadless silence for the troubled soul. Her councils are most wise. She healeth well having such ministries as calm and sleep. She is ever faithful. Other friends may fail, but seek ye her in any quiet place and, smiling, she will rise and give to you her kiss. So must ye come as children. Little children that believe don't ever doubt her beauty and her faith, nor deem her tenderness can change or die.

**Priest 1:** Bohemians and priests. The desperate call of heavy hearts is answered. By the power of your fellowship, dull care is slain. His body has been brought yonder to our funeral pyre to the joyous pipings of a funeral march. Our funeral pyre awaits the corpse of care.

*An effigy of Dull Care is brought to the statue by way of boat across the lake.*

**Priest 2:** Oh thou, thus ferried across the shadowy tide in all the ancient majesty of death. Dull care, ardent enemy of beauty. Not for thee the tender forgiveness of the restful grave. Fire shall have its way with thee and all the winds make merry with thy dust. Bring Fire!

**Dull Care:** *(Laughter)* Fools! Fools! Fools! When will you learn that me ye cannot slay? Year after year ye burn me in this grove. Lifting your puny shouts of triumph to the stars. When again ye turn your faces to the marketplace, do ye not find me waiting as of old? Fools! Fools! Fools to dream ye conquer care!

**Priest 2:** Say thou mocking spirit. It is not all a dream. We know thou waitest for us. When this our sylvan holiday has ended, we shall meet thee and fight thee as of old and some of us prevail against thee and some thou shalt destroy. But, this too we know. Year after year, within this happy grove, our fellowship bans thee for a space. Thine malevolence which would pursue us here has lost its power under these friendly trees. So shall we burn thee once again this night and with the

flames that eat thine effigy we shall read the sign. Mid-summer sets us free!

**Dull Care:** Ye shall burn me once again? (*Laughter*) Not with these flames which hither ye have brought from regions where I reign. Ye fools and priests. I spit upon your fire!

*A pyrotechnic shoots from the Owl of Bohemia to the altar of Dull Care and ignites the sacrifice.*

**Priest 2:** Oh Owl! Prince of all mortal wisdom, Owl of Bohemia, we beseech thee, grant us thy council.

**Song Lyrics:** No fire! No fire! No fire! Unless it be kindled in the world where care is nourished on the hates of men and drive him from this grove. One flame alone must light this fire. One flame alone must light this fire. A pure eternal flame. A pure eternal flame. At last within the lamp of fellowship upon the altar of Bohemia.

**Priest 2:** Oh great Owl of Bohemia. We thank thee for thy adjuration. Be gone detested care! Be gone! Once more, we banish thee! Be gone Dull Care! Fire shall have its will of thee. Be gone Dull Care and all the winds make merry with thy dust! Hail fellowship's eternal flame! Once again, mid-summer sets us free!

**Dull Care:** (*Agonizing Scream*)

END

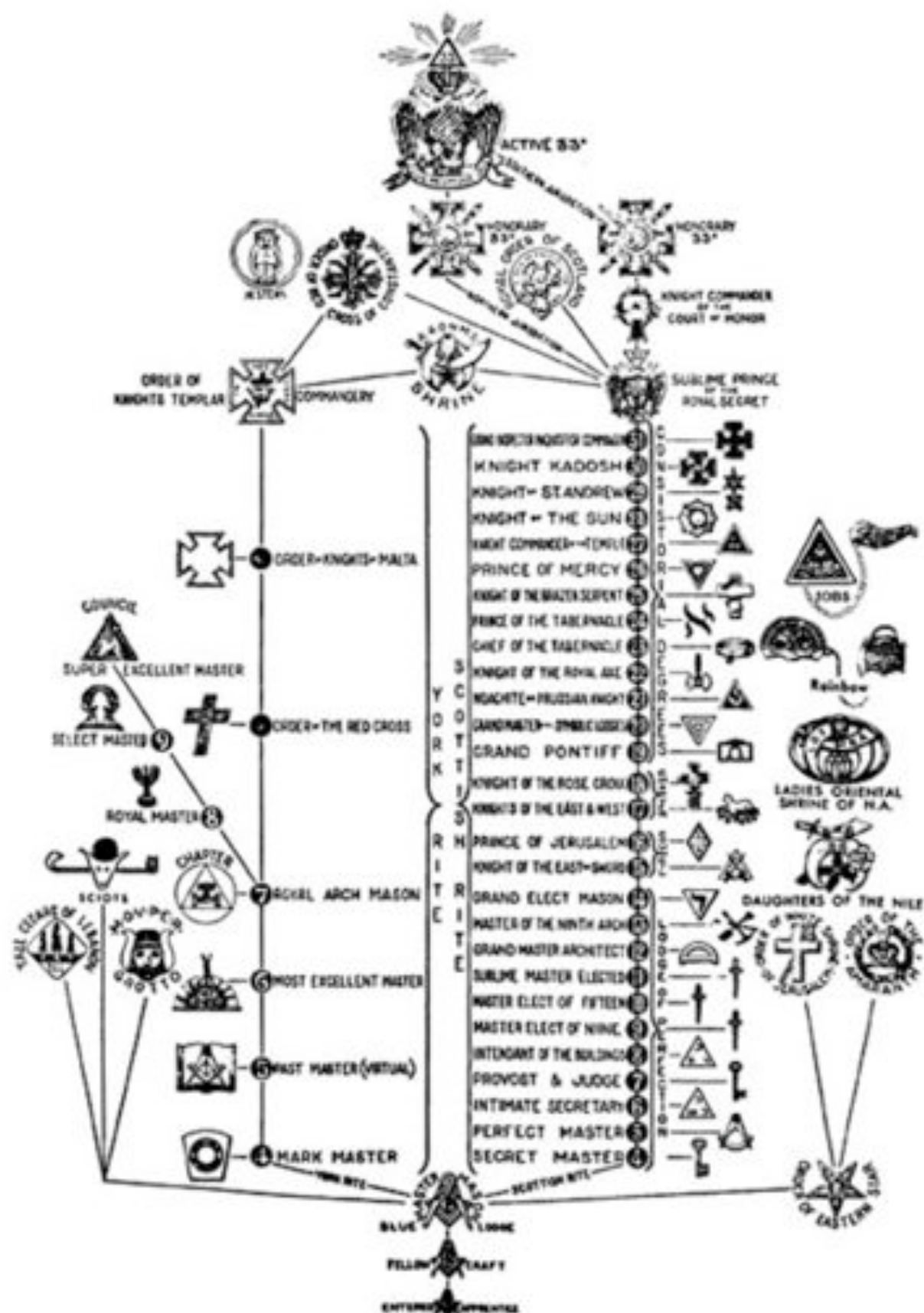


*Ronald Reagan*

*Glenn Seaborg*

*Richard Nixon*

*Bohemian Grove, 1957*



# Quotes of the Illuminati

## *I. Adam Weishaupt: founder of the Illuminati*

"The tenor of my life has been the opposite of everything that is vile, and no man can lay any such thing to my charge. I have reason to rejoice that these writings have appeared. They are a vindication of the order and of my conduct. I can and must declare to God, and I do it now in the most solemn manner, that in my whole life I never saw or heard of the so much condemned secret writings, and in particular, respecting these abominable means; such as poisoning, abortion etc. Was it ever known to me in any case that any of my friends or acquaintances ever even thought of them. I was indeed always a schemer and projector, but never could engage much in detail. My general plan is good, though in the detail there may be faults. I had myself to form. In another situation, and in an active station in life, I should have been keenly occupied, and the founding of an order would have never come into my head. But I would have executed much greater things, had not government always opposed my exertions, and placed others in situations which would have suited my talents. It was the full conviction of this, and of what could be done, if every man were placed in the office for which he was fitted by nature and a proper education, which first suggested to me the plan of Illumination. I did not bring Deism into Bavaria more than into Rome. I found it here, in great vigour, more abounding than in any of the neighboring Protestant States. I am proud to be known to the world as the founder of the Illuminati."

"I declare and I challenge all mankind to contradict my declaration, that no man can give any account of the order of Freemasonry, of it's origin, of it's history, of it's object, nor any explanation of it's mysteries and symbols, which does not leave the mind in total uncertainty on all these points. Every man is entitled therefore, to give any explanation of the symbols and a system of the doctrine that he can render palatable. Hence have sprung up that variety of systems, which for twenty years has divided the order. The simple tale of the English, and the fifty degrees of the French, and the Knights of Baron Hunde, are equally authentic, and have equally had the support of intelligent and zealous brethren. These systems are in fact but one. They have all sprung from the Blue Lodge of three degrees; Take these for their standard and found on these all the improvements by which each system is afterwards suited to the particular object which it keeps in view. There is no man, nor system in the world, which can show, by undoubted succession, that it should stand as the head of the order. Our ignorance in this particular frets me. Do but consider our short history of 120 years - Who will show me the Mother Lodge? Those of London we have discovered to be self-erected in 1716. Ask for their archives. They tell you they were burnt. They have nothing but the wretched sophistications of the Englishman Anderson, and the Frenchman Desaguilliers. Where is the Lodge of York, which pretends to the priority, with their King Boudin, and the archives that he brought from the East? These too are all burnt. What is the chapter of old Aberdeen and it's holy clericate? Did we not find it unknown, and the Mason Lodges there the most ignorant of all the ignorant, gaping for instruction from our deputies? Did we not find the same thing at London? And have not their missionaries been among us, prying into our mysteries, and eager to learn from us what is true Masonry? It is in vain therefore to appeal to judges; they are nowhere to be found; all claim for themselves the sceptre of the Order; all indeed are on an equal footing. They obtained followers, not from their authenticity, but from their conductiveness, to the end which they proposed, and from the importance of that end. It is by this scale that we must measure the mad and wicked explanations of the Rosycrucians, the exorcists and Cabalists. These are rejected by all good Masons, because incompatible with social happiness. Only such systems as promote this are retained. But alas, they are all sadly deficient, because they leave us under the domination of political and religious prejudices; and they are as inefficient as the sleepy dose of an ordinary sermon."

"But I have contrived an explanation which has every advantage; is inviting to christians of every communion; gradually frees them from all religious prejudices; cultivates the social virtues; and animates them by a great, a feasible, a speedy prospect of universal happiness, in a state of

liberty and moral equality, freed from the obstacles which subordination, rank, and riches, continually throw in our way. My explanation is accurate and complete, my means are effectual, and irresistible. Our secret association works in a way that nothing can withstand, and man shall soon be free and happy."

"This is the great object held out by this association; and the means of attaining it is illumination, enlightening the understanding by the sun of reason which will dispell the clouds of superstition and of prejudice. The proficient in this order are therefore justly named the Illuminated. And of all illumination which human reason can give, none is comparable to the discovery of what we are, our nature, our obligations, what happiness we are capable of, and what are the means of attaining it. In comparison with this, the most brilliant sciences are but amusements for the idle and luxurious. To fit man by illumination for active virtue, to engage him to it by the strongest motives, to render the attainment of it easy and certain, by finding employment for every talent, and by placing every talent in it's proper sphere of action, so that all, without feeling any extraordinary effort, and in conjunction with, and in completion of ordinary business, shall urge forward with united powers, the general task. This indeed will be an employment suited to noble natures, grand in it's views, and delightful in it's exercise."

"And what is this general object? The happiness of the human race. But where are the proper persons, the good, the generous and the accomplished to be found? And how, and by what strong motives, are they to be induced to be engaged, in a task so vast, so incessant, so difficult and so laborious? This association must be gradual. There are some such persons to be found in every society. Such noble minds will be engaged by the heart warming object. The first task of the association must therefore be to form the young members. As these multiply and advance, they become the apostles of beneficence, and the work is now on foot, and advances with a speed increasing every day. The slightest observation shows that nothing will so much contribute to increase the zeal of the members as secret union. We see with what keenness and zeal the frivolous business of Freemasons is conducted, by persons knit together by the secrecy of their union. Let this circumstance of our constitution therefore be directed to this noble purpose, and then all the objections urged against it by jealous tyranny and affrighted superstition will vanish. The order will thus work silently, and securely, and though the generous benefactors of the human race are thus deprived of the applause of the world, they have the noble pleasure of seeing their work prosper."

## *II. Letters of the Founders*

**Spartacus (Weishaupt) to Cato (Zwack)**  
*Feb. 6th, 1778*

"Nothing would be more profitable to us than a right history of mankind. Despotism has robbed them of their liberty. How can the weak obtain protection? Only by union; but this is rare. Nothing can bring this about but hidden societies. Hidden schools of wisdom are the means which will one day free men from their bonds. These have in all ages been the archives of nature, and the rights of men; and by them shall human nature be raised from her fallen state. Princes and nations shall vanish from the earth. The human race will then become one family, and the world will be the dwelling of Rational Men."

"Morality alone can do this. The head of every family will be what Abraham was, the patriarch, the priest and the unlettered lord of his family, and Reason will be the code of laws to all mankind. This is our great secret. True, there may be some disturbance; but by and by the unequal will become equal; and after the storm all will be calm. Can the unhappy consequences remain when the grounds of dissention are removed? Rouse yourselves therefore, O men! Assert your rights; and then will reason rule with unpercieved sway, and all shall be happy."

"Morality will perform all this; and Morality is the fruit of Illumination. Duties and rights are

reciprocal. Where Octavius has no right, Cato owes him no duty. Illumination shows us our rights, and Morality follows; that Morality which teaches us to be of age, to be out of wardenship, to be full grown, and to walk without the leading-strings of Priests and Princes."

"Jesus of Nazareth, the Grand Master of our order, appeared at a time when the world was in the utmost Disorder, and among a people who for ages had groaned under the yolk of Bondage. He taught them the lessons of reason. To be more effective, he took the aid of Religion--of opinions which were current--and in a very clever manner, he combined his secret doctrines with the popular religion, and with the customs which lay to his hand. In these he wrapped up his lessons--he taught by parables. Never did any prophet lead men so easily and so securely along the road to liberty. He concealed the precious meaning and consequences of his doctrines; but fully disclosed them to a chosen few. He speaks of a kingdom of the upright and faithful; His Father's kingdom, whose children we also are. Let us only take liberty and equality as the great aims of his doctrines, and Morality as the way to attain it, and everything in the New Testament will be comprehensible; and Jesus will appear as the Redeemer of slaves. Man has fallen from the condition of Liberty and Equality, the STATE OF PURE NATURE. He is under subordination and civil bondage, arising from the vices of man. This is the FALL, and ORIGINAL SIN. The KINGDOM OF GRACE is that restoration which may be brought about by Illumination and a just Morality. This is the NEW BIRTH. When man lives under government, he is fallen, his worth is gone, and his nature tarnished. By subduing our passions, or limiting their cravings, we may recover a great deal of our original worth, and live in a state of grace. This is the redemption of men - this is accomplished by Morality; and when this is spread over the world, we have THE KINGDOM OF THE JUST."

"But alas! the task of self-formation was too hard for the subjects of the Roman empire, corrupted by every species of profligacy. A chosen few recieved the doctrines in secret, and they have been handed down to us (but frequently almost buried under rubbish of man's invention) by the Freemasons. These three conditions of human society are expressed by the rough, the split, and the polished stone. The rough stone, and the one that is split, express our condition under government; rough by every fretting inequality of condition; and split since we are no longer one family; and are farther divided by differences of government, rank, property, and religion; but when reunited in one family we are represented by the polished stone. G is Grace, the Flaming Star is the Torch of Reason. Those who possess this knowledge are indeed Illuminati. Hiram is our fictitious Grand Master, slain for the REDEMPTION OF SLAVES; the Nine Masters are the Founders of the Order. Freemasonry is a Royal Art, inasmuch as it teaches us to walk without trammels, and to govern ourselves."

"'Mon but est de faire la Raison' As a subordinate object I shall endeavor to gain security to ourselves, a backing in case of misfortunes, and assistance from without. I shall therefore press the cultivation of science, especially such sciences as may have an influence on our reception in the world, and may serve to remove obstacles out of the way. We have to struggle with pedantry, with intolerance, with divines and statesmen, and above all princes and priests are in our way. Men are unfit as they are, and must be formed; each class must be the school of trial for the next. This will be tedious, because it is hazardous. In the last classes I propose academies under the direction of the order. This will secure us the assistance of the literati. Science shall here be the lure. Only those who are assuredly proper subjects shall be picked out from the inferior classes for the higher mysteries, which contain the first principles and means of promoting a happy life. No religionist must, on any account, be admitted into these. For here we work at the discovery and extirpation of superstition and prejudices. The instructions shall be so conducted that each shall disclose what he thinks he conceals in his own breast, what are his ruling propensities and passions, and how far he has advanced in the command of himself. This will answer all the purposes of oracular confession. And in particular, every person shall be made a spy on another and on all around him. Nothing can escape our site; by these means we shall readily discover who are contented, and recieve with relish the peculiar stated doctrines and religious opinions that



are laid before them; and at last, the trustworthy alone will be admitted to a participation of the whole maxims and political constitutions of the order. In a council composed of such members, we shall labor at the contrivance of means to drive by degrees the enemies of reason and of humanity out of the world. and to establish a peculiar morality and religion fitted for the great society of mankind."

"By this plan we shall direct all mankind. In this manner, and by the simplest means, we shall set all in motion and in flames. The occupations must be so allotted and contrived, that we may, in secret, influence all political transactions. I have considered everything, and so prepared it that if the order should this day go to ruin, I shall in one year re-establish it more brilliant than ever. Nor will it signify though all should be betrayed and printed. I am so certain of success, in spite of all obstacles (for the springs are in every heart) that I am indifferent, though it should involve my life and my liberty. But I have the art to draw advantage even from misfortune, and when you would think me sunk to the bottom, I shall rise with new vigour. Who would have thought, that a professor at Ingolstadt was to become the teacher of the professors of Gottingen and of the greatest men in Germany?"

### *Speaking of the Priests Degree*

"One would almost imagine, that this degree, as I have managed it, is genuine Christianity, and that it's end was to free the jews from slavery. I say, that Freemasonry is concealed Christianity. My explanation of the heiroglyphics, at least, proceeds on this supposition; and as I explain things, no man need be ashamed of being a Christian. Indeed, I afterwards throw away this name and substitute reason. But I assure you this is no small affair; A new religion, and a new state-government, which so happily explain one and all of these symbols, and combines them in one degree. You may think that this is my chief work; but I have three other degrees, all different, for my class of higher mysteries, in comparison with which this is but child's play; but these I keep for myself as General, to be bestowed by me only. Were you here I should give you this degree without hesitation. But it is too important to be trusted to paper, or to be bestowed otherwise than from my own hand. It is the key to history, to religion, and to every state government in the world."

### *Minos to Sebastian*

"The proposal of Hercules to establish a Minerval school for girls is excellent, but requires much circumspection. Philo and I have long conversed on this subject. We cannot improve the world without improving women, who have such a mighty influence on the men. But how shall we get hold of them? How will their relations, particularly their mothers, immersed in prejudice, consent that others shall influence their education? We must begin with grown girls. Hercules proposes the wife of Ptolemy Magus. I have no objection, and I have four step-daughters, fine girls. The oldest in particular is excellent. She is twenty-four, has read much, is above all prejudices, and in religion she thinks as I do. It may immediately be a very pretty Society, under the management of Ptolemy's wife, but really under his management. You must contrive pretty degrees and dresses, and ornaments, and elegant and decent rituals. No man must be admitted. This will make them become more keen, and they will go much farther than if we were present, or than if they thought that we knew of their proceedings. Leave them to the scope of their own fancies, and they will soon invent mysteries which will put us to the blush, and create an enthusiasm which we can never equal. They will be our great apostles. Reflect on the respect, nay the awe and terror inspired by the female mystics of antiquity. (Think of the Danaids--think of the Theban Bacchantes.) Ptolemy's wife must direct them, and she will be instructed by Ptolemy, and my step-daughters will consult with me. We must always be at hand to prevent the introduction of any improper question. We must prepare themes for their discussion--thus we shall confess them, and inspire them with our sentiments. No man however must come near them. This will fire their roving fancies and we may expect rare mysteries. But I am doubtful whether this Association will be durable. Women are fickle and impatient. Nothing will please them but hurrying from degree to

degree, through a heap of insignificant ceremonies, which will soon lose their novelty and influence. To rest seriously in one rank, and to be still and silent when they have found out that the whole is a cheat (hear the words of an experienced Mason) is a task of which they are incapable. They have not our motives to persevere for years, allowing themselves to be led about, and even then to hold their tongues when they find out that they have been deceived. Nay there is a risk that they may take into their heads to give things an opposite turn, and then, by voluptuous allurements, heightened by affected modesty and decency, which give them an irresistible empire over the best men, they may turn our Order upside down, and in their turn will lead the new one."

**Philo** (*Baron Von Knigg*) to **Cato** (*Zwack*)

"We must consider the ruling propensities of every age of the world. At present the cheat and tricks of the priests have roused all men against them, and against Christianity. But, at the same time superstition and fanaticism rule with unlimited domination, and the understanding of man really seems to be going backwards. Our task, therefore, is doubled. We must give such an account of things, that fanatics shall not be alarmed, and that shall, notwithstanding, excite a spirit of free inquiry. We must not throw away the good with the bad, the child with the dirty water, but we must make the secret doctrines of Christianity be received as the secrets of genuine Free Masonry. But farther, we have to deal with the despotism of Princes. This increases every day. But then, the spirit of freedom breathes and sighs in every corner, and, by the assistance of hidden schools of wisdom, Liberty, and Equality, the imprescribable rights of man, warm and glow in every breast. We must therefore unite these extremes. We proceed in this manner."

"Jesus Christ established no new religion; he would only set religion and reason in their ancient rights. For this purpose he would unite men in a common bond. He would fit them for this by spreading a just morality, by enlightning the understanding, and by assisting the mind to shake off all prejudices. He would teach all men, in the first place, to govern themselves. Rulers would then be needless, and equality and liberty would take place without any revolution, by the natural and gentle operation of reason and expediency. This great teacher allows himself to explain every part of the Bible in conformity to these purposes; and he forbids all wrangling among his scholars, because every man may there find a reasonable application to his peculiar doctrines. I told you, says he, but you could not bear it. Many therefore were called, but few were chosen. To these elect were trusted the most important secrets; and even among them there were degrees of information. There was a seventy and a twelve. all this was in the natural order of things, and according to the habits of the jews, and indeed of all antiquity. The Jewish theosophy was a mystery, like the Eleusinian or the Pythagorian, unfit for the vulgar, and thus the doctrines of Christianity were committed to the adepts, in a disciplina arcani. By these they were maintained, like the vestal fire. They were kept up, only in hidden societies, who handed them down to posterity; and they are now possessed by the Genuine Freemasons."

**III. further early writings**

"These powers are despots, when they do not conduct themselves by it's principles; and it is therefore our duty to surround them with it's members, so that the profane may have no access to them. Thus we are able most powerfully to promote it's interests. If any person is more disposed to listen to Princes than to the Order, he is not fit for it, and must rise no higher. We must do our utmost to procure the advancement of the Illuminati into all important civil offices."

"Rulers who are members must be promoted through the ranks of the order only in proportion as they acknowledge the goodness of it's great object, and manner of procedure. It's object may be said to be the checking of tyranny and princes, nobles and priests, and establishing a universal equality of condition and of religion."

"For the Order wishes to be secret, and to work in silence, for thus it is better secured from the oppression of the ruling powers, and because this secrecy gives a greater zest to the whole."



"It will be of great service, and procure us both much information and money, and will suit charmingly the taste of many of our truest members, who are lovers of the sex. It should consist of two classes, the virtuous and the freer hearted; they must not know of each other, and must be under the direction of men, but without knowing it. Proper books must be put into their hands, and such (but secretly) as are flattering to their passions."

"We must allow the underlings to imagine (but without telling them the truth) that we direct all the Free Mason lodges, and even all others, and that the greatest Monarchs are under our guidance, which indeed is here and there the case."

"There is no way of influencing men so powerfully as by means of the women. These should therefore be our chief study; we should insinuate ourselves into their good opinion, give them hints of emancipation from the tyranny of public opinion, and of standing up for themselves; it will be an immense relief to their enslaved minds to be freed from any one bond of restraint, and it will fire them the more, and cause them to work for us with zeal, without knowing that they do so, for they will only be indulging their own desire of personal admiration."

"We must win the common people in every corner. This will be obtained chiefly by means of the schools, and by open, hearty behaviour, show, condescension, popularity, and toleration of their prejudices, which we shall at leisure root out and dispel."

"If a writer publishes anything that attracts notice, and is in itself just, but does not accord with our plan, we must endeavor to win him over, or decry him."

"The great strength of our Order lies in its concealment, let it never appear in any place in its own name, but always covered by another name, and another occupation. None is fitter than the three lower degrees of Freemasonry, the public is accustomed to it, expects little from it, and therefore takes little notice of it. Next to this, the form of a learned or literary society is best suited to our purpose, and had Freemasonry not existed, this cover would have been employed; and it may be much more than a cover, it may be a powerful engine in our hands. By establishing Reading Societies, and subscription libraries, and taking these under our direction, and supplying them through our labours, we may turn the public mind which way we will."

"A literary society is the most proper form for the introduction of our order into any state where we are yet strangers."

"The power of the Order must surely be turned to the advantage of its members. All must be assisted. They must be preferred to all persons otherwise of equal merit. Money, services, honorary goods and blood, must be expended for the fully proved brethren, and the unfortunate must be relieved of the funds by the society."

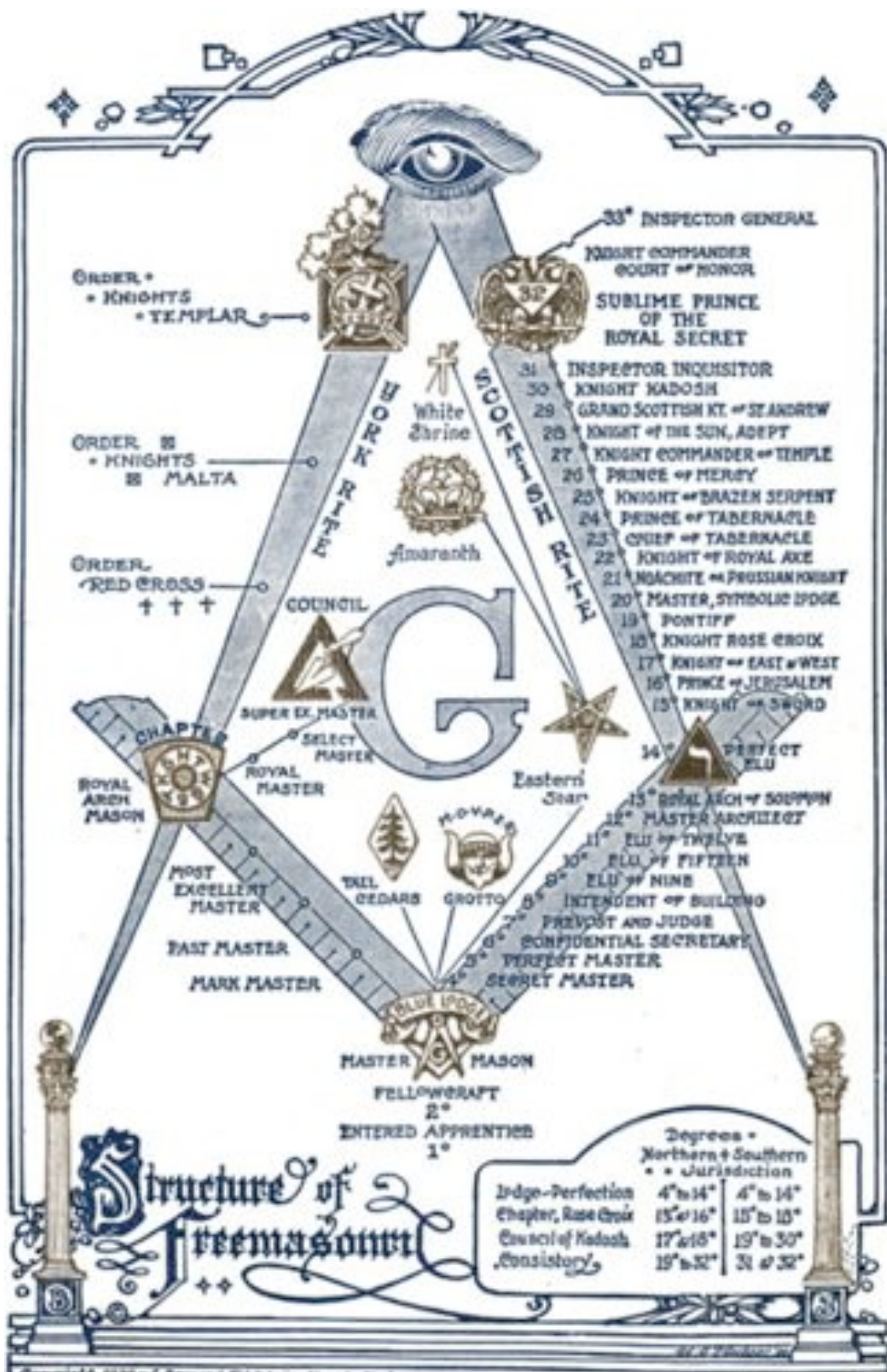
#### *IV. later quotes about the "New World Order"*

"It doesn't matter who the people voted for; they always vote for us."

**- Joseph Stalin**  
(*founder of International Sovietism*)

"We are not going to achieve a new world order without paying for it in blood as well as in words and money."

**- Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.**  
(*in Foreign Affairs, July/August 1995*)



"The world is governed by personalities very different to what people that cannot see further than their eyes, believe."

- **Benjamin Disraeli**  
(first British Prime Minister)

"Behind the October Revolution there are more influential personalities than the thinkers and executors of Marxism."

- **Vladimir Lenin**  
(Founder of Red Bolshevism)

"The one who cannot see that on Earth a big endeavor is taking place, an important plan, on which realization we are allowed to collaborate as faithful servants, certainly has to be blind."

- **Winston Churchill**  
(33rd Degree Freemason)

"What we say, goes."

- **George Herbert Walker Bush**  
(as a response to what would happen after the collapse of the Soviet Union,  
referring to the Council on Foreign Relations)

"... in politics nothing is accidental. If something happens, be assured it was planned this way."

- **Franklin D. Roosevelt**  
(32nd Degree Freemason)

"Give me the power of the money and it will not matter any more who is commanding."

- **Mayer Amschel Rothschild**  
(founder of the Rothschild Banks)

*The following is from the magazine Progress For All, January, 1991, an interview regarding the clarification of the Pyramid and the shining eye on the back of the US One Dollar Bill:*

"The seal of the pyramid was created by the Rothschild family and brought to North America by Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton before 1776. The Rothschild family is the head of the organization in which I entered in Colorado. All the Occult Brotherhoods are part of it. It is a Lucifer Organization to install his reign in the whole world. The eye on the pyramid is the eye of Lucifer. Supposedly the Rothschilds have personal dealings with the Devil. I have personally been in his villa and have experienced it. And I know it is true."

- **John Todd**  
(*"Masonic Council of Thirteen"*)

*Directed to the 23 Supreme Councils, 4 June, 1889:*

"To you, Sovereign Instructors of Grade 33, we tell you: you have to repeat to the brothers of inferior grades that we worship only one God to whom we pray without superstition. It is we, Initiated in the Supreme Grade, that are to keep the real Masonic religion preserving pure the Lucifer doctrine."

- **Albert Pike**  
(33rd Degree Freemason, alleged founder of the "Palladian" Rite)

"If we like it or not, we will have a One World Government. The question is if it will be achieved through consent or through conquest"

- **James Warburg**  
(Rothschild banker and CFR member)

"The Technocratic Age is slowly designing an every day more controlled society. The society will

be dominated by an elite of persons free from traditional values who will have no doubt in fulfilling their objectives by means of purged techniques with which they will influence the behavior of people and will control and watch the society in all details. ... it will become possible to exert a practically permanent watch on each citizen of the world".

**- Zbigniew Brzezinski**

*(co-founder of Trilateral Commission)*

"To achieve world government, it is necessary to remove from the minds of men their individualism, loyalty to family tradition, national patriotism and religious dogmas ... We have swallowed all manner of poisonous certainties fed us by our parents, our Sunday and day school teachers, our politicians, our priests, our newspapers and others with vested interests in controlling us. The reinterpretation and eventual eradication of the concept of right and wrong which has been the basis of child training, the substitution of intelligent and rational thinking for faith in the certainties of the old people, these are the belated objectives ... for charting the changes of human behavior."

**- Brock Chisom**

*(Director, World Health Organization)*

"Today, America would be outraged if U.N. troops entered Los Angeles to restore order. Tomorrow they will be grateful! This is especially true if they were told that there were an outside threat from beyond, whether real or promulgated, that threatened our very existence. It is then that all peoples of the world will plead to deliver them from this evil. The one thing every man fears is the unknown. When presented with this scenario, individual rights will be willingly relinquished for the guarantee of their well-being granted to them by the World Government."

**- Dr. Henry Kissinger**

*(@ a Bilderberger Conference, Evians, France, 1991)*

"We are grateful to The Washington Post, The New York Times, Time Magazine and other great publications whose directors have attended our meetings and respected their promises of discretion for almost forty years. It would have been impossible for us to develop our plan for the world if we had been subject to the bright lights of publicity during those years. But, the work is now much more sophisticated and prepared to march towards a world government. The supranational sovereignty of an intellectual elite and world bankers is surely preferable to the national auto-determination practiced in past centuries."

**- David Rockefeller**

*(founder of the Trilateral Commission,*

*@ a meeting of The Trilateral Commission, in June, 1991)*

"No one will enter the New World Order unless he or she will make a pledge to worship Lucifer. No one will enter the New Age unless he will take a Luciferian Initiation."

**- David Spangler**

*(Director of Planetary Initiative, United Nations)*

"In March, 1915, the J.P. Morgan interests, the steel, shipbuilding, and powder interest, and their subsidiary organizations, got together 12 men high up in the newspaper world and employed them to select the most influential newspapers in the United States and sufficient number of them to control generally the policy of the daily press....They found it was only necessary to purchase the control of 25 of the greatest papers. An agreement was reached; the policy of the papers was bought, to be paid for by the month; an editor was furnished for each paper to properly supervise and edit information regarding the questions of preparedness, militarism, financial policies, and other things of national and international nature considered vital to the interests of the purchasers."

**- Oscar Callaway**

*(U.S. Congressman , 1917)*

"The world can therefore seize the opportunity to fulfill the long-held promise of a New World Order where diverse nations are drawn together in common cause to achieve the universal aspirations of mankind."

- **George Herbert Walker Bush**

"In the next century, nations as we know it will be obsolete; all states will recognize a single, global authority. National sovereignty wasn't such a great idea after all."

- **Strobe Talbot**

*(Clinton's Deputy Secretary of State, as quoted in Time, July 20th, 1992)*

"We shall have world government whether or not you like it, by conquest or consent."

- **James Warburg**

*(to The Senate Foreign Relations Committee on February 17th, 1950)*

"The world is governed by very different personages from what is imagined by those who are not behind the scenes."

- **Benjamin Disraeli**

*(in a novel he published in 1844 called Coningsby, the New Generation)*

"The governments of the present day have to deal not merely with other governments, with emperors, kings and ministers, but also with the secret societies which have everywhere their unscrupulous agents, and can at the last moment upset all the governments' plans. "

- **Benjamin Disraeli**

*(1876)*

"Since I entered politics, I have chiefly had men's views confided to me privately. Some of the biggest men in the United States, in the Field of commerce and manufacture, are afraid of something. They know that there is a power somewhere so organized, so subtle, so watchful, so interlocked, so complete, so pervasive, that they better not speak above their breath when they speak in condemnation of it."

- **Woodrow Wilson**

*(The New Freedom, 1913)*

"What is important is to dwell upon the increasing evidence of the existence of a secret conspiracy, throughout the world, for the destruction of organized government and the letting loose of evil."

- **Christian Science Monitor**

*(editorial, June 19th, 1920)*

"The real menace of our republic is this invisible government which like a giant octopus sprawls its slimy length over city, state and nation. Like the octopus of real life, it operates under cover of a self created screen....At the head of this octopus are the Rockefeller Standard Oil interests and a small group of powerful banking houses generally referred to as international bankers. The little coterie of powerful international bankers virtually run the United States government for their own selfish purposes. They practically control both political parties."

- **John F. Hylan**

*(New York City Mayor, 1922)*

"From the days of Spartacus, Wieskhopf, Karl Marx, Trotsky, Rosa Luxemburg, and Emma Goldman, this world conspiracy has been steadily growing. This conspiracy played a definite recognizable role in the tragedy of the French revolution. It has been the mainspring of every subversive movement during the 19th century. And now at last this band of extraordinary personalities from the underworld of the great cities of Europe and America have gripped the Russian people by the

hair of their head and have become the undisputed masters of that enormous empire."

- **Winston Churchill**  
(*stated to the London Press, in 1922*)

"We are at present working discreetly with all our might to wrest this mysterious force called sovereignty out of the clutches of the local nation states of the world."

- **Arnold Toynbee**  
(*Professor; in a June 1931 speech before the Institute for the Study of International Affairs in Copenhagen*)

"The government of the Western nations, whether monarchical or republican, had passed into the invisible hands of a plutocracy, international in power and grasp. It was, I venture to suggest, this semioccult power which....pushed the mass of the American people into the cauldron of World War I."

- **J.F.C. Fuller**  
(*British military historian Major General, 1941*)

"For a long time I felt that FDR had developed many thoughts and ideas that were his own to benefit this country, the United States. But, he didn't. Most of his thoughts, his political ammunition, as it were, were carefully manufactured for him in advance by the Council on Foreign Relations-One World Money group. Brilliantly, with great gusto, like a fine piece of artillery, he exploded that prepared "ammunition" in the middle of an unsuspecting target, the American people, and thus paid off and returned his internationalist political support. The UN is but a long-range, international banking apparatus clearly set up for financial and economic profit by a small group of powerful One-World revolutionaries, hungry for profit and power. The depression was the calculated 'shearing' of the public by the World Money powers, triggered by the planned sudden shortage of supply of call money in the New York money market....The One World Government leaders and their ever close bankers have now acquired full control of the money and credit machinery of the U.S. via the creation of the privately owned Federal Reserve Bank."

- **Curtis Dall**  
(*FDR's son-in-law; as quoted in his book, My Exploited Father-in-Law*)

"The real truth of the matter is, as you and I know, that a financial element in the larger centers has owned the Government ever since the days of Andrew Jackson."

- **letter from FDR to Colonel House**  
(*November 21st, 1933*)

"The real rulers in Washington are invisible, and exercise power from behind the scenes."

- **Felix Frankfurter**  
(*Supreme Court Justice, 1952*)

"Fifty men have run America, and that's a high figure."

**Joseph Kennedy**  
(*father of JFK; in the July 26th, 1936 issue of The New York Times*)

"Today the path of total dictatorship in the United States can be laid by strictly legal means, unseen and unheard by the Congress, the President, or the people. Outwardly we have a Constitutional government. We have operating within our government and political system, another body representing another form of government - a bureaucratic elite."

- **William Jenner**  
(*Senator, 1954*)

"The case for government by elites is irrefutable"

- **William Fulbright**

*(Former chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee;  
stated at a 1963 symposium entitled:  
The Elite and the Electorate - Is Government by the People Possible?)*

"The Trilateral Commission is intended to be the vehicle for multinational consolidation of the commercial and banking interests by seizing control of the political government of the United States. The Trilateral Commission represents a skillful, coordinated effort to seize control and consolidate the four centers of power - political, monetary, intellectual and ecclesiastical. What the Trilateral Commission intends is to create a worldwide economic power superior to the political governments of the nation-states involved. As managers and creators of the system, they will rule the future."

**- Barry Goldwater**

*(U.S. Senator; in his 1964 book: With No Apologies)*

"The powers of financial capitalism had another far reaching aim, nothing less than to create a world system of financial control in private hands able to dominate the political system of each country and the economy of the world as a whole. This system was to be controlled in a feudalistic fashion by the central banks of the world acting in concert, by secret agreements, arrived at in frequent private meetings and conferences. The apex of the system was the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, Switzerland, a private bank owned and controlled by the world's central banks which were themselves private corporations. The growth of financial capitalism made possible a centralization of world economic control and use of this power for the direct benefit of financiers and the indirect injury of all other economic groups."

**- Carroll Quigley**

*(Professor of Georgetown University, highly esteemed by his former student,  
William Jefferson Blythe Clinton; in Tragedy and Hope:  
A History of The World in Our Time, Macmillan Company, 1966)*

"The Council on Foreign Relations is "the establishment." Not only does it have influence and power in key decision-making positions at the highest levels of government to apply pressure from above, but it also announces and uses individuals and groups to bring pressure from below, to justify the high level decisions for converting the U.S. from a sovereign Constitutional Republic into a servile member state of a one-world dictatorship."

**- John Rarick**

*(Congressman, 1971)*

"The directors of the CFR (Council on Foreign Relations) make up a sort of Presidium for that part of the Establishment that guides our destiny as a nation."

**- The Christian Science Monitor**

*(September 1, 1961)*

"The New World Order will have to be built from the bottom up rather than from the top down...but in the end run around national sovereignty, eroding it piece by piece will accomplish much more than the old fashioned frontal assault."

**- Richard Gardner**

*(CFR member; in the April, 1974, issue of the CFR's journal, Foreign Affairs)*

"The drive of the Rockefellers and their allies is to create a one-world government combining supercapitalism and Communism under the same tent, all under their control.... Do I mean conspiracy? Yes I do. I am convinced there is such a plot, international in scope, generations old in planning, and incredibly evil in intent."

**- Larry P. McDonald**

*(Congressman, 1976, killed in the Korean Airlines 747 that was shot down by the Soviets)*

"The planning of UN can be traced to the 'secret steering committee' established by Secretary [of State Cordell] Hull in January 1943. All of the members of this secret committee, with the exception of Hull, a Tennessee politician, were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. They saw Hull regularly to plan, select, and guide the labors of the [State] Department's Advisory Committee. It was, in effect, the coordinating agency for all the State Department's postwar planning."

- **Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter**

(Professors, writing in their study of the CFR,  
*"Imperial Brain Trust: The CFR and United States Foreign Policy."*  
Monthly Review Press, 1977)

"The most powerful clique in these (CFR) groups have one objective in common: they want to bring about the surrender of the sovereignty and the national independence of the U.S. They want to end national boundaries and racial and ethnic loyalties supposedly to increase business and ensure world peace. What they strive for would inevitably lead to dictatorship and loss of freedoms by the people. The CFR was founded for "the purpose of promoting disarmament and submergence of U.S. sovereignty and national independence into an all-powerful one-world government."

- **Harpers Magazine**

(July, 1958)

"The old world order changed when this war-storm broke. The old international order passed away as suddenly, as unexpectedly, and as completely as if it had been wiped out by a gigantic flood, by a great tempest, or by a volcanic eruption. The old world order died with the setting of that day's sun and a new world order is being born while I speak, with birth-pangs so terrible that it seems almost incredible that life could come out of such fearful suffering and such overwhelming sorrow."

- **Nicholas Murray Butler**

(in an address delivered before the  
Union League of Philadelphia, Nov. 27, 1915)

"The peace conference has assembled. It will make the most momentous decisions in history, and upon these decisions will rest the stability of the new world order and the future peace of the world."

- **M. C. Alexander**

(Executive Secretary of the American Association for International Conciliation;  
in a subscription letter for the periodical International Conciliation, 1919)

"If there are those who think we are to jump immediately into a new world order, actuated by complete understanding and brotherly love, they are doomed to disappointment. If we are ever to approach that time, it will be after patient and persistent effort of long duration. The present international situation of mistrust and fear can only be corrected by a formula of equal status, continuously applied, to every phase of international contacts, until the cobwebs of the old order are brushed out of the minds of the people of all lands."

- **Dr. Augustus O. Thomas**

(president of the World Federation of Education Associations,  
August 1927, quoted in International Understanding:  
Agencies Educating for a New World, 1931)

"... when the struggle seems to be drifting definitely towards a world social democracy, there may still be very great delays and disappointments before it becomes an efficient and beneficent world system. Countless people ... will hate the new world order ... and will die protesting against it. When we attempt to evaluate its promise, we have to bear in mind the distress of a generation or so of malcontents, many of them quite gallant and graceful-looking people."

- **H. G. Wells**



*(author; in his book entitled The New World Order, 1939)*

"The term Internationalism has been popularized in recent years to cover an interlocking financial, political, and economic world force for the purpose of establishing a World Government. Today Internationalism is heralded from pulpit and platform as a 'League of Nations' or a 'Federated Union' to which the United States must surrender a definite part of its National Sovereignty. The World Government plan is being advocated under such alluring names as the 'New International Order,' 'The New World Order,' 'World Union Now,' 'World Commonwealth of Nations,' 'World Community,' etc. All the terms have the same objective; however, the line of approach may be religious or political according to the taste or training of the individual."

**- Excerpt from A Memorial to be Addressed to  
the House of Bishops and the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies  
of the Protestant Episcopal Church in General Convention  
(October, 1940)**

"In the first public declaration on the Jewish question since the outbreak of the war, Arthur Greenwood, member without portfolio in the British War Cabinet, assured the Jews of the United States that when victory was achieved an effort would be made to found a new world order based on the ideals of 'justice and peace.'"

**- Excerpt from article entitled  
"New World Order Pledged to Jews,"  
in The New York Times  
(October, 1940)**

"If totalitarianism wins this conflict, the world will be ruled by tyrants, and individuals will be slaves. If democracy wins, the nations of the earth will be united in a commonwealth of free peoples, and individuals, wherever found, will be the sovereign units of the new world order."

**- The Declaration of the Federation of the World,  
produced by the Congress on World Federation,  
adopted by the Legislatures of  
North Carolina (1941), New Jersey (1942), Pennsylvania (1943)**

"New World Order Needed for Peace: State Sovereignty Must Go, Declares Notre Dame Professor"

**- Title of article in The Brooklyn Tablet  
(March, 1942)**

"Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles tonight called for the early creation of an international organization of anti-Axis nations to control the world during the period between the armistice at the end of the present war and the setting up of a new world order on a permanent basis."

**- Text of article in The Philadelphia Inquirer  
(June, 1942)**

"The statement went on to say that the spiritual teachings of religion must become the foundation for the new world order and that national sovereignty must be subordinate to the higher moral law of God."

**- American Institute of Judaism  
(excerpt from article in The New York Times, December, 1942)**

"There are some plain common-sense considerations applicable to all these attempts at world planning. They can be briefly stated: 1. To talk of blueprints for the future or building a world order is, if properly understood, suggestive, but it is also dangerous. Societies grow far more truly than they are built. A constitution for a new world order is never like a blueprint for a skyscraper."

**- Norman Thomas**

(in his book *What Is Our Destiny?* 1944)

"He [John Foster Dulles] stated directly to me that he had every reason to believe that the Governor [Thomas E. Dewey of New York] accepts his point of view and that he is personally convinced that this is the policy that he would promote with great vigor if elected. So it is fair to say that on the first round the Sphinx of Albany has established himself as a *prima facie* champion of a strong and definite new world order."

- **Ralph W. Page**

(journalist; in *The Philadelphia Bulletin*, May, 1944)

"The United Nations, he told an audience at Harvard University, 'has not been able--nor can it be able--to shape a new world order which events so compellingly demand.' ... The new world order that will answer economic, military, and political problems, he said, 'urgently requires, I believe, that the United States take the leadership among all free peoples to make the underlying concepts and aspirations of national sovereignty truly meaningful through the federal approach.'"

- **Nelson Rockefeller**

(Gov. of New York;

in an article entitled "*Rockefeller Bids Free Lands Unite: Calls at Harvard for Drive to Build New World Order*" in *The New York Times*, February, 1962)

"The developing coherence of Asian regional thinking is reflected in a disposition to consider problems and loyalties in regional terms, and to evolve regional approaches to development needs and to the evolution of a new world order."

- **Richard Nixon**

(in *Foreign Affairs*, October, 1967)

"He [President Nixon] spoke of the talks as a beginning, saying nothing more about the prospects for future contacts and merely reiterating the belief he brought to China that both nations share an interest in peace and building 'a new world order.'"

- **Excerpt from an article in The New York Times**

(February, 1972)

"If instant world government, Charter review, and a greatly strengthened International Court do not provide the answers, what hope for progress is there? The answer will not satisfy those who seek simple solutions to complex problems, but it comes down essentially to this: The hope for the foreseeable lies, not in building up a few ambitious central institutions of universal membership and general jurisdiction as was envisaged at the end of the last war, but rather in the much more decentralized, disorderly and pragmatic process of inventing or adapting institutions of limited jurisdiction and selected membership to deal with specific problems on a case-by-case basis ... In short, the 'house of world order' will have to be built from the bottom up rather than from the top down. It will look like a great 'booming, buzzing confusion,' to use William James' famous description of reality, but an end run around national sovereignty, eroding it piece by piece, will accomplish much more than the old-fashioned frontal assault."

- **Richard N. Gardner**

(in *Foreign Affairs*, April, 1974)

"The existing order is breaking down at a very rapid rate, and the main uncertainty is whether mankind can exert a positive role in shaping a new world order or is doomed to await collapse in a passive posture. We believe a new order will be born no later than early in the next century and that the death throes of the old and the birth pangs of the new will be a testing time for the human species."

- **Richard A. Falk**

(in an article entitled "*Toward a New World Order: Modest Methods and Drastic Visions*,"

*in the book On the Creation of a Just World Order, 1975)*

"My country's history, Mr. President, tells us that it is possible to fashion unity while cherishing diversity, that common action is possible despite the variety of races, interests, and beliefs we see here in this chamber. Progress and peace and justice are attainable. So we say to all peoples and governments: Let us fashion together a new world order."

**- Henry Kissinger**

*(in address before the General Assembly of the United Nations,  
October, 1975)*

"At the old Inter-American Office in the Commerce Building here in Roosevelt's time, as Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs under President Truman, as chief whip with Adlai Stevenson and Tom Finletter at the founding of the United Nations in San Francisco, Nelson Rockefeller was in the forefront of the struggle to establish not only an American system of political and economic security but a new world order."

**- Part of article in The New York Times**

*(November, 1975)*

"A New World Order"

**Title of article on commencement address at  
the University of Pennsylvania**

**by Hubert H. Humphrey,  
printed in the Pennsylvania Gazette**

*(June, 1977)*

"Further global progress is now possible only through a quest for universal consensus in the movement towards a new world order."

**- Mikhail Gorbachev**

*(in an address at the United Nations, December, 1988)*

"We believe we are creating the beginning of a new world order coming out of the collapse of the U.S.-Soviet antagonisms."

**- Brent Scowcroft**

*(August, 1990, quoted in The Washington Post, May, 1991)*

"We can see beyond the present shadows of war in the Middle East to a new world order where the strong work together to deter and stop aggression. This was precisely Franklin Roosevelt's and Winston Churchill's vision for peace for the post-war period."

**- Richard Gephardt**

*(quoted in The Wall Street Journal, September, 1990)*

"If we do not follow the dictates of our inner moral compass and stand up for human life, then his lawlessness will threaten the peace and democracy of the emerging new world order we now see, this long dreamed-of vision we've all worked toward for so long."

**- George Herbert Walker Bush**

*(January, 1991)*

"But it became clear as time went on that in Mr. Bush's mind the New World Order was founded on a convergence of goals and interests between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, so strong and permanent that they would work as a team through the U.N. Security Council."

**- A. M. Rosenthal**

*(journalist, excerpt from The New York Times, January, 1991)*

"I would support a Presidential candidate who pledged to take the following steps: ... At the end of

the war in the Persian Gulf, press for a comprehensive Middle East settlement and for a 'new world order' based not on Pax Americana but on peace through law with a stronger U.N. and World Court."

- **George McGovern**  
(quoted in *The New York Times*, February, 1991)

"... it's Bush's baby, even if he shares its popularization with Gorbachev. Forget the Hitler 'new order' root; F.D.R. used the phrase earlier."

- **William Safire**  
(quoted in *The New York Times*, February, 1991)

"How I Learned to Love the New World Order."

- **Sen. Joseph R. Biden, Jr.**  
(article in *The Wall Street Journal*, April, 1992)

"How to Achieve The New World Order."

- **Henry Kissinger**  
(Title of book excerpt, quoted in *Time* magazine, March, 1994)

"The Final Act of the Uruguay Round, marking the conclusion of the most ambitious trade negotiation of our century, will give birth - in Morocco - to the World Trade Organization, the third pillar of the New World Order, along with the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund."

- **Part of full-page advertisement by  
the government of Morocco in  
The New York Times**  
(April, 1994)

"New World Order: The Rise of the Region-State."

- **Kenichi Ohmae**  
(political reform leader in Japan; Title of article in *The Wall Street Journal*, August 1994)

The "new world order that is in the making must focus on the creation of a world of democracy, peace and prosperity for all."

- **Nelson Mandela**  
(South African political activist; in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, October, 1994)

The renewal of the nonproliferation treaty was described as important "for the welfare of the whole world and the new world order."

- **Hosni Mubarak**  
(President of Egypt; quoted in *The New York Times*, April, 1995)

"Alchemy for a New World Order."

- **Stephen John Stedman**  
(article in *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 1995)





## Pope Benedict XVI's address to Bavarian Pilgrims

*(12 Sept. 2006)*

“Those who believe are never alone”. This is the theme of these days. Here we can see how true it is. Faith brings us together and gives us a reason to celebrate. It gives us joy in God, joy in his creation, joy in being together.

I realize that this celebration required much time and effort to prepare. By reading newspaper accounts, I had some idea of how many people gave their time and energy to do such a fine job of readying this esplanade. Thanks to them, we have the Cross here on the hill as a sign of God's peace in the world; the access roads have been cleared; security and good order have been ensured; housing has been provided, and so much more. I could not have imagined - and even now I am only beginning to imagine - how much work, down to the smallest details, was needed for us to meet here today.

For all this I can only say, in a word: “Heartfelt thanks!” May the Lord repay you for everything you have done, and may the joy which we can now experience as a result of your preparations return a hundredfold to each of you!

I was very moved when I heard how many people, especially from the vocational schools of Weiden and Hamburg, and how many firms and individuals, men and women, helped to make my house and my garden a little more beautiful. I am a bit taken aback by all this goodness, and once again I can only offer an inadequate “thank you!” for all your efforts. You have not done all this for just one person; you have done it in a spirit of solidarity in faith, inspired by love of the Lord and his Church. All this is a sign of true humanity, born of our experience of the love of Jesus Christ.

We are gathered for a celebration of faith. But the question immediately arises: What do we actually believe? What does it mean to have faith? Is it still something possible in the modern world? When we look at the great Summae of theology compiled in the Middle Ages, or we think of the number of books written each day for or against faith, we might lose heart and think that it is all too complicated. In the end, we can no longer see the forest for the trees. True enough: faith's vision embraces heaven and earth; past, present and future; eternity - and so it can never be fully exhausted. And yet, deep down, it is quite simple. The Lord tells us so when he says to the Father: "you have revealed these things to the simple - to those able to see with their hearts" (cf. Mt 11:25).

The Church, for her part, has given us a little Summa in which everything essential is expressed. It is the so-called "Apostles' Creed", which is usually divided into twelve articles, corresponding to the twelve Apostles. It speaks of God, the creator and source of all that is, of Christ and his work of salvation, and it culminates in the resurrection of the dead and life everlasting. In its basic structure, the Creed is composed of only three main sections, and as we see from its history, it is merely an expansion of the formula for Baptism which the Risen Lord entrusted to his disciples for all time when he told them: "Go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Mt 28:19). Once we realize this, two things become clear.

First, faith is simple. We believe in God - in God, who is the Beginning and End of human life. We believe in a God who enters into a relationship with us human beings, who is our origin and future. Consequently, faith is, always and inseparably, hope: the certainty that we have a future and will not end up as nothing. And faith is love, since God's love is "contagious".

A second thing also becomes clear: the Creed is not a collection of propositions; it is not a theory. It is anchored in the event of Baptism - a genuine encounter between God and man. In the mystery of Baptism, God stoops to meet us; he comes close to us and brings us in turn closer to each other. Baptism means that Jesus Christ adopts us as his brothers and sisters, welcoming us as sons and daughters into God's own family. He thus makes us one great family in the universal communion of the Church. Truly, those who believe are never alone. God comes to meet us. Let us go out to meet God and so meet one another! To the extent we can, let us make sure that none of God's children ever feels alone!

We believe in God. This is a fundamental decision on our part. But is such a thing still possible today? Is it reasonable? From the Enlightenment on, science, at least in part, has applied itself to seeking an explanation of the world in which God would be unnecessary. And if this were so, he would also become unnecessary in our lives. But whenever the attempt seemed to be nearing success - inevitably it would become clear: something is missing from the equation! When God is subtracted, something doesn't add up for man, the world, the whole vast universe.

So we end up with two alternatives. What came first? Creative Reason, the Spirit who makes all things and gives them growth, or Unreason, which, lacking any meaning, yet somehow brings forth a mathematically ordered cosmos, as well as man and his reason. The latter, however, would then be nothing more than a chance result of evolution and thus, in the end, equally meaningless.

As Christians, we say: "I believe in God the Father, the Creator of heaven and earth" - I believe in the Creator Spirit. We believe that at the beginning of everything is the eternal Word, with Reason and not Unreason. With this faith we have no reason to hide, no fear of ending up in a dead end. We rejoice that we can know God! And we try to let others see the reasonableness of our faith, as Saint Peter bids us do in his First Letter (cf. 3:15)!

We believe in God. This is what the main sections of the Creed affirm, especially the first section. But another question now follows: in what God? Certainly we believe in the God who is Creator

Spirit, creative Reason, the source of everything that exists, including ourselves. The second section of the Creed tells us more. This creative Reason is Goodness, it is Love. It has a face. God does not leave us groping in the dark. He has shown himself to us as a man. In his greatness he has let himself become small. "Whoever has seen me has seen the Father", Jesus says (Jn 14:9). God has taken on a human face. He has loved us even to the point of letting himself be nailed to the Cross for our sake, in order to bring the sufferings of mankind to the very heart of God.

Today, when we have learned to recognize the pathologies and the life-threatening diseases associated with religion and reason, and the ways that God's image can be destroyed by hatred and fanaticism, it is important to state clearly the God in whom we believe, and to proclaim confidently that this God has a human face. Only this can free us from being afraid of God - which is ultimately at the root of modern atheism. Only this God saves us from being afraid of the world and from anxiety before the emptiness of life. Only by looking to Jesus Christ does our joy in God come to fulfilment and become redeemed joy. During this solemn Eucharistic celebration, let us look to the Lord and ask him to give us the immense joy which he promised to his disciples (cf. Jn 16:24)!

The second section of the Creed ends by speaking of the last judgement and the third section by speaking of the resurrection of the dead. Judgement - doesn't this word also make us afraid? On the other hand, doesn't everyone want to see justice eventually rendered to all those who were unjustly condemned, to all those who suffered in life, who died after lives full of pain? Don't we want the outrageous injustice and suffering which we see in human history to be finally undone, so that in the end everyone will find happiness, and everything will be shown to have meaning? This triumph of justice, this joining together of the many fragments of history which seem meaningless and giving them their place in a bigger picture in which truth and love prevail: this is what is meant by the concept of universal judgement.

Faith is not meant to instil fear; rather it is meant - surely - to call us to accountability. We are not meant to waste our lives, misuse them, or spend them selfishly. In the face of injustice we must not remain indifferent and thus end up as silent collaborators or outright accomplices. We need to recognize our mission in history and to strive to carry it out. What is needed is not fear, but responsibility - responsibility and concern for our own salvation, and for the salvation of the whole world.

But when responsibility and concern tend to bring on fear, then we should remember the words of Saint John: "My little ones, I am writing this to keep you from sin. But if anyone should sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous one" (1 Jn 2:1). "No matter what our hearts may charge us with - God is greater than our hearts and all is known to him" (ibid., 3:20).

Today we celebrate the feast of the "Most Holy Name of Mary". To all those women who bear that name - my own mother and my sister were among them - I offer my heartfelt good wishes for their feast day. Mary, the Mother of the Lord, has received from the faithful the title of Advocate, for she is our advocate before God. And this is how we see her, from the wedding-feast of Cana onwards: as a woman who is kindly, filled with maternal concern and love, a woman who is attentive to the needs of others and, out of desire to help them, brings those needs before the Lord.

In today's Gospel we have heard how the Lord gave Mary as a Mother to the beloved disciple and, in him, to all of us. In every age, Christians have received with gratitude this legacy of Jesus, and, in their recourse to his Mother, they have always found the security and confident hope which gives them joy in God. May we too receive Mary as the lodestar guiding our lives, introducing us into the great family of God! Truly, those who believe are never alone. Amen!





APOSTOLIC JOURNEY OF HIS HOLINESS BENEDICT XVI  
TO MÜNCHEN, ALTÖTTING AND REGENSBURG

(SEPTEMBER 9-14, 2006)

MEETING WITH THE REPRESENTATIVES OF SCIENCE  
***LECTURE OF THE HOLY FATHER***  
*Aula Magna of the University of Regensburg*

*Tuesday, 12 September 2006*

[http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf\\_ben-xvi\\_spe\\_20060912\\_university-regensburg\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060912_university-regensburg_en.html)

***Faith, Reason and the University***  
***Memories and Reflections***

*Your Eminences, Your Magnificences, Your Excellencies,  
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,*

It is a moving experience for me to be back again in the university and to be able once again to give a lecture at this podium. I think back to those years when, after a pleasant period at the Freisinger Hochschule, I began teaching at the University of Bonn. That was in 1959, in the days of the old university made up of ordinary professors. The various chairs had neither assistants nor secretaries, but in recompense there was much direct contact with students and in particular among the professors themselves. We would meet before and after lessons in the rooms of the



teaching staff. There was a lively exchange with historians, philosophers, philologists and, naturally, between the two theological faculties. Once a semester there was a *dies academicus*, when professors from every faculty appeared before the students of the entire university, making possible a genuine experience of *universitas* - something that you too, Magnificent Rector, just mentioned - the experience, in other words, of the fact that despite our specializations which at times make it difficult to communicate with each other, we made up a whole, working in everything on the basis of a single rationality with its various aspects and sharing responsibility for the right use of reason - this reality became a lived experience. The university was also very proud of its two theological faculties. It was clear that, by inquiring about the reasonableness of faith, they too carried out a work which is necessarily part of the "whole" of the *universitas scientiarum*, even if not everyone could share the faith which theologians seek to correlate with reason as a whole. This profound sense of coherence within the universe of reason was not troubled, even when it was once reported that a colleague had said there was something odd about our university: it had two faculties devoted to something that did not exist: God. That even in the face of such radical scepticism it is still necessary and reasonable to raise the question of God through the use of reason, and to do so in the context of the tradition of the Christian faith: this, within the university as a whole, was accepted without question.

I was reminded of all this recently, when I read the edition by Professor Theodore Khoury (Münster) of part of the dialogue carried on - perhaps in 1391 in the winter barracks near Ankara - by the erudite Byzantine emperor Manuel II Paleologus and an educated Persian on the subject of Christianity and Islam, and the truth of both. [1] It was presumably the emperor himself who set down this dialogue, during the siege of Constantinople between 1394 and 1402; and this would explain why his arguments are given in greater detail than those of his Persian interlocutor. [2] The dialogue ranges widely over the structures of faith contained in the Bible and in the Qur'an, and deals especially with the image of God and of man, while necessarily returning repeatedly to the relationship between - as they were called - three "Laws" or "rules of life": the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Qur'an. It is not my intention to discuss this question in the present lecture; here I would like to discuss only one point - itself rather marginal to the dialogue as a whole - which, in the context of the issue of "faith and reason", I found interesting and which can serve as the starting-point for my reflections on this issue.

In the seventh conversation (controversy) edited by Professor Khoury, the emperor touches on the theme of the holy war. The emperor must have known that surah 2, 256 reads: "There is no compulsion in religion". According to some of the experts, this is probably one of the suras of the early period, when Mohammed was still powerless and under threat. But naturally the emperor also knew the instructions, developed later and recorded in the Qur'an, concerning holy war. Without descending to details, such as the difference in treatment accorded to those who have the "Book" and the "infidels", he addresses his interlocutor with a startling brusqueness, a brusqueness that we find unacceptable, on the central question about the relationship between religion and violence in general, saying: "Show me just what Mohammed brought that was new, and there you will find things only evil and inhuman, such as his command to spread by the sword the faith he preached." [3] The emperor, after having expressed himself so forcefully, goes on to explain in detail the reasons why spreading the faith through violence is something unreasonable. Violence is incompatible with the nature of God and the nature of the soul. "God", he says, "is not pleased by blood - and not acting reasonably is contrary to God's nature. Faith is born of the soul, not the body. Whoever would lead someone to faith needs the ability to speak well and to reason properly, without violence and threats... To convince a reasonable soul, one does not need a strong arm, or weapons of any kind, or any other means of threatening a person with death...". [4]

The decisive statement in this argument against violent conversion is this: not to act in accordance with reason is contrary to God's nature. [5] The editor, Theodore Khoury, observes: For the emperor, as a Byzantine shaped by Greek philosophy, this statement is self-evident. But for Muslim teaching, God is absolutely transcendent. His will is not bound up with any of our

categories, even that of rationality. [6] Here Khoury quotes a work of the noted French Islamist R. Arnaldez, who points out that Ibn Hazm went so far as to state that God is not bound even by his own word, and that nothing would oblige him to reveal the truth to us. Were it God's will, we would even have to practise idolatry. [7]

At this point, as far as understanding of God and thus the concrete practice of religion is concerned, we are faced with an unavoidable dilemma. Is the conviction that acting unreasonably contradicts God's nature merely a Greek idea, or is it always and intrinsically true? I believe that here we can see the profound harmony between what is Greek in the best sense of the word and the biblical understanding of faith in God. Modifying the first verse of the Book of Genesis, the first verse of the whole Bible, John began the prologue of his Gospel with the words: "In the beginning was the LOGOS". This is the very word used by the emperor: God acts, with *logos*. *Logos* means both reason and word - a reason which is creative and capable of self-communication, precisely as reason. John thus spoke the final word on the biblical concept of God, and in this word all the often toilsome and tortuous threads of biblical faith find their culmination and synthesis. In the beginning was the *logos*, and the *logos* is God, says the Evangelist. The encounter between the Biblical message and Greek thought did not happen by chance. The vision of Saint Paul, who saw the roads to Asia barred and in a dream saw a Macedonian man plead with him: "Come over to Macedonia and help us!" (cf. Acts 16:6-10) - this vision can be interpreted as a "distillation" of the intrinsic necessity of a rapprochement between Biblical faith and Greek inquiry.

In point of fact, this rapprochement had been going on for some time. The mysterious name of God, revealed from the burning bush, a name which separates this God from all other divinities with their many names and simply asserts being, "I am", already presents a challenge to the notion of myth, to which Socrates' attempt to vanquish and transcend myth stands in close analogy. [8] Within the Old Testament, the process which started at the burning bush came to new maturity at the time of the Exile, when the God of Israel, an Israel now deprived of its land and worship, was proclaimed as the God of heaven and earth and described in a simple formula which echoes the words uttered at the burning bush: "I am". This new understanding of God is accompanied by a kind of enlightenment, which finds stark expression in the mockery of gods who are merely the work of human hands (cf. Ps 115). Thus, despite the bitter conflict with those Hellenistic rulers who sought to accommodate it forcibly to the customs and idolatrous cult of the Greeks, biblical faith, in the Hellenistic period, encountered the best of Greek thought at a deep level, resulting in a mutual enrichment evident especially in the later wisdom literature. Today we know that the Greek translation of the Old Testament produced at Alexandria - the Septuagint - is more than a simple (and in that sense really less than satisfactory) translation of the Hebrew text: it is an independent textual witness and a distinct and important step in the history of revelation, one which brought about this encounter in a way that was decisive for the birth and spread of Christianity. [9] A profound encounter of faith and reason is taking place here, an encounter between genuine enlightenment and religion. From the very heart of Christian faith and, at the same time, the heart of Greek thought now joined to faith, Manuel II was able to say: Not to act "with *logos*" is contrary to God's nature.

In all honesty, one must observe that in the late Middle Ages we find trends in theology which would sunder this synthesis between the Greek spirit and the Christian spirit. In contrast with the so-called intellectualism of Augustine and Thomas, there arose with Duns Scotus a voluntarism which, in its later developments, led to the claim that we can only know God's *voluntas ordinata*. Beyond this is the realm of God's freedom, in virtue of which he could have done the opposite of everything he has actually done. This gives rise to positions which clearly approach those of Ibn Hazm and might even lead to the image of a capricious God, who is not even bound to truth and goodness. God's transcendence and otherness are so exalted that our reason, our sense of the true and good, are no longer an authentic mirror of God, whose deepest possibilities remain eternally unattainable and hidden behind his actual decisions. As opposed to this, the faith of the Church has always insisted that between God and us, between his eternal

Creator Spirit and our created reason there exists a real analogy, in which - as the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 stated - unlikeness remains infinitely greater than likeness, yet not to the point of abolishing analogy and its language. God does not become more divine when we push him away from us in a sheer, impenetrable voluntarism; rather, the truly divine God is the God who has revealed himself as *logos* and, as *logos*, has acted and continues to act lovingly on our behalf. Certainly, love, as Saint Paul says, "transcends" knowledge and is thereby capable of perceiving more than thought alone (cf. *Eph* 3:19); nonetheless it continues to be love of the God who is *Logos*. Consequently, Christian worship is, again to quote Paul - "worship in harmony with the eternal Word and with our reason" (cf. *Rom* 12:1). [10]

This inner rapprochement between Biblical faith and Greek philosophical inquiry was an event of decisive importance not only from the standpoint of the history of religions, but also from that of world history - it is an event which concerns us even today. Given this convergence, it is not surprising that Christianity, despite its origins and some significant developments in the East, finally took on its historically decisive character in Europe. We can also express this the other way around: this convergence, with the subsequent addition of the Roman heritage, created Europe and remains the foundation of what can rightly be called Europe.

The thesis that the critically purified Greek heritage forms an integral part of Christian faith has been countered by the call for a dehellenization of Christianity - a call which has more and more dominated theological discussions since the beginning of the modern age. Viewed more closely, three stages can be observed in the programme of dehellenization: although interconnected, they are clearly distinct from one another in their motivations and objectives. [11]

Dehellenization first emerges in connection with the postulates of the Reformation in the sixteenth century. Looking at the tradition of scholastic theology, the Reformers thought they were confronted with a faith system totally conditioned by philosophy, that is to say an articulation of the faith based on an alien system of thought. As a result, faith no longer appeared as a living historical Word but as one element of an overarching philosophical system. The principle of *sola scriptura*, on the other hand, sought faith in its pure, primordial form, as originally found in the biblical Word. Metaphysics appeared as a premise derived from another source, from which faith had to be liberated in order to become once more fully itself. When Kant stated that he needed to set thinking aside in order to make room for faith, he carried this programme forward with a radicalism that the Reformers could never have foreseen. He thus anchored faith exclusively in practical reason, denying it access to reality as a whole.

The liberal theology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ushered in a second stage in the process of dehellenization, with Adolf von Harnack as its outstanding representative. When I was a student, and in the early years of my teaching, this programme was highly influential in Catholic theology too. It took as its point of departure Pascal's distinction between the God of the philosophers and the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. In my inaugural lecture at Bonn in 1959, I tried to address the issue, [12] and I do not intend to repeat here what I said on that occasion, but I would like to describe at least briefly what was new about this second stage of dehellenization. Harnack's central idea was to return simply to the man Jesus and to his simple message, underneath the accretions of theology and indeed of hellenization: this simple message was seen as the culmination of the religious development of humanity. Jesus was said to have put an end to worship in favour of morality. In the end he was presented as the father of a humanitarian moral message. Fundamentally, Harnack's goal was to bring Christianity back into harmony with modern reason, liberating it, that is to say, from seemingly philosophical and theological elements, such as faith in Christ's divinity and the triune God. In this sense, historical-critical exegesis of the New Testament, as he saw it, restored to theology its place within the university: theology, for Harnack, is something essentially historical and therefore strictly scientific. What it is able to say critically about Jesus is, so to speak, an expression of practical reason and consequently it can take its rightful place within the university. Behind this thinking lies the modern self-

limitation of reason, classically expressed in Kant's "Critiques", but in the meantime further radicalized by the impact of the natural sciences. This modern concept of reason is based, to put it briefly, on a synthesis between Platonism (Cartesianism) and empiricism, a synthesis confirmed by the success of technology. On the one hand it presupposes the mathematical structure of matter, its intrinsic rationality, which makes it possible to understand how matter works and use it efficiently: this basic premise is, so to speak, the Platonic element in the modern understanding of nature. On the other hand, there is nature's capacity to be exploited for our purposes, and here only the possibility of verification or falsification through experimentation can yield decisive certainty. The weight between the two poles can, depending on the circumstances, shift from one side to the other. As strongly positivistic a thinker as J. Monod has declared himself a convinced Platonist/Cartesian.

This gives rise to two principles which are crucial for the issue we have raised. First, only the kind of certainty resulting from the interplay of mathematical and empirical elements can be considered scientific. Anything that would claim to be science must be measured against this criterion. Hence the human sciences, such as history, psychology, sociology and philosophy, attempt to conform themselves to this canon of scientificity. A second point, which is important for our reflections, is that by its very nature this method excludes the question of God, making it appear an unscientific or pre-scientific question. Consequently, we are faced with a reduction of the radius of science and reason, one which needs to be questioned.

I will return to this problem later. In the meantime, it must be observed that from this standpoint any attempt to maintain theology's claim to be "scientific" would end up reducing Christianity to a mere fragment of its former self. But we must say more: if science as a whole is this and this alone, then it is man himself who ends up being reduced, for the specifically human questions about our origin and destiny, the questions raised by religion and ethics, then have no place within the purview of collective reason as defined by "science", so understood, and must thus be relegated to the realm of the subjective. The subject then decides, on the basis of his experiences, what he considers tenable in matters of religion, and the subjective "conscience" becomes the sole arbiter of what is ethical. In this way, though, ethics and religion lose their power to create a community and become a completely personal matter. This is a dangerous state of affairs for humanity, as we see from the disturbing pathologies of religion and reason which necessarily erupt when reason is so reduced that questions of religion and ethics no longer concern it. Attempts to construct an ethic from the rules of evolution or from psychology and sociology, end up being simply inadequate.

Before I draw the conclusions to which all this has been leading, I must briefly refer to the third stage of dehellenization, which is now in progress. In the light of our experience with cultural pluralism, it is often said nowadays that the synthesis with Hellenism achieved in the early Church was an initial inculturation which ought not to be binding on other cultures. The latter are said to have the right to return to the simple message of the New Testament prior to that inculturation, in order to inculturate it anew in their own particular milieux. This thesis is not simply false, but it is coarse and lacking in precision. The New Testament was written in Greek and bears the imprint of the Greek spirit, which had already come to maturity as the Old Testament developed. True, there are elements in the evolution of the early Church which do not have to be integrated into all cultures. Nonetheless, the fundamental decisions made about the relationship between faith and the use of human reason are part of the faith itself; they are developments consonant with the nature of faith itself.

And so I come to my conclusion. This attempt, painted with broad strokes, at a critique of modern reason from within has nothing to do with putting the clock back to the time before the Enlightenment and rejecting the insights of the modern age. The positive aspects of modernity are to be acknowledged unreservedly: we are all grateful for the marvellous possibilities that it has opened up for mankind and for the progress in humanity that has been granted to us. The

scientific ethos, moreover, is - as you yourself mentioned, Magnificent Rector - the will to be obedient to the truth, and, as such, it embodies an attitude which belongs to the essential decisions of the Christian spirit. The intention here is not one of retrenchment or negative criticism, but of broadening our concept of reason and its application. While we rejoice in the new possibilities open to humanity, we also see the dangers arising from these possibilities and we must ask ourselves how we can overcome them. We will succeed in doing so only if reason and faith come together in a new way, if we overcome the self-imposed limitation of reason to the empirically falsifiable, and if we once more disclose its vast horizons. In this sense theology rightly belongs in the university and within the wide-ranging dialogue of sciences, not merely as a historical discipline and one of the human sciences, but precisely as theology, as inquiry into the rationality of faith.

Only thus do we become capable of that genuine dialogue of cultures and religions so urgently needed today. In the Western world it is widely held that only positivistic reason and the forms of philosophy based on it are universally valid. Yet the world's profoundly religious cultures see this exclusion of the divine from the universality of reason as an attack on their most profound convictions. A reason which is deaf to the divine and which relegates religion into the realm of subcultures is incapable of entering into the dialogue of cultures. At the same time, as I have attempted to show, modern scientific reason with its intrinsically Platonic element bears within itself a question which points beyond itself and beyond the possibilities of its methodology. Modern scientific reason quite simply has to accept the rational structure of matter and the correspondence between our spirit and the prevailing rational structures of nature as a given, on which its methodology has to be based. Yet the question why this has to be so is a real question, and one which has to be remanded by the natural sciences to other modes and planes of thought - to philosophy and theology. For philosophy and, albeit in a different way, for theology, listening to the great experiences and insights of the religious traditions of humanity, and those of the Christian faith in particular, is a source of knowledge, and to ignore it would be an unacceptable restriction of our listening and responding. Here I am reminded of something Socrates said to Phaedo. In their earlier conversations, many false philosophical opinions had been raised, and so Socrates says: "It would be easily understandable if someone became so annoyed at all these false notions that for the rest of his life he despised and mocked all talk about being - but in this way he would be deprived of the truth of existence and would suffer a great loss". [13] The West has long been endangered by this aversion to the questions which underlie its rationality, and can only suffer great harm thereby. The courage to engage the whole breadth of reason, and not the denial of its grandeur - this is the programme with which a theology grounded in Biblical faith enters into the debates of our time. "Not to act reasonably, not to act with *logos*, is contrary to the nature of God", said Manuel II, according to his Christian understanding of God, in response to his Persian interlocutor. It is to this great *logos*, to this breadth of reason, that we invite our partners in the dialogue of cultures. To rediscover it constantly is the great task of the university.

[1] Of the total number of 26 conversations (Khoury translates this as "controversy") in the dialogue ("Entretien"), T. Khoury published the 7th "controversy" with footnotes and an extensive introduction on the origin of the text, on the manuscript tradition and on the structure of the dialogue, together with brief summaries of the "controversies" not included in the edition; the Greek text is accompanied by a French translation: "Manuel II Paléologue, Entretiens avec un Musulman. 7e Controverse", *Sources Chrétiennes* n. 115, Paris 1966. In the meantime, Karl Förstel published in *Corpus Islamico-Christianum* (Series Graeca ed. A. T. Khoury and R. Gleis) an edition of the text in Greek and German with commentary: "Manuel II. Palaiologus, Dialoge mit einem Muslim", 3 vols., Würzburg-Altenberge 1993-1996. As early as 1966, E. Trapp had published the Greek text with an introduction as vol. II of *Wiener byzantinische Studien*. I shall be quoting from Khoury's edition.

[2] On the origin and redaction of the dialogue, cf. Khoury, pp. 22-29; extensive comments in this regard can also be found in the editions of Förstel and Trapp.

[3] Controversy VII, 2 c: Khoury, pp. 142-143; Förstel, vol. I, VII. Dialog 1.5, pp. 240-241. In the Muslim world, this quotation has unfortunately been taken as an expression of my personal position, thus arousing understandable indignation. I hope that the reader of my text can see immediately that this sentence does not express my personal view of the Qur'an, for which I have the respect due to the holy book of a great religion. In quoting the text of the Emperor Manuel II, I intended solely to draw out the essential relationship between faith and reason. On this point I am in agreement with Manuel II, but without endorsing his polemic.

[4] Controversy VII, 3 b-c: Khoury, pp. 144-145; Förstel vol. I, VII. Dialog 1.6, pp. 240-243.

[5] It was purely for the sake of this statement that I quoted the dialogue between Manuel and his Persian interlocutor. In this statement the theme of my subsequent reflections emerges.

[6] Cf. Khoury, p. 144, n. 1.

[7] R. Arnaldez, *Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Hazm de Cordoue*, Paris 1956, p. 13; cf. Khoury, p. 144. The fact that comparable positions exist in the theology of the late Middle Ages will appear later in my discourse.

[8] Regarding the widely discussed interpretation of the episode of the burning bush, I refer to my book *Introduction to Christianity*, London 1969, pp. 77-93 (originally published in German as *Einführung in das Christentum*, Munich 1968; N.B. the pages quoted refer to the entire chapter entitled "The Biblical Belief in God"). I think that my statements in that book, despite later developments in the discussion, remain valid today.

[9] Cf. A. Schenker, "L'Écriture sainte subsiste en plusieurs formes canoniques simultanées", in *L'Interpretazione della Bibbia nella Chiesa. Atti del Simposio promosso dalla Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede*, Vatican City 2001, pp. 178-186.

[10] On this matter I expressed myself in greater detail in my book *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, San Francisco 2000, pp. 44-50.

[11] Of the vast literature on the theme of dehellenization, I would like to mention above all: A. Grillmeier, "Hellenisierung-Judaisierung des Christentums als Deutep Prinzipien der Geschichte des kirchlichen Dogmas", in idem, *Mit ihm und in ihm. Christologische Forschungen und Perspektiven*, Freiburg 1975, pp. 423-488.

[12] Newly published with commentary by Heino Sonnemans (ed.): *Joseph Ratzinger-Benedikt XVI, Der Gott des Glaubens und der Gott der Philosophen. Ein Beitrag zum Problem der theologia naturalis*, Johannes-Verlag Leutesdorf, 2nd revised edition, 2005.

[13] Cf. 90 c-d. For this text, cf. also R. Guardini, *Der Tod des Sokrates*, 5th edition, Mainz-Paderborn 1987, pp. 218-221.





The Illuminati & The Council  
on Foreign Relations



## The Illuminati & The Council on Foreign Relations

*by: Myron Fagan (1968)*

"The question of how and why the United Nations is the crux of the great conspiracy to destroy the sovereignty of the United States and the enslavement of the American people within a U.N. one-world dictatorship is a complete and unknown mystery to the vast majority of the American people. The reason for this unawareness of the frightening danger to our country and to the entire free world is simple. The masterminds behind this great conspiracy have absolute control of all of our mass-communications media, especially television, the radio, the press, and Hollywood. We all know that our State Department, the Pentagon, and the White House have brazenly proclaimed that they have the right and the power to manage the news, to tell us not the truth but what they want us to believe. They have seized that power on orders from their masters of the great conspiracy and the objective is to brainwash the people into accepting the phony peace bait to transform the United States into an enslaved unit of the United Nations' one-world government.

"First of all, bear in mind that the so-called U.N. police-action in Korea, fought by the United States in which 150,000 of our sons were murdered and maimed, was part of the plot; just as the undeclared by Congress war in Vietnam in which our sons are dying is part of the plot; just as the plot against Rhodesia and South Africa in which our sons will be dying is part of the U.N. plot. However, the vitally important thing for all Americans, all you mothers of the boys who died in Korea and are now dying in Vietnam, to know is that our so-called leaders in Washington, who we elected to safeguard our nation and our Constitution, are the betrayers and that behind them are a comparatively small group of men whose sole-objective is to enslave the whole world of humanity in their satanic-plot of one-world government.

"Now in order to give you a very clear picture of this satanic-plot, I will go back to its beginning, clear back in the middle of the 18th century and name the men who put that plot into action and then bring you down to the present—today's status of that plot. Now as a matter of further intelligence, a term used by the FBI, let me clarify the meaning of the expression "he is a liberal." The enemy, meaning the one-world conspirators, have seized upon that word "liberal" as a cover-up for their activities. It sounds so innocent and so humanitarian to be liberal. Well, make sure that the person who calls himself a liberal or is described as a liberal is not, in truth, a "red."

"Now then, this satanic-plot was launched back in the 1760's when it first came into existence under the name "Illuminati." This Illuminati was organized by one Adam Weishaupt, born a Jew, who was converted to Catholicism and became a Catholic priest, and then, at the behest of the then newly-organized House of Rothschild, defected and organized the Illuminati. Naturally, the Rothschilds financed that operation, and every war since then, beginning with the French Revolution, has been promoted by the Illuminati operating under various names and guises. I say under various names and guises because after the Illuminati was exposed and became notorious, Weishaupt and his co-conspirators began to operate under various other names. In the United States, immediately after World War I, they set up what they called the "Council on Foreign Relations," commonly referred to as the CFR, and this CFR is actually the Illuminati in the United States and its hierarchy. The masterminds in control of the original Illuminati conspirators, were foreigners, but to conceal that fact, most of them changed their original family names to American sounding names. For example, the true name of the Dillons, Clarence and Douglas Dillon (one Secretary of the U.S. Treasury Department), is Laposky. I'll come back to all this later.

"There is a similar establishment of the Illuminati in England operating under the name of the "British Institute of International Affairs." (The Royal Institute of International Affairs, actually). There are similar secret Illuminati organizations in France, Germany, and other nations operating under different names and all these organizations, including the CFR, continuously set



up numerous subsidiary or front-organizations that are infiltrated into every phase of the various nations' affairs. But at all times, the operations of these organizations were and are masterminded and controlled by the Internationalist Bankers, they in turn were and are controlled by the Rothschilds. (One of the prime agents in this control is through the International BAR Association and it's splinter groups such as the American BAR Association. It is important to note that there are BAR Associations in nearly every nation world wide, pushing the U.N).

"One branch of the Rothschild family had financed Napoleon; another branch of the Rothschilds financed Britain, Germany, and the other nations in the Napoleonic wars.

"Immediately after the Napoleonic wars, the Illuminati assumed that all the nations were so destitute and so weary of wars that they'd be glad for any solution, so the Rothschild stooges set up what they called the Congress in Vienna and at that meeting they tried to create the first League of Nations, their first attempted one-world government, on the theory that all the crowned heads of European governments were so deeply in debt to them that they would willingly or unwillingly serve as their stooges. But the Czar of Russia caught the stench of the plot and completely torpedoed it. The enraged Nathan Rothschild, then the head of the dynasty, vowed that some day he or his descendants would destroy the Czar and his entire family, and his descendants did accomplish that very threat in 1917. At this point, bear in mind that the Illuminati was not set up to operate on a short-range basis. Normally a conspirator of any type enters into a conspiracy with the expectation of achieving his objective during his own lifetime. But that was not the case with the Illuminati. True, they hoped to accomplish their objective during their lifetime, but paraphrasing "The show must go on," the Illuminati operates on the very long-range basis. Whether it will take scores of years or even centuries, they have dedicated their descendants to keep the pot boiling until they hope the conspiracy is achieved.

"Now, let's go back to the birth of the Illuminati. Adam Weishaupt was a Jesuit-trained professor of canon law, teaching in Engelstock University, when he defected from Christianity to embrace the Luciferian conspiracy. It was in 1770 that the professional money-lenders, the then recently organized House of Rothschild, retained him to revise and modernize the age-old protocols of Zionism, which from the outset, was designed to give the "Synagogue of Satan," so-named by Jesus Christ [and who are "them which say they are Jews and are not"—Revelation 2:9], ultimate world-domination so they could impose the luciferian ideology upon what would remain of the human-race after the final social-cataclysm by use of Satanic despotism. Weishaupt completed his task May 1, 1776. Now you know why May 1 is the great day with all communist nations to this very day (May 1 is also "Law Day" as declared by the American Bar Association. The celebration of May 1 [Baal/Bealtaine] goes much further back into history than this, and the day was picked for the ancient reasons, which comes through Paganism; Baal-worship and revolves around the worship of Satan.) That was the day, May 1, 1776, that Weishaupt completed his plan and officially organized the Illuminati to put the plan into execution. That plan required the destruction of all existing governments and religions. That objective was to be reached by dividing the masses of people, whom he Weishaupt, termed: "goyim" [nations] or human cattle into opposing camps in ever increasing numbers on political, social, economic, and other issues—the very conditions we have in our country today. The opposing sides were then to be armed and incidents provided which would cause them to fight and weaken themselves and gradually destroy national governments and religious institutions. Again I say, the very conditions in the world today.

"And at this point let me stress a prime feature of the Illuminati plans. When and if their blueprint for world control, The Protocols of the Elders of Zion, is discovered and exposed, they would wipe all the Jews off the face of the earth in order to divert suspicions from themselves. If you think this is far fetched, bear in mind that they permitted Hitler, a liberal socialist himself, who was financed by corrupt Kennedy, the Warburgs, and the Rothschilds, to incinerate 600,000 Jews. (There was no incineration and according to "Jewish" sources there were not so many Jews

in the whole of Germany at the start of the War)

"Now just why did the conspirators choose the word: "Illuminati" for their Satanic-organization? Weishaupt himself said that the word is derived from Lucifer and means: "holder of the light." Using the lie that his objective was to bring about a one-world government to enable those with mental ability to govern the world and prevent all wars in the future. In short, using the words: "peace on earth" as his bait, exactly as that same bait "peace" was used by the 1945 conspirators to force the United Nations on us, Weishaupt, financed, I repeat, by the Rothschilds, recruited some 2,000 paid followers. These included the most intelligent men in the field of arts and letters, education, the sciences, finance, and industry. He then established Lodges of the Grand Orient; Masonic Lodges to be their secret headquarters, and I again repeat, that in all of this he was acting under orders from the House of Rothschild. The main features of the Weishaupt plan of operation required his Illuminati to do the following things to help them to accomplish their purpose:

— Use monetary and sex bribery to obtain control of men already in high places in the various levels of all governments and other fields of endeavor. Once influential persons had fallen for the lies, deceptions, and temptations of the Illuminati they were to be held in bondage by application of political and other forms of blackmail, threats of financial ruin, public exposure, and fiscal harm, even death to themselves and loved members of their families.

"Do you realize how many present top officials in our present government in Washington are controlled in just that way by the CFR? Do you realize how many homosexuals in our State Department, the Pentagon, all federal agencies, even in the White House are controlled that way?

— Illuminati and the faculties of colleges and universities were to cultivate students possessing exceptional mental ability belonging to well-bred families with international leanings and recommend them for special training in internationalism. Such training was to be provided by granting scholarships to those selected by the Illuminists.

"That gives you an idea what a "Rhodes' Scholarship" means. It means indoctrination into accepting the idea that only a one-world government can put an end to recurring wars and strife. That's how the United Nations was sold to the American people.

"One of the most notable Rhodes' scholars we have in our country is Senator William J. Fulbright, sometimes referred to as half-bright. His entire voting-record spells Illuminati. All such scholars were to be first persuaded and then convinced that men of special talent and brains have the right to rule those less gifted on the ground that the masses don't know what is best for them fiscally, mentally, and spiritually. In addition to the Rhodes' and similar scholarships, today there are three special Illuminati schools located in Gordonstown in Scotland, Salem in Germany, and Annavrigha in Greece. These three are known ones, but there are others that are kept undercover. Prince Philip, the husband of Britain's Queen Elizabeth, was educated at Gordonstown (as was also Prince Charles) at the instigation of Lord Louis Mountbatten, his uncle, a Rothschild relative, who became Britain's Admiral of the Fleet after World War II ended.

— All influential people trapped into coming under the control of the Illuminati, plus the students who had been specially educated and trained, were to be used as agents and placed behind the scenes of all governments as experts and specialists so they would advise the top executives to adopt policies which would in the long-run serve the secret plans of the Illuminati one-world conspiracy and bring about the destruction of the governments and religions they were elected or appointed to serve.

"Do you know how many such men operate in our government at this very time? Rusk, McNamara, Hubert Humphrey, Fulbright, Keekle, and goes on and on and on.

— Perhaps the most vital directive in Weishaupt's plan was to obtain absolute-control of the press, at that time the only mass-communications media, to distribute information to the public so that all news and information could be slanted so that the masses could be convinced that a one-world government is the only solution to our many and varied problems.

"Do you know who owns and controls our mass-communications media? I'll tell you. Practically all the movie lots in Hollywood are owned by the Lehmans; Kuhn, Loeb, and Company; Goldman-Sachs; and other internationalist bankers. All the national radio and TV channels in the nation are owned and controlled by those same internationalist bankers. The same is true of every chain of metropolitan newspapers and magazines, also of the press wire-services, such as Associated Press, United Press, International, etc.. The supposed heads of all those media are merely the fronts for the internationalist bankers, who in turn compose the hierarchy of the CFR, today's Illuminati in America.

"Now can you understand why the Pentagon Press agent, Sylvester, so brazenly proclaimed that the government has the right to lie to the people. What he really meant was that our CFR-controlled government had the power to lie to and be believed by the brain-washed American people.

"Let us again go back to the first days of the Illuminati. Because Britain and France were the two greatest world powers in the late years of the 18th Century; Weishaupt ordered the Illuminati to foment the colonial wars, including our Revolutionary War, to weaken the British Empire and organize the French Revolution to start in 1789. However; in 1784, a true act of God placed the Bavarian government in possession of evidence which proved the existence of the Illuminati and that evidence could have saved France if they, the French government, hadn't refused to believe it. Here is how that act of God happened. It was in 1784 that Weishaupt issued his orders for the French Revolution. A German writer, named Zweig, put it into book form. It contained the entire Illuminati story and Weishaupt's plans. A copy of this book was sent to the Illuminists in France headed by Robespierre whom Weishaupt had delegated to foment the French Revolution. The courier was struck and killed by lightening as he rode through Rawlestone on his way from Frankfurt to Paris. The police found the subversive documents on his body and turned them over to the proper authorities. After a careful study of the plot; the Bavarian government ordered the police to raid Weishaupt's newly-organized Lodges of the "Grand Orient" and the homes of his most influential associates. All additional evidence thus discovered convinced the authorities that the documents were genuine copies of the conspiracy by which the Illuminati planned to use wars and revolutions to bring about the establishment of a one-world government; the powers of which they, headed by the Rothschilds, intended to usurp as soon as it was established, exactly in line with the United Nations' plot of today.

"In 1785, the Bavarian government outlawed the Illuminati and closed the Lodges of the "Grand Orient." In 1786; they published all the details of the conspiracy. The English title of that publication is: "The Original Writings of the Order and the Sect of the Illuminati." Copies of the entire conspiracy were sent to all the heads of church and state in Europe. But the power of the Illuminati, which was actually the power of the Rothschilds, was so great that this warning was ignored. Nevertheless; the Illuminati became a dirty word and it went underground.

"At the same time, Weishaupt ordered Illuminists to infiltrate into the Lodges of "Blue Masonry" and formed their own secret societies within all secret societies. Only Masons who proved themselves internationalists and those whose conduct proved they had defected from God were initiated into the Illuminati. Thenceforth; the conspirators donned the cloak of philanthropy and humanitarianism to conceal their revolutionary and subversive activities. In order to infiltrate into Masonic Lodges in Britain; Weishaupt invited John Robison over to Europe. Robison was a high-degree Mason in the "Scottish Rite." He was a professor of natural philosophy at Edinburgh

University and Secretary of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. Robison did not fall for the lie that the objective of the Illuminati was to create a benevolent dictatorship; but he kept his reactions to himself so well that he was entrusted with a copy of Weishaupt's revised conspiracy for study and safekeeping.

"Anyway; because the heads of state and church in France were deluded into ignoring the warnings given them; the revolution broke out in 1789 as scheduled by Weishaupt. In order to alert other governments to their danger, in 1798, Robison published a book entitled: "Proof of a conspiracy to Destroy all Governments and Religions" but his warnings were ignored exactly as our American people have been ignoring all warnings about the United Nations and the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).

"Now here is something that will stun and very likely outrage many who hear this; but there is documentary proof that our own Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton became students of Weishaupt. Jefferson was one of Weishaupt's strongest defenders when he was outlawed by his government and it was Jefferson who infiltrated the Illuminati into the then newly-organized lodges of the "Scottish Rite" in New England. Here is the proof.

"In 1789; John Robison warned all Masonic leaders in America that the Illuminati had infiltrated into their lodges and on July 19, 1789; David Papen, President of Harvard University, issued the same warning to the graduating-class and lectured them on how the influence of Illuminism was acquiring on American politics and religion, and to top it off; John Quincy Adams, who had organized the New England Masonic Lodges, issued his warnings. He wrote three letters to Colonel William L. Stone, a top Mason, in which he exposed how Jefferson was using Masonic lodges for subversive Illuministic purposes. Those three letters are at this very time in Whittenburg Square Library in Philadelphia. In short; Jefferson, founder of the Democratic Party, was a member of the Illuminati which at least partly accounts for the condition of the party at this time and through infiltration of the Republican Party; we have exactly nothing of loyal Americanism today. That disastrous rebuff at the Congress of Vienna created by the Czar of Russia did not by any means destroy the Illuminati conspiracy. It merely forced them to adopt a new strategy realizing that the one-world idea was, for the moment, killed. The Rothschilds decided that to keep the plot alive they would have to do it by heightening their control of the money-system of the European nations.

"Earlier; by a ruse; the outcome of the Battle of Waterloo had been falsified, Rothschild had spread a story that Napoleon had had one bad battle, which precipitated a terrific panic on the stock-market in England. All stocks had plummeted down to practically zero and Nathan Rothschild bought all the stocks for virtually a penny on its dollar values. That gave him complete control of the economy of Britain and virtually of all Europe. So, immediately after that Congress in Vienna had boomeranged; Rothschild had forced Britain to set up a new "Bank of England", over which he had absolute control, exactly as later, through Jacob Schiff, he engineered our own "Federal Reserve Act" which gave the House of Rothschild a secret control of the economy in the United States. But now for a moment; let's dwell on the activities of the Illuminati in the United States.

"In 1826; one Captain William Morgan decided it was his duty to inform all Masons and the general public what the full proof was regarding the Illuminati, their secret plans, intended objectives, and to reveal the identities of the masterminds of the conspiracy. The Illuminati promptly tried Morgan in absentia and convicted him of treason. They ordered one Richard Howard, an English Illuminist, to carry-out their sentence of execution as a traitor. Morgan was warned and he tried to escape to Canada, but Howard caught up with him near the border; near the Niagara Gorge to be exact, where he murdered him. This was verified in a sworn statement made in New York by one Avery Allen to the effect that he heard Howard render his report of the execution to a meeting of "Knights Templars" in St. John's Hall in New York. He also told how

arrangements had been made to ship Howard back to England. That Allen affidavit is on record in New York City Archives. Very few Masons and very few of the general-public know that general-disapproval over that incident of murder caused approximately half of all the Masons in the northern jurisdiction of the United States to secede. Copies of the minutes of the meeting held to discuss that matter are still in existence in safe hands and that all that secrecy emphasizes the power of the masterminds of the Illuminati to prevent such terrible events of history from being taught in our schools.

"In the early 1850's; the Illuminati held a secret meeting in New York which was addressed by a British Illuminist named Wright. Those in attendance were told that the Illuminati was organizing to unite the Nihilist and Atheist groups with all other subversive groups into an international group to be known as Communists. That was when the word: "communist" first came into being and it was intended to be the supreme weapon and scare-word to terrify the whole world and drive the terrorized peoples into the Illuminati one-world scheme. This scheme: "communism," was to be used to enable the Illuminati to foment future wars and revolutions. Clinton Roosevelt, a direct ancestor of Franklin Roosevelt; Horace Greeley, and Charles Dana, foremost newspaper publishers of that time, were appointed to head a committee to raise funds for the new venture. Of course, most of the funds were provided by the Rothschilds and this fund was used to finance Karl Marx and Engels when they wrote "Das Kapital" and the "Communist Manifesto" in Soho, England. And this clearly reveals that communism is not a so-called ideology, but a secret weapon; a boggy-man word to serve the purpose of the Illuminati.

"Weishaupt died in 1830; but prior to his death, he prepared a revised version of the age-old conspiracy, the Illuminati, which under various aliases was to organize, finance, direct, and control all international organizations and groups by working their agents into executive positions at the top. In the United States we have Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, Jack Kennedy, Johnson, Rusk, McNamara, Fulbright, George Bush etc., as prime examples. In addition, while Karl Marx was writing the "Communist Manifesto" under the direction of one group of Illuminists, Professor Karl Ritter of Frankfurt University was writing the antithesis under the direction of another group. The idea was that those who direct the overall conspiracy could use the differences in those two so-called ideologies to enable them to divide larger and larger numbers of the human-race into opposing camps so that they could be armed and then brainwashed into fighting and destroying each other. And particularly, to destroy all political and religious institutions. The work Ritter started was continued after his death and completed by the German so-called philosopher Freidrich Wilhelm Nietzsche who founded Nietzscheanism. This Nietzscheanism was later developed into Fascism and then into Nazism and was used to foment World War I and II.

"In 1834; the Italian revolutionary leader, Guiseppe Mazzini, was selected by the Illuminati to direct their revolutionary program throughout the world. He served in that capacity until he died in 1872, but some years before he died; Mazzini had enticed an American General named Albert Pike into the Illuminati. Pike was fascinated by the idea of a one-world government and ultimately he became the head of this Luciferian conspiracy. Between 1859 and 1871 he, Pike, worked out a military-blueprint for three world wars and various revolutions throughout the world which he considered would forward the conspiracy to its final stage in the 20th century. Again I remind you that these conspirators were never concerned with immediate success. They also operated on a long-range view. Pike did most of his work in his home in Little Rock, Arkansas. But a few years later; when the Illuminati's Lodges of the Grand Orient became suspect and repudiated because of Mazzini's revolutionary activities in Europe, Pike organized what he called the New and Reformed Palladian Right. He set up three Supreme Councils; one in Charleston, South Carolina, one in Rome, Italy, and a third in Berlin, Germany. He had Mazzini establish 23 subordinate councils in strategic locations throughout the world. These have been the secret headquarters of the world revolutionary movement ever since.

"Long before Marconi invented the radio; the scientists in the Illuminati had found the means for Pike and the heads of his councils to communicate secretly. It was the discovery of that secret that enabled intelligence-officers to understand how apparently unrelated incidents; such as the assassination of an Austrian Prince in Serbia; took place simultaneously throughout the world, which developed into a war or a revolution. Pike's plan was as simple as it has proved effective. It called for communism, nazism, political zionism, and other international movements to be organized and used to foment three global world wars and at least two major revolutions.

"The first world war was to be fought so as to enable the Illuminati to destroy Czarism in Russia, as vowed by Rothschild after the Czar had torpedoed his scheme at the Congress in Vienna, and to transform Russia into a stronghold of atheistic-communism. The differences stirred up by agents of the Illuminati between the British and German Empires were to be used to foment this war. After the war would be ended; communism was to be built up and used to destroy other governments and weaken religions.

"World War II, when and if necessary, was to be fomented by using the controversies between Fascists and political zionists, and here let it be noted that Hitler was financed by Krupp, the Warburgs, the Rothschilds, and other internationalist bankers and that the slaughter of the supposed 6,000,000 Jews by Hitler didn't bother the Jewish internationalist bankers at all. That slaughter was necessary in order to create worldwide-hatred of the German people and thus bring about war against them. In short; this second world war was to be fought to destroy nazism and increase the power of political Zionism so that the state of Israel could be established in Palestine.

"During this World War II; international communism was to be built up until it equalled in strength that of united Christendom. When it reached that point; it was to be contained and kept in check until required for the final social-cataclysm. As we know now; Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin put that exact policy into effect and Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and George Bush continued that same exact policy.

"World War III is to be fomented, using the so-called controversies; by the agents of the Illuminati operating under whatever new name; that are now being stored up between the political Zionists and the leaders of the Moslem world. That war is to be directed in such a manner that all of Islam and political Zionism (Israelis) will destroy each other while at the same time; the remaining nations, once more divided on this issue, will be forced to fight themselves into a state of complete exhaustion; physically, mentally, spiritually, and economically.

"Now can any thinking person doubt that the intrigue now going on in the near Middle and Far-East is designed to accomplish that Satanic objective? Pike himself foretold all this in a statement he made to Mazzini on August 15, 1871. Pike stated that after World War III is ended; those who will aspire to undisputed world-domination will provoke the greatest social-cataclysm the world has ever known. Quoting his own words taken from the letter he wrote to Mazzini and which letter is now catalogued in the British Museum in London, England; he said:

"We shall unleash the nihilists and the atheists and we shall provoke a great social-cataclysm which in all its horror will show clearly to all nations the effect of absolute-atheism; the origins of savagery and of most bloody turmoil. Then everywhere, the people will be forced to defend themselves against the world-minority of the world-revolutionaries and will exterminate those destroyers of civilization and the multitudes disillusioned with Christianity whose spirits will be from that moment without direction and leadership and anxious for an ideal, but without knowledge where to send its adoration, will receive the true light through the universal-manifestation of the pure doctrine of Lucifer brought finally out into public view. A manifestation which will result from a general reactionary movement which will follow the destruction of Christianity and Atheism; both conquered and exterminated at the same time."

"When Mazzini died in 1872; Pike made another revolutionary leader named Adrian Lemmy; his successor. Lemmy, in turn, was succeeded by Lenin and Trotsky, then by Stalin. The revolutionary activities of all those men were financed by British, French, German, and American international bankers; all of them dominated by the House of Rothschild. We are supposed to believe that the international bankers of today, like the money-changers of Christ's day, are only the tools or agents of the great conspiracy, but actually they are the masterminds behind all the mass-communications media leading us into believing that communism is a movement of the so-called workers; the actual fact is that both British and American intelligence-officers have authentic documentary-evidence that international liberals, operating through their international banking houses; particularly the House of Rothschild, have financed both sides of every war and revolution since 1776.

"Those who today comprise the conspiracy (the CFR in the United States and the RIIA in Britain); direct our governments whom they hold in usury through such methods as the Federal Reserve System in America to fight wars, such as Vietnam (created by the United Nations), so as to further Pike's Illuminati plans to bring the world to that stage of the conspiracy when atheistic-communism and the whole of Christianity can be forced into an all-out third world war within each remaining nation as well as on an international scale.

"The headquarters of the great conspiracy in the late 1700's was in Frankfurt, Germany where the House of Rothschild had been established by Mayer Amschel who adopted the Rothschild name and linked together other international financiers who had literally sold their souls to the Devil. After the Bavarian government's exposure in 1786; the conspirators moved their headquarters to Switzerland then to London. Since World War II (after Jacob Schiff, the Rothschild's boy in America died); the headquarters of the American branch has been in the Harold Pratt Building in New York City and the Rockefellers, originally proteges of Schiff, have taken over the manipulation of finances in America for the Illuminati.

"In the final phases of the conspiracy; the one-world government will consist of the king-dictator; the head of the United Nations, the CFR, and a few billionaires, economists, and scientists who have proved their devotion to the great conspiracy. All others are to be integrated into a vast conglomeration of mongrelized humanity; actually slaves. Now let me show you how our federal government and the American people have been sucked into the one-world take over plot of the Illuminati great conspiracy and always bear in mind, that the United Nations was created to become the housing for that one-world, so-called, liberal conspiracy. The real foundations of the plot of the takeover of the United States were laid during the period of our Civil War. Not that Weishaupt and the earlier masterminds had ever overlooked the new world, as I have previously indicated; Weishaupt had his agents planted over here as far back as the Revolutionary War.

"It was during the Civil War that the conspirators launched their first concrete efforts. We know that Judah Benjamin, chief advisor of Jefferson Davis, was a Rothschild agent. We also know that there were Rothschild agents planted in Abraham Lincoln's cabinet who tried to sell him into a financial dealing with the House of Rothschild. But old Abe saw through the scheme and bluntly rejected it thereby incurring the undying enmity of the Rothschilds; exactly as the Russian Czar did when he torpedoed their first League of Nations at the Congress in Vienna. Investigation of the assassination of Lincoln revealed that the assassin Booth was a member of a secret conspiratorial group. Because there were a number of highly-important government-officials involved; the name of the group was never revealed and it became a mystery; exactly as the assassination of Jack (John F.) Kennedy is still a mystery. But I am sure it will not remain a mystery for long. Anyway; the ending of the Civil War destroyed temporarily all chances of the House of Rothschild to get a clutch on our money-system; such as they had acquired in Britain and other nations in Europe. I say temporarily because the Rothschilds and the masterminds of the conspiracy never quit, so they had to start from scratch; but they lost no time in getting started.

"Shortly after the Civil War; a young immigrant, who called himself Jacob H. Schiff, arrived in New York. Jacob was a young man with a mission for the House of Rothschild. Jacob was the son of a Rabbi who was born in one of the Rothschild's houses in Frankfurt, Germany. I will go deeply into his background. The important point was that Rothschild recognized in him, not only a potential money wizard; but more important, he also saw the latent Machiavellian qualities in Jacob, that could, as it did, make him an invaluable functionary in the great one-world conspiracy. After a comparatively brief training-period in the Rothschild's London Bank; Jacob left for America with instructions to buy into a banking-house which was to be the springboard to acquire control of the money-system of the United States. Actually; Jacob came here to carry out four specific assignments.

1. And most important, was to acquire control of America's money-system.
2. Find desirable men, who for a price, would be willing to serve as stooges for the great conspiracy and promote them into high places in our federal government, our Congress, and the U.S. Supreme Court, and all federal agencies.
3. Create minority-group strife throughout the nations; particularly between the whites and blacks.
4. Create a movement to destroy religion in the United States; but Christianity to be the chief target.

"Earlier I stated that Jacob Schiff came to America with orders by Rothschild to carry out four specific directives. The first and most important one was to get control of the United States' money-system. Let's trace Schiff's step to accomplish that directive. As a first step he had to buy into a banking-house; but it had to be the kind of a house that he could absolutely control and mold for that primary-objective of entrapping our U.S. money-system. After carefully scouting around; Jacob bought a partnership in a firm that called itself: "Kuhn and Loeb." Like Schiff; Kuhn and Loeb were immigrants from German Jewish ghettos. They came to the U.S. in the mid 1840's and both of them started their business careers as itinerant pack-peddlers. In the early 1850's; they pooled their interests and set up a merchandise-store in Lafayette, Indiana under the firm-name of "Kuhn and Loeb" servicing the covered-wagon settlers on their way west. In the years that followed; they set up similar stores in Cincinnati and St. Louis. Then they added "pawn-brokering" to their merchandising-pursuits. From that to money-lending was a short and quick step.

"By the time Schiff arrived on the scene; "Kuhn and Loeb" was a well-known private banking-firm and this is the firm Jacob bought into. Shortly after he became a partner in "Kuhn and Loeb;" Schiff married Loeb's daughter, Teresa, then he bought out Kuhn's interests and moved the firm to New York and "Kuhn and Loeb" became "Kuhn, Loeb, and Company;" international bankers with Jacob Schiff, agent of the Rothschilds, ostensibly the sole owner. And throughout his career; this blend of Judas and Machiavelli, the first heirarch of the Illuminati's great conspiracy in America, posed as a generous philanthropist and a man of great holiness; the cover-up policy set forth by the Illuminati.

"As I have stated; the first great step of the conspiracy was to be the entrapment of our money-system. To achieve that objective; Schiff had to get full cooperation of the then big-banker elements in America; and that was easier said than done. Even in those years; Wall Street was the heart of the American money-mart and J.P. Morgan was its dictator. Next in line were the Drexels and the Biddles of Philadelphia. All the other financiers, big and little, danced to the music of those three houses; but particularly to that of Morgan. All of those three were proud, haughty, arrogant potentates.



"For the first few years; they viewed the little bewhiskered man from the German ghettos with utter contempt; but Jacob knew how to overcome that. He threw a few Rothschild bones to them. The said bones being distribution in America of desirable European stock and bond issues. Then he discovered that he had a still more potent weapon in his hands in the following.

"It was in the decades following our Civil War that our industries began to burgeon. We had great railroads to build. The oil, mining, steel, textile industries were bursting out of their swaddling-clothes. All of that called for vast financing; much of that financing had to come from abroad. That meant the House of Rothschild and that was when Schiff came into his own. He played a very crafty game. He became the patron-saint of John D. Rockefeller, Edward R. Harriman, and Andrew Carnegie. He financed the Standard Oil Company for Rocky, the Railroad Empire for Harriman, and the Steel Empire for Carnegie. But instead of hogging all the other industries for Kuhn, Loeb, and Company, he opened the doors of the House of Rothschild to Morgan, Biddle, and Drexel. In turn; Rothschild arranged the setting-up of London, Paris, European and other branches for those three; but always in partnerships with Rothschild, subordinates and Rothschild made it very clear to all those men that Schiff was to be the boss in New York.

"Thus at the turn of the century Schiff had a tight control of the entire banking-fraternity on Wall Street which by then, with Schiff's help, included Lehman brothers, Goldman-Sachs, and other internationalist banks that were headed by men chosen by the Rothschilds. In short; that meant control of the nation's money-powers and he was then ready for the giant step—the entrapment of our national money-system.

"Now under our Constitution; all control of our money-system is vested solely in our Congress. Schiff's next important step was to seduce our Congress to betray that Constitutional edict by surrendering that control to the hierarchy of the Illuminati's great conspiracy. In order to legalize that surrender and thus make the people powerless to resist it, it would be necessary to have Congress enact special legislation. To accomplish that; Schiff would have to infiltrate stooges into both houses of Congress. Stooges powerful enough to railroad Congress into passing such legislation. Equally, or even more important; he would have to plant a stooge in the White House, a president that is without integrity and without scruples, who would sign that legislation into law. To accomplish that he had to get control of either the Republican or the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party was the more vulnerable; it was the hungrier of the two parties. Except for Grover Cleveland; the Democrats had been unable to land one of their men in the White House since before the Civil War. There were two reasons for that:

1. Poverty of the Party.
2. There were considerably more Republican-minded voters than Democrats.

"The poverty matter was not a great problem, but the voter problem was a different story. But as I previously said; Schiff was a smart cookie. Here is the atrocious and murderous method he employed to solve that voter problem. His solution emphasizes how very little the Jewish internationalist bankers care about their own racial brethren as you shall see. Suddenly; around 1890, there broke out a nationwide series of pogroms in Russia. Many, many, thousands of innocent Jews; men, women, and children were slaughtered by the Cossacks and other peasants. Similar pogroms with similar slaughter of innocent Jews broke-out in Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria. All those pogroms were fomented by Rothschild agents. As a result; the Jewish refugees terrified, from all of those nations, swarmed into the United States and that continued throughout the next two or three decades, because the pogroms were continuous through all those years. All those refugees were aided by self-styled humanitarian-committees set up by Schiff, the Rothschilds, and all the Rothschild affiliates.

"In the main; the refugees streamed into New York, but the Schiff-Rothschild humanitarian-committees found ways to shuffle many of them into other large cities such as Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Los Angeles, etc.. All of them were quickly transformed into "naturalized-citizens" and educated to register as Democrats. Thus all of that so-called minority-group became solid Democratic voter-blocks in their communities, all controlled and maneuvered by their so-called benefactors. And shortly after the turn of the century; they became vital factors in the political-life of our nation. That was one of the methods Schiff employed to plant men like Nelson Aldrich in our Senate and Woodrow Wilson in the White House.

"At this point let me remind you of another one of the important jobs that was assigned to Schiff when he was dispatched to America. I refer to the job of destroying the unity of the American people by creating minority-groups and racial-strife. By the pogrom-driven Jewish refugees entering into America; Schiff was creating a ready-made minority-group for that purpose. But the Jewish people, as a whole, made fearful by the pogroms, could not be depended upon to create the violence necessary to destroy the unity of the American people. But right within America; there was an already made-to-order, although as yet, a sleeping minority-group, the Negroes, who could be sparked into so-called demonstrations, rioting, looting, murder, and every other type of lawlessness—all that was necessary, was to incite and arouse them. Together; those two minority-groups, properly maneuvered, could be used to create exactly the "King of Strife" in America the Illuminati would need to accomplish their objective.

"Thus at the same time that Schiff and co-conspirators were laying their plans for the entrapment of our money-system; they were also perfecting plans to hit the unsuspecting American people with an explosive and terrifying racial upheaval that would tear the people into hate-fractions and create chaos throughout the nation; especially on all college and university campuses; all protected by Earl Warren decisions and our so-called leaders in Washington D.C. (Remember the Warren Commission on the assassination of President Jack F. Kennedy \*). Of course; perfecting those plans requires time and infinitely-patient organizing.

\* NOTE: Jack Kennedy, tried to inform the people of this Nation (at least twice) that the Office of the President of the United States was being manipulated by the Illuminati/CFR. At the same time, he put a stop to the "borrowing" of Federal Reserve Notes from the Federal Reserve Bank and began issuing United States Notes (which was interest-free) on the credit of the United States. It was the issuing of the United States Notes that caused Jack Kennedy to be "assassinated."

"Upon taking the Oath of Office; Lynden B. Johnson stopped the issuing of the United States Notes and went back to borrowing Federal Reserve Bank Notes (which were loaned to the people of the United States at the going rate of interest of 17%). The U.S. Notes, that were issued under John F. Kennedy, were of the 1963 series which bore a "Red" seal on the face of the "Note."

"Now to remove all doubts; I'll take a few moments to give you the documentary proof of this racial-strife plot. First of all they had to create the leadership and organizations to draw in millions of dupes, both Jewish and Negroes, who would do the demonstrating and commit the rioting, looting, and lawlessness. (Just as they did in Australia in an attempt to destroy the chances of Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party at the Polls). So in 1909; Schiff, the Lehman's, and other conspirators, organized and set up the "National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People" known as the "NAACP." The presidents, directors, and legal councils of the NAACP were always "white men Jews" appointed by Schiff and this is the case to this very day.

"Then in 1913; the Schiff group organized the "Anti-defamation League of the B'nai B'rith" commonly known as the "ADL" to serve as the gestapo and hatchet-man outfit for the entire great conspiracy. Today the sinister "ADL" maintains over 2,000 agencies in all parts of our country and they advise and completely control every action of the "NAACP" or of the "Urban League" of all the other so-called Negro civil-rights organizations throughout the nation including such

leaders as Martin Luther King, Stockely Carmichael, Barnard Rustin, and others of the ilk. In addition; the "ADL" acquired absolute control of the advertising-budgets of many department-stores, hotel-chains, and TV and Radio industrialist sponsors, also advertising-agencies in order to control practically all the mass-communications media and force every loyal newspaper to slant and falsify the news and to further incite; and, at the same time create sympathy for; the lawlessness and violence of the Negro mobs. Here is documentary proof of the beginning of their deliberate plot to foment the Negroes into all their lawlessness.

"Around 1910; one Israel Zangwill wrote a play entitled "The Melting-Pot." It was sheer propaganda to incite the Negroes and Jews because the play purportedly visualized how the American people were discriminating against, and persecuting Jews and Negroes. At that time nobody seemed to realize that it was a propaganda play. It was that cleverly-written. The propaganda was well wrapped-up in the truly great entertainment in the play and it was a big Broadway Hit.

"Now in those years, the legendary Diamond Jim Brady used to throw a banquet at the famous Delmonico Restaurant in New York after the opening-performance of a popular play. He threw such a party for the cast of "The Melting-Pot," its author, producer, and chosen Broadway celebrities. By then I'd already made a personal mark on the Broadway Theater and was invited to that party. There I met George Bernard Shaw and a Jewish writer named Israel Cohen. Zangwill, Shaw, and Cohen were the ones who created the Fabian Society in England and had worked closely with a Frankfurt Jew named Mordicai who had changed his name to Karl Marx; but remember, at that time both Marxism and Communism were just emerging and nobody paid much attention to either and nobody suspected the propaganda in the writings of those three really brilliant writers.

"At that banquet; Israel Cohen told me that he was then engaged in writing a book which was to be a follow-up on Zangwill's "The Melting-Pot." The title of his book was to be "A Racial-Program for the 20th Century." At that time I was completely absorbed by my work as a playwright, and significant as that title was, its real-objective never dawned on me nor was I interested in reading the book. But it suddenly hit me with the force of a hydrogen-bomb when I received a newspaper clipping of an item published by the Washington D.C. Evening Star in May 1957. That item was a verbatim reprint of the following excerpt in Israel Cohen's book "A Racial-Program for the 20th Century" and it read as I quote:

*"We must realize that our party's most powerful weapon is racial tension. By propounding into the consciousness of the dark races, that for centuries they have been oppressed by the whites, we can move them to the program of the communist party. In America; we will aim for subtle victory.*

*While inflaming the Negro minority against the whites; we will instill in the whites a guilt-complex for their exploitation of the Negroes. We will aid the Negroes to rise to prominence in every walk of life, in the professions, and in the world of sports and entertainment. With this prestige; the Negro will be able to intermarry with the whites and begin a process which will deliver America to our cause."*

- Record of June 7, 1957; by Representative Thomas G. Abernethy.

"Thus the authenticity of that passage in Cohen's book was fully established. But the one question that remained in my mind was whether it represented the official policy or plot of the Communist Party or just a personal expression of Cohen himself. Hence I sought more proof and I found it in an official pamphlet published in 1935 by the New York Communist Party's official Workers' Library Publishers. That pamphlet was entitled: "The Negroes in a Soviet America." It urged the Negroes to rise-up; form a soviet-state in the south, and apply for admission to the Soviet Union. It contained a firm pledge that the revolt would be supported by all American "reds" and all so-called "liberals". On page 38; it promised that a Soviet government would confer greater benefits to Negroes than to whites and again this official communist pamphlet pledged that; I quote: "any

act of discrimination or prejudice against a Negro will become a crime under the revolutionary law." That statement proved that the excerpt in Israel Cohen's book published in 1913 was an official-edict of the Communist Party and directly in line with the Illuminati-blueprint for world-revolution issued by Weishaupt and later by Albert Pike.

"Now there's only one question and that is to prove that the communist regime is directly controlled by the American Jacob Schiff and the London Rothschild masterminds of the great conspiracy. A little later I will provide that proof that will remove even a remote doubt that the Communist Party, as we know it, was created by those masterminds (capitalists if you will note); Schiff, the Warburgs, and the Rothschilds that planned and financed the entire Russian Revolution; the murder of the Czar and his family, and that Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin took their orders directly from Schiff and the other capitalists whom they supposedly are fighting.

"Now can you see why the vile Earl Warren and his equally vile co-Supreme Court justices issued that infamous and treasonous desegregation-decision in 1954? It was to aid and abet the plot of the Illuminati conspirators to create tension and strife between the Negroes and Whites. Can you see why the same Earl Warren issued his decision prohibiting Christian-prayers and Christmas-carols in our schools? Why Kennedy did likewise? And can you see why Johnson and 66 Senators, despite the protests of 90% of the American people, voted for the "Consular Treaty" which opens our entire country to Russian spies and saboteurs? All those 66 Senators are 20th century Benedict Arnolds.

"It is up to you and you, all of the American people, to force Congress, our elected servants, to haul in those American traitors for impeachments and that when proven guilty; they all be given the punishment prescribed for traitors who aid and abet our enemies. And that includes the enforcing of rigid investigations by Congress of the "CFR" and all their fronts, such as the "ADL," the "NAACP," "SNIC," and such Illuminati tools as Martin Luther King. Such investigations will completely unmask all the leaders in Washington, D.C. and the Illuminati and all their affiliations and affiliates as traitors carrying-out the Illuminati plot. It will completely unmask the United Nations as the intended crux of the entire plot and force Congress to take the U.S. out of the U.N. and hurl the U.N. out of the U.S.. In fact; it will destroy the U.N. and the entire plot.

"Before I close this phase; I wish to reiterate and stress one vital point which I urge you to never forget if you wish to save our country for your children and their children. Here is the point. Every unconstitutional and unlawful act committed by Woodrow Wilson, by Franklin Roosevelt, by Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy and that are now being committed by Johnson (and today; George Bush and Bill Clinton) is exactly in line with the Illuminati conspirators centuries-old plot outlined by Weishaupt and Albert Pike. Every vicious decision issued by the traitorous Earl Warren and his equally-traitorous Supreme Court justices was directly in line with what the Illuminati-blueprint required. That all the treason committed by our State Department under Rusk and earlier by John Foster Dulles, and Marshall, also all the treason committed by McNamara and his predecessors is directly in line with that same Illuminati-blueprint for the takeover of the world. Also the amazing treason by various members of our Congress, especially by the 66 Senators who signed for the Consular Treaty, has been committed on orders from the Illuminati.

"Now I will go back to Jacob Schiff's entrapment of our money-system and the treasonous actions that followed. It will also reveal the Schiff-Rothschild control of not only Karl Marx; but of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin, who created the revolution in Russia and set up the Communist Party.

"It was in 1908 that Schiff decided that the time had come for his seizure of our money-system. His chief lieutenants in that seizure were Colonel Edward Mandell House whose entire career was that of chief executive and courier for Schiff as I shall show and Bernard Baruch and Herbert Lehman. In the Fall (Autumn) of that year; they assembled in secret conclave at the Jeckle Island

Hunt Club, owned by J.P. Morgan at Jeckle Island, Georgia. Among those present were J.P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Colonel House, Senator Nelson Aldrich, Schiff, Stillman and Vandlelip of the New York National City Bank, W. and J. Seligman, Eugene Myer, Bernard Baruch, Herbert Lehman, Paul Warburg, in short; all of the international bankers in America. All of them members of the hierarchy of the Illuminati's great conspiracy.

"A week later they emerged with what they called the Federal Reserve System. Senator Aldrich was the stooge who was to railroad it through Congress, but they held that railroading in abeyance for one chief reason; they would first have to plant their man and obedient stooge in the White House to sign the Federal Reserve Act into law. They knew that even if the Senate would pass that act unanimously; the then newly elected President Taft would promptly veto it. So they waited.

"In 1912; their man, Woodrow Wilson, was elected to the presidency. Immediately after Wilson was inaugurated; Senator Aldrich railroaded the Federal Reserve Act through both houses of Congress and Wilson promptly signed it and the Federal Reserve Act became law. That heinous act of treason was committed on December 23, 1913; two days before Christmas when all the members of Congress, except for several carefully picked Representatives and three equally carefully picked Senators, were away from Washington. How heinous treasonous was that act? I'll tell you. Our founding-fathers knew full-well the power of money. They knew that whoever had that power held the destiny of our nation in his hands. Therefore; they carefully guarded this power when they set forth in the Constitution, that Congress, the elected representatives of the people, alone would have the power. The Constitutional-language on this point is brief, concise, and specific, stated in Article I, Section 8, Paragraph 5, defining the duties and powers of Congress, and I quote: "to coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and the standard of weights and measures." But on that tragic, unforgettable day of infamy; December 23, 1913, the men we sent to Washington to safeguard our interests; the Representatives, Senators, and Woodrow Wilson, delivered the destiny of our nation into the hands of two aliens from Eastern Europe; Jacob Schiff and Paul Warburg. Warburg was a very recent immigrant who came here on orders from Rothschild for the express purpose of blueprinting that foul Federal Reserve Act.

"Now the vast majority of the American people think that the Federal Reserve System is an United States Government owned agency. That is positively false. All of the stock of the federal reserve banks is owned by the member banks and the heads of the member banks are all members of the hierarchy of the great Illuminati conspiracy known today as the "CFR."

"The details of that act of treason, in which many traitorous so-called Americans participated, are far too long for this reporting; but all those details are available in a book entitled, "The Federal Reserve Conspiracy," written by Eustace Mullins. In that book; Mullins tells the entire horrifying story and backs it up with unquestionable documentations. Aside from it being a truly fascinating and shocking story of that great betrayal; every American should read it as a matter of vital intelligence for the time when the whole American people will finally come awake and smash the entire conspiracy and with God's help; that awakening will surely come.

"Now if you think that those aliens and their by accident-of-birth American co-conspirators would be content with just the control of our money-system; you are in for another very sad shock. The Federal Reserve System gave the conspirators complete control of our money-system; but it in no way touched the earnings of the people because the Constitution positively forbids what is now known as the 20%+ withholding tax. But the Illuminati-blueprint for one-world-enslavement called for the confiscation of all private property and control of individual earning-powers. This, and Karl Marx stressed that feature in his blueprint, had to be accomplished by a progressive graduated income-tax. As I have stated; such a tax could not lawfully be imposed upon the American people. It is succinctly and expressly forbidden by our Constitution. Thus; only an Amendment to the Constitution could give the federal government such confiscatory-powers.

"Well; that too was not an insurmountable problem for our Machiavellian plotters. The same elected leaders in both houses of Congress and the same Mr. Woodrow Wilson, who signed the infamous Federal Reserve Act into law, amended the Constitution to make the federal income-tax, known as the 16th Amendment, a law of the land. Both are illegal under our Constitution. In short; the same traitors signed both betrayals, the Federal Reserve Act and the 16th Amendment, into law. However; it seems that nobody ever realized that the 16th amendment was set up to rob, and I do mean rob, the people of their earnings via the income-tax provision.

"The plotters didn't fully use the provision until World War II when that great humanitarian, Franklin Roosevelt, applied a 20% withholding-tax on all small wage-earners and up to 90% on higher incomes. Oh, of course; he faithfully promised that it would be only for the duration of the war; but what was a promise to such a charlatan who in 1940, when he was running for his third term, kept proclaiming: "I say again and again and again that I will never send American boys to fight on foreign soil." Remember; he was proclaiming that statement even as he was already preparing to plunge us into World War II by enticing the Japanese into that sneak-attack on Pearl Harbor to furnish him with his excuse.

"And before I forget; let me remind you that another charlatan named Woodrow Wilson used exactly that same campaign-slogan in 1916. His slogan was: "Re-elect the man who will keep your sons out of the war;" exactly the same formula, exactly the same promises. But wait; as Al Jolson used to say: "you ain't heard nothin' yet." That 16th Amendment income-tax trap was intended to confiscate and rob the earnings of the common herd; you and me. It was not intended to even touch the huge incomes of the Illuminati gang, the Rockefellers, the Carnegies, the Lehmans, and all the other conspirators.

"So together, with that 16th Amendment; they created what they called the "tax-free foundations" that would enable the conspirators to transform their huge wealth into such so-called "foundations" and avoid payment of virtually all income-taxes. The excuse for it was that the earnings of those "tax-free foundations" would be devoted to humanitarian- philanthropy. So we now have the several Rockefeller Foundations, the Carnegie and Dowman Fund, the Ford Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, and hundreds of similar "tax-free foundations."

"And what kind of philanthropy do these foundations support? Well; they finance all the civil-rights groups (and conservation-movements) that are creating all the chaos and rioting all over the country. They finance the Martin Luther Kings. The Ford Foundation finances the "Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions" in Santa Barbara, commonly referred to as Moscow West, and which is headed by Wonder Boy Hutchens, Walter Ruther, Erwin Cahnman and others of that ilk.

"In short; the "tax-free foundations" financed those who are doing the job for the Illuminati's great conspiracy. And what are the hundreds of billions of dollars they confiscate every year from the earnings of the common herd, you and me, used for? Well; for one thing, there is the "foreign aid" gimmick which gave billions to communist Tito plus gifts of hundreds of jet-planes; many of which were turned over to Castro, plus the costs of training communist pilots so that they can better shoot down our planes. Billions to red Poland. Billions to India. Billions to Sukarno. Billions to other enemies of the United States. That's what that treasonous railroaded 16th Amendment has done to our nation and to the American people, to you and to me, to your children and their children.

"Our CFR Illuminati-controlled federal government can grant "tax-free status" to all foundations and pro-red one-world outfits, such as the "Fund for the Republic." But if you or a patriotic pro-organization is too outspokenly pro-American; they can terrify and intimidate you by finding a misplaced comma in your income-tax-report and by threatening you with penalties, fines, and even prison. Future historians will wonder how the American people could have been so naive and stupid as to have permitted such audacious brazen acts of treason as the "Federal Reserve Act"

and the "16th Amendment." Well; they were not naive and they were not stupid. The answer is: they trusted the men they elected to safeguard our country and our people, and they just didn't have even an inkling about either betrayal, until after each one had been accomplished.

"It was the Illuminati-controlled mass-communications media that has kept and is keeping our people naive and stupid and unaware of the treason being committed. Now the great question is: "when will the people wake up and do to our traitors of today what George Washington and our founding-fathers would have done to Benedict Arnold?" Actually; Benedict Arnold was a petty-traitor compared to our present traitors in Washington D.C.. Now let's go back to the events that followed the rape of our Constitution by the passage of the Federal Reserve Act and the 16th Amendment. Was Wilson completely under their control?

"The masterminds of the great conspiracy put in motion their next and what they hoped would be their final steps to achieve their one-world government. The first of those steps was to be World War I. Why War? Simple; the only excuse for a one-world government was that it will supposedly ensure peace. The only thing that can make people cry for peace is war. War brings chaos, destruction, exhaustion, to the winner as well as to the loser. It brings economic-ruin to both. Most important; it destroys the flower of the young manhood of both. To the saddened and heartbroken oldsters (the mothers and fathers) who are left with nothing but memories of their beloved sons; peace becomes worth any price and that is the emotion upon which the conspirators depend for the success of their satanic plot.

"Throughout the 19th century, from 1814 to 1914; the world, as a whole, was at peace. Such wars as the "Franco-Prussian," our own "Civil War", the "Russo-Japanese War," were what might be termed "local-disturbances" that did not affect the rest of the world. All the great nations were prosperous and the people were staunchly nationalistic and fiercely-proud of their sovereignties. It was utterly-unthinkable that the French and the German peoples would be willing to live under a "one-world government"; or the "Turks" and the "Russians," the "Chinese," or the "Japanese." Even more unthinkable is that a Kaiser Wilhelm or a Franz Joseph or a Czar Nicholas or any Monarch would willingly and meekly surrender his throne to a one-world government. But bear in mind that the peoples in all nations are the real power and "war" the only thing that could make the peoples yearn and clamour for "peace", ensuring a one-world government. But it would have to be a frightful and horribly devastating war. It could not be just a local-disturbing war between just two nations; it would have to be a "world war." No major nation must be left untouched by the horrors and devastation of such a war. The cry for "peace" must be made universal.

(There were more lives lost in the "Great War"—the First World War—than in any other war in history. More men were slaughtered in one battle during the First World War—"the war to end all wars"—[and why was that exact phrase coined?] than in the whole of the Second World War. What has seemed up until now to have been totally illogical military-strategy, now makes perfect sense, if you wanted as many of your own men to be killed as possible. The strategy was that the British soldiers were ordered to walk slowly towards the German machine-guns and not to charge them or take-cover, resulting in horrendous carnage. If they disobeyed, then they were placed in front of a firing-squad of their own comrades, so, either way, they would be sure to die.

— Taking this as an example, it should be plain for you to see that the Illuminati have absolutely no qualms about slaughtering millions of people that they consider to be "useless-eaters" and neither will they have any qualms about slaughtering billions more . . . soon.)

"Actually that was the format set by the Illuminati and Nathan Rothschild at the turn of the 19th century. They first maneuvered all of Europe into the "Napoleonic Wars," then the "Congress in Vienna" which they, and particularly Rothschild, planned to transform into a "League of Nations" which was to have been the housing for their one-world government; exactly as the present "United Nations" was set up to be the housing for the forthcoming, God forbid, one-world

government. Anyway; that was the format the House of Rothschild and Jacob Schiff decided to employ to achieve their objective in 1914. Of course they knew that the same format had failed in 1814; but they theorized that this was only because the Czar of Russia had torpedoed that scheme. Well; the present 1914 conspirators would eliminate that 1814 fly in the ointment. They'd make sure that after the new world war that they were conspiring; there'd be no Czar of Russia around to throw monkey-wrenches into the machinery.

"I will go into how they accomplished this first step to launch a world war. History records that World War I was precipitated by a trivial incident; the kind of incident both Weishaupt and Albert Pike had incorporated in their blueprints. That incident was the assassination of an Austrian Archduke arranged by the Illuminati masterminds. The war followed. It involved Germany, Austria, Hungary, and their allies, the so-called "Axis powers," against France, Britain, and Russia, called the "Allies." Only the United States was not involved during the first two years.

"By 1917 the conspirators had achieved their primary objective; all of Europe was in a state of destitution. All the peoples were war-weary and crying for peace and the outcome too was all set. It was to come as soon as the United States would be hurled-in on the side of the Allies and that was all set to happen immediately after Wilson's re-election. After that, there could be only one outcome; complete victory for the Allies. To fully confirm my statement that long before 1917; the conspiracy, headed in America by Jacob Schiff, had it all set to hurl the United States into that war. I will cite the proof.

"When Wilson was campaigning for re-election in 1916; his chief appeal was: "re-elect the man who will keep your sons out of the war." But during that same campaign; the Republican Party publicly charged that Wilson had long committed himself to throw us into the war. They charged that if he would be defeated he would accomplish that act during his few remaining months in office; but if re-elected, he would hold off until after the election. But at that time the American people looked upon Wilson as a "God-man." Well; Wilson was re-elected and as per the schedule of the conspirators; he hurled us into the war in 1917. He used the sinking of the Lusitania as an excuse; a sinking which also was prearranged. Roosevelt, also a God-man in the eyes of the American people, followed the same technique in 1941 when he used the prearranged Pearl Harbor attack as his excuse for hurling us into World War II.

"Now exactly as the conspirators planned; victory for the Allies would eliminate all the Monarchs of the defeated Nations and leave all their people leaderless, confused, bewildered and perfectly conditioned for the one-world government, that the great conspiracy intended would follow. But there still would be an obstacle; the same obstacle that had balked the Illuminati and Rothschild at that Congress in Vienna (peace-gathering) after the Napoleonic Wars. Russia would be on the winning side this time as it was in 1814 and therefore the Czar would be securely seated on his throne. Here it is pertinent to note that Russia, under the Czarist regime, had been the one country in which the Illuminati had never made any headway nor had the Rothschilds ever been able to infiltrate-in their banking-interests; thus a winning Czar would be more difficult than ever to cope with. Even if he could be enticed into a so-called "League of Nations;" it was a foregone conclusion that he would never, but never, go for a one-world government.

"So even before the outbreak of World War I; the conspirators had a plan, in the making, to carry-out Nathan Rothschild's vow of 1814 to destroy the Czar and also murder all possible royal heirs to the throne and it would have to be done before the close of the war. The Russian Bolsheviks were to be their instruments in this particular plot. From the turn of the century; the chiefs of the Bolsheviks were Vladimir Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and later Joseph Stalin. Of course, those were not their true family names. Prior to the outbreak; Switzerland became their haven. Trotsky's headquarters was on the lower East Side in New York; largely the habitat of Russian-Jewish refugees. Both Lenin and Trotsky were similarly bewhiskered and unkempt. In those days that was



the badge of Bolshevism. Both lived well yet neither had a regular occupation. Neither had any visible means of support, yet both always had plenty of money. All those mysteries were solved in 1917. Right from the outset of the war; strange and mysterious goings-on were taking place in New York. Night after night; Trotsky darted furtively in and out of Jacob Schiff's palace-mansion and in the dead of those same nights there were a gathering of hoodlums of New York's lower East Side. All of them Russian refugees at Trotsky's headquarters and all were going through some mysterious sort of training-process that was all shrouded in mystery. Nobody talked; although it did leak out that Schiff was financing all of Trotsky's activities.

"Then suddenly Trotsky vanished and so did approximately 300 of his trained hoodlums. Actually they were on the high seas in a Schiff-chartered ship bound for a rendezvous with Lenin and his gang in Switzerland. And also on that ship was \$20,000,000 in gold; the \$20,000,000 was provided to finance the Bolsheviks takeover of Russia. In anticipation of Trotsky's arrival; Lenin prepared to throw a party in his Switzerland hideaway. Men of the very highest places in the world were to be guests at that party. Among them were the mysterious Colonel Edward Mandell House, Woodrow Wilson's mentor and palsy-walsy, and more important; Schiff's special and confidential messenger. Another of the expected guests was Warburg of the Warburg Banking Clan in Germany, who was financing the Kaiser and whom the Kaiser had rewarded by making him chief of the Secret Police of Germany. In addition; there were the Rothschilds of London and Paris also Lithenoth, Kakonovich, and Stalin (who was then the head of a train and bank robbing gang of bandits). He was known as the "Jesse James of the Urals."

"And here I must remind you that England and France were then long in the war with Germany and that on February 3, 1917; Wilson had broken off all diplomatic relations with Germany. Therefore; Warburg, Colonel House, the Rothschilds, and all those others were enemies but of course; Switzerland was neutral ground where enemies could meet and be friends and especially if they had some scheme in common. That Lenin party was very nearly wrecked by an unforeseen incident. The Schiff-chartered ship on its way to Switzerland was intercepted and taken into custody by a British warship. But Schiff quickly rushed orders to Wilson to order the British to release the ship intact with Trotsky's hoodlums and the gold. Wilson obeyed. He warned the British that if they refused to release the ship; the United States would not enter the war in April as he had faithfully promised a year earlier. The British heeded the warning. Trotsky arrived in Switzerland and the Lenin party went off as scheduled; but they still faced what ordinarily would have been the insurmountable obstacle of getting the Lenin-Trotsky band of terrorists across the border into Russia. Well; that's where Brother Warburg, chief of the German Secret Police, came in. He loaded all those thugs into sealed freight-cars and made all the necessary arrangements for their secret entry into Russia. The rest is history. The revolution in Russia took place and all members of the royal Romanoff family were murdered.

"Now my chief objective is to establish beyond even a remote doubt that communism, so-called, is an integral part of the Illuminati great conspiracy for the enslavement of the entire world. That communism, so-called, is merely their weapon and bogey-man word to terrify the peoples of the whole world and that the conquest of Russia and the creation of communism was, in great part, organized by Schiff and the other international bankers right in our own city of New York. A fantastic story? Yes. Some might even refuse to believe it. Well; for the benefit of any "Doubting Thomas"; I will prove it by reminding that just a few years ago Charlie Knickerbocker, a Hearst newspaper columnist, published an interview with John Schiff, grandson of Jacob, in which young Schiff confirmed the entire story and named the figure old Jacob contributed, \$20,000,000.

"If anybody still has even a remote doubt that the entire menace of communism was created by the masterminds of the great conspiracy right in our own city of New York; I will cite the following historical fact. All records show that when Lenin and Trotsky engineered the capture of Russia; they operated as heads of the Bolshevik's party. Now "Bolshevism" is a purely Russian word. The masterminds realized that Bolshevism could never be sold as an ideology to any but the Russian

people. So in April 1918; Jacob Schiff dispatched Colonel House to Moscow with orders to Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin to change the name of their regime to the Communist Party and to adopt the Karl Marx "Manifesto" as the constitution of the Communist Party. Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin obeyed; and in that year of 1918 was when the Communist party and the menace of communism came into being. All this is confirmed in Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, Fifth Edition.

"In short; communism was created by the capitalists. Thus; until November 11, 1918, the entire fiendish plan of the conspirators worked perfectly. All the great nations, including the United States, were war-weary, devastated, and mourning their dead. Peace was the great universal desire. Thus when it was proposed by Wilson to set up a "League of Nations" to ensure peace; all the great nations, with no Russian Czar to stand in their way, jumped on that bandwagon without even stopping to read the fine print in that insurance-policy. That is; all but one; the United States, the very one that Schiff and his co-conspirators least expected would balk and that was their one fatal mistake in that early plot. You see; when Schiff planted Woodrow Wilson in the White House; the conspirators assumed that they had the United States in the proverbial bag. Wilson had been perfectly built-up as a great humanitarian. He supposedly became established as a God-man with the American people. There was every reason for the conspirators to have believed that he would have easily hornswaggled Congress into buying the "League of Nations," sight-unseen, exactly as the Congress of 1945 bought the "United Nations," sight-unseen. But there was one man in the Senate in 1918 who saw through that scheme just as the Russian Czar did in 1814. He was a man of great political stature; almost as great as that of Teddy Roosevelt and fully as astute. He was highly respected and trusted by all members of both houses of Congress and by the American people. The name of that great and patriotic American was Henry Cabot Lodge; not the phony of today who called himself Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., until he was exposed. Lodge completely unmasked Wilson and kept the United States out of the "League of Nations."

NOTE: — Shortly thereafter; the Illuminati had created the 17th Amendment to do away with appointed Senators by the legislatures of the several states of the Union. Whereas, before that, the Illuminati controlled the press; they now control the election of the U.S. Senators. The Illuminati/CFR had little or no power over the individual legislatures of the several states or their appointed U.S. Senators prior to the [purported] ratification of the 17th Amendment. Although the 17th Amendment supposedly amends the method of placing Senators into the U.S. Senate; the 17th Amendment was never ratified in accordance to the last sentence of Article V of the U.S. Constitution. Two states, New Jersey and Utah, voted down the proposition and nine other states never voted at all. Whereas the states of New Jersey and Utah expressly refused to relinquish their "suffrage" in the Senate while the other non-voting nine states never gave their "express" consent; the proposition for the 17th Amendment did not obtain the "unanimous" vote required for its adoption. Furthermore; the resolution that created the "Proposition" did not pass the Senate with a "unanimous" vote and as those Senators of that day were "appointed" by the legislatures of their states; those "negative" votes or "non-votes" were made in the name of their respective state.

"Here it becomes of great interest to know the real reason for the Wilson League of Nations flop. As I previously stated, Schiff was sent to the United States to carry out four specific assignments:

1. And most important, was to acquire complete control of the U.S. money-system.
2. As outlined in the original Weishaupt Illuminati-blueprint, he was to find the right kind of men to serve as stooges for the great conspiracy and promote them into the highest offices in our federal government; our Congress, our U.S. Supreme Court, and all federal agencies, such as the State Department, the Pentagon, the Treasury Department, etc..
3. Destroy the unity of the American people by creating minority-groups-strife throughout the nation; especially between the whites and blacks as outlined in Israel Cohen's book.

4. Create a movement to destroy religion in the United States with Christianity to be the chief target or victim.

"In addition; he was strongly reminded of the imperative directive of the Illuminati-blueprint to achieve full-control of all mass-communications media to be used to brainwash the people into believing and accepting all of the maneuverings of the great conspiracy. Schiff was warned that only control of the press, at that time our only mass-communications media, would enable him to destroy the unity of the American people.

"Now then; Schiff and his co-conspirators did set up the "NAACP" (the "National Association for the Advancement of the Coloured People") in 1909 and in 1913 he set up the "Anti-defamation League of the B'nai B'rith;" both were to create the necessary strife; but in the early years; the "ADL" operated very timidly. Perhaps for fear of a "pogrom-like" action by an aroused and enraged American people and the "NAACP" was practically dormant because its white leadership didn't realize that they would have to develop fire-brand Negro leaders, such as Martin Luther King for one, to spark the then completely satisfied, contented mass of Negroes.

"In addition; he, Schiff, was busy developing and infiltrating the stooges to serve in all high places in our Washington government and in the job of acquiring control of our money-system and the creation of the "16th Amendment." He also was very busy with the organizing of the plot for the takeover of Russia. In short; he was kept so busy with all those jobs that he completely overlooked the supreme job of acquiring complete-control of our mass-communications media. That oversight was a direct cause for Wilson's failure to lure the United States into the "League of Nations" because when Wilson decided to go to the people to overcome the opposition of the Lodge-controlled Senate; despite his established but phony reputation as a great humanitarian, he found himself faced by a solidly united people and by a loyal press whose only ideology was "Americanism" and the American way of life. At that time; due to the ineptness and ineffectiveness of the "ADL" and the "NAACP," there were no organized minority-groups; no Negro problems; no so-called antisemitic-problems to sway the people's thinking. There were no lefts and there were no rights nor any prejudices for crafty exploitations. Thus Wilson's "League of Nations" appeal fell on deaf ears. That was the end of Woodrow Wilson; the conspirator's great humanitarian. He quickly abandoned his crusade and returned to Washington where he shortly died an imbecile brought on by syphilis and that was the end of the "League of Nations" as a corridor into one-world government.

"Of course that debacle was a terrible disappointment to the masterminds of the Illuminati conspiracy; but they were not discouraged. As I have previously stressed, this enemy never quits; they simply decided to reorganize and try from scratch again. By this time Schiff was very old and slow. He knew it. He knew that the conspiracy needed a new younger and more active leadership. So on his orders; Colonel House and Bernard Baruch organized and set up what they called the "Council on Foreign Relations;" the new name under which the Illuminati would continue to function in the United States. The hierarchy, officers, and directors of the "CFR" is composed principally of descendants of the original Illuminati; many of whom had abandoned their old family name and acquired new Americanized names. For one example; we have Dillon, who was Secretary of Treasury of the United States, whose original name was Laposky. Another example is Pauley, head of the CBS TV channel, whose true name is Palinsky. The membership of the CFR is approximately 1,000 in number and contains the heads of virtually every industrial empire in America such as Blough, president of the U.S. Steel Corporation; Rockefeller, king of the oil industry; Henry Ford, II, and so on. And of course; all the international bankers. Also; the heads of the "tax-free" foundations are officers and/or active CFR members. In short; all the men who provided the money and the influence to elect the CFR chosen Presidents of the United States, the Congressmen, the Senators, and who decide the appointments of our various Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, of every important federal agency are members of the CFR and they are very

obedient members indeed.

"Now just to cement that fact; I will mention the names of the few of the United States Presidents who were members of the CFR. Franklin Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover, Dwight D. Eisenhower, Jack Kennedy, Nixon, and George Bush. Others who were considered for the presidency are Thomas E. Dewey, Adlai Stevenson, and vice-president of a CFR subsidiary; Barry Goldwater. Among the important cabinet members of the various administrations we have John Foster Dulles, Allen Dulles, Cordell Hull, John J. MacLeod, Morgenthau, Clarence Dillon, Rusk, McNamara, and just to emphasize the "red color" of the "CFR"; we have as members such men as Alger Hiss, Ralph Bunche, Pusvolsky, Harry Dexter White (real name "Weiss"), Owen Lattimore, Phillip Jaffey, etc., etc.. Simultaneously; they were flooding thousands of homosexuals and other black (not Negro) malleable characters into all the federal agencies from the White House on down. Do you remember Johnson's great friends; Jenkins and Bobby Baker?

"Now there were many jobs the new CFR had to accomplish. They required much help. So their first job was to set up various "subsidiaries" to whom they assigned special objectives. I can't name all the subsidiaries in this recording; but the following are a few: the "Foreign Policy Association" ("FPA"), the "World Affairs Council" ("WAC"), the "Business Advisory Council" ("BAC"), the notorious "ADA" ("Americans for Democratic Action" virtually headed by Walter Ruther), the notorious "13-13" in Chicago; Barry Goldwater was, and no doubt still is a vice-president of one of the CFR subsidiaries. In addition; the CFR set up special committees in every state in the Union to whom they assigned the various state operations.

"Simultaneously; the Rothschilds set up similar CFR-like control-groups in England, France, Germany, and other Nations to control world conditions and cooperate with the CFR to bring about another world war. But the CFR's first and foremost job was to get complete-control of our mass-communications media. The control of the press was assigned to Rockefeller. Thus; Henry Luce, who recently died, was financed to set up a number of national magazines, among them "Life," "Time," "Fortune," and others, which publish "U.S.S.R." in America. The Rockefellers also directly or indirectly financed the Coles Brothers' "Look Magazine" and a chain of newspapers. They also financed a man named Sam Newhouse to buy up and build a chain of newspapers all over the country. And the late Eugene Myer, one of the founders of CFR, bought the "Washington Post," "Newsweek," the "Weekly Magazine", and other publications. At the same time; the CFR began to develop and nurture a new-breed of scurrilous columnists and editorials-writers such as Walter Lippman, Drew Pearson, the Alsops, Herbert Matthews, Erwin Canham, and others of that ilk who called themselves "Liberals" who proclaimed that "Americanism" is "isolationism;" that "isolationism" is "war-mongerism;" that "anti-communism" is "anti-semiticism" and "racism." All that took time of course; but today our "weeklies," published by patriotic organizations, are completely controlled by CFR stooges and thus they finally succeeded in breaking us up into a Nation of quarreling, wrangling, squabbling, hating factions. Now if you still wonder about the slanted news and outright lies you read in your newspaper; you now have the answer. To the Lehmans, Goldman-Sachs, Kuhn-Loebs, and the Warburgs; the CFR assigned the job of getting control of the motion-picture industry, Hollywood, radio, and television; and believe me they succeeded. If you still wonder about the strange propaganda broadcast by the Ed Morrrows and others of that ilk; you now have the answer. If you wonder about all the smut, sex, pornography, and mixed-marriage films you see in your movie-theater and on your television set (all of which is demoralizing our youth); you now have the answer.

"Now, to refresh your memory, let's go back for a moment. Wilson's flop had torpedoed all chances of transforming that "League of Nations" into the conspirators' hope for a one-world government-housing so the Jacob Schiff plot had to be done all over again and they organized the CFR to do it. We also know how successfully the CFR did that job of brainwashing and destroying the unity of the American people. But as was the case with the Schiff plot; the climax and the creation of a new housing for their one world government required another world war. A war that would be even

more horrible and more devastating than the first world war in order to get the people of the world to again clamor for peace and a means to end all wars. But the CFR realized that the aftermath of World War II would have to be more carefully planned so that there would be no escape from the new one-world trap—another "League of Nations" that would emerge from the new war. That trap we now know as the "United Nations" and they hit upon a perfect strategy to ensure that no one escaped. Here is how they did it.

"In 1943, in the midst of the war, they prepared the framework for the United Nations and it was handed-over to Roosevelt and our State Department to be given birth by Alger Hiss, Palvosky, Dalton, Trumbull, and other American traitors, thus making the whole scheme a United States' baby. Then to fix our parenthood; New York City was to become the nursery for the monstrosity. After that we could hardly walk-out on our own baby now could we? Anyway; that's how the conspirators figured it would work and so far it has. The liberal Rockefeller donated the land for the United Nations' building.

"The United Nations' charter was written by Alger Hiss, Palvosky, Dalton, Trumbull, and other CFR stooges. A phony, so-called, U.N. conference was set up in San Francisco in 1945. All the, so-called, representatives of 50-odd Nations gathered there and promptly signed the Charter and the despicable traitor, Alger Hiss, flew to Washington with it; elatedly submitted it to our Senate, and the Senate (elected by our people to safeguard our security) signed the Charter without so much as reading it. The question is: "How many of our Senators were, even then, traitorous stooges of the CFR?" Anyway; it was thus that the people accepted the "United Nations" as a "holy of holies."

"Again and again and again we have been startled, shocked, bewildered, and horrified by their mistakes in Berlin, in Korea, in Laos, in Katanga, in Cuba, in Vietnam; mistakes that always favoured the enemy; never the United States. Under the law of averages; they should have made at least one or two mistakes in our favour; but they never did. What's the answer? The answer is the "CFR" and the parts played by their subsidiaries and stooges in Washington D.C., thus we know that complete control of our foreign-relation policy is the key to the success of the entire Illuminati one-world-order plot. Here is further proof.

"Earlier I fully established that Schiff and his gang had financed the Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin, takeover of Russia and fashioned its communist regime into becoming their chief instrument to keep the world in turmoil and to finally terrorize all of us into seeking peace in a U.N. one-world government. But the conspirators knew that the "Moscow gang" could not become such an instrument until and unless the whole world would accept the communist regime as the legitimate "de jure government" of Russia. Only one thing could accomplish that and that is the recognition by the United States. The conspirators figured that the whole world would follow our lead and that's their bag, to induce Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, to grant that recognition. But all three refused. As a result of the late 1920's; the Stalin regime was in dire straits. Despite all purges and secret-police controls; the Russian people were growing more and more resistive. It is a matter of record, admitted by Lipdenoff, that during 1931 and 1932; Stalin and his whole gang were always packed and ready for instant flight.

"Then in November 1932; the conspirators achieved their greatest coup; they landed Franklin Roosevelt in the White House, crafty, unscrupulous, and utterly without conscience. That charlatan traitor turned the trick for them. Without even asking consent of Congress; he unlawfully proclaimed recognition for the Stalin regime. That did it. And exactly as the conspirators figured; the whole world did follow our lead. Automatically that squelched the previously growing resistance-movement of the Russian people. That automatically launched the greatest menace the civilized world has ever known. The rest is too well known to need repeating.

"We know how Roosevelt and his traitorous State Department kept building up the communist menace right here in our country and thus throughout the world. We know how he perpetuated that

whole Harbour atrocity for his excuse to hurl us into World War II. We know all about his secret meetings with Stalin at Yalta and how he, with Eisenhower's help, delivered the Balkans and Berlin to Moscow and last but by no means least; we know that the 20th century Benedict Arnold not only dragged us into that new corridor; the United Nations into the one-world government, but actually schemed all the arrangements to plant it within our country. In short; the day that Roosevelt entered the White House; the CFR conspirators regained full-control of our foreign-relations machinery and firmly established the United Nations as the housing for the Illuminati one-world government.

"I wish to stress one other very vital point. That Wilson "League of Nations" flop brought Schiff and his gang to the realization that control of just the Democratic Party was not enough. True! They could create a crisis during the Republican administration as they did in 1929 with their Federal Reserve manufactured crash and depression which would bring another Democrat stooge back into the White House; but they realized that a four-year disruption in their control of our foreign-relation policies could play havoc with the progress of their conspiracy. It could even break-up their entire strategy as it almost did before Roosevelt saved it with his recognition of the Stalin regime.

"Thereupon, after that Wilson debacle, they began to formulate plans to achieve control of both of our national parties. But that posed a problem for them. They needed manpower with stooges in the Republican Party with additional manpower for the Democratic Party and because control of just the man in the White House would not be enough; they would have to provide that man with trained stooges for his entire cabinet. Men to head the State Department, the Treasury Department, the Pentagon, the CFR, the USIA, etc.. In short; every member of the various cabinets would have to be a chosen tool of the CFR, such as Rusk and McNamara, as well as all the under-Secretaries and assistant-Secretaries. That would give the conspirators absolute control of all our policies, both domestic and most-important; foreign. That course of action would require a reserve-pool of trained stooges; instantaneously-ready for administrative changes and for all other exigencies. All such stooges would of necessity have to be men of national reputation, high in the esteem of the people; but they would have to be men without honor, without scruple, and without conscience. These men would have to be vulnerable to blackmail. It is needless for me to stress how well the CFR succeeded. The immortal Joe McCarthy fully revealed that there are thousands of such security-risks in all federal agencies. Scott MacLeod unmasked thousands more and you know the price that Ortega had to pay, and is still paying, for his expositions before a Senate Committee of the traitors in the State Department and you know that the men in the State Department, who delivered Cuba to Castro, have not only been shielded; but promoted.

"Now let's go back to the crux of the whole one-world government plot and the maneuvering necessary to create another "League of Nations" to house such a government. As I have already stated; the conspirators knew that only another world war was vital for the success of their plot. It would have to be such a horrifying world war that the peoples of the world would cry-out for the creation of some kind of a world-organization that could secure an everlasting peace. But how could such a war be brought about? All the European nations were at peace. None had any quarrels with their neighboring nations and certainly their stools in Moscow wouldn't dare to start a war. Even Stalin realized that it would mean the overthrow of his regime unless, so-called, "patriotism" would weld the Russian people behind him.

"But the conspirators had to have a war. They had to find or create some kind of an incident to launch it. They found it in a little inconspicuous and repulsive little man who called himself "Adolf Hitler." Hitler, an impecunious Austrian house-painter, had been a corporal in the German army. He made the defeat of Germany into a personal grievance. He began to "rabble-rouse" about it in the Munich, Germany area. He began to spout about restoring the greatness of the German Empire and the might of the German solidarity. He advocated the restoration of the old German military to be used to conquer the whole world. Strangely enough; Hitler, the little clown that he

was, could deliver a rabble-rousing speech and he did have a certain kind of magnetism. But the new authorities in Germany didn't want anymore wars and they promptly threw the obnoxious Austrian house-painter into a prison-cell.

"Aha! Here was the man, decided the conspirators, who, if properly directed and financed, could be the key to another world war. So while he was in prison; they had Rudolph Hess and Goering write a book which they titled: "Mein Kampf" and attributed the authorship to Hitler; exactly as Lipdenoff wrote: "Mission to Moscow" and attributed the authorship to Joseph Davies; then our ambassador to Russia and a stooge of the CFR. In "Mein Kampf;" the Hitler pseudo-author outlined his grievances and how he would restore the German people to their former greatness. The conspirators then arranged for a wide circulation of the book among the German people in order to arouse a fanatical following for him. On his release from prison (also arranged by the conspirators); they began to groom and finance him to travel to other parts of Germany to deliver his rabble-rousing speeches. Soon he gathered a growing following among other veterans of the war, that soon spread to the masses, who began to see in him a saviour for their beloved Germany. Then came his leadership of what he called "his brown-shirt army" and the march on Berlin. That required a great deal of financing; but the Rothschilds, the Warburgs, and others of the conspirators provided all the money he needed. Gradually Hitler became the idol of the German people and they then overthrew the Von Hindenburg government and Hitler became the new Fuhrer. But that still was no reason for a war. The rest of the world watched Hitler's rise but saw no reason to interfere in what was distinctly a domestic-condition within Germany. Certainly none of the other Nations felt it was a reason for another war against Germany and the German people were not yet incited into enough of a frenzy to commit any acts against any neighboring nation; not even against France; that would lead to a war. The conspirators realized they would have to create such a frenzy; a frenzy that would cause the German people to throw caution to the winds and at the same time; horrify the whole world. And incidentally; "Mein Kampf" was actually a follow-up of Karl Marx's book: "A World Without Jews."

"The conspirators suddenly remembered how the Schiff-Rothschild gang had engineered the pogroms in Russia which slaughtered many, many thousands of Jews and created a world-wide hatred for Russia and they decided to use that same unconscionable trick to inflame the new Hitler led German people into a murderous-hatred of the Jews. (On the contrary it was Jews who massacred 66 million Orthodox Christians then held meetings in England and America that raised millions for five to six million supposedly Jewish victims). Now it is true that the German people never had any particular affection for the Jews; but neither did they have an ingrained hatred for them. Such a hatred would have to be manufactured so Hitler was to create it. This idea more than appealed to Hitler. He saw in it the grisly gimmick to make him the "God-man" of the German people.

"Thus craftily inspired and coached by his financial-advisers, the Warburgs, the Rothschilds, and all the Illuminati masterminds; he blamed the Jews for the hated "Versailles Treaty" and for the financial ruination that followed the war. The rest is history. We know all about the Hitler concentration-camps and the incineration of hundred of thousands of Jews. (This is wartime propaganda and absurd ignorance. There were not "thousands of Jews" to incinerate, the tiny crematoria were the size of single toilet cubicles, and one does not run factories by murdering one's employees). NOT the 6,000,000 NOR even the 600,000 claimed by the conspirators; but it was enough. And here let me reiterate how little the internationalist bankers, the Rothschilds, Schiffs, Lehmans, Warburgs, Baruchs, cared about their racial brethren who were the victims of their nefarious schemes. In their eyes; the slaughter of the several hundred thousand innocent Jews by Hitler didn't bother them at all. They considered it a necessary sacrifice to further their Illuminati one-world plot just as the slaughter of the many millions in the wars that followed was a similar necessary sacrifice. And here is another grisly detail about those concentration-camps. Many of the Hitler soldier-executioners in those camps had previously been sent to Russia to acquire their arts of torture and brutalization so as to emphasize the horrors of the atrocities. (To

learn from the "Jews")?

"All this created a new world-wide hatred for the German people but it still did not provide a cause for a war. Thereupon Hitler was incited to demand the "Sudetenland"; and you remember how Chamberlain and the then diplomats of Czechoslovakia and France surrendered to that demand. That demand led to further Hitlerian demands for territories in Poland and in the French Ruhr territories and those demands were rejected. Then came his pact with Stalin. Hitler had been screaming hatred against Communism (Oh how he ranted against Communism); but actually Nazism was nothing but Socialism (national-socialism — Nazi), and communism is, in fact, (international) socialism. But Hitler disregarded all that. He entered into a pact with Stalin to attack and divide Poland between them. While Stalin marched into one part of Poland (for which he was never blamed [the Illuminati masterminds saw to that]); Hitler launched a "blitzkrieg" on Poland from his side. The conspirators finally had their new world war and what a horrible war it was.

"And in 1945; the conspirators finally achieved the "United Nations"; their new housing for their one-world government. And truly amazing; all of the American people hailed this foul outfit as a "Holy of Holies." Even after all the true-facts about how the U.N. was created were revealed; the American people continued to worship that evil outfit. Even after Alger Hiss was unmasked as a Soviet spy and traitor; the American people continued to believe in the U.N.. Even after I had publicly revealed the secret-agreement between Hiss and Mulatoff that a Russian would always be the head of the military-secretariat and by that token; the real master of the U.N.. But most of the American people continued to believe that the U.N. could do no wrong. Even after Trygve Lie, the first Secretary-general of the "U.N." confirmed that Hiss-Mulatoff secret-agreement in his book: "For The Cause of Peace;" Vassilias was given a leave of absence by the U.N. so that he could take command of the North Koreans and Red Chinese who were fighting the so-called U.N. police-action under our own General McArthur, who; by orders of the U.N.; was fired by the pusillanimous president Truman in order to prevent him from winning that war. Our people still believed in the U.N. despite our 150,000 sons who were murdered and maimed in that war; the people continued to regard the U.N. as a sure means for peace even after it was revealed in 1951 that the U.N. (using our own American soldiers under U.N. command, under the U.N. flag, in collusion with our traitorous State Department and the Pentagon) had been invading many small cities in California and Texas in order to perfect their plan for the complete takeover of our country. Most of our people brushed it off and continued their belief that the U.N. is a "Holy of Holies."

"Do you know that the U.N. Charter was written by traitor Alger Hiss, Mulatoff, and Vyshinsky? That Hiss and Mulatoff had made within that secret-agreement that the military-chief of the U.N. was always to be a Russian appointed by Moscow? Do you know that at their secret meetings at Yalta; Roosevelt and Stalin, at the behest of the Illuminati operating as the CFR, decided that the U.N. must be placed on American soil? Do you know that most of the U.N. Charter was copied intact, word for word, from the Marx "Manifesto" and the Russian, so-called, constitution? Do you know that only the two Senators who voted against the U.N. Charter had read it? Do you know that since the U.N. was founded; communist enslavement has grown from 250,000 to 1,000,000,000? Do you know that since the U.N. was founded to insure peace there have been at least 20 major wars incited by the U.N; just as they incited war against little Rhodesia and Kuwait? Do you know that under the U.N. set-up; the American taxpayers have been forced to make up the U.N. Treasury-deficit of many millions of dollars because of Russia's refusal to pay her share? Do you know that the U.N. had never passed a resolution condemning Russia or her so-called satellites; but always condemns our Allies? Do you know that J. Edgar Hoover said: "the overwhelming-majority of the communist-delegations to the U.N. are espionage-agents" and that 66 Senators voted for a "Consular Treaty" to open our entire country to Russian spies and saboteurs? Do you know that the U.N. helps Russia's conquest of the world by preventing the free world from taking any action whatsoever except to debate each new aggression in the U.N. General Assembly? Do you know that at the time of the Korean War there were 60 Nations in the U.N.; yet 95% of the U.N. forces were our American sons and practically 100% of the cost was paid by the United States taxpayers?



"And surely you know that the U.N. policy during the Korean and Vietnam Wars was to prevent us from winning those wars? Do you know that all the battle-plans of General McArthur had to go first to the U.N. to be relayed to Vasilisa, Commander of the North Koreans and Red Chinese, and that any future wars fought by our sons under the U.N. flag would have to be fought by our sons under the control of the U.N. Security Council? Do you know that the U.N. has never done anything about the 80,000 Russian Mongolian troops that occupy Hungary?

"Where was the U.N. when the Hungarian freedom-fighters were slaughtered by the Russians? Do you know that the U.N. and its peace-army turned the Congo over to the communists? Do you know that the U.N.'s own, so-called, peace-force was used to crush, rape, and kill the white anti-communists in Katanga? Do you know that the U.N. stood by and did nothing while Red China invaded Laos and Vietnam? That it did nothing while Nero invaded Goa and other Portuguese territories? Do you know that the U.N. was directly-responsible for aiding Castro? That it does absolutely nothing about the many thousands of Cuban youngsters who are shipped to Russia for communist-indoctrination.

"Do you know that Adlai Stevenson said: "the free world must expect to lose more and more decisions in the U.N.." Do you know that the U.N. openly proclaims that its chief objective is a "one-world government" which means "one-world laws," "one-world court," "one-world schools," and a "one-world church" in which Christianity would be prohibited?

"Do you know that a U.N. law has been passed to disarm all American citizens and to transfer all our armed forces to the U.N.? Such a law was secretly signed by 'saint' Jack Kennedy in 1961. Do you realize how that fits in with Article 47, paragraph 3, of the U.N. Charter, which states, and I quote: "the military staff committee of the U.N. shall be responsible through the Security Council for the strategic direction of all armed forces placed at the disposal of the Security Council" and when and if all our armed forces are transferred to the U.N.; your sons would be forced to serve and die under the U.N. command all over the world. This will happen unless you fight to get the U.S. out of the U.N.

"Do you know that Congressman James B. Utt has submitted a bill to get the U.S. out of the U.N. and a resolution to prevent our President from forcing-us to support the U.N. embargoes on Rhodesia? Well, he has and many people all over the country are writing to their representatives to support the Utt bill and resolution. Fifty Congressmen, spear-headed by Schweiker and Moorhead of Pennsylvania, have introduced a bill to immediately transfer all our armed forces to the U.N.? Can you imagine such brazen treason? Is your Congressman one of those 50 traitors? Find out and take immediate action against him and help Congressman Utt.

"Now do you know that the "National Council of Churches" passed a resolution in San Francisco which states that the United States will soon have to subordinate its will to that of the U.N. and that all American citizens must be prepared to accept it? Is your church a member of the "National Council of Churches?" In connection with that; bear in mind that God is never mentioned in the U.N. Charter and their meetings are never opened with prayer.

"The creators of the U.N. stipulated in advance that there should be no mention of God or Jesus Christ in the U.N. Charter or in its U.N. headquarters. Does your pastor subscribe to that? Find out! Furthermore; do you know that the great majority of the, so-called, Nations in the U.N. are anti-christianity and that the U.N. is a completely Godless organization by orders of its creators; the CFR Illuminati. Have you heard enough of the truth about the Illuminati's United Nations? Do you want to leave your sons and our precious country to the unholy mercy of the Illuminati's United Nations? If you don't; write, telegraph, or phone your Representatives and Senators that they must support Congressman Utt's bill to get the U.S. out of the U.N. and the U.N. out of the U.S.. Do it today; now, before you forget! It is the only salvation for your sons and for our country.

"Now I have one more vital message to deliver. As I told you; one of the four specific assignments Rothschild gave Jacob Schiff was to create a movement to destroy religion in the United States, with Christianity to be the chief target. For a very obvious reason; the "Anti-defamation League" wouldn't dare to attempt to do it because such an attempt could create the most terrible blood-bath in the history of the world; not only for the "ADL" and the conspirators, but for the millions of innocent Jews. Schiff turned that job over to (Baptist "Jew") Rockefeller for another specific reason. The destruction of Christianity could be accomplished only by those who are entrusted to preserve it. By the pastors; the men of the cloth.

"As a starter; John D. Rockefeller picked up a young, so-called, Christian minister by the name of Dr. Harry F. Ward. Reverend Ward if you please. At that time he was teaching religion at the "Union Theological Seminary." Rockefeller found a very willing "Judas" in this Reverend and thereupon in 1907; he financed him to set up the "Methodist Foundation of Social Service" and Ward's job was to teach bright young men to become, so-called, ministers of Christ and to place them as pastors of churches. While teaching them to become ministers; the Reverend Ward also taught them how to subtly and craftily preach to their congregations that the entire story of Christ was a myth; to cast doubts on the divinity of Christ; to cast doubts about the virgin Mary; in short: to cast doubts on Christianity as a whole. It was not to be a direct-attack, but much of it to be done by crafty-insinuation that was to be applied, in particular, to the youth in the Sunday schools. Remember Lenin's statement: "give me just one generation of youth and I'll transform the whole world." Then in 1908; the "Methodist foundation of Social Service," which incidentally was America's first communist front-organization, changed its name to the "Federal Council of Churches." By 1950; the "Federal Council of Churches" was becoming very suspect; so in 1950 they changed the name to the "National Council of Churches." Do I have to tell you more about how this "National Council of Churches" is deliberately destroying faith in Christianity? I don't think so; but this I will tell you. If you are a member of any congregation whose pastor and church are members of this Judas organization; you and your contributions are helping the Illuminati's plot to destroy Christianity and your faith in God and Jesus Christ, thus you are deliberately delivering your children to be indoctrinated with disbelief in God and Church and which can easily transform them into "atheists." Find out immediately if your Church is a member of the "National Council of Churches" and for the love of God and your children; if it is, withdraw from it at once. However; let me warn you that the same destroying religion process has been infiltrated into other denominations. If you have seen the "Negro on Selma" and other such demonstrations; you have seen how the Negro mobs are led and encouraged by ministers (and even Catholic priests and nuns) who march along with them. There are many individual churches and pastors who are honest and sincere. Find one such for yourself and for your children. (All you have to learn is if your "church" is a 501 (c) 3 arm of the state. If it is, you should immediately stop attending it, and stop supporting it with your "tax-deductible" donations.)

"Incidentally; this same Reverend Harry F. Ward was also one of the founders of the "American Civil Liberties Union;" a notorious pro-Communist organization. He was the actual head of it from 1920 to 1940. He also was a co-founder of the "American League against War and Fascism" which, under Browder, became the "Communist Party of the United States." In short; Ward's entire background reeked of communism and he was identified as a member of the Communist party. He died a vicious traitor to both his church and country and this was the man old John D. Rockefeller picked and financed to destroy America's Christian religion in accordance with the orders given to Schiff by the Rothschilds.

"In conclusion I have this to say. You probably are familiar with the story of how one Dr. Frankenstein created a monster to do his will of destroying his chosen victims but how instead in the end; that monster turned on his own creator, Frankenstein, and destroyed him. Well; the Illuminati/CFR has created a monster called the "United Nations" (who is supported by their minority groups, rioting Negroes, the traitorous mass-communications media, and the traitors in

Washington D.C.) which was created to destroy the American people. We know all about that many-headed hydromonster and we know the names of those who created that monster. We know all their names and I predict that one fine day the American people will come fully awake and cause that very monster to destroy its creator. True! The majority of our people are still being brainwashed, deceived, and deluded by our traitorous press, TV, and radio, and by our traitors in Washington D.C.; but surely by now enough is known about the U.N. to stamp out that outfit as a deadly poisonous rattlesnake in our midst.

"My only wonder is: "what will it take to awaken and arouse our people to the full proof?" Perhaps this record (transcript) will do it. A hundred thousand or a million copies of this record (this transcript) can do it. I prey to God it will. And I pray that this record (transcript) will inspire you, all of you, to spread this story to all loyal Americans in your community. You can do it by playing it (reading it) to study groups assembled in your homes, at meetings of the American Legion, the VFW, the DAR, all other civic groups and women's clubs; especially the women's clubs who have their sons lives at stake. With this record (transcript) I have provided you with the weapon that will destroy the monster. For the love of God, of our Country, and of your children, use it! Get a copy of it into every American home.



*the "meditation room" at the United Nations building, NY., NY*

# The Gospel of Wealth



ANDREW CARNEGIE



# THE GOSPEL OF WEALTH

Andrew Carnegie

## I

### THE PROBLEM OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF WEALTH

THE problem of our age is the proper administration of wealth, that the ties of brotherhood may still bind together the rich and poor in harmonious relationship. The conditions of human life have not only been changed, but revolutionized, within the past few hundred years. In former days there was little difference between the dwelling, dress, food, and environment of the chief and those of his retainers. The Indians are today where civilized man then was. When visiting the Sioux, I was led to the wigwam of the chief. It was like the others in external appearance, and even within the difference was trifling between it and those of the poorest of his braves. The contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer with us to-day measures the change which has come with civilization. This I change, however, is not to be deplored, but welcomed as highly beneficial. It is well, nay, essential, for the progress of the race that the houses of some should be homes for all that is highest and best in literature and the arts, and for all the refinements of civilization, rather than that none should be so. Much better this great irregularity than universal squalor. Without wealth there can be no Mæcenæ. The "good old times" were not good old times. Neither master nor servant was as well situated then as today. A relapse to old conditions would be disastrous to both-not the least so to him who serves - and would sweep away civilization with it. But whether the change be for good or ill, it is upon us, beyond our power to alter, and, therefore, to be accepted and made the best of. It is a waste of time to criticize the inevitable.

It is easy to see how the change has come. One illustration will serve for almost every phase of the cause. In the manufacture of products we have the whole story. It applies to all combinations of human industry, as stimulated and enlarged by the inventions of this scientific age. Formerly, articles were manufactured at the domestic hearth, or in small shops which formed part of the household. The master and his apprentices worked side by side, the latter living with the master, and therefore subject to the same conditions. When these apprentices rose to be masters, there was little or no change in their mode of life, and they, in turn, educated succeeding apprentices in the same routine. There was, substantially, social equality, and even political equality, for those engaged in industrial pursuits had then little or no voice in the State.

The inevitable result of such a mode of manufacture was crude articles at high prices. Today the world obtains commodities of excellent quality at prices which even the preceding generation would have deemed incredible. In the commercial world similar causes have produced similar results, and the race is benefited thereby. The poor enjoy what the rich could not before afford. What were the luxuries have become the necessities of life. The laborer has now more comforts than the farmer had a few generations ago. The farmer has more luxuries than the landlord had, and is more richly clad and better housed. The landlord has books and pictures rarer and appointments more artistic than the king could then obtain.

The price we pay for this salutary change is, no doubt, great. We assemble thousands of operatives in the factory, and in the mine, of whom the employer can know little or nothing, and to whom he is little better than a myth. All intercourse between them is at an end. Rigid castes are formed, and, as usual, mutual ignorance breeds mutual distrust. Each caste is without sympathy with the other, and ready to credit anything disparaging in regard to it. Under the law of competition, the employer of thousands is forced into the strictest economies, among which the rates paid to labor figure prominently, and often there is friction between the employer and the employed, between capital and labor, between rich and poor. Human society loses homogeneity.

The price which society pays for the law of competition, like the price it pays for cheap comforts and luxuries, is also great; but the advantages of this law are also greater still than its cost-for it is to this law that we owe our wonderful material development, which brings improved conditions in its train. But, whether the law be benign or not, we must say of it, as we say of the change in the conditions of men to which we have referred: It is here; we cannot evade it; no substitutes for it have been found; and while the law may be sometimes hard for the individual, it is best for the race, because it insures the survival of the fittest in every department. We accept and welcome, therefore, as conditions to which we must accommodate ourselves, great inequality of environment; the concentration of business, industrial and commercial, in the hands of a few; and the law of competition between these, as being not only beneficial, but essential to the future progress of the race. Having accepted these, it follows that there must be great scope for the exercise of special ability in the merchant and in the manufacturer who has to conduct affairs upon a great scale. That this talent for organization and management is rare among men is proved by the fact that it invariably secures enormous rewards for its possessor, no matter where or under what laws or conditions. The experienced in affairs always rate the man whose services can be obtained as a partner as not only the first consideration, but such as render the question of his capital scarcely worth considering: for able men soon create capital; in the hands of those without the special talent required, capital soon takes wings. Such men become interested in firms or corporations using millions; and, estimating only simple interest to be made upon the capital invested, it is inevitable that their income must exceed their expenditure and that they must, therefore, accumulate wealth. Nor is there any middle ground which such men can occupy, because the great manufacturing or commercial concern which does not earn at least interest upon its capital soon becomes bankrupt. It must either go forward or fall behind; to stand still is impossible. It is a condition essential to its successful operation that it should be thus far profitable, and even that, in addition to interest on capital, it should make profit. It is a law, as certain as any of the others named, that men possessed of this peculiar talent for affairs, under the free play of economic forces must, of necessity, soon be in receipt of more revenue than can be judiciously expended upon them selves; and this law is as beneficial for the race as the others.

Objections to the foundations upon which society is based are not in order, because the condition of the race is better with these than it has been with any other which has been tried. Of the effect of any new substitutes proposed we cannot be sure. The Socialist or Anarchist who seeks to overturn present conditions is to be regarded as attacking the foundation upon which civilization itself rests, for civilization took its start from the day when the capable, industrious workman said to his incompetent and lazy fellow, "If thou cost not sow, thou shalt not reap," and thus ended primitive Communism by separating the drones from the bees. One who studies this subject will soon be brought face to face with the conclusion that upon the sacredness of property civilization itself depends-the right of the laborer to his hundred dollars in the savings-bank, and equally the legal right of the millionaire to his millions. Every man must be allowed "to sit under his own vine and fig-tree, with none to make afraid," if human society is to advance, or even to remain so far advanced as it is. To those who propose to substitute Communism for this intense Individualism, the answer therefore is: The race has tried that. All progress from that barbarous day to the present time has resulted from its displacement. Not evil, but good, has come to the race from the accumulation of wealth by those who have had the ability and energy to produce it. But even if we admit for a moment that it might be better for the race to discard its present foundation, Individualism,-that it is a nobler ideal that man should labor, not for himself alone, but in and for a brotherhood of his fellows, and share with them all in common, realizing Swedenborg's idea of heaven, where, as he says, the angels derive their happiness, not from laboring for self, but for each other, -even admit all this, and a sufficient answer is, This is not evolution, but revolution. It necessitates the changing of human nature itself-a work of eons, even if it were good to change it, which we cannot know.

It is not practicable in our day or in our age. Even if desirable theoretically, it belongs to another and long-succeeding sociological stratum. Our duty is with what is practicable now-with the next



step possible in our day and generation. It is criminal to waste our energies in endeavoring to uproot, when all we can profitably accomplish is to bend the universal tree of humanity a little in the direction most favorable to the production of good fruit under existing circumstances. We might as well urge the destruction of the highest existing type of man because he failed to reach our ideal as to favor the destruction of Individualism, Private Property, the Law of Accumulation of Wealth, and the Law of Competition; for these are the highest result of human experience, the soil in which society, so far, has produced the best fruit. In equally or unjustly, perhaps, as these laws some times operate, and imperfect as they appear to the Idealist, they are, nevertheless, like the highest type of man, the best and most valuable of all that humanity has yet accomplished.

We start, then, with a condition of affairs under which the best interests of the race are promoted, but which inevitably gives wealth to the few. Thus far, accepting conditions as they exist, the situation can be surveyed and pronounced good. Question then arises.-and if the foregoing be correct, it is the only question with which we have to deal,-What is the proper mode of administering wealth after the laws upon which civilization is founded have thrown it into the hands of the few.<sup>7</sup> And it is of this great question that I believe I offer the true solution. It will be understood that fortunes are here spoken of, not moderate sums saved by many years of effort, the returns from which are required for the comfortable maintenance and education of families. This is not wealth, but only competence, which it should be the aim of all to acquire, and which it is for the best interests of society should be acquired.

There are but three modes in which surplus wealth can be disposed of. It can be left to the families of the decedents; or it can be bequeathed for public purposes; or, finally, it can be administered by its possessors during their lives. Under the first and second modes most of the wealth of the world that has reached the few has hitherto been applied. Let us in turn consider each of these modes. The first is the most injudicious. In monarchical countries, the estates and the greatest portion of the wealth are left to the first son, that the vanity of the parent may be gratified by the thought that his name and title are to descend unimpaired to succeeding generations. The condition of this class in Europe to-day teaches the failure of such hopes or ambitions. The successors have become impoverished through their follies, or from the fall in the value of land. Even in Great Britain the strict law of entail has been found inadequate to maintain an hereditary class. Its soil is rapidly passing into the hands of the stranger. Under republican institutions the division of property among the children is much fairer; but the question which forces itself upon thoughtful men in all lands is, Why should men leave great fortunes to their children. If this is done from affection, is it not misguided affection. Observation teaches that, generally speaking, it is not well for the children that they should be so burdened. Neither is it well for the State. Beyond providing for the wife and daughters moderate sources of income, and very moderate allowances indeed, if any, for the sons, men may well hesitate; for it is no longer questionable that great sums bequeathed often work more for the injury than for the good of the recipients. Wise men will soon conclude that, for the best interests of the members of their families, and of the State, such bequests are an improper use of their means.

It is not suggested that men who have failed to educate their sons to earn a livelihood shall cast them adrift in poverty. If any man has seen fit to rear his sons with a view to their living idle lives, or, what is highly commendable, has instilled in them the sentiment that they are in a position to labor for public ends without reference to pecuniary considerations, then, of course, the duty of the parent is to see that such are provided for in moderation. There are instances of millionaires' sons unspoiled by wealth, who, being rich, still perform great services to the community. Such are the very salt of the earth, as valuable as, unfortunately, they are rare. It is not the exception however, but the rule, that men must regard; and, looking at the usual result of enormous sums conferred upon legatees, the thoughtful man must shortly say, "I would as soon leave to my son a curse as the almighty dollar," and admit to himself that it is not the welfare of the children, but family pride, which inspires these legacies.

As to the second mode, that of leaving wealth at death for public uses, it may be said that this is only a means for the disposal of wealth, provided a man is content to wait until he is dead before he becomes of much good in the world. Knowledge of the results of legacies bequeathed is not calculated to inspire the brightest hopes of much posthumous good being accomplished by them. - The cases are not few in which the real object sought by the testator is not attained, nor are they few in which his real wishes are thwarted. In many cases the bequests are so used as to become only monuments of his folly. It is well to remember that it requires the exercise of not less ability than that which acquires it, to use wealth so as to be really beneficial to the community. Besides this, it may fairly be said that no man is to be extolled for doing what he cannot help doing, nor is he to be thanked by the community to which he only leaves wealth at death. Men who leave vast sums in this way may fairly be thought men who would not have left it at all had they been able to take it with them. The memories of such cannot be held in grateful remembrance, for there is no grace in their gifts. It is not to be wondered at that such bequests seem so generally to lack the blessing.

The growing disposition to tax more and more heavily large estates left at death is a cheering indication of the growth of a salutary change in public opinion. The State of Pennsylvania now takes-subject to some exceptions-one tenth of the property left by its citizens. The budget presented in the British Parliament the other day proposes to increase the death duties; and, most significant of all, the new tax is to be a graduated one. Of all forms of taxation this seems the wisest. Men who continue hoarding great sums all their lives, the proper use of which for public ends would work good to the community from which it chiefly came, should be made to feel that the community, in the form of the State, cannot thus be deprived of its proper share. By taxing estates heavily at death the State marks its condemnation of the selfish millionaire's unworthy life.

It is desirable that nations should go much further in this direction. Indeed, it is difficult to set bounds to the share of a rich man's estate which should go at his death to the public through the agency of the State, and by all means such taxes should be graduated, beginning at nothing upon moderate sums to dependents, and increasing rapidly as the amounts swell, until of the millionaire's hoard, as of Shylock's, at least

*The other half  
Comes to the privy coffer of the State.*

This policy would work powerfully to induce the rich man to attend to the administration of wealth during his life, which is the end that society should always have in view, as being by far the most fruitful for the people. Nor need it be feared that this policy would sap the root of enterprise and render men less anxious to accumulate, for, to the class whose ambition it is to leave great fortunes and be talked about after their death, it will attract even more attention, and, indeed, be a somewhat nobler ambition, to have enormous sums paid over to the State from their fortunes.

There remains, then, only one mode of using great fortunes; but in this we have the true antidote for the temporary unequal distribution of wealth, the reconciliation of the rich and the poor -a reign of harmony, another ideal, differing, indeed, from that of the Communist in requiring only the further evolution of existing conditions, not the total overthrow of our civilization. It is founded upon the present most intense Individualism, and the race is prepared to put it in practice by degrees whenever it pleases. Under its sway we shall have an ideal State, in which the surplus wealth of the few will become, in the best sense, the property of the many, because administered for the common good; and this wealth, passing through the hands of the few, can be made a much more potent force for the elevation of our race than if distributed in small sums to the people themselves. Even the poorest can be made to see this, and to agree that great sums gathered by some of their fellow-citizens and spent for public purposes, from which the masses



reap the principal benefit, are more valuable to them than if scattered among themselves in trifling amounts through the course of many years.

If we consider the results which flow from the Cooper Institute, for instance, to the best portion of the race in New York not possessed of means, and compare these with those which would have ensued for the good of the masses from an equal sum distributed by Mr. Cooper in his lifetime in the form of wages, which is the highest form of distribution, being for work done and not for charity, we can form some estimate of the possibilities for the improvement of the race which lie embedded in the present law of the accumulation of wealth. Much of this sum, if distributed in small quantities among the people, would have been wasted in the indulgence of appetite, some of it in excess, and it may be doubted whether even the part put to the best use, that of adding to the comforts of the home, would have yielded results for the race, as a race, at all comparable to those which are flowing and are to flow from the Cooper Institute from generation to generation. Let the advocate of violent or radical change ponder well this thought.

We might even go so far as to take another instance—that of Mr. Tilden's bequest of five millions of dollars for a free library in the city of New York; but in referring to this one cannot help saying involuntarily: How much better if Mr. Tilden had devoted the last years of his own life to the proper administration of this immense sum; in which case neither legal contest nor any other cause of delay could have interfered with his aims. But let us assume that Mr. Tilden's millions finally become the means of giving to this city a noble public library, where the treasures of the world contained in books will be open to all forever, without money and without price. Considering the good of that part of the race which congregates in and around Manhattan Island, would its permanent benefit have been better promoted had these millions been allowed to circulate in small sums through the hands of the masses! Even the most strenuous advocate of Communism must entertain a doubt upon this subject. Most of those who think will probably entertain no doubt what ever.

Poor and restricted are our opportunities in this life, narrow our horizon, our best work most imperfect; but rich men should be thankful for one inestimable boon. They have it in their power during their lives to busy themselves in organizing benefactions from which the masses of their fellows will derive lasting advantage, and thus dignify their own lives. The highest life is probably to be reached, not by such imitation of the life of Christ as Count Tolstoi gives us, but, while animated by Christ's spirit, by recognizing the changed conditions of this age, and adopting modes of expressing this spirit suitable to the changed conditions under which we live, still laboring for the good of our fellows, which was the essence of his life and teaching, but laboring in a different manner.

This, then, is held to be the duty of the man of wealth: To set an example of modest, unostentatious living, shunning display or extravagance; to provide moderately for the legitimate wants of those dependent upon him; and, after doing so, to consider all surplus revenues which come to him simply as trust funds, which he is called upon to administer, and strictly bound as a matter of duty to administer in the manner which, in his judgment, is best calculated to produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere trustee and agent for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience, and ability to administer, doing for them better than\_ they would or could do for themselves.

We are met here with the difficulty of determining what are moderate sums to leave to members of the family; what is modest, unostentatious living; what is the test of extravagance. There must be different standards for different conditions. The answer is that it is as impossible to name exact amounts or actions as it is to define good manners, good taste, or the rules of propriety; but, nevertheless, these are verities, well known, although indefinable. Public sentiment is quick to know and to feel what offends these. So in the case of wealth. The rule in regard to good taste in the dress of men or women applies here. Whatever makes one conspicuous offends the canon. If

any family be chiefly known for display, for extravagance in home, table, or equipage, for enormous sums ostentatiously spent in any form upon itself-if these be its chief distinctions, we have no difficulty in estimating its nature or culture. So likewise in regard to the use or abuse of its surplus wealth, or to generous, free handed cooperation in good public uses, or to unabated efforts to accumulate and hoard to the last, or whether they administer or bequeath. The verdict rests with the best and most enlightened public sentiment. The community will surely judge, and its judgments will not often be wrong.

The best uses to which surplus wealth can be put have already been indicated. Those who would administer wisely must, indeed, be wise; for one of the serious obstacles to the improvement of our race is indiscriminate charity. It were better for mankind that the millions of the rich were thrown into the sea than so spent as to encourage the slothful, the drunken, the unworthy. Of every thousand dollars spent in so-called charity to-day, it is probable that nine hundred and fifty dollars is unwisely spent-so spent, indeed, as to produce the very evils which it hopes to mitigate or cure. A well-known writer of philosophic books admitted the other day that he had given a quarter of a dollar to a man who approached him as he was coming to visit the house of his friend. He knew nothing of the habits of this beggar, knew not the use that would be made of this money, although he had every reason to suspect that it would be spent improperly. This man professed to be a disciple of Herbert Spencer; yet the quarter-dollar given that night will probably work more injury than all the money will do good which its thoughtless donor will ever be able to give in true charity. He only gratified his own feelings, saved himself from annoyance-and this was probably one of the most selfish and very worst actions of his life, for in all respects he is most worthy.

In bestowing charity, the main consideration should be to help those who will help themselves; to provide part of the means by which those who desire to improve may do so; to give those who desire to rise the aids by which they may rise; to assist, but rarely or never to do all. Neither the individual nor the race is improved by almsgiving. Those worthy of assistance, except in rare cases, seldom require assistance. The really valuable men of the race never do, except in case of accident or sudden change. Every one has, of course, cases of individuals brought to his own knowledge where temporary assistance can do genuine good, and these he will not overlook. But the amount which can be wisely given by the individual for individuals is necessarily limited by his lack of knowledge of the circumstances connected with each. He is the only true reformer who is as careful and as anxious not to aid the unworthy as he is to aid the worthy, and, perhaps, even more so, for in almsgiving more injury is probably done by rewarding vice than by relieving virtue.

The rich man is thus almost restricted to following the examples of Peter Cooper, Enoch Pratt of Baltimore, Mr. Pratt of Brooklyn, Senator Stanford, and others, who know that the best means of benefiting the community is to place within its reach the ladders upon which the aspiring can rise-free libraries, parks, and means of recreation, by which men are helped in body and mind; works of art, certain to give pleasure and improve the public taste; and public institutions of various kinds, which will improve the general condition of the people; in this manner returning their surplus wealth to the mass of their fellows in the forms best calculated to do them lasting good.

Thus is the problem of rich and poor to be solved. The laws of accumulation will be left free, the laws of distribution free. Individualism will continue, but the millionaire will be but a trustee for the poor, intrusted for a season with a great part of the increased wealth of the community, but administering it for the community far better than it could or would have done for itself. The best minds will thus have reached a stage in the development of the race in which it is clearly seen that there is no mode of disposing of surplus wealth creditable to thoughtful and earnest men into whose hands it falls, save by using it year by year for the general good. This day already dawns. Men may die without incurring the pity of their fellows, still sharers in great business

enterprises from which their capital cannot be or has not been withdrawn, and which is left chiefly at death for public uses; yet the day is not far distant when the man who dies leaving behind him millions of available wealth, which was free for him to administer during life, will pass away "unwept, unhonored, and unsung," no matter to what uses he leaves the dross which he cannot take with him. Of such as these the public verdict will then be: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced."

Such, in my opinion, is the true gospel concerning wealth, obedience to which is destined some day to solve the problem of the rich and the poor, and to bring "Peace on earth, among men good will."

## II

### THE BEST FIELDS FOR PHILANTHROPY

WHILE "The Gospel of Wealth" has met a cordial reception upon this side of the Atlantic, it is natural that in the motherland it should have attracted more attention, because the older civilization is at present brought more clearly face to face with socialistic questions. The contrast between the classes and the masses, between rich and poor, is not yet quite so sharp in this vast, fertile, and developing continent, with less than twenty persons per square mile, as in crowded little Britain, with fifteen times that number and no territory unoccupied. Perhaps the "Pall Mall Gazette" in its issue of September 5 puts most pithily the objections that have been raised to what the English have been pleased to call "The Gospel of Wealth." I quote: "Great fortunes, says Mr. Carnegie, are great blessings to a community, because such and such things may be done with them. Well, but they are also a great curse, for such and such things are done with them. Mr. Carnegie's preaching, in other words, is altogether vitiated by Mr. Benzon's practice. The gospel of wealth is killed by the acts."

To this the reply seems obvious: the gospel of Christianity is also killed by the acts. The same objection that is urged against the gospel of wealth lies against the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal." It is no argument against a gospel that it is not lived up to, indeed it is an argument in its favor, for a gospel must be higher than the prevailing standard. It is no argument against a law that it is broken: in that disobedience lies the reason for making and maintaining the law; the law which is never to be broken is never required.

Undoubtedly the most notable incident in regard to "The Gospel of Wealth" is that it was fortunate enough to attract the attention of Mr. Gladstone, and bring forth the following note from him: "I have asked Mr. Lloyd Bryce ['North American Review'] kindly to allow the republication in this of this article appeared originally under the title 'Wealth,' by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, which has just appeared in America." This resulted in the publication of the article in several newspapers and periodicals, and an enterprising publisher issued it in pamphlet form, dedicated by permission to Mr. Gladstone.

All this is most encouraging, proving as it does that society is alive to the great issue involved, and is in a receptive mood. Your request, Mr. Editor, that I should continue the subject and point out the best fields for the use of surplus wealth, may be taken as further proof that whether the ideas promulgated are to be received or rejected, they are at least certain to obtain a hearing.

The first article held that there is but one right mode of using enormous fortunes—namely, that the possessors from time to time during their own lives should so administer these as to promote the permanent good to the communities from which they were gathered. It was held that public sentiment would soon say of one who died possessed of available wealth which he was free to administer: "The man who dies thus rich dies disgraced."

The purpose of this paper is to present some of the best methods of performing this duty of administering surplus wealth for the good of the people. The first requisite for a really good use of wealth by the millionaire who has accepted the gospel which proclaims him only a trustee of the surplus that comes to him, is to take care that the purposes for which he spends it shall not have a degrading pauperizing tendency upon its recipients, but that his trust shall be so administered as to stimulate the best and most aspiring poor of the community to further efforts for their own improvement. It is not the irreclaimably destitute, shiftless, and worthless which it is truly beneficial or truly benevolent for the individual to attempt to reach and improve. For these there exists the refuge provided by the city or the State, where they can be sheltered, fed, clothed, and kept in comfortable existence, and-most important of all-where they can be isolated from the well-doing and industrious poor, who are liable to be demoralized by contact with these unfortunates. One man or woman who succeeds in living comfortably by begging is more dangerous to society, and a greater obstacle to the progress of humanity, than a score of wordy Socialists. The individual administrator of surplus wealth has as his charge the industrious and ambitious; not those who need everything done for them, but those who, being most anxious and able to help themselves, deserve and will be benefited by help from others and by the extension of their opportunities by the aid of the philanthropic rich.

It is ever to be remembered that one of the chief obstacles which the philanthropist meets in his efforts to do real and permanent good in this world, is the practice of indiscriminate giving and the duty of the millionaire is to resolve to cease giving to objects that are not clearly proved to his satisfaction to be deserving. He must remember Mr. Rice's belief, that nine hundred and fifty out of every thousand dollars bestowed to-day upon so-called charity had better be thrown into the sea. As far as my experience of the wealthy extends, it is unnecessary to urge them to give of their superabundance in charity so called. Greater good for the race is to be achieved by inducing them to cease impulsive and injurious giving. As a rule, the sins of millionaires in this respect are not those of omission, but of commission, because they do not take time to think, and chiefly because it is much easier to give than to refuse. Those who have surplus wealth give millions every year which produce more evil than good, and really retard the progress of the people, because most of the forms in vogue to-day for benefiting mankind only tend to spread among the poor a spirit of dependence upon alms, when what is essential for progress is that they should be inspired to depend upon their own exertions. The miser millionaire who hoards his wealth does less injury to society than the careless millionaire who squanders his unwisely, even if he does so under cover of the mantle of sacred charity. The man who gives to the individual beggar commits a grave offense, but there are many societies and institutions soliciting alms, to aid which is none the less injurious to the community. These are as corrupting as individual beggars Plutarch's "Morals" contains this lesson: " A beggar asking an alms of a Lacedaemonian, he said:--'Well, should I give thee anything, thou wilt be the greater beggar, for he that first gave thee money made thee idle, and is the cause of this base and dishonorable way of living.' As I know them, there are few millionaires, very few indeed, who are clear of the sin of having made beggars.

Bearing in mind these considerations, let us endeavor to present some of the best uses to which a millionaire can devote the surplus of which he should regard himself as only the trustee.

First. Standing apart by itself there is the founding of a university by men enormously rich, such men as must necessarily be few in any country. Perhaps the greatest sum ever given by an individual for any purpose is the gift of Senator Stanford, who undertakes to establish a complete university upon the Pacific coast, where he amassed his enormous fortune, which is said to involve the expenditure of ten millions of dollars, and upon which he may be expected to bestow twenty millions of his surplus. He is to be envied. A thousand years hence some orator, speaking his praise upon the then crowded shores of the Pacific, may thus adapt Griffith's eulogy of Wolsey:

*In bestowing, madam,  
He was most princely. Ever witness for him  
This seat of learning, . . .  
though unfinished, yet so famous,  
So excellent in art, and still so rising,  
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.*

Here is a noble use of wealth. We have many such institutions,-Johns Hopkins, Cornell, Packer, and others,-but most of these have only been bequeathed, and it is impossible to extol any man greatly for simply leaving what he cannot take with him. Cooper and Pratt and Stanford, and others of this class, deserve credit and admiration as much for the time and attention given during their lives as for their expenditure upon their respective monuments.

We cannot think of the Pacific coast without recalling another important work of a different character which has recently been established there -the Lick Observatory. If any millionaire be interested in the ennobling study of astronomy,-and there should be and would be such if they but gave the subject the slightest attention,-here is an example which could well be followed, for the progress made in astronomical instruments and appliances is so great and continuous that every few years a new telescope might be judiciously given to one of the observatories upon this continent, the last being always the largest and the best, and certain to carry further and further the knowledge of the universe and of our relation to it here upon the earth. As one among many of the good deeds of the late Mr. Thaw of Pittsburg, his constant support of the observatory there may be mentioned. This observatory enabled Professor Langley to make his wonderful discoveries. He is now at the head of the Smithsonian Institution, a worthy successor to Professor Henry. Connected with him was Mr. Braeshier of Pittsburg, whose instruments are in most of the principal observatories of the world. He was a common millwright but Mr. Thaw recognized his genius and was his main support through trying days. This common workman has been made a professor by one of the foremost scientific bodies of the world. In applying part of his surplus in aiding these two now famous men, the millionaire Thaw did a noble work. Their joint labors have brought great credit, and are destined to bring still greater credit, upon their country in every scientific center throughout the world.

It is reserved for very few to found universities, and, indeed, the use for many, or perhaps any, new universities does not exist. More good is henceforth to be accomplished by adding to and extending those in existence. But in this department a wide field remains for the millionaire as distinguished from the Craesus among millionaires. The gifts to Yale University have been many, but there is plenty of room for others. The School of Fine Arts, founded by Mr. Street, the Sheffield Scientific School, endowed by Mr. Sheffield, and Professor Loomis's fund for the observatory, are fine examples. Mrs. C. J. Osborne's building for reading and recitation is to be regarded with especial pleasure as being the wise gift of a woman. Harvard University has not been forgotten; the Peabody Museum and the halls of Wells, Matthews, and Thayer may be cited. Sever Hall is worthy of special mention, as showing what a genius like Richardson could do with the small sum of a hundred thousand dollars. The Vanderbilt University, at Nashville, Tennessee, may be mentioned as a true product of the gospel of wealth. It was established by the members of the Vanderbilt family during their lives-mark this vital feature, during their lives; for nothing counts for much that is left by a man at his death. Such funds are torn from him, not given by him. If any millionaire be at a loss to know how to accomplish great and indisputable good with his surplus, here is a field which can never be fully occupied, for the wants of our universities increase with the development of the country.

Second. The result of my own study of the question, What is the best gift which can be given to a community? is that a free library occupies the first place, provided the community will accept and maintain it as a public institution, as much a part of the city property as its public schools,

and, indeed, an adjunct to these. It is, no doubt, possible that my own personal experience may have led me to value a free library beyond all other forms of beneficence. When I was a working-boy in Pittsburg, Colonel Anderson of Allegheny—a name I can never speak without feelings of devotional gratitude—opened his little library of four hundred books to boys. Every Saturday afternoon he was in attendance at his house to exchange books. No one but he who has felt it can ever know the intense longing with which the arrival of Saturday was awaited, that a new book might be had. My brother and Mr. Phipps, who have been my principal business partners through life, shared with me Colonel Anderson's precious generosity, and it was when reveling in the treasures which he opened to us that I resolved, if ever wealth came to me, that it should be used to establish free libraries, that other poor boys might receive opportunities similar to those for which we were indebted to that noble man.

Great Britain has been foremost in appreciating the value of free libraries for its people. Parliament passed an act permitting towns and cities to establish and maintain these as municipal institutions; whenever the people of any town or city voted to accept the provisions of the act, the authorities were authorized to tax the community to the extent of one penny in the pound valuation. Most of the towns already have free libraries under this act. Many of these are the gifts of rich men, whose funds have been used for the building, and in some cases for the books also, the communities being required to maintain and to develop the libraries. And to this feature I attribute most of their usefulness. An endowed institution is liable to become the prey of a clique. The public ceases to take interest in it, or, rather, never acquires interest in it. The rule has been violated which requires the recipients to help themselves. Everything has been done for the community instead of its being only helped to help itself, and good results rarely ensue.

Many free libraries have been established in our country, but none that I know of with such wisdom as the Pratt Library in Baltimore. Mr. Pratt built and presented the library to the city of Baltimore, with the balance of cash handed over; the total cost was one million dollars, upon which he required the city to pay five per cent. per annum, fifty thousand dollars per year, to trustees for the maintenance and development of the library and its branches. During 1888 430,217 books were distributed; 37,196 people of Baltimore are registered upon the books as readers. And it is safe to say that 37,000 frequenters of the Pratt Library are of more value to Baltimore, to the State, and to the country, than all the inert, lazy, and hopelessly poor in the whole nation. And it may further be safely said that, by placing books within the reach of 37,000 aspiring people which they were anxious to obtain, Mr. Pratt has done more for the genuine progress of the people than has been done by all the contributions of all the millionaires and rich people to help those who cannot or will not help themselves. The one wise administrator of his surplus has poured a fertilizing stream upon soil that was ready to receive it and return a hundredfold. The many squanderers have not only poured their streams into sieves which can never be filled—they have done worse: they have poured them into stagnant sewers that breed the diseases which most afflict the body politic. And this is not all. The million dollars of which Mr. Pratt has made so grand a use are something, but there is something greater still. When the fifth branch library was opened in Baltimore, the speaker said:

Whatever may have been done in these four years, it is my pleasure to acknowledge that much, very much, is due to the earnest interest, the wise counsels, and the practical suggestions of Mr. Pratt. He never seemed to feel that the mere donation of great wealth for the benefit of his fellow-citizens was all that would be asked of him, but he wisely labored to make its application as comprehensive and effective as possible. Thus he constantly lightened burdens that were, at times, very heavy, brought good cheer and bright sunshine when clouds flitted across the sky, and made every officer and employee feel that good work was appreciated, and loyal devotion to duty would receive hearty commendation.

This is the finest picture I have ever seen of any of the millionaire class. As here depicted, Mr. Pratt is the ideal disciple of the gospel of wealth. We need have no fear that the mass of toilers

will fail to recognize in such as he their best leaders and their most invaluable allies; for the problem of poverty and wealth, of employer and employed, will be practically solved whenever the time of the few is given, and their wealth is administered during their lives, for the best good of that portion of the community which has not been burdened with the responsibilities which attend the possession of wealth. We shall have no antagonism between classes when that day comes, for the high and the low, the rich and the poor, shall then indeed be brothers.

No millionaire will go far wrong in his search for one of the best forms for the use of his surplus who chooses to establish a free library in any community that is willing to maintain and develop it. John Bright's words should ring in his ear: "It is impossible for any man to bestow a greater benefit upon a young man than to give him access to books in a free library." Closely allied to the library, and, where possible, attached to it, there should be rooms for an art-gallery and museum, and a hall for such lectures and instruction as are provided in the Cooper Union. The traveler upon the Continent is surprised to find that every town of importance has its art-gallery and museum; these may be large or small, but each has a receptacle for the treasures of the locality, in which are constantly being placed valuable gifts and bequests. The Free Library and Art Gallery of Birmingham are remarkable among such institutions, and every now and then a rich man adds to their value by presenting books, fine pictures, or other works of art. All that our cities require, to begin with, is a proper fire-proof building. Their citizens who travel will send to it rare and costly things from every quarter of the globe they visit, while those who remain at home will give or bequeath to it of their treasures. In this way collections will grow until our cities will ultimately be able to boast of permanent exhibitions from which their own citizens will derive incalculable benefit, and which they will be proud to show to visitors. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York we have made an excellent beginning. Here is another avenue for the proper use of surplus wealth.

Third. We have another most important department in which great sums can be worthily used—the founding or extension of hospitals, medical colleges, laboratories, and other institutions connected with the alleviation of human suffering, and especially with the prevention rather than with the cure of human ills. There is no danger in pauperizing a community in giving for such purposes, because such institutions relieve temporary ailments or shelter only those who are hopeless invalids. What better gift than a hospital can be given to a community that is without one—the gift being conditioned upon its proper maintenance by the community in its corporate capacity. If hospital accommodation already exists, no better method for using surplus wealth can be found than in making additions to it. The late Mr. Vanderbilt's gift of half a million dollars to the Medical Department of Columbia College for a chemical laboratory was one of the wisest possible uses of wealth. It strikes at the prevention of disease by penetrating into its causes. Several others have established such laboratories, but the need for them is still great.

If there be a millionaire in the land who is at a loss what to do with the surplus that has been committed to him as trustee, let him investigate the good that is flowing from these chemical laboratories. No medical college is complete without its laboratory. As with universities, so with medical colleges: it is not new institutions that are required, but additional means for the more thorough equipment of those that exist. The forms that benefactions to these may wisely take are numerous, but probably none is more useful than that adopted by Mr. Osborne when he built a school for training female nurses at Bellevue College. If from all gifts there flows one half of the good that comes from this wise use of a millionaire's surplus, the most exacting may well be satisfied. Only those who have passed through a lingering and dangerous illness can rate at their true value the care, skill, and attendance of trained female nurses. Their employment as nurses has enlarged the sphere and influence of woman. It is not to be wondered at that a senator of the United States, and a physician distinguished in this country for having received the highest distinctions abroad, should recently have found their wives in this class.

Fourth. In the very front rank of benefactions public parks should be placed, always provided

that the community undertakes to maintain, beautify, and preserve them inviolate. No more useful or more beautiful monument can be left by any man than a park for the city in which he was born or in which he has long lived, nor can the community pay a more graceful tribute to the citizen who presents it than to give his name to the gift. Mrs. Schenley's gift last month of a large park to the city of Pittsburg deserves to be noted. This lady, although born in Pittsburg, married an English gentleman while yet in her teens. It is forty years and more since she took up her residence in London among the titled and the wealthy of the world's metropolis, but still she turns to the home of her childhood and by means of Schenley Park links her name with it forever. A noble use this of great wealth by one who thus becomes her own administrator. If a park be already provided, there is still room for many judicious gifts in connection with it. Mr. Phipps of Allegheny has given conservatories to the park there, which are visited by many every day of the week, and crowded by thousands of working-people every Sunday for, with rare wisdom, he has stipulated as a condition of the gift that the conservatories shall be open on Sundays. The result of his experiment has been so gratifying that he finds himself justified in adding to them from his surplus, as he is doing largely this year. To lovers of flowers among the wealthy I commend a study of what is possible for them to do in the line of Mr. Phipps's example; and may they please note that Mr. Phipps is as wise as well as a liberal giver, for he requires the city to maintain these conservatories, and thus secures for them forever the public ownership, the public interest, and the public criticism of their management. Had he undertaken to manage and maintain them, it is probable that popular interest in the gift would never have been awakened.

The parks and pleasure-grounds of small towns throughout Europe are not less surprising than their libraries, museums, and art-galleries. I saw nothing more pleasing during my recent travels than the hill at Bergen, in Norway. It has been converted into one of the most picturesque of pleasure-grounds; fountains, cascades, waterfalls, delightful arbors, fine terraces, and statues adorn what was before a barren mountain-side. Here is a field worthy of study by the millionaire who would confer a lasting benefit upon his fellows. Another beautiful instance of the right use of wealth in the direction of making cities more and more attractive is to be found in Dresden. The owner of the leading paper there bequeathed its revenues forever to the city, to be used in beautifying it. An art committee decides, from time to time, what new artistic feature is to be introduced, or what hideous feature is to be changed, and as the revenues accrue, they are expended in this direction. Thus, through the gift of this patriotic newspaper proprietor his native city of Dresden is fast becoming one of the most artistic places of residence in the whole world. A work having been completed, it devolves upon the city to maintain it forever. May I be excused if I commend to our millionaire newspaper proprietors the example of their colleague in the capital of Saxony.

Scarcely a city of any magnitude in the older countries is without many structures and features of great beauty. Much has been spent upon ornament, decoration, and architectural effect. We are still far behind in these things upon this side of the Atlantic. Our Republic is great in some things-in material development unrivaled; but let us always remember that in art and in the finer touches we have scarcely yet taken a place. Had the exquisite Memorial Arch recently erected temporarily in New York been shown in Dresden, the art committee there would probably have been enabled, from the revenue of the newspaper given by its owner for just such purposes, to order its permanent erection to adorn the city forever.<sup>1</sup>

While the bestowal of a park upon a community will be universally approved as one of the best uses for surplus wealth, in embracing such additions to it as conservatories, or in advocating the building of memorial arches and works of adornment, it is probable that many will think I go too far, and consider these somewhat fanciful. The material good to flow from them may not be so directly visible; but let not any practical mind, intent only upon material good, depreciate the value of wealth given for these or for kindred esthetic purposes as being useless as far as the mass of the people and their needs are concerned. As with libraries and museums, so with these more distinctively artistic works: they perform their greatest when they reach the best of the



masses of the people. It is better to reach and touch the sentiment for beauty in the naturally bright minds of this class than to pander to those incapable of being so touched. For what the improver of the race must endeavor is to reach those who have the divine spark ever so feebly developed, that it may be strengthened and grow. I Popular subscriptions have Monument), and two other me- accomplished this result in the morial arches have been designed case referred to (the Washington and are to be erected here.-ED

For my part, I think Mr. Phipps put his money to better use in giving the working-men of Allegheny conservatories filled with beautiful flowers, orchids, and aquatic plants, which they, with their wives and children, can enjoy in their spare hours, and upon which they can feed their love for the beautiful, than if he had given his surplus money to furnish them with bread; for those in health who cannot earn their bread are scarcely worth considering by the individual giver, the care of such being the duty of the State. The man who erects in a city a conservatory or a truly artistia arch, statue, or fountain, makes a wise use of his surplus. " Man does not live by bread alone."

Fifth. We have another good use for surplus wealth in providing our cities with halls suitable for meetings of all kinds, and for concerts of elevating music. Our cities are rarely possessed of halls for these purposes, being in this respect also very far behind European cities. Springer Hall, in Cincinnati, a valuable addition to the city, was largely the gift of Mr. Springer, who was not content to bequeath funds from his estate at death, but gave during his life, and, in addition, gave- what was equally important-his time and business ability to insure the successful results which have been achieved. The gift of a hall to any city lacking one is an excellent use for surplus wealth for the good of a community. The reason why the people have only one instructive and elevating, or even amusing, entertainment when a dozen would be highly beneficial, is that the rent of a hall, even when a suitable hall exists, which is rare, is so great as to prevent managers from running the risk of financial failure. If every city in our land owned a hall which could be given or rented for a small sum for such gatherings as a committee or the mayor of the city judged advantageous, the people could be furnished with proper lectures, amusements, and concerts at an exceedingly small cost. The town halls of European cities, many of which have organs, are of inestimable value to the people, utilized as they are in the manner suggested. Let no one underrate the influence of entertainments of an elevating or even of an amusing character, for these do much to make the lives of the people happier and their natures better. If any millionaire born in a small village which has now become a great city is prompted in the day of his success to do something for his birthplace with part of his surplus, his grateful remembrance cannot take a form more useful than that of a public hall with an organ, provided the city agrees to maintain and use it.

Sixth. In another respect we are still much behind Europe. A form of beneficence which is not uncommon there is providing swimming-baths for the people. The donors of these have been wise enough to require the city benefited to maintain them at its own expense, and as proof of the contention that everything should never be done for any one or for any community, but that the recipients should invariably be called upon to do a part, it is significant that it is found essential for the popular success of these healthful establishments to exact a nominal charge for their use. In many cities, however, the school-children are admitted free at fixed hours upon certain days; different hours being fixed for the boys and the girls to use the great swimming-baths, hours or days being also fixed for the use of these baths by women. In addition to the highly beneficial effect of these institutions upon the public health in inland cities, the young of both sexes are thus taught to swim. Swimming clubs are organized, and matches are frequent, at which medals and prizes are given. The reports published by the various swimming- bath establishments throughout Great Britain are filled with instances of lives saved because those who fortunately escaped shipwreck had been taught to swim in the baths; and not a few instances are given in which the pupils of certain bathing establishments have saved the lives of others. If any disciple of the gospel of wealth gives his favorite city large swimming and private baths, provided the

municipality undertakes their management as a city affair, he will never be called to account for an improper use of the funds intrusted to him.

Seventh. Churches as fields for the use of surplus wealth have purposely been reserved until the last, because, these being sectarian, every man will be governed in his action in regard to them by his own attachments; therefore gifts to churches, it may be said, are not, in one sense, gifts to the community at large, but to special classes. Nevertheless every millionaire may know of a district where the little cheap, uncomfortable, and altogether unworthy wooden structure stands at the cross-roads, in which the whole neighborhood gathers on Sunday, and which, independently of the form of the doctrines taught, is the center of social life and source of neighborly feeling. The administrator of wealth makes a good use of a part of his surplus if he replaces that building with a permanent structure of brick, stone, or granite, up whose sides the honeysuckle and columbine may climb, and from whose tower the sweet-tolling bell may sound. The millionaire should not figure how cheaply this structure can be built, but how perfect it can be made. If he has the money, it should be made a gem, for the educating influence of a pure and noble specimen of architecture, built, as the pyramids were built, to stand for ages, is not to be measured by dollars. Every farmer's home, heart and mind in the district will be influenced by the beauty and grandeur of the church; and many a bright boy, gazing enraptured upon its richly colored windows and entranced by the celestial voice of the organ, will there receive his first message from and in spirit be carried away to the beautiful and enchanting realm which lies far from the material and prosaic conditions which surround him in this workaday world-a real world, this new realm, vague and undefined though its boundaries be. Once within its magic circle, its denizens live there an inner life more precious than the external, and all their days and all their ways, their triumphs and their trials, and all they see, and all they hear, and all they think, and all they do, are hallowed by the radiance which shines from afar upon this inner life, glorifying everything, and keeping all right within. But having given the building, the donor should stop there; the support of the church should be upon its own people. There is not much genuine religion in the congregation or much good to come from the church which is not supported at home

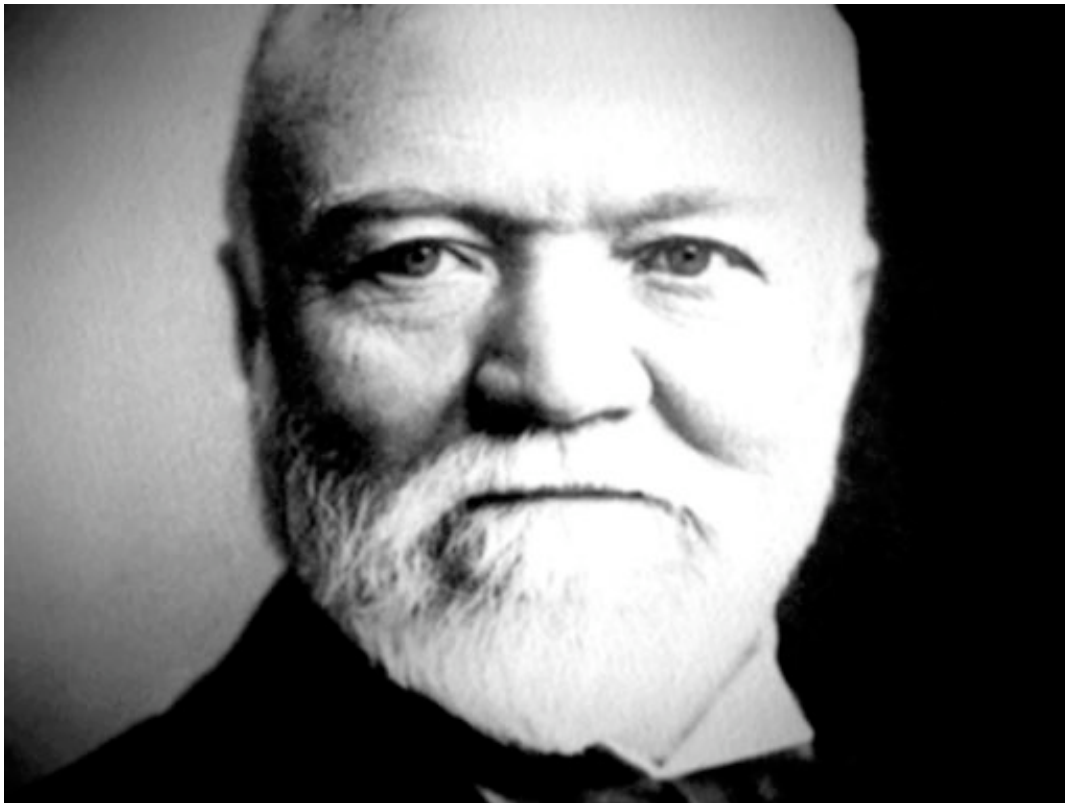
Many other avenues for the wise expenditure of surplus wealth might be indicated. I enumerate but a few-a very few-of the many fields which are open, and only those in which great or considerable sums can be judiciously used. It is not the privilege, however, of millionaires alone to work for or aid measures which are certain to benefit the community. Every one who has but a small surplus above his moderate wants may share this privilege with his richer brothers, and those without surplus can give at least a part of their time, which is usually as important as funds, and often more so.

It is not expected, neither is it desirable, that there should be general concurrence as to the best possible use of surplus wealth. For different men and different localities there are different uses. What commends itself most highly to the judgment of the administrator is the best use for him, for his heart should be in the work. It is as important in administering wealth as it is in any other branch of a man's work that he should be enthusiastically devoted to it and feel that in the field selected his work lies.

Besides this, there is room and need for all kinds of wise benefactions for the common weal. The man who builds a university, library, or laboratory performs no more useful work than he who elects to devote himself and his surplus means to the adornment of a park, the gathering together of a collection of pictures for the public, or the building of a memorial arch. These are all true laborers in the vineyard. The only point required by the gospel of wealth is that the surplus which accrues from time to time in the hands of a man should be administered by him in his own lifetime for that purpose which is seen by him, as trustee, to be best for the good of the people. To leave at death what he cannot take away, and place upon others the burden of the work which it was his own duty to perform, is to do nothing worthy. This requires no sacrifice, nor any sense of duty to his fellows.

Time was when the words concerning the rich man entering the kingdom of heaven were regarded as a hard saying. To-day, when all questions are probed to the bottom and the standards of faith receive the most liberal interpretations the startling verse has been relegated to the rear to await the next kindly revision as one of those things which cannot be quite understood, but which, meanwhile, it is carefully to be noted, are not to be understood literally. But is it so very improbable that the next stage of thought is to restore the doctrine in all its pristine purity and force, as being in perfect harmony with sound ideas upon the subject of wealth and poverty, the rich and the poor, and the contrasts everywhere seen and deplored? In Christ's day, it is evident, reformers were against the wealthy. It is none the less evident that we are fast recurring to that position to-day; and there will be nothing to surprise the student of sociological development if society should soon approve the text which has caused so much anxiety: "It is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven." Even if the needle were the small casement at the gates, the words betoken serious difficulty for the rich. It will be but a step for the theologian from the doctrine that he who dies rich dies disgraced, to that which brings upon the man punishment or deprivation hereafter.

The gospel of wealth but echoes Christ's words. It calls upon the millionaire to sell all that he hath and give it in the highest and best form to the poor by administering his estate himself for the good of his fellows, before he is called upon to lie down and rest upon the bosom of Mother Earth. So doing, he will approach his end no longer the ignoble hoarder of useless millions; poor, very poor indeed, in money, but rich, very rich, twenty times a millionaire still, in the affection, gratitude, and admiration of his fellow-men, and- sweeter far-soothed and sustained by the still, small voice within, which, whispering, tells him that, because he has lived, perhaps one small part of the great world has been bettered just a little. This much is sure: against such riches as these no bar will be found at the gates of Paradise.



*Andrew Carnegie (1835 - 1919)*  
**The 48 Laws of Power**

*by: Robert Greene and Joost Elffers*

**Law 1**

**Never Outshine the Master**

Always make those above you feel comfortably superior. In your desire to please or impress them, do not go too far in displaying your talents or you might accomplish the opposite – inspire fear and insecurity. Make your masters appear more brilliant than they are and you will attain the heights of power.

**Law 2**

**Never put too Much Trust in Friends, Learn how to use Enemies**

Be wary of friends—they will betray you more quickly, for they are easily aroused to envy. They also become spoiled and tyrannical. But hire a former enemy and he will be more loyal than a friend, because he has more to prove. In fact, you have more to fear from friends than from enemies. If you have no enemies, find a way to make them.

**Law 3**

**Conceal your Intentions**

Keep people off-balance and in the dark by never revealing the purpose behind your actions. If they have no clue what you are up to, they cannot prepare a defense. Guide them far enough down the wrong path, envelope them in enough smoke, and by the time they realize your intentions, it will be too late.

**Law 4**

**Always Say Less than Necessary**

When you are trying to impress people with words, the more you say, the more common you appear, and the less in control. Even if you are saying something banal, it will seem original if you make it vague, open-ended, and sphinxlike. Powerful people impress and intimidate by saying less. The more you say, the more likely you are to say something foolish.

**Law 5**

**So Much Depends on Reputation – Guard it with your Life**

Reputation is the cornerstone of power. Through reputation alone you can intimidate and win; once you slip, however, you are vulnerable, and will be attacked on all sides. Make your reputation unassailable. Always be alert to potential attacks and thwart them before they happen. Meanwhile, learn to destroy your enemies by opening holes in their own reputations. Then stand aside and let public opinion hang them.

**Law 6**

**Court Attention at all Cost**

Everything is judged by its appearance; what is unseen counts for nothing. Never let yourself get lost in the crowd, then, or buried in oblivion. Stand out. Be conspicuous, at all cost. Make yourself a magnet of attention by appearing larger, more colorful, more mysterious, than the bland and timid masses.

### Law 7

#### **Get others to do the Work for you, but Always Take the Credit**

Use the wisdom, knowledge, and legwork of other people to further your own cause. Not only will such assistance save you valuable time and energy, it will give you a godlike aura of efficiency and speed. In the end your helpers will be forgotten and you will be remembered. Never do yourself what others can do for you.

### Law 8

#### **Make other People come to you – use Bait if Necessary**

When you force the other person to act, you are the one in control. It is always better to make your opponent come to you, abandoning his own plans in the process. Lure him with fabulous gains – then attack. You hold the cards.

### Law 9

#### **Win through your Actions, Never through Argument**

Any momentary triumph you think gained through argument is really a Pyrrhic victory: The resentment and ill will you stir up is stronger and lasts longer than any momentary change of opinion. It is much more powerful to get others to agree with you through your actions, without saying a word. Demonstrate, do not explicate.

### Law 10

#### **Infection: Avoid the Unhappy and Unlucky**

You can die from someone else's misery – emotional states are as infectious as disease. You may feel you are helping the drowning man but you are only precipitating your own disaster. The unfortunate sometimes draw misfortune on themselves; they will also draw it on you. Associate with the happy and fortunate instead.

### Law 11

#### **Learn to Keep People Dependent on You**

To maintain your independence you must always be needed and wanted. The more you are relied on, the more freedom you have. Make people depend on you for their happiness and prosperity and you have nothing to fear. Never teach them enough so that they can do without you.

### Law 12

#### **Use Selective Honesty and Generosity to Disarm your Victim**

One sincere and honest move will cover over dozens of dishonest ones. Open-hearted gestures of honesty and generosity bring down the guard of even the most suspicious people. Once your selective honesty opens a hole in their armor, you can deceive and manipulate them at will. A timely gift – a Trojan horse – will serve the same purpose.

### Law 13

#### **When Asking for Help, Appeal to People's Self-Interest, Never to their Mercy or Gratitude**

If you need to turn to an ally for help, do not bother to remind him of your past assistance and good deeds. He will find a way to ignore you. Instead, uncover something in your request, or in your alliance with him, that will benefit him, and emphasize it out of all proportion. He will respond enthusiastically when he sees something to be gained for himself.

#### **Law 14**

##### **Pose as a Friend, Work as a Spy**

Knowing about your rival is critical. Use spies to gather valuable information that will keep you a step ahead. Better still: Play the spy yourself. In polite social encounters, learn to probe. Ask indirect questions to get people to reveal their weaknesses and intentions. There is no occasion that is not an opportunity for artful spying.

#### **Law 15**

##### **Crush your Enemy Totally**

All great leaders since Moses have known that a feared enemy must be crushed completely. (Sometimes they have learned this the hard way.) If one ember is left alight, no matter how dimly it smolders, a fire will eventually break out. More is lost through stopping halfway than through total annihilation: The enemy will recover, and will seek revenge. Crush him, not only in body but in spirit.

#### **Law 16**

##### **Use Absence to Increase Respect and Honor**

Too much circulation makes the price go down: The more you are seen and heard from, the more common you appear. If you are already established in a group, temporary withdrawal from it will make you more talked about, even more admired. You must learn when to leave. Create value through scarcity.

#### **Law 17**

##### **Keep Others in Suspended Terror: Cultivate an Air of Unpredictability**

Humans are creatures of habit with an insatiable need to see familiarity in other people's actions. Your predictability gives them a sense of control. Turn the tables: Be deliberately unpredictable. Behavior that seems to have no consistency or purpose will keep them off-balance, and they will wear themselves out trying to explain your moves. Taken to an extreme, this strategy can intimidate and terrorize.

#### **Law 18**

##### **Do Not Build Fortresses to Protect Yourself – Isolation is Dangerous**

The world is dangerous and enemies are everywhere – everyone has to protect themselves. A fortress seems the safest. But isolation exposes you to more dangers than it protects you from – it cuts you off from valuable information, it makes you conspicuous and an easy target. Better to circulate among people, find allies, mingle. You are shielded from your enemies by the crowd.

#### **Law 19**

##### **Know Who You're Dealing with – Do Not Offend the Wrong Person**

There are many different kinds of people in the world, and you can never assume that everyone will react to your strategies in the same way. Deceive or outmaneuver some people and they will spend the rest of their lives seeking revenge. They are wolves in lambs' clothing. Choose your victims and opponents carefully, then – never offend or deceive the wrong person.

#### **Law 20**

##### **Do Not Commit to Anyone**

It is the fool who always rushes to take sides. Do not commit to any side or cause but yourself. By maintaining your independence, you become the master of others – playing people against one another, making them pursue you.

#### **Law 21**

##### **Play a Sucker to Catch a Sucker – Seem Dumber than your Mark**

No one likes feeling stupider than the next persons. The trick, is to make your victims feel smart – and not just smart, but smarter than you are. Once convinced of this, they will never suspect that you may have ulterior motives.

#### **Law 22**

##### **Use the Surrender Tactic: Transform Weakness into Power**

When you are weaker, never fight for honor's sake; choose surrender instead. Surrender gives you time to recover, time to torment and irritate your conqueror, time to wait for his power to wane. Do not give him the satisfaction of fighting and defeating you – surrender first. By turning the other cheek you infuriate and unsettle him. Make surrender a tool of power.

#### **Law 23**

##### **Concentrate Your Forces**

Conserve your forces and energies by keeping them concentrated at their strongest point. You gain more by finding a rich mine and mining it deeper, than by flitting from one shallow mine to another – intensity defeats extensity every time. When looking for sources of power to elevate you, find the one key patron, the fat cow who will give you milk for a long time to come.

#### **Law 24**

##### **Play the Perfect Courtier**

The perfect courtier thrives in a world where everything revolves around power and political dexterity. He has mastered the art of indirection; he flatters, yields to superiors, and asserts power over others in the most oblique and graceful manner. Learn and apply the laws of courtiership and there will be no limit to how far you can rise in the court.

#### **Law 25**

##### **Re-Create Yourself**

Do not accept the roles that society foists on you. Re-create yourself by forging a new identity, one that commands attention and never bores the audience. Be the master of your own image rather than letting others define it for you. Incorporate dramatic devices into your public gestures and actions – your power will be enhanced and your character will seem larger than life.

#### **Law 26**

##### **Keep Your Hands Clean**

You must seem a paragon of civility and efficiency: Your hands are never soiled by mistakes and nasty deeds. Maintain such a spotless appearance by using others as scapegoats and cat's-paws to disguise your involvement.

#### **Law 27**

##### **Play on People's Need to Believe to Create a Cultlike Following**

People have an overwhelming desire to believe in something. Become the focal point of such desire

by offering them a cause, a new faith to follow. Keep your words vague but full of promise; emphasize enthusiasm over rationality and clear thinking. Give your new disciples rituals to perform, ask them to make sacrifices on your behalf. In the absence of organized religion and grand causes, your new belief system will bring you untold power.

#### **Law 28**

##### **Enter Action with Boldness**

If you are unsure of a course of action, do not attempt it. Your doubts and hesitations will infect your execution. Timidity is dangerous: Better to enter with boldness. Any mistakes you commit through audacity are easily corrected with more audacity. Everyone admires the bold; no one honors the timid.

#### **Law 29**

##### **Plan All the Way to the End**

The ending is everything. Plan all the way to it, taking into account all the possible consequences, obstacles, and twists of fortune that might reverse your hard work and give the glory to others. By planning to the end you will not be overwhelmed by circumstances and you will know when to stop. Gently guide fortune and help determine the future by thinking far ahead.

#### **Law 30**

##### **Make your Accomplishments Seem Effortless**

Your actions must seem natural and executed with ease. All the toil and practice that go into them, and also all the clever tricks, must be concealed. When you act, act effortlessly, as if you could do much more. Avoid the temptation of revealing how hard you work – it only raises questions. Teach no one your tricks or they will be used against you.

#### **Law 31**

##### **Control the Options: Get Others to Play with the Cards you Deal**

The best deceptions are the ones that seem to give the other person a choice: Your victims feel they are in control, but are actually your puppets. Give people options that come out in your favor whichever one they choose. Force them to make choices between the lesser of two evils, both of which serve your purpose. Put them on the horns of a dilemma: They are gored wherever they turn.

#### **Law 32**

##### **Play to People's Fantasies**

The truth is often avoided because it is ugly and unpleasant. Never appeal to truth and reality unless you are prepared for the anger that comes for disenchantment. Life is so harsh and distressing that people who can manufacture romance or conjure up fantasy are like oases in the desert: Everyone flocks to them. There is great power in tapping into the fantasies of the masses.

#### **Law 33**

##### **Discover Each Man's Thumbscrew**

Everyone has a weakness, a gap in the castle wall. That weakness is usually an insecurity, an uncontrollable emotion or need; it can also be a small secret pleasure. Either way, once found, it is a thumbscrew you can turn to your advantage.

#### **Law 34**

##### **Be Royal in your Own Fashion: Act like a King to be treated like one**



The way you carry yourself will often determine how you are treated; In the long run, appearing vulgar or common will make people disrespect you. For a king respects himself and inspires the same sentiment in others. By acting regally and confident of your powers, you make yourself seem destined to wear a crown.

### **Law 35**

#### **Master the Art of Timing**

Never seem to be in a hurry – hurrying betrays a lack of control over yourself, and over time. Always seem patient, as if you know that everything will come to you eventually. Become a detective of the right moment; sniff out the spirit of the times, the trends that will carry you to power. Learn to stand back when the time is not yet ripe, and to strike fiercely when it has reached fruition.

### **Law 36**

#### **Disdain Things you cannot have: Ignoring them is the best Revenge**

By acknowledging a petty problem you give it existence and credibility. The more attention you pay an enemy, the stronger you make him; and a small mistake is often made worse and more visible when you try to fix it. It is sometimes best to leave things alone. If there is something you want but cannot have, show contempt for it. The less interest you reveal, the more superior you seem.

### **Law 37**

#### **Create Compelling Spectacles**

Striking imagery and grand symbolic gestures create the aura of power – everyone responds to them. Stage spectacles for those around you, then full of arresting visuals and radiant symbols that heighten your presence. Dazzled by appearances, no one will notice what you are really doing.

### **Law 38**

#### **Think as you like but Behave like others**

If you make a show of going against the times, flaunting your unconventional ideas and unorthodox ways, people will think that you only want attention and that you look down upon them. They will find a way to punish you for making them feel inferior. It is far safer to blend in and nurture the common touch. Share your originality only with tolerant friends and those who are sure to appreciate your uniqueness.

### **Law 39**

#### **Stir up Waters to Catch Fish**

Anger and emotion are strategically counterproductive. You must always stay calm and objective. But if you can make your enemies angry while staying calm yourself, you gain a decided advantage. Put your enemies off-balance: Find the chink in their vanity through which you can rattle them and you hold the strings.

### **Law 40**

#### **Despise the Free Lunch**

What is offered for free is dangerous – it usually involves either a trick or a hidden obligation. What has worth is worth paying for. By paying your own way you stay clear of gratitude, guilt, and deceit. It is also often wise to pay the full price – there is no cutting corners with excellence. Be

lavish with your money and keep it circulating, for generosity is a sign and a magnet for power.

#### **Law 41**

##### **Avoid Stepping into a Great Man's Shoes**

What happens first always appears better and more original than what comes after. If you succeed a great man or have a famous parent, you will have to accomplish double their achievements to outshine them. Do not get lost in their shadow, or stuck in a past not of your own making: Establish your own name and identity by changing course. Slay the overbearing father, disparage his legacy, and gain power by shining in your own way.

#### **Law 42**

##### **Strike the Shepherd and the Sheep will Scatter**

Trouble can often be traced to a single strong individual – the stirrer, the arrogant underling, the poisoned of goodwill. If you allow such people room to operate, others will succumb to their influence. Do not wait for the troubles they cause to multiply, do not try to negotiate with them – they are irredeemable. Neutralize their influence by isolating or banishing them. Strike at the source of the trouble and the sheep will scatter.

#### **Law 43**

##### **Work on the Hearts and Minds of Others**

Coercion creates a reaction that will eventually work against you. You must seduce others into wanting to move in your direction. A person you have seduced becomes your loyal pawn. And the way to seduce others is to operate on their individual psychologies and weaknesses. Soften up the resistant by working on their emotions, playing on what they hold dear and what they fear. Ignore the hearts and minds of others and they will grow to hate you.

#### **Law 44**

##### **Disarm and Infuriate with the Mirror Effect**

The mirror reflects reality, but it is also the perfect tool for deception: When you mirror your enemies, doing exactly as they do, they cannot figure out your strategy. The Mirror Effect mocks and humiliates them, making them overreact. By holding up a mirror to their psyches, you seduce them with the illusion that you share their values; by holding up a mirror to their actions, you teach them a lesson. Few can resist the power of Mirror Effect.

#### **Law 45**

##### **Preach the Need for Change, but Never Reform too much at Once**

Everyone understands the need for change in the abstract, but on the day-to-day level people are creatures of habit. Too much innovation is traumatic, and will lead to revolt. If you are new to a position of power, or an outsider trying to build a power base, make a show of respecting the old way of doing things. If change is necessary, make it feel like a gentle improvement on the past.

#### **Law 46**

##### **Never appear too Perfect**

Appearing better than others is always dangerous, but most dangerous of all is to appear to have no faults or weaknesses. Envy creates silent enemies. It is smart to occasionally display defects, and admit to harmless vices, in order to deflect envy and appear more human and approachable. Only gods and the dead can seem perfect with impunity.

### Law 47

#### **Do not go Past the Mark you Aimed for; In Victory, Learn when to Stop**

The moment of victory is often the moment of greatest peril. In the heat of victory, arrogance and overconfidence can push you past the goal you had aimed for, and by going too far, you make more enemies than you defeat. Do not allow success to go to your head. There is no substitute for strategy and careful planning. Set a goal, and when you reach it, stop.

### Law 48

#### **Assume Formlessness**

By taking a shape, by having a visible plan, you open yourself to attack. Instead of taking a form for your enemy to grasp, keep yourself adaptable and on the move. Accept the fact that nothing is certain and no law is fixed. The best way to protect yourself is to be as fluid and formless as water; never bet on stability or lasting order. Everything changes.



## Constant Conflict

by: RALPH PETERS

From: US Army War College Quarterly  
Parameters, Summer 1997, pp. 4-14.

*There will be no peace. At any given moment for the rest of our lifetimes, there will be multiple conflicts in mutating forms around the globe. Violent conflict will dominate the headlines, but cultural and economic struggles will be steadier and ultimately more decisive. The de facto role of the US armed forces will be to keep the world safe for our economy and open to our cultural assault. To those ends, we will do a fair amount of killing.*

We have entered an age of constant conflict. Information is at once our core commodity and the most destabilizing factor of our time. Until now, history has been a quest to acquire information; today, the challenge lies in managing information. Those of us who can sort, digest, synthesize, and apply relevant knowledge soar--professionally, financially, politically, militarily, and socially. We, the winners, are a minority.

For the world masses, devastated by information they cannot manage or effectively interpret, life is "nasty, brutish . . . and short-circuited." The general pace of change is overwhelming, and information is both the motor and signifier of change. Those humans, in every country and region, who cannot understand the new world, or who cannot profit from its uncertainties, or who cannot reconcile themselves to its dynamics, will become the violent enemies of their inadequate governments, of their more fortunate neighbors, and ultimately of the United States. We are entering a new American century, in which we will become still wealthier, culturally more lethal, and increasingly powerful. We will excite hatreds without precedent.

We live in an age of multiple truths. He who warns of the "clash of civilizations" is incontestably right; simultaneously, we shall see higher levels of constructive trafficking between civilizations than ever before. The future is bright--and it is also very dark. More men and women will enjoy health and prosperity than ever before, yet more will live in poverty or tumult, if only because of the ferocity of demographics. There will be more democracy--that deft liberal form of imperialism--and greater popular refusal of democracy. One of the defining bifurcations of the future will be the conflict between information masters and information victims.

In the past, information empowerment was largely a matter of insider and outsider, as elementary as the division of society into the literate and illiterate. While superior information--often embodied in military technology--killed throughout history, its effects tended to be politically decisive but not personally intrusive (once the raping and pillaging were done). Technology was more apt to batter down the city gates than to change the nature of the city. The rise of the modern West broke the pattern. Whether speaking of the dispossessions and dislocations caused in Europe through the introduction of machine-driven production or elsewhere by the great age of European imperialism, an explosion of disorienting information intruded ever further into Braudel's "structures of everyday life." Historically, ignorance was bliss. Today, ignorance is no longer possible, only error.

The contemporary expansion of available information is immeasurable, uncontainable, and destructive to individuals and entire cultures unable to master it. The radical fundamentalists--the bomber in Jerusalem or Oklahoma City, the moral terrorist on the right or the dictatorial multiculturalist on the left--are all brothers and sisters, all threatened by change, terrified of the future, and alienated by information they cannot reconcile with their lives or ambitions. They ache to return to a golden age that never existed, or to create a paradise of their own restrictive design. They no longer understand the world, and their fear is volatile.

Information destroys traditional jobs and traditional cultures; it seduces, betrays, yet remains invulnerable. How can you counterattack the information others have turned upon you? There is no effective option other than competitive performance. For those individuals and cultures that cannot join or compete with our information empire, there is only inevitable failure (of note, the internet is to the techno-capable disaffected what the United Nations is to marginal states: it offers the illusion of empowerment and community). The attempt of the Iranian mullahs to secede from modernity has failed, although a turbaned corpse still stumbles about the neighborhood. Information, from the internet to rock videos, will not be contained, and fundamentalism cannot control its children. Our victims volunteer.

These noncompetitive cultures, such as that of Arabo-Persian Islam or the rejectionist segment of our own population, are enraged. Their cultures are under assault; their cherished values have proven dysfunctional, and the successful move on without them. The laid-off blue-collar worker in America and the Taliban militiaman in Afghanistan are brothers in suffering.

It is a truism that throughout much of the 20th century the income gap between top and bottom narrowed, whether we speak of individuals, countries, or in some cases continents. Further, individuals or countries could "make it" on sheer muscle power and the will to apply it. You could work harder than your neighbor and win in the marketplace. There was a rough justice in it, and it offered near-ecumenical hope. That model is dead. Today, there is a growing excess of muscle power in an age of labor-saving machines and methods. In our own country, we have seen blue-collar unions move from center stage to near-irrelevance. The trend will not reverse. At the same time, expectations have increased dramatically. There is a global sense of promises broken, of lies told. Individuals on much of the planet believe they have played by the rules laid down for them (in the breach, they often have not), only to find that some indefinite power has changed those rules overnight. The American who graduated from high school in the 1960s expected a good job that would allow his family security and reasonably increasing prosperity. For many such Americans, the world has collapsed, even as the media tease them with images of an ever-richer, brighter, fun world from which they are excluded. These *discarded citizens* sense that their government is no longer about them, but only about the privileged. Some seek the solace of explicit religion. Most remain law-abiding, hard-working citizens. Some do not.

The foreign twin is the Islamic, or sub-Saharan African, or Mexican university graduate who faces a teetering government, joblessness, exclusion from the profits of the corruption distorting his society, marriage in poverty or the impossibility of marriage, and a deluge of information telling him (exaggeratedly and dishonestly) how well the West lives. In this age of television-series franchising, videos, and satellite dishes, this young, embittered male gets his skewed view of us from reruns of *Dynasty* and *Dallas*, or from satellite links beaming down *Baywatch*, sources we dismiss too quickly as laughable and unworthy of serious consideration as factors influencing world affairs. But their effect is destructive beyond the power of words to describe. Hollywood goes where Harvard never penetrated, and the foreigner, unable to touch the reality of America, is touched by America's irresponsible fantasies of itself; he sees a devilishly enchanting, bluntly sexual, terrifying world from which he is excluded, a world of wealth he can judge only in terms of his own poverty.

Most citizens of the globe are not economists; they perceive wealth as inelastic, its possession a zero-sum game. If decadent America (as seen on the screen) is so fabulously rich, it can only be because America has looted one's own impoverished group or country or region. Adding to the cognitive dissonance, the *discarded foreigner* cannot square the perceived moral corruption of America, a travesty of all he has been told to value, with America's enduring punitive power. How could a nation whose women are "all harlots" stage Desert Storm? It is an offense to God, and there must be a demonic answer, a substance of conspiracies and oppression in which his own secular, disappointing elite is complicit. This discarded foreigner's desire may be to attack the "Great Satan America," but America is far away (for now), so he acts violently in his own neighborhood.

He will accept no personal guilt for his failure, nor can he bear the possibility that his culture "doesn't work." The blame lies ever elsewhere. The cult of victimization is becoming a universal phenomenon, and it is a source of dynamic hatreds.

It is fashionable among world intellectual elites to decry "American culture," with our domestic critics among the loudest in complaint. But traditional intellectual elites are of shrinking relevance, replaced by cognitive-practical elites--figures such as Bill Gates, Steven Spielberg, Madonna, or our most successful politicians--human beings who can recognize or create popular appetites, recreating themselves as necessary. Contemporary American culture is the most powerful in history, and the most destructive of competitor cultures. While some other cultures, such as those of East Asia, appear strong enough to survive the onslaught by adaptive behaviors, most are not. The genius, the secret weapon, of American culture is the essence that the elites despise: ours is the first genuine people's culture. It stresses comfort and convenience--ease--and it generates pleasure for the masses. We are Karl Marx's dream, and his nightmare.

Secular and religious revolutionaries in our century have made the identical mistake, imagining that the workers of the world or the faithful just can't wait to go home at night to study Marx or the Koran. Well, Joe Sixpack, Ivan Tipichni, and Ali Quat would rather "Baywatch." America has figured it out, and we are brilliant at operationalizing our knowledge, and our cultural power will hinder even those cultures we do not undermine. There is no "peer competitor" in the cultural (or military) department. Our cultural empire has the addicted--men and women everywhere--clamoring for more. And they pay for the privilege of their disillusionment.

American culture is criticized for its impermanence, its "disposable" products. But therein lies its strength. All previous cultures sought ideal achievement which, once reached, might endure in static perfection. American culture is not about the end, but the means, the dynamic process that creates, destroys, and creates anew. If our works are transient, then so are life's greatest gifts--passion, beauty, the quality of light on a winter afternoon, even life itself. American culture is *alive*.

This vividness, this vitality, is reflected in our military; we do not expect to achieve ultimate solutions, only constant improvement. All previous cultures, general and military, have sought to achieve an ideal form of life and then fix it in cement. Americans, in and out of uniform, have always embraced change (though many individuals have not, and their conservatism has acted as a healthy brake on our national excesses). American culture is the culture of the unafraid.

Ours is also the first culture that aims to include rather than exclude. The films most despised by the intellectual elite--those that feature extreme violence and to-the-victors-the-spoils sex--are our most popular cultural weapon, bought or bootlegged nearly everywhere. American action films, often in dreadful copies, are available from the Upper Amazon to Mandalay. They are even more popular than our music, because they are easier to understand. The action films of a Stallone or Schwarzenegger or Chuck Norris rely on visual narratives that do not require dialog for a basic understanding. They deal at the level of universal myth, of pre-text, celebrating the most fundamental impulses (although we have yet to produce a film as violent and cruel as the *Iliad*). They feature a hero, a villain, a woman to be defended or won--and violence and sex. Complain until doomsday; it sells. The enduring popularity abroad of the shopworn *Rambo* series tells us far more about humanity than does a library full of scholarly analysis.

When we speak of a global information revolution, the effect of video images is more immediate and intense than that of computers. Image trumps text in the mass psyche, and computers remain a textual outgrowth, demanding high-order skills: computers demarcate the domain of the privileged. We use technology to expand our wealth, power, and opportunities. The rest get high on pop culture. If religion is the opium of the people, video is their crack cocaine. When we and *they* collide, they shock us with violence, but, statistically, we win.

As more and more human beings are overwhelmed by information, or dispossessed by the effects of information-based technologies, there will be more violence. Information victims will often see no other resort. As work becomes more cerebral, those who fail to find a place will respond by rejecting reason. We will see countries and continents divide between rich and poor in a reversal of 20th-century economic trends. Developing countries will not be able to depend on physical production industries, because there will always be another country willing to work cheaper. The have-nots will hate and strive to attack the haves. And we in the United States will continue to be perceived as the ultimate haves. States will struggle for advantage or revenge as their societies boil. Beyond traditional crime, terrorism will be the most common form of violence, but transnational criminality, civil strife, secessions, border conflicts, and conventional wars will continue to plague the world, albeit with the "lesser" conflicts statistically dominant. In defense of its interests, its citizens, its allies, or its clients, the United States will be required to intervene in some of these contests. We will win militarily whenever we have the guts for it.

There will be no peace. At any given moment for the rest of our lifetimes, there will be multiple conflicts in mutating forms around the globe. Violent conflict will dominate the headlines, but cultural and economic struggles will be steadier and ultimately more decisive. The de facto role of the US armed forces will be to keep the world safe for our economy and open to our cultural assault. To those ends, we will do a fair amount of killing.

We are building an information-based military to do that killing. There will still be plenty of muscle power required, but much of our military art will consist in knowing more about the enemy than he knows about himself, manipulating data for effectiveness and efficiency, and denying similar advantages to our opponents. This will involve a good bit of technology, but the relevant systems will not be the budget vampires, such as manned bombers and attack submarines, that we continue to buy through inertia, emotional attachment, and the lobbying power of the defense industry. Our most important technologies will be those that support soldiers and Marines on the ground, that facilitate command decisions, and that enable us to kill accurately and survive amid clutter (such as multidimensional urban battlefields). The only imaginable use for most of our submarine fleet will be to strip out the weapons, dock them tight, and turn the boats into low-income housing. There will be no justification for billion-dollar bombers at all.

For a generation, and probably much longer, we will face no military peer competitor. Our enemies will challenge us by other means. The violent actors we encounter often will be small, hostile parties possessed of unexpected, incisive capabilities or simply of a stunning will to violence (or both). Renegade elites, not foreign fleets, should worry us. The urbanization of the global landscape is a greater threat to our operations than any extant or foreseeable military system. We will not deal with wars of Realpolitik, but with conflicts spawned of collective emotions, sub-state interests, and systemic collapse. Hatred, jealousy, and greed--emotions rather than strategy--will set the terms of the struggles.

We will survive and win any conflict short of a cataclysmic use of weapons of mass destruction. But the constant conflicts in which we selectively intervene will be as miserable as any other form of warfare for the soldiers and Marines engaged. The bayonet will still be relevant; however, informational superiority incisively employed should both sharpen that bayonet and permit us to defeat some--but never all--of our enemies outside of bayonet range. Our informational advantage over every other country and culture will be so enormous that our greatest battlefield challenge will be harnessing its power. Our potential national weakness will be the failure to maintain the moral and raw physical strength to thrust that bayonet into an enemy's heart.

Pilots and skippers, as well as defense executives, demand threat models that portray country X or Y as overtaking the military capability of the United States in 10 to 20 years. Forget it. Our

military power is culturally based. They cannot rival us without becoming us. Wise competitors will not even attempt to defeat us on our terms; rather, they will seek to shift the playing field away from military confrontations or turn to terrorism and nontraditional forms of assault on our national integrity. Only the foolish will fight fair.

The threat models stitched together from dead parts to convince Congress that the Russians are only taking a deep breath or that the Chinese are only a few miles off the coast of California uniformly assume that while foreign powers make all the right decisions, analyze every trend correctly, and continue to achieve higher and higher economic growth rates, the United States will take a nap. On the contrary. Beyond the Beltway, the United States is wide awake and leading a second "industrial" revolution that will make the original industrial revolution that climaxed the great age of imperialism look like a rehearsal by amateurs. Only the United States has the synthetic ability, the supportive laws, and the cultural agility to remain at the cutting edge of wealth creation.

Not long ago, the Russians were going to overtake us. Then it was oil-wealthy Arabs, then the Japanese. One prize-winning economist even calculated that fuddy-duddy Europe would dominate the next century (a sure prescription for boredom, were it true). Now the Chinese are our nemesis. No doubt our industrial-strength Cassandras will soon find a reason to fear the Galapagos. In the meantime, the average American can look forward to a longer life-span, a secure retirement, and free membership in the most triumphant culture in history. For the majority of our citizens, our vulgar, near-chaotic, marvelous culture is the greatest engine of positive change in history.

Freedom works.

In the military sphere, it will be impossible to rival or even approach the capabilities of our information-based force because it is so profoundly an outgrowth of our culture. Our information-based Army will employ many marvelous tools, but the core of the force will still be the soldier, not the machine, and our soldiers will have skills other cultures will be unable to replicate. Intelligence analysts, fleeing human complexity, like to project enemy capabilities based upon the systems a potential opponent might acquire. But buying or building stuff is not enough. It didn't work for Saddam Hussein, and it won't work for Beijing.

The complex human-machine interface developing in the US military will be impossible to duplicate abroad because no other state will be able to come from behind to equal the informational dexterity of our officers and soldiers. For all the complaints--in many respects justified--about our public school systems, the holistic and synergistic nature of education in our society and culture is imparting to tomorrow's soldiers and Marines a second-nature grasp of technology and the ability to sort and assimilate vast amounts of competitive data that no other population will achieve. The informational dexterity of our average middle-class kid is terrifying to anyone born before 1970. Our computer kids function at a level foreign elites barely manage, and this has as much to do with television commercials, CD-ROMs, and grotesque video games as it does with the classroom. We are outgrowing our 19th-century model education system as surely as we have outgrown the manned bomber. In the meantime, our children are undergoing a process of Darwinian selection in coping with the information deluge that is drowning many of their parents. These kids are going to make mean techno-warriors. We just have to make sure they can do push-ups, too.

There is a useful German expression, "*Die Lage war immer so ernst*," that translates very freely as "The sky has always been falling." Despite our relish of fears and complaints, we live in the most powerful, robust culture on earth. Its discontinuities and contradictions are often its strengths. We are incapable of five-year plans, and it is a saving grace. Our fluidity, in consumption, technology, and on the battlefield, is a strength our nearest competitors cannot approach. We move very fast. At our military best, we become Nathan Bedford Forrest riding a microchip. But when



we insist on buying into extended procurement contracts for unaffordable, neo-traditional weapon systems, we squander our brilliant flexibility. Today, we are locking-in already obsolescent defense purchases that will not begin to rise to the human capabilities of tomorrow's service members. In 2015 and beyond, we will be receiving systems into our inventory that will be no more relevant than Sherman tanks and prop-driven bombers would be today. We are not providing for tomorrow's military, we are paralyzing it. We will have the most humanly agile force on earth, and we are doing our best to shut it inside a technological straight-jacket.

There is no "big threat" out there. There's none on the horizon, either. Instead of preparing for the Battle of Midway, we need to focus on the constant conflicts of richly varying description that will challenge us--and kill us--at home and abroad. There are plenty of threats, but the beloved dinosaurs are dead.

We will outcreate, outproduce and, when need be, outfight the rest of the world. We can out-think them, too. But our military must not embark upon the 21st century clinging to 20th-century models. Our national appetite for information and our sophistication in handling it will enable us to outlast and outperform *all* hierarchical cultures, information-controlling societies, and rejectionist states. The skills necessary to this newest information age can be acquired only beginning in childhood and in complete immersion. Societies that fear or otherwise cannot manage the free flow of information simply will not be competitive. They might master the technological wherewithal to watch the videos, but we will be writing the scripts, producing them, and collecting the royalties. Our creativity is devastating. If we insist on a "proven" approach to military affairs, we will be throwing away our greatest national advantage.

We need to make sure our information-based military is based on the right information.

Facing this environment of constant conflict amid information proliferation, the military response has been to coin a new catchphrase--information warfare--and then duck. Although there has been plenty of chatter about information warfare, most of it has been as helpful and incisive as a discussion of sex among junior high school boys; everybody wants to pose, but nobody has a clue. We have hemorrhaged defense dollars to contractors perfectly willing to tell us what we already knew. Studies study other studies. For now, we have decided that information warfare is a matter of technology, which is akin to believing that your stereo system is more important to music than the musicians.

Fear not. We are already masters of information warfare, and we shall get around to defining it eventually. Let the scholars fuss. When it comes to our technology (and *all* technology is military technology) the Russians can't produce it, the Arabs can't afford it, and no one can steal it fast enough to make a difference. Our great bogeyman, China, is achieving remarkable growth rates because the Chinese belatedly entered the industrial revolution with a billion-plus population. Without a culture-shattering reappreciation of the role of free information in a society, China will peak well below our level of achievement.

Yes, foreign cultures are reasserting their threatened identities--usually with marginal, if any, success--and yes, they are attempting to escape our influence. But American culture is infectious, a plague of pleasure, and you don't have to die of it to be hindered or crippled in your integrity or competitiveness. The very struggle of other cultures to resist American cultural intrusion fatefully diverts their energies from the pursuit of the future. We should not fear the advent of fundamentalist or rejectionist regimes. They are simply guaranteeing their peoples' failure, while further increasing our relative strength.

It remains difficult, of course, for military leaders to conceive of warfare, informational or otherwise, in such broad terms. But Hollywood is "preparing the battlefield," and burgers precede bullets. The flag follows trade. Despite our declaration of defeat in the face of battlefield victory

in Mogadishu, the image of US power and the US military around the world is not only a deterrent, but a psychological warfare tool that is constantly at work in the minds of real or potential opponents. Saddam swaggered, but the image of the US military crippled the Iraqi army in the field, doing more to soften them up for our ground assault than did tossing bombs into the sand. Everybody is afraid of us. They really believe we can do all the stuff in the movies. If the Trojans "saw" Athena guiding the Greeks in battle, then the Iraqis saw Luke Skywalker precede McCaffrey's tanks. Our unconscious alliance of culture with killing power is a combat multiplier no government, including our own, could design or afford. We are magic. And we're going to keep it that way.

Within our formal military, we have been moving into information warfare for decades. Our attitude toward data acquisition and, especially, data dissemination within the force has broken with global military tradition, in which empowering information was reserved for the upper echelons. While our military is vertically responsible, as it must be, it is informationally democratic. Our ability to decentralize information and appropriate decisionmaking authority is a revolutionary breakthrough (the over-praised pre-1945 Germans decentralized some tactical decisionmaking, but only within carefully regulated guidelines--and they could not enable the process with sufficient information dissemination).

No military establishment has ever placed such trust in lieutenants, sergeants, and privates, nor are our touted future competitors likely to do so. In fact, there has been an even greater diffusion of power within our military (in the Army and Marines) than most of us realize. Pragmatic behavior daily subverts antiquated structures, such as divisions and traditional staffs. We keep the old names, but the behaviors are changing. What, other than its flag, does the division of 1997 have in common with the division of World War II? Even as traditionalists resist the reformation of the force, the "anarchy" of lieutenants is shaping the Army of tomorrow. Battalion commanders do not understand what their lieutenants are up to, and generals would not be able to sleep at night if they knew what the battalion commanders know. While we argue about change, the Army is changing itself. The Marines are doing a brilliant job of reinventing themselves while retaining their essence, and their achievement should be a welcome challenge to the Army. The Air Force and Navy remain rigidly hierarchical.

Culture is fate. Countries, clans, military services, and individual soldiers are products of their respective cultures, and they are either empowered or imprisoned. The majority of the world's inhabitants are prisoners of their cultures, and they will rage against inadequacies they cannot admit, cannot bear, and cannot escape. The current chest-thumping of some Asian leaders about the degeneracy, weakness, and vulnerability of American culture is reminiscent of nothing so much as of the ranting of Japanese militarists on the eve of the Pacific War. I do not suggest that any of those Asian leaders intend to attack us, only that they are wrong. Liberty always looks like weakness to those who fear it.

In the wake of the Soviet collapse, some commentators declared that freedom had won and history was at an end. But freedom will always find enemies. The problem with freedom is that it's just too damned free for tyrants, whether they be dictators, racial or religious supremacists, or abusive husbands. Freedom challenges existing orders, exposes bigotry, opens opportunity, and demands personal responsibility. What could be more threatening to traditional cultures? The advent of this new information age has opened a fresh chapter in the human struggle for, and with, freedom. It will be a bloody chapter, with plenty of computer-smashing and head-bashing. The number one priority of non-Western governments in the coming decades will be to find acceptable terms for the flow of information within their societies. They will uniformly err on the side of conservatism--informational corruption--and will cripple their competitiveness in doing so. Their failure is programmed.

The next century will indeed be American, but it will also be troubled. We will find ourselves in

constant conflict, much of it violent. The United States Army is going to add a lot of battle streamers to its flag. We will wage information warfare, but we will fight with infantry. And we will always surprise those critics, domestic and foreign, who predict our decline.

Major (P) Ralph Peters is assigned to the Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Intelligence, where he is responsible for future warfare. Prior to becoming a Foreign Area Officer for Eurasia, he served exclusively at the tactical level. He is a graduate of the US Army Command and General Staff College and holds a master's degree in international relations. Over the past several years, his professional and personal research travels have taken Major Peters to Russia, Ukraine, Georgia, Ossetia, Abkhazia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Pakistan, Turkey, Burma, Laos, Thailand, and Mexico, as well as the countries of the Andean Ridge. He has published widely on military and international concerns. His sixth novel, *Twilight of Heroes*, was recently released by Avon Books. This is his eighth article for *Parameters*. The author wishes to acknowledge the importance to this essay of discussions with Lieutenant Colonels Gordon Thompson and Lonnie Henley, both US Army officers.

Reviewed 8 May 1997.

<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usawc/parameters/97summer/peters.htm>

Please send comments or corrections to:

[carl\\_Parameters@conus.army.mil](mailto:carl_Parameters@conus.army.mil)



H. RES. 1258



Impeaching George W. Bush,  
President of the United States,  
of high crimes and misdemeanors.

**H. RES. 1258**  
**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

*110th CONGRESS*  
*2d Session*

**Impeaching George W. Bush, President of the United States,  
of high crimes and misdemeanors.**

**June 10, 2008**

Mr. KUCINICH submitted the following resolution

**June 11, 2008**

By motion of the House, referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

**RESOLUTION**

Impeaching George W. Bush, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors.

• *Resolved*, That President George W. Bush be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors, and that the following articles of impeachment be exhibited to the United States Senate:

• Articles of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America in the name of itself and of the people of the United States of America, in maintenance and support of its impeachment against President George W. Bush for high crimes and misdemeanors.

• In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has committed the following abuses of power.

**Article I**  
**Creating a Secret Propaganda Campaign To Manufacture a False Case for  
War Against Iraq**

• In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, illegally spent public dollars on a secret propaganda program to manufacture a false cause for war against Iraq.

• The Department of Defense (DOD) has engaged in a years-long secret domestic propaganda campaign to promote the invasion and occupation of Iraq. This secret program was defended by the White House Press Secretary following its exposure. This program follows the pattern of crimes detailed in articles I, II, IV, and VIII. The mission of this program placed it within the field controlled by the White House Iraq Group (WHIG), a White House task-force formed in August 2002 to market an invasion of Iraq to the American people. The group included Karl Rove, I. Lewis Libby, Condoleezza Rice, Karen Hughes, Mary Matalin, Stephen Hadley, Nicholas E. Calio, and James R. Wilkinson.

• The WHIG produced white papers detailing so-called intelligence of Iraq's nuclear threat that later proved to be false. This supposed intelligence included the claim that Iraq had sought uranium from Niger as well as the claim that the high strength aluminum tubes Iraq purchased

from China were to be used for the sole purpose of building centrifuges to enrich uranium. Unlike the National Intelligence Estimate of 2002, the WHIG's white papers provided 'gripping images and stories' and used 'literary license' with intelligence. The WHIG's white papers were written at the same time and by the same people as speeches and talking points prepared for President Bush and some of his top officials.

- The WHIG also organized a media blitz in which, between September 7-8, 2002, President Bush and his top advisers appeared on numerous interviews and all provided similarly gripping images about the possibility of nuclear attack by Iraq. The timing was no coincidence, as Andrew Card explained in an interview regarding waiting until after Labor Day to try to sell the American people on military action against Iraq, 'From a marketing point of view, you don't introduce new products in August.'

- September 7-8, 2002:

- NBC's 'Meet the Press': Vice President Cheney accused Saddam of moving aggressively to develop nuclear weapons over the past 14 months to add to his stockpile of chemical and biological arms.

- CNN: Then-National Security Adviser Rice said, regarding the likelihood of Iraq obtaining a nuclear weapon, 'We don't want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud.'

- CBS: President Bush declared that Saddam was 'six months away from developing a weapon', and cited satellite photos of construction in Iraq where weapons inspectors once visited as evidence that Saddam was trying to develop nuclear arms.

- The Pentagon military analyst propaganda program was revealed in an April 20, 2002, New York Times article. The program illegally involved 'covert attempts to mold opinion through the undisclosed use of third parties'. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld recruited 75 retired military officers and gave them talking points to deliver on Fox, CNN, ABC, NBC, CBS, and MSNBC, and according to the New York Times report, which has not been disputed by the Pentagon or the White House, 'Participants were instructed not to quote their briefers directly or otherwise describe their contacts with the Pentagon.'

- According to the Pentagon's own internal documents, the military analysts were considered 'message force multipliers' or 'surrogates' who would deliver administration 'themes and messages' to millions of Americans 'in the form of their own opinions'. In fact, they did deliver the themes and the messages but did not reveal that the Pentagon had provided them with their talking points. Robert S. Bevelacqua, a retired Green Beret and Fox News military analyst described this as follows: 'It was them saying, 'We need to stick our hands up your back and move your mouth for you.''

- Congress has restricted annual appropriations bills since 1951 with this language: 'No part of any appropriation contained in this or any other Act shall be used for publicity or propaganda purposes within the United States not heretofore authorized by the Congress.'

- A March 21, 2005, report by the Congressional Research Service states that 'publicity or propaganda' is defined by the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) to mean either (1) self-aggrandizement by public officials, (2) purely partisan activity, or (3) 'covert propaganda'.

- These concerns about 'covert propaganda' were also the basis for the GAO's standard for determining when government-funded video news releases are illegal:

- 'The failure of an agency to identify itself as the source of a prepackaged news story

misleads the viewing public by encouraging the viewing audience to believe that the broadcasting news organization developed the information. The prepackaged news stories are purposefully designed to be indistinguishable from news segments broadcast to the public. When the television viewing public does not know that the stories they watched on television news programs about the government were in fact prepared by the government, the stories are, in this sense, no longer purely factual--the essential fact of attribution is missing.'

- The White House's own Office of Legal Council stated in a memorandum written in 2005 following the controversy over the Armstrong Williams scandal:

- 'Over the years, GAO has interpreted 'publicity or propaganda' restrictions to preclude use of appropriated funds for, among other things, so-called 'covert propaganda'. . . . Consistent with that view, the OLC determined in 1988 that a statutory prohibition on using appropriated funds for 'publicity or propaganda' precluded undisclosed agency funding of advocacy by third-party groups. We stated that 'covert attempts to mold opinion through the undisclosed use of third parties' would run afoul of restrictions on using appropriated funds for 'propaganda'.'

- Asked about the Pentagon's propaganda program at White House press briefing in April 2008, White House Press Secretary Dana Perino defended it, not by arguing that it was legal but by suggesting that it 'should' be: 'Look, I didn't know look, I think that you guys should take a step back and look at this look, DOD has made a decision, they've decided to stop this program. But I would say that one of the things that we try to do in the administration is get information out to a variety of people so that everybody else can call them and ask their opinion about something. And I don't think that that should be against the law. And I think that it's absolutely appropriate to provide information to people who are seeking it and are going to be providing their opinions on it. It doesn't necessarily mean that all of those military analysts ever agreed with the administration. I think you can go back and look and think that a lot of their analysis was pretty tough on the administration. That doesn't mean that we shouldn't talk to people.'

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article II**

### **Falsely, Systematically, and With Criminal Intent Conflating the Attacks of September 11, 2001 With Misrepresentation of Iraq as an Imminent Security Threat as Part of a Fraudulent Justification for a War of Aggression**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, executed a calculated and wide-ranging strategy to deceive the citizens and Congress of the United States into believing that there was and is a connection between Iraq and Saddam Hussein on the one hand, and the attacks of September 11, 2001, and al Qaeda, on the other hand, so as to falsely justify the use of the United States Armed Forces against the nation of Iraq in a manner that is damaging to the national security interests of the United States, as well as to fraudulently obtain and maintain congressional authorization and funding for the use of such military force against Iraq, thereby interfering with and obstructing Congress's lawful functions of overseeing foreign affairs and declaring war.



- The means used to implement this deception were and continue to be, first, allowing, authorizing and sanctioning the manipulation of intelligence analysis by those under his direction and control, including the Vice President and the Vice President's agents, and second, personally making, or causing, authorizing and allowing to be made through highly-placed subordinates, including the President's Chief of Staff, the White House Press Secretary and other White House spokespersons, the Secretaries of State and Defense, the National Security Advisor, and their deputies and spokespersons, false and fraudulent representations to the citizens of the United States and Congress regarding an alleged connection between Saddam Hussein and Iraq, on the one hand, and the September 11th attacks and al Qaeda, on the other hand, that were half-true, literally true but misleading, and/or made without a reasonable basis and with reckless indifference to their truth, as well as omitting to state facts necessary to present an accurate picture of the truth as follows:

- (1) On or about September 12, 2001, former terrorism advisor Richard Clarke personally informed the President that neither Saddam Hussein nor Iraq was responsible for the September 11th attacks. On September 18, Clarke submitted to the President's National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice a memo he had written in response to George W. Bush's specific request that stated: (1) the case for linking Hussein to the September 11th attacks was weak; (2) only anecdotal evidence linked Hussein to al Qaeda; (3) Osama Bin Laden resented the secularism of Saddam Hussein; and (4) there was no confirmed reporting of Saddam Hussein cooperating with Bin Laden on unconventional weapons.

- (2) Ten days after the September 11th attacks the President received a President's Daily Briefing which indicated that the U.S. intelligence community had no evidence linking Saddam Hussein to the September 11th attacks and that there was 'scant credible evidence that Iraq had any significant collaborative ties with Al Qaeda'.

- (3) In Defense Intelligence Terrorism Summary No. 044-02, issued in February 2002, the United States Defense Intelligence Agency cast significant doubt on the possibility of a Saddam Hussein-al Qaeda conspiracy: 'Saddam's regime is intensely secular and is wary of Islamic revolutionary movements. Moreover, Baghdad is unlikely to provide assistance to a group it cannot control.'.

- (4) The October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate gave a 'Low Confidence' rating to the notion of whether 'in desperation Saddam would share chemical or biological weapons with Al Qaeda'. The CIA never informed the President that there was an operational relationship between al Qaeda and Saddam Hussein; on the contrary, its most 'aggressive' analysis contained in 'Iraq and al-Qa'ida: Interpreting a Murky Relationship' dated June 21, 2002, was that Iraq had had 'sporadic, wary contacts with al-Qa'ida since the mid-1990s rather than a relationship with al-Qa'ida that has developed over time'.

- (5) Notwithstanding his knowledge that neither Saddam Hussein nor Iraq was in any way connected to the September 11th attacks, the President allowed and authorized those acting under his direction and control, including Vice President Richard B. Cheney and Lewis Libby, who reported directly to both the President and the Vice President, and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, among others, to pressure intelligence analysts to alter their assessments and to create special units outside of, and unknown to, the intelligence community in order to secretly obtain unreliable information, to manufacture intelligence or reinterpret raw data in ways that would further the Bush administration's goal of fraudulently establishing a relationship not only between Iraq and al Qaeda, but between Iraq and the attacks of September 11th.

- (6) Further, despite his full awareness that Iraq and Saddam Hussein had no relationship to the September 11th attacks, the President, and those acting under his direction and control have,



since at least 2002 and continuing to the present, repeatedly issued public statements deliberately worded to mislead, words calculated in their implication to bring unrelated actors and circumstances into an artificially contrived reality thereby facilitating the systematic deception of Congress and the American people. Thus the public and some members of Congress, came to believe, falsely, that there was a connection between Iraq and the attacks of 9/11. This was accomplished through well-publicized statements by the Bush Administration which contrived to continually tie Iraq and 9/11 in the same statements of grave concern without making an explicit charge:

- (A) '[If] Iraq regimes [sic] continues to defy us, and the world, we will move deliberately, yet decisively, to hold Iraq to account. . . . It's a new world we're in. We used to think two oceans could separate us from an enemy. On that tragic day, September the 11th, 2001, we found out that's not the case. We found out this great land of liberty and of freedom and of justice is vulnerable. And therefore we must do everything we can--everything we can--to secure the homeland, to make us safe.' Speech of President Bush in Iowa on September 16, 2002.

- (B) 'With every step the Iraqi regime takes toward gaining and deploying the most terrible weapons, our own options to confront that regime will narrow. And if an emboldened regime were to supply these weapons to terrorist allies, then the attacks of September 11th would be a prelude to far greater horrors.' March 6, 2003, Statement of President Bush in National Press Conference.

- (C) 'The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11, 2001--and still goes on. That terrible morning, 19 evil men--the shock troops of a hateful ideology--gave America and the civilized world a glimpse of their ambitions. They imagined, in the words of one terrorist, that September the 11th would be the 'beginning of the end of America'. By seeking to turn our cities into killing fields, terrorists and their allies believed that they could destroy this nation's resolve, and force our retreat from the world. They have failed.' May 1, 2003, Speech of President Bush on U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln.

- (D) 'Now we're in a new and unprecedented war against violent Islamic extremists. This is an ideological conflict we face against murderers and killers who try to impose their will. These are the people that attacked us on September the 11th and killed nearly 3,000 people. The stakes are high, and once again, we have had to change our strategic thinking. The major battleground in this war is Iraq.' June 28, 2007, Speech of President Bush at the Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island.

- (7) Notwithstanding his knowledge that there was no credible evidence of a working relationship between Saddam Hussein and al Qaeda and that the intelligence community had specifically assessed that there was no such operational relationship, the President, both personally and through his subordinates and agents, has repeatedly falsely represented, both explicitly and implicitly, and through the misleading use of selectively-chosen facts, to the citizens of the United States and to the Congress that there was and is such an ongoing operational relationship, to wit:

- (A) 'We know that Iraq and al Qaeda have had high-level contacts that go back a decade. Some al Qaeda leaders who fled Afghanistan went to Iraq. These include one very senior al Qaeda leader who received medical treatment in Baghdad this year, and who has been associated with planning for chemical and biological attacks. We've learned that Iraq has trained al Qaeda members in bomb-making and poisons and deadly gases.' September 28, 2002, Weekly Radio Address of President Bush to the Nation.

- (B) '[W]e need to think about Saddam Hussein using al Qaeda to do his dirty work, to not leave fingerprints behind.' October 14, 2002, Remarks by President Bush in Michigan.

- (C) 'We know he's got ties with al Qaeda.' November 1, 2002, Speech of President Bush in New Hampshire.

- (D) 'Evidence from intelligence sources, secret communications, and statements by people now in custody reveal that Saddam Hussein aids and protects terrorists, including members of al Qaeda. Secretly, and without fingerprints, he could provide one of his hidden weapons to terrorists, or help them develop their own.' January 28, 2003, President Bush's State of the Union Address.

- (E) '[W]hat I want to bring to your attention today is the potentially much more sinister nexus between Iraq and the al Qaeda terrorist network, a nexus that combines classic terrorist organizations and modern methods of murder. Iraq today harbors a deadly terrorist network. . . .' February 5, 2003, Speech of Former Secretary of State Colin Powell to the United Nations.

- (F) 'The battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11, 2001--and still goes on. . . . [T]he liberation of Iraq . . . removed an ally of al Qaeda.' May 1, 2003, Speech of President Bush on U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln.

- (8) The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Report on Whether Public Statements Regarding Iraq by U.S. Government Officials Were Substantiated by Intelligence Information, which was released on June 5, 2008, concluded that:

- (A) 'Statements and implications by the President and Secretary of State suggesting that Iraq and al-Qa'ida had a partnership, or that Iraq had provided al-Qa'ida with weapons training, were not substantiated by the intelligence.'

- (B) 'The Intelligence Community did not confirm that Muhammad Atta met an Iraqi intelligence officer in Prague in 2001 as the Vice President repeatedly claimed.'

- Through his participation and instance in the breathtaking scope of this deception, the President has used the highest office of trust to wage a campaign of deception of such sophistication as to deliberately subvert the national security interests of the United States. His dishonesty set the stage for the loss of more than 4,000 United States servicemembers; injuries to tens of thousands of soldiers, the loss of more than 1,000,000 innocent Iraqi citizens since the United States invasion; the loss of approximately \$527 billion in war costs which has increased our Federal debt and the ultimate expenditure of three to five trillion dollars for all costs covering the war; the loss of military readiness within the United States Armed Services due to overextension, the lack of training and lack of equipment; the loss of United States credibility in world affairs; and the decades of likely blowback created by the invasion of Iraq.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article III**

#### **Misleading the American People and Members of Congress To Believe Iraq Possessed Weapons of Mass Destruction, so as To Manufacture a False Case for War**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in

violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, executed instead a calculated and wide-ranging strategy to deceive the citizens and Congress of the United States into believing that the nation of Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction in order to justify the use of the United States Armed Forces against the nation of Iraq in a manner damaging to our national security interests, thereby interfering with and obstructing Congress's lawful functions of overseeing foreign affairs and declaring war.

- The means used to implement this deception were and continue to be personally making, or causing, authorizing and allowing to be made through highly-placed subordinates, including the President's Chief of Staff, the White House Press Secretary and other White House spokespersons, the Secretaries of State and Defense, the National Security Advisor, and their deputies and spokespersons, false and fraudulent representations to the citizens of the United States and Congress regarding Iraq's alleged possession of biological, chemical and nuclear weapons that were half-true, literally true but misleading, and/or made without a reasonable basis and with reckless indifference to their truth, as well as omitting to state facts necessary to present an accurate picture of the truth as follows:

- (1) Long before the March 19, 2003, invasion of Iraq, a wealth of intelligence informed the President and those under his direction and control that Iraq's stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons had been destroyed well before 1998 and that there was little, if any, credible intelligence that showed otherwise. As reported in the Washington Post in March of 2003, in 1995, Saddam Hussein's son-in-law Hussein Kamel had informed U.S. and British intelligence officers that 'all weapons--biological, chemical, missile, nuclear were destroyed.' In September 2002, the Defense Intelligence Agency issued a report that concluded: 'A substantial amount of Iraq's chemical warfare agents, precursors, munitions and production equipment were destroyed between 1991 and 1998 as a result of Operation Desert Storm and UNSCOM actions . . . [T]here is no reliable information on whether Iraq is producing and stockpiling chemical weapons or whether Iraq has--or will--establish its chemical warfare agent production facilities.' Notwithstanding the absence of evidence proving that such stockpiles existed and in direct contradiction to substantial evidence that showed they did not exist, the President and his subordinates and agents made numerous false representations claiming with certainty that Iraq possessed chemical and biological weapons that it was developing to use to attack the United States, to wit:

- (A) '[T]he notion of a Saddam Hussein with his great oil wealth, with his inventory that he already has of biological and chemical weapons . . . is, I think, a frightening proposition for anybody who thinks about it.' Statement of Vice President Cheney on CBS's Face the Nation, March 24, 2002.

- (B) 'In defiance of the United Nations, Iraq has stockpiled biological and chemical weapons, and is rebuilding the facilities used to make more of those weapons.' Speech of President Bush, October 5, 2002.

- (C) 'All the world has now seen the footage of an Iraqi Mirage aircraft with a fuel tank modified to spray biological agents over wide areas. Iraq has developed spray devices that could be used on unmanned aerial vehicles with ranges far beyond what is permitted by the Security Council. A UAV launched from a vessel off the American coast could reach hundreds of miles inland.' Statement by President Bush from the White House, February 6, 2003.

- (2) Despite overwhelming intelligence in the form of statements and reports filed by and on behalf of the CIA, the State Department and the IAEA, among others, which indicated that the claim was untrue, the President, and those under his direction and control, made numerous

representations claiming and implying through misleading language that Iraq was attempting to purchase uranium from Niger in order to falsely buttress its argument that Iraq was reconstituting its nuclear weapons program, including:

- (A) 'The regime has the scientists and facilities to build nuclear weapons, and is seeking the materials needed to do so.' Statement of President Bush from White House, October 2, 2002.

- (B) 'The [Iraqi] report also failed to deal with issues which have arisen since 1998, including: . . . attempts to acquire uranium and the means to enrich it.' Letter from President Bush to Vice President Cheney and the Senate, January 20, 2003.

- (C) 'The British Government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa.' President Bush Delivers State of the Union Address, January 28, 2003.

- (3) Despite overwhelming evidence in the form of reports by nuclear weapons experts from the Energy, the Defense and State Departments, as well from outside and international agencies which assessed that aluminum tubes the Iraqis were purchasing were not suitable for nuclear centrifuge use and were, on the contrary, identical to ones used in rockets already being manufactured by the Iraqis, the President, and those under his direction and control, persisted in making numerous false and fraudulent representations implying and stating explicitly that the Iraqis were purchasing the tubes for use in a nuclear weapons program, to wit:

- (A) 'We do know that there have been shipments going . . . into Iraq . . . of aluminum tubes that really are only suited to--high-quality aluminum tools [sic] that are only really suited for nuclear weapons programs, centrifuge programs.' Statement of then National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice on CNN's Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer, September 8, 2002.

- (B) 'Our intelligence sources tell us that he has attempted to purchase high-strength aluminum tubes suitable for nuclear weapons production.' President Bush's State of the Union Address, January 28, 2003.

- (C) '[H]e has made repeated covert attempts to acquire high-specification aluminum tubes from 11 different countries, even after inspections resumed. . . . By now, just about everyone has heard of these tubes and we all know that there are differences of opinion. There is controversy about what these tubes are for. Most U.S. experts think they are intended to serve as rotors in centrifuges used to enrich uranium.' Speech of Former Secretary of State Colin Powell to the United Nations, February 5, 2003.

- (4) The President, both personally and acting through those under his direction and control, suppressed material information, selectively declassified information for the improper purposes of retaliating against a whistleblower and presenting a misleading picture of the alleged threat from Iraq, facilitated the exposure of the identity of a covert CIA operative and thereafter not only failed to investigate the improper leaks of classified information from within his administration, but also failed to cooperate with an investigation into possible federal violations resulting from this activity and, finally, entirely undermined the prosecution by commuting the sentence of Lewis Libby citing false and insubstantial grounds, all in an effort to prevent Congress and the citizens of the United States from discovering the fraudulent nature of the President's claimed justifications for the invasion of Iraq.

- (5) The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Report on Whether Public Statements Regarding Iraq by U.S. Government Officials Were Substantiated by Intelligence Information, which was released on June 5, 2008, concluded that:

- (A) `Statements by the President and Vice President prior to the October 2002 National Intelligence Estimate regarding Iraq's chemical weapons production capability and activities did not reflect the intelligence community's uncertainties as to whether such production was ongoing.'

- (B) `The Secretary of Defense's statement that the Iraqi government operated underground WMD facilities that were not vulnerable to conventional airstrikes because they were underground and deeply buried was not substantiated by available intelligence information.'

- (C) Chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee Jay Rockefeller concluded: `In making the case for war, the Administration repeatedly presented intelligence as fact when in reality it was unsubstantiated, contradicted, or even non-existent. As a result, the American people were led to believe that the threat from Iraq was much greater than actually existed.'

- The President has subverted the national security interests of the United States by setting the stage for the loss of more than 4,000 United States servicemembers and the injury to tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers; the loss of more than 1,000,000 innocent Iraqi citizens since the United States invasion; the loss of approximately \$500 billion in war costs which has increased our Federal debt with a long term financial cost of between three and five trillion dollars; the loss of military readiness within the United States Armed Services due to overextension, the lack of training and lack of equipment; the loss of United States credibility in world affairs; and the decades of likely blowback created by the invasion of Iraq.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

#### **Article IV**

#### **Misleading the American People and Members of Congress To Believe Iraq Posed an Imminent Threat to the United States**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution `to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, executed a calculated and wide-ranging strategy to deceive the citizens and Congress of the United States into believing that the nation of Iraq posed an imminent threat to the United States in order to justify the use of the United States Armed Forces against the nation of Iraq in a manner damaging to our national security interests, thereby interfering with and obstructing Congress's lawful functions of overseeing foreign affairs and declaring war.

- The means used to implement this deception were and continue to be, first, allowing, authorizing and sanctioning the manipulation of intelligence analysis by those under his direction and control, including the Vice President and the Vice President's agents, and second, personally making, or causing, authorizing and allowing to be made through highly-placed subordinates, including the President's Chief of Staff, the White House Press Secretary and other White House spokespersons, the Secretaries of State and Defense, the National Security Advisor, and their deputies and spokespersons, false and fraudulent representations to the citizens of the United States and Congress regarding an alleged urgent threat posed by Iraq, statements that were half-true, literally true but misleading, and/or made without a reasonable basis and with

reckless indifference to their truth, as well as omitting to state facts necessary to present an accurate picture of the truth as follows:

- (1) Notwithstanding the complete absence of intelligence analysis to support a claim that Iraq posed an imminent or urgent threat to the United States and the intelligence community's assessment that Iraq was in fact not likely to attack the United States unless it was itself attacked, President Bush, both personally and through his agents and subordinates, made, allowed and caused to be made repeated false representations to the citizens and Congress of the United States implying and explicitly stating that such a dire threat existed, including the following:

- (A) `States such as these [Iraq, Iran, and North Korea] and their terrorist allies constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.' President Bush's State of the Union Address, January 29, 2002.

- (B) `Simply stated, there is no doubt that Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction. He is amassing them to use against our friends, our enemies, and against us.' Speech of Vice President Cheney at VFW 103rd National Convention, August 26, 2002.

- (C) `The history, the logic, and the facts lead to one conclusion: Saddam Hussein's regime is a grave and gathering danger. To suggest otherwise is to hope against the evidence. To assume this regime's good faith is to bet the lives of millions and the peace of the world in a reckless gamble. And this is a risk we must not take.' Address of President Bush to the United Nations General Assembly, September 12, 2002.

- (D) `[N]o terrorist state poses a greater or more immediate threat to the security of our people than the regime of Saddam Hussein and Iraq.' Statement of Former Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld to Congress, September 19, 2002.

- (E) `On its present course, the Iraqi regime is a threat of unique urgency . . . it has developed weapons of mass death.' Statement of President Bush at White House, October 2, 2002.

- (F) `But the President also believes that this problem has to be dealt with, and if the United Nations won't deal with it, then the United States, with other likeminded nations, may have to deal with it. We would prefer not to go that route, but the danger is so great, with respect to Saddam Hussein having weapons of mass destruction, and perhaps even terrorists getting hold of such weapons, that it is time for the international community to act, and if it doesn't act, the President is prepared to act with likeminded nations.' Statement of Former Secretary of State Colin Powell in interview with Ellen Ratner of Talk Radio News, October 30, 2002.

- (G) `Today the world is also uniting to answer the unique and urgent threat posed by Iraq. A dictator who has used weapons of mass destruction on his own people must not be allowed to produce or possess those weapons. We will not permit Saddam Hussein to blackmail and/or terrorize nations which love freedom.' Speech by President Bush to Prague Atlantic Student Summit, November 20, 2002.

- (H) `But the risk of doing nothing, the risk of the security of this country being jeopardized at the hands of a madman with weapons of mass destruction far exceeds the risk of any action we may be forced to take.' President Bush meets with National Economic Council at White House, February 25, 2003.

- (2) In furtherance of his fraudulent effort to deceive Congress and the citizens of the United

States into believing that Iraq and Saddam Hussein posed an imminent threat to the United States, the President allowed and authorized those acting under his direction and control, including Vice President Richard B. Cheney, former Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, and Lewis Libby, who reported directly to both the President and the Vice President, among others, to pressure intelligence analysts to tailor their assessments and to create special units outside of, and unknown to, the intelligence community in order to secretly obtain unreliable information, to manufacture intelligence, or to reinterpret raw data in ways that would support the Bush administration's plan to invade Iraq based on a false claim of urgency despite the lack of justification for such a preemptive action.

- (3) The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Report on Whether Public Statements Regarding Iraq by U.S. Government Officials Were Substantiated by Intelligence Information, which was released on June 5, 2008, concluded that: 'Statements by the President and the Vice President indicating that Saddam Hussein was prepared to give weapons of mass destruction to terrorist groups for attacks against the United States were contradicted by available intelligence information.'

- Thus the President willfully and falsely misrepresented Iraq as an urgent threat requiring immediate action thereby subverting the national security interests of the United States by setting the stage for the loss of more than 4,000 United States servicemembers; the injuries to tens of thousands of U.S. soldiers; the deaths of more than 1,000,000 Iraqi citizens since the United States invasion; the loss of approximately \$527 billion in war costs which has increased our Federal debt and the ultimate costs of the war between three trillion and five trillion dollars; the loss of military readiness within the United States Armed Services due to overextension, the lack of training and lack of equipment; the loss of United States credibility in world affairs; and the decades of likely blowback created by the invasion of Iraq.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article V**

### **Illegally Misspending Funds to Secretly Begin a War of Aggression**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, illegally misspent funds to begin a war in secret prior to any Congressional authorization.

- The President used over \$2 billion in the summer of 2002 to prepare for the invasion of Iraq. First reported in Bob Woodward's book, Plan of Attack, and later confirmed by the Congressional Research Service, Bush took money appropriated by Congress for Afghanistan and other programs and--with no Congressional notification--used it to build airfields in Qatar and to make other preparations for the invasion of Iraq. This constituted a violation of article I, section 9 of the U.S. Constitution, as well as a violation of the War Powers Act of 1973.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the

people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article VI**

### **Invading Iraq in Violation of the Requirements of H.J. Res. 114**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', exceeded his Constitutional authority to wage war by invading Iraq in 2003 without meeting the requirements of H.J. Res. 114, the 'Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002' to wit:

- (1) H.J. Res. 114 contains several Whereas clauses consistent with statements being made by the White House at the time regarding the threat from Iraq as evidenced by the following:

- (A) H.J. Res. 114 states 'Whereas Iraq both poses a continuing threat to the national security of the United States and international peace and security in the Persian Gulf region and remains in material and unacceptable breach of its international obligations by, among other things, continuing to possess and develop a significant chemical and biological weapons capability, actively seeking a nuclear weapons capability, and supporting and harboring terrorist organizations;'; and

- (B) H.J. Res. 114 states 'Whereas members of Al Qaeda, an organization bearing responsibility for attacks on the United States, its citizens, and interests, including the attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001, are known to be in Iraq;'.

- (2) H.J. Res. 114 states that the President must provide a determination, the truthfulness of which is implied, that military force is necessary in order to use the authorization, as evidenced by the following:

- (A) Section 3 of H.J. Res. 114 states:

- '(b) PRESIDENTIAL DETERMINATION- In connection with the exercise of the authority granted in subsection (a) to use force the President shall, prior to such exercise or as soon thereafter as may be feasible, but no later than 48 hours after exercising such authority, make available to the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate his determination that--

- '(1) reliance by the United States on further diplomatic or other peaceful means alone either (A) will not adequately protect the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq or (B) is not likely to lead to enforcement of all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq; and

- '(2) acting pursuant to this joint resolution is consistent with the United States and other countries continuing to take the necessary actions against international terrorist and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001.'

- (3) On March 18, 2003, President George Bush sent a letter to Congress stating that he had made that determination as evidenced by the following:

- (A) March 18th, 2003 Letter to Congress stating: 'Consistent with section 3(b) of the



Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq Resolution of 2002 (Public Law 107-243), and based on information available to me, including that in the enclosed document, I determine that:

- `(i) reliance by the United States on further diplomatic and other peaceful means alone will neither (A) adequately protect the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq nor (B) likely lead to enforcement of all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq; and

- `(ii) acting pursuant to the Constitution and Public Law 107-243 is consistent with the United States and other countries continuing to take the necessary actions against international terrorists and terrorist organizations, including those nations, organizations, or persons who planned, authorized, committed, or aided the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001.'.

- (4) President George Bush knew that these statements were false as evidenced by:

- (A) Information provided with articles I, II, III, IV, and V.

- (B) A statement by President George Bush in an interview with Tony Blair on January 31st, 2003: [WH]

- Reporter: `One question for you both. Do you believe that there is a link between Saddam Hussein, a direct link, and the men who attacked on September the 11th?'

- President Bush: `I can't make that claim'.

- (C) An article on February 19th by Terrorism expert Rohan Gunaratna states `I could find no evidence of links between Iraq and Al Qaeda. The documentation and interviews indicated that Al Qaeda regarded Saddam, a secular leader, as an infidel.'. [International Herald Tribune]

- (D) According to a February 2nd, 2003 article in the New York Times: [NYT]

- At the Federal Bureau of Investigation, some investigators said they were baffled by the Bush administration's insistence on a solid link between Iraq and Osama bin Laden's network. `We've been looking at this hard for more than a year and you know what, we just don't think it's there', a government official said.

- (5) Section 3C of H.J. Res 114 states that `Nothing in this joint resolution supersedes any requirement of the War Powers Resolution.'.

- (6) The War Powers Resolution Section 9(d)(1) states:

- `(d) Nothing in this joint resolution--

- `(1) is intended to alter the constitutional authority of the Congress or of the President, or the provision of existing treaties; or'.

- (7) The United Nations Charter was an existing treaty and, as shown in article VIII, the invasion of Iraq violated that treaty.

- (8) President George Bush knowingly failed to meet the requirements of H.J. Res. 114 and violated the requirement of the War Powers Resolution and, thereby, invaded Iraq without the authority of Congress.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article VII**

### **Invading Iraq Absent a Declaration of War**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has launched a war against Iraq absent any congressional declaration of war or equivalent action.

- Article I, section 8, clause 11 (the War Powers Clause) makes clear that the United States Congress holds the exclusive power to decide whether or not to send the nation into war. 'The Congress', the War Powers Clause states, 'shall have power . . . To declare war . . .'

- The October 2002 congressional resolution on Iraq did not constitute a declaration of war or equivalent action. The resolution stated: 'The President is authorized to use the Armed Forces of the United States as he deems necessary and appropriate in order to (1) defend the national security of the United States against the continuing threat posed by Iraq; and (2) enforce all relevant United Nations Security Council resolutions regarding Iraq.' The resolution unlawfully sought to delegate to the President the decision of whether or not to initiate a war against Iraq, based on whether he deemed it 'necessary and appropriate.' The Constitution does not allow Congress to delegate this exclusive power to the President, nor does it allow the President to seize this power.

- In March 2003, the President launched a war against Iraq without any constitutional authority.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article VIII**

### **Invading Iraq, a Sovereign Nation, in Violation of the U.N. Charter and International Criminal Law**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', violated United States law by invading the sovereign country of Iraq in violation of the United Nations Charter to wit:

- (1) International Laws ratified by Congress are part of United States Law and must be followed as evidenced by the following:

- (A) Article VI of the United States Constitution, which states `This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land;`.

- (2) The U.N. Charter, which entered into force following ratification by the United States in 1945, requires Security Council approval for the use of force except for self-defense against an armed attack as evidenced by the following:

- (A) Chapter 1, article 2 of the United Nations Charter states:

- `3. All Members shall settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered.

- `4. All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.'.

- (B) Chapter 7, article 51 of the United Nations Charter states:

- `51. Nothing in the present Charter shall impair the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken measures necessary to maintain international peace and security.'.

- (3) There was no armed attack upon the United States by Iraq.

- (4) The Security Council did not vote to approve the use of force against Iraq as evidenced by:

- (A) A United Nation Press release which states that the United States had failed to convince the Security Council to approve the use of military force against Iraq. [UN]

- (5) President Bush directed the United States military to invade Iraq on March 19th, 2003 in violation of the U.N. Charter and, therefore, in violation of United States Law as evidenced by the following:

- (A) A letter from President Bush to Congress dated March 21st, 2003 stating `I directed U.S. Armed Forces, operating with other coalition forces, to commence combat operations on March 19, 2003, against Iraq.' [WH]

- (B) On September 16, 2004, Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the United Nations, speaking on the invasion, said, `I have indicated it was not in conformity with the U.N. charter. From our point of view, from the charter point of view, it was illegal.' [BBC]

- (C) The consequence of the instant and direction of President George W. Bush, in ordering an attack upon Iraq, a sovereign nation is in direct violation of United States Code, title 18, part 1, chapter 118, section 2441, governing the offense of war crimes.

- (6) In the course of invading and occupying Iraq, the President, as Commander in Chief, has taken responsibility for the targeting of civilians, journalists, hospitals, and ambulances, use of antipersonnel weapons including cluster bombs in densely settled urban areas, the use of white phosphorous as a weapon, depleted uranium weapons, and the use of a new version of napalm found in Mark 77 firebombs. Under the direction of President George Bush, the United States has engaged in collective punishment of Iraqi civilian populations, including but not limited to

blocking roads, cutting electricity and water, destroying fuel stations, planting bombs in farm fields, demolishing houses, and plowing over orchards.

- (A) Under the principle of 'command responsibility', i.e., that a de jure command can be civilian as well as military, and can apply to the policy command of heads of state, said command brings President George Bush within the reach of international criminal law under the Additional Protocol I of June 8, 1977, to the Geneva Conventions of August 12, 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, article 86(2). The United States is a state signatory to Additional Protocol I, on December 12, 1977.

- (B) Furthermore, article 85(3) of said Protocol I defines as a grave breach making a civilian population or individual civilians the object of attacks. This offense, together with the principle of command responsibility, places President George Bush's conduct under the reach of the same law and principles described as the basis for war crimes prosecution at Nuremberg, under article 6 of the Charter of the Nuremberg Tribunals: including crimes against peace, violations of the laws and customs of war and crimes against humanity, similarly codified in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, articles 5 through 8.

- (C) The Lancet Report has established massive civilian casualties in Iraq as a result of the United States invasion and occupation of that country.

- (D) International laws governing wars of aggression are completely prohibited under the legal principle of jus cogens, whether or not a nation has signed or ratified a particular international agreement.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article IX**

### **Failing To Provide Troops with Body Armor and Vehicle Armor**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, has been responsible for the deaths of members of the U.S. military and serious injury and trauma to other soldiers, by failing to provide available body armor and vehicle armor.

- While engaging in an invasion and occupation of choice, not fought in self-defense, and not launched in accordance with any timetable other than the President's choosing, President Bush sent U.S. troops into danger without providing them with armor. This shortcoming has been known for years, during which time, the President has chosen to allow soldiers and marines to continue to face unnecessary risk to life and limb rather than providing them with armor.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article X**

### **Falsifying Accounts of U.S. Troop Deaths and Injuries for Political Purposes**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, promoted false propaganda stories about members of the United States military, including individuals both dead and injured.

- The White House and the Department of Defense (DOD) in 2004 promoted a false account of the death of Specialist Pat Tillman, reporting that he had died in a hostile exchange, delaying release of the information that he had died from friendly fire, shot in the forehead three times in a manner that led investigating doctors to believe he had been shot at close range.

- A 2005 report by Brig. Gen. Gary M. Jones reported that in the days immediately following Specialist Tillman's death, U.S. Army investigators were aware that Specialist Tillman was killed by friendly fire, shot three times to the head, and that senior Army commanders, including Gen. John Abizaid, knew of this fact within days of the shooting but nevertheless approved the awarding of the Silver Star, Purple Heart, and a posthumous promotion.

- On April 24, 2007, Spc. Bryan O'Neal, the last soldier to see Specialist Pat Tillman alive, testified before the House Oversight and Government Reform Committee that he was warned by superiors not to divulge information that a fellow soldier killed Specialist Tillman, especially to the Tillman family. The White House refused to provide requested documents to the committee, citing 'executive branch confidentiality interests.'

- The White House and DOD in 2003 promoted a false account of the injury of Jessica Dawn Lynch, reporting that she had been captured in a hostile exchange and had been dramatically rescued. On April 2, 2003, the DOD released a video of the rescue and claimed that Lynch had stab and bullet wounds, and that she had been slapped about on her hospital bed and interrogated. Iraqi doctors and nurses later interviewed, including Dr. Harith Al-Houssona, a doctor in the Nasirya hospital, described Lynch's injuries as 'a broken arm, a broken thigh, and a dislocated ankle.' According to Al-Houssona, there was no sign of gunshot or stab wounds, and Lynch's injuries were consistent with those that would be suffered in a car accident. Al-Houssona's claims were later confirmed in a U.S. Army report leaked on July 10, 2003.

- Lynch denied that she fought or was wounded fighting, telling Diane Sawyer that the Pentagon 'used me to symbolize all this stuff. It's wrong. I don't know why they filmed [my rescue] or why they say these things. . . . I did not shoot, not a round, nothing. I went down praying to my knees. And that's the last I remember.' She reported excellent treatment in Iraq, and that one person in the hospital even sang to her to help her feel at home.

- On April 24, 2007, Lynch testified before the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform:

- '[Right after my capture], tales of great heroism were being told. My parent's home in Wirt County was under siege of the media all repeating the story of the little girl Rambo from the hills who went down fighting. It was not true. . . . I am still confused as to why they chose to lie.'

- The White House had heavily promoted the false story of Lynch's rescue, including in a

speech by President Bush on April 28, 2003. After the fiction was exposed, the President awarded Lynch the Bronze Star.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XI**

### **Establishment of Permanent U.S. Military Bases in Iraq**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has violated an act of Congress that he himself signed into law by using public funds to construct permanent U.S. military bases in Iraq.

- On January 28, 2008, President George W. Bush signed into law the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2008 (H.R. 4986). Noting that the Act 'authorizes funding for the defense of the United States and its interests abroad, for military construction, and for national security-related energy programs', the president added the following 'signing statement':

- 'Provisions of the Act, including sections 841, 846, 1079, and 1222, purport to impose requirements that could inhibit the President's ability to carry out his constitutional obligations to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, to protect national security, to supervise the executive branch, and to execute his authority as Commander in Chief. The executive branch shall construe such provisions in a manner consistent with the constitutional authority of the President.'

- Section 1222 clearly prohibits the expenditure of money for the purpose of establishing permanent U.S. military bases in Iraq. The construction of over \$1 billion in U.S. military bases in Iraq, including runways for aircraft, continues despite congressional intent, as the Administration intends to force upon the Iraqi Government such terms which will assure the bases remain in Iraq.

- Iraqi officials have informed Members of Congress in May 2008 of the strong opposition within the Iraqi parliament and throughout Iraq to the agreement that the administration is trying to negotiate with Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. The agreement seeks to assure a long-term U.S. presence in Iraq of which military bases are the most obvious, sufficient and necessary construct, thus clearly defying Congressional intent as to the matter and meaning of 'permanency'.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XII**

### **Initiating a War Against Iraq for Control of That Nation's Natural Resources**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, invaded and occupied a foreign nation for the purpose, among other purposes, of seizing control of that nation's oil.

- The White House and its representatives in Iraq have, since the occupation of Baghdad began, attempted to gain control of Iraqi oil. This effort has included pressuring the new Iraqi Government to pass a hydrocarbon law. Within weeks of the fall of Saddam Hussein in 2003, the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAid) awarded a \$240 million contract to Bearing Point, a private U.S. company. A Bearing Point employee, based in the U.S. embassy in Baghdad, was hired to advise the Iraqi Ministry of Oil on drawing up the new hydrocarbon law. The draft law places executives of foreign oil companies on a council with the task of approving their own contracts with Iraq; it denies the Iraqi National Oil Company exclusive rights for the exploration, development, production, transportation, and marketing of Iraqi oil, and allows foreign companies to control Iraqi oil fields containing 80 percent of Iraqi oil for up to 35 years through contracts that can remain secret for up to 2 months. The draft law itself contains secret appendices.

- President Bush provided unrelated reasons for the invasion of Iraq to the public and Congress, but those reasons have been established to have been categorically fraudulent, as evidenced by the herein mentioned Articles of Impeachment I, II, III, IV, VI, and VII.

- Parallel to the development of plans for war against Iraq, the U.S. State Department's Future of Iraq project, begun as early as April 2002, involved meetings in Washington and London of 17 working groups, each composed of 10 to 20 Iraqi exiles and international experts selected by the State Department. The Oil and Energy working group met four times between December 2002 and April 2003. Ibrahim Bahr al-Uloum, later the Iraqi Oil Minister, was a member of the group, which concluded that Iraq 'should be opened to international oil companies as quickly as possible after the war,' and that, 'the country should establish a conducive business environment to attract investment of oil and gas resources.' The same group recommended production-sharing agreements with foreign oil companies, the same approach found in the draft hydrocarbon law, and control over Iraq's oil resources remains a prime objective of the Bush Administration.

- Prior to his election as Vice President, Dick Cheney, then-CEO of Halliburton, in a speech at the Institute of Petroleum in 1999 demonstrated a keen awareness of the sensitive economic and geopolitical role of Middle East oil resources saying: 'By 2010, we will need on the order of an additional 50 million barrels a day. So where is the oil going to come from? Governments and national oil companies are obviously controlling about 90 percent of the assets. Oil remains fundamentally a government business. While many regions of the world offer great oil opportunities, the Middle East, with two-thirds of the world's oil and lowest cost, is still where the prize ultimately lies. Even though companies are anxious for greater access there, progress continues to be slow.'

- The Vice President led the work of a secret energy task force, as described in article XXXII below, a task force that focused on, among other things, the acquisition of Iraqi oil through developing a controlling private corporate interest in said oil.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

**Article XIII**  
**Creating a Secret Task Force To Develop Energy and Military Policies**  
**With Respect to Iraq and Other Countries**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, created a secret task force to guide our nation's energy policy and military policy, and undermined Congress's ability to legislate by thwarting attempts to investigate the nature of that policy.

- A Government Accountability Office (GAO) Report on the Cheney Energy Task Force, in August 2003, described the creation of this task force as follows:

- `In a January 29, 2001, memorandum, the President established NEPDG [the National Energy Policy Development Group]--comprised of the Vice President, nine cabinet-level officials, and four other senior administration officials--to gather information, deliberate, and make recommendations to the President by the end of fiscal year 2001. The President called on the Vice President to chair the group, direct its work and, as necessary, establish subordinate working groups to assist NEPDG.'

- The four `other senior administration officials' were the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, the Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff for Policy, the Assistant to the President for Economic Policy, and the Deputy Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs.

- The GAO report found that:

- `In developing the National Energy Policy report, the NEPDG Principals, Support Group, and participating agency officials and staff met with, solicited input from, or received information and advice from nonfederal energy stakeholders, principally petroleum, coal, nuclear, natural gas, and electricity industry representatives and lobbyists. The extent to which submissions from any of these stakeholders were solicited, influenced policy deliberations, or were incorporated into the final report cannot be determined based on the limited information made available to GAO. NEPDG met and conducted its work in two distinct phases: the first phase culminated in a March 19, 2001, briefing to the President on challenges relating to energy supply and the resulting economic impact; the second phase ended with the May 16, 2001, presentation of the final report to the President. The Office of the Vice President's (OVP) unwillingness to provide the NEPDG records or other related information precluded GAO from fully achieving its objectives and substantially limited GAO's ability to comprehensively analyze the NEPDG process associated with that process.

- `None of the key federal entities involved in the NEPDG effort provided GAO with a complete accounting of the costs that they incurred during the development of the National Energy Policy report. The two federal entities responsible for funding the NEPDG effort--OVP and the Department of Energy (DOE)--did not provide the comprehensive cost information that GAO requested. OVP provided GAO with 77 pages of information, two-thirds of which contained no cost information while the remaining one-third contained some miscellaneous information of little to no usefulness. OVP stated that it would not provide any additional information. DOE, the Department of the Interior, and the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) provided GAO with estimates of certain costs and salaries associated with the NEPDG effort, but these estimates, all



calculated in different ways, were not comprehensive.'

- In 2003, the Commerce Department disclosed a partial collection of materials from the NEPDG, including documents, maps, and charts, dated March 2001, of Iraq's, Saudi Arabia's and the United Arab Emirates' oil fields, pipelines, refineries, tanker terminals, and development projects.

- On November 16, 2005, the Washington Post reported on a White House document showing that oil company executives had met with the NEPDG, something that some of those same executives had just that week denied in Congressional testimony. The Bush Administration had not corrected the inaccurate testimony.

- On July 18, 2007, the Washington Post reported the full list of names of those who had met with the NEPDG.

- In 1998, Kenneth Derr, then chief executive of Chevron, told a San Francisco audience, 'Iraq possesses huge reserves of oil and gas, reserves I'd love Chevron to have access to.' According to the GAO report, Chevron provided detailed advice to the NEPDG.

- In March, 2001, the NEPDG recommended that the United States Government support initiatives by Middle Eastern countries 'to open up areas of their energy sectors to foreign investment.' Following the invasion of Iraq, the United States has pressured the new Iraqi parliament to pass a hydrocarbon law that would do exactly that. The draft law, if passed, would take the majority of Iraq's oil out of the exclusive hands of the Iraqi Government and open it to international oil companies for a generation or more. The Bush administration hired Bearing Point, a U.S. company, to help write the law in 2004. It was submitted to the Iraqi Council of Representatives in May 2007.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

#### **Article XIV**

#### **Misprision of a Felony, Misuse and Exposure of Classified Information and Obstruction of Justice in the Matter of Valerie Plame Wilson, Clandestine Agent of the Central Intelligence Agency**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President,

- (1) suppressed material information;
- (2) selectively declassified information for the improper purposes of retaliating against a whistleblower and presenting a misleading picture of the alleged threat from Iraq;
- (3) facilitated the exposure of the identity of Valerie Plame Wilson who had theretofore been employed as a covert CIA operative;

- (4) failed to investigate the improper leaks of classified information from within his administration;

- (5) failed to cooperate with an investigation into possible federal violations resulting from this activity; and

- (6) finally, entirely undermined the prosecution by commuting the sentence of Lewis Libby citing false and insubstantial grounds, all in an effort to prevent Congress and the citizens of the United States from discovering the deceitful nature of the President's claimed justifications for the invasion of Iraq.

- In facilitating this exposure of classified information and the subsequent cover-up, in all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article XV**

#### **Providing Immunity From Prosecution for Criminal Contractors in Iraq**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, established policies granting United States Government contractors and their employees in Iraq immunity from Iraqi law, U.S. law, and international law.

- Lewis Paul Bremer III, then-Director of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance for post-war Iraq, on June 27, 2004, issued Coalition Provisional Authority Order Number 17, which granted members of the U.S. military, U.S. mercenaries, and other U.S. contractor employees immunity from Iraqi law.

- The Bush Administration has chosen not to apply the Uniform Code of Military Justice or United States law to mercenaries and other contractors employed by the United States Government in Iraq.

- Operating free of Iraqi or U.S. law, mercenaries have killed many Iraqi civilians in a manner that observers have described as aggression and not as self-defense. Many U.S. contractors have also alleged that they have been the victims of aggression (in several cases of rape) by their fellow contract employees in Iraq. These charges have not been brought to trial, and in several cases the contracting companies and the U.S. State Department have worked together in attempting to cover them up.

- Under the Fourth Geneva Convention, to which the United States is party, and which under article VI of the U.S. Constitution is therefore the supreme law of the United States, it is the responsibility of an occupying force to ensure the protection and human rights of the civilian population. The efforts of President Bush and his subordinates to attempt to establish a lawless zone in Iraq are in violation of the law.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XVI Reckless Misspending and Waste of U.S. Tax Dollars in Connection With Iraq Contractors**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, recklessly wasted public funds on contracts awarded to close associates, including companies guilty of defrauding the government in the past, contracts awarded without competitive bidding, 'cost-plus' contracts designed to encourage cost overruns, and contracts not requiring satisfactory completion of the work. These failures have been the rule, not the exception, in the awarding of contracts for work in the United States and abroad over the past seven years. Repeated exposure of fraud and waste has not been met by the president with correction of systemic problems, but rather with retribution against whistleblowers.

- The House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform reported on Iraq reconstruction contracting:

- 'From the beginning, the Administration adopted a flawed contracting approach in Iraq. Instead of maximizing competition, the Administration opted to award no-bid, cost-plus contracts to politically connected contractors. Halliburton's secret \$7 billion contract to restore Iraq's oil infrastructure is the prime example. Under this no-bid, cost-plus contract, Halliburton was reimbursed for its costs and then received an additional fee, which was a percentage of its costs. This created an incentive for Halliburton to run up its costs in order to increase its potential profit.

- 'Even after the Administration claimed it was awarding Iraq contracts competitively in early 2004, real price competition was missing. Iraq was divided geographically and by economic sector into a handful of fiefdoms. Individual contractors were then awarded monopoly contracts for all of the work within given fiefdoms. Because these monopoly contracts were awarded before specific projects were identified, there was no actual price competition for more than 2,000 projects.

- 'In the absence of price competition, rigorous government oversight becomes essential for accountability. Yet the Administration turned much of the contract oversight work over to private companies with blatant conflicts of interest. Oversight contractors oversaw their business partners and, in some cases, were placed in a position to assist their own construction work under separate monopoly construction contracts. . . .

- 'Under Halliburton's two largest Iraq contracts, Pentagon auditors found \$1 billion in 'questioned' costs and over \$400 million in 'unsupported' costs. Former Halliburton employees testified that the company charged \$45 for cases of soda, billed \$100 to clean 15-pound bags of laundry, and insisted on housing its staff at the five-star Kempinski hotel in Kuwait. Halliburton truck drivers testified that the company 'torched' brand new \$85,000 trucks rather than perform relatively minor repairs and regular maintenance. Halliburton procurement officials described the company's informal motto in Iraq as 'Don't worry about price. It's cost-plus.' A Halliburton manager was indicted for 'major fraud against the United States' for allegedly billing more than \$5.5 billion for work that should have cost only \$685,000 in exchange for a \$1 million kickback

from a Kuwaiti subcontractor. . . .

- `The Air Force found that another U.S. Government contractor, Custer Battles, set up shell subcontractors to inflate prices. Those overcharges were passed along to the U.S. Government under the company's cost-plus contract to provide security for Baghdad International Airport. In one case, the company allegedly took Iraqi-owned forklifts, re-painted them, and leased them to the U.S. Government.

- `Despite the spending of billions of taxpayer dollars, U.S. reconstruction efforts in key sectors of the Iraqi economy are failing. Over two years after the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, oil and electricity production has fallen below pre-war levels. The Administration has failed to even measure how many Iraqis lack access to drinkable water.'

- `Constitution in Crisis', a book by Congressman John Conyers, details the Bush Administration's response when contract abuse is made public:

- `Bunnatine Greenhouse was the chief contracting officer at the Army Corps of Engineers, the agency that has managed much of the reconstruction work in Iraq. In October 2004, Ms. Greenhouse came forward and revealed that top Pentagon officials showed improper favoritism to Halliburton when awarding military contracts to Halliburton subsidiary Kellogg Brown & Root (KBR). Greenhouse stated that when the Pentagon awarded Halliburton a five-year \$7 billion contract, it pressured her to withdraw her objections, actions which she claimed were unprecedented in her experience.

- `On June 27, 2005, Ms. Greenhouse testified before Congress, detailing that the contract award process was compromised by improper influence by political appointees, participation by Halliburton officials in meetings where bidding requirements were discussed, and a lack of competition. She stated that the Halliburton contracts represented `the most blatant and improper contract abuse I have witnessed during the course of my professional career.' Days before the hearing, the acting general counsel of the Army Corps of Engineers paid Ms. Greenhouse a visit and reportedly let it be known that it would not be in her best interest to appear voluntarily.

- `On August 27, 2005, the Army demoted Ms. Greenhouse, removing her from the elite Senior Executive Service and transferring her to a lesser job in the corps' civil works division. As Frank Rich of The New York Times described the situation, `[H]er crime was not obstructing justice but pursuing it by vehemently questioning irregularities in the awarding of some \$7 billion worth of no-bid contracts in Iraq to the Halliburton subsidiary Kellogg Brown Root.' The demotion was in apparent retaliation for her speaking out against the abuses, even though she previously had stellar reviews and over 20 years of experience in military procurement.'

- The House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform reports on domestic contracting:

- `The Administration's domestic contracting record is no better than its record on Iraq. Waste, fraud, and abuse appear to be the rule rather than the exception. . . .

- `A Transportation Security Administration (TSA) cost-plus contract with NCS Pearson, Inc., to hire Federal airport screeners was plagued by poor management and egregious waste. Pentagon auditors challenged \$303 million (over 40 percent) of the \$741 million spent by Pearson under the contract. The auditors detailed numerous concerns with the charges of Pearson and its subcontractors, such as `20-an-hour temporary workers billed to the government at \$48 per hour, subcontractors who signed out \$5,000 in cash at a time with no supporting documents, \$377,273.75 in unsubstantiated long distance phone calls, \$514,201 to rent tents that flooded in a rainstorm, [and] \$4.4 million in `no show' fees for job candidates who did not appear for tests.' A Pearson employee who supervised Pearson's hiring efforts at 43 sites in the U.S. described the

contract as 'a waste of taxpayer's money.' The CEO of one Pearson subcontractor paid herself \$5.4 million for nine months work and provided herself with a \$270,000 pension. . . .

- 'The Administration is spending \$239 million on the Integrated Surveillance and Intelligence System, a no-bid contract to provide thousands of cameras and sensors to monitor activity on the Mexican and Canadian borders. Auditors found that the contractor, International Microwave Corp., billed for work it never did and charged for equipment it never provided, 'creat[ing] a potential for overpayments of almost \$13 million.' Moreover, the border monitoring system reportedly does not work. . . .

- 'After spending more than \$4.5 billion on screening equipment for the Nation's entry points, the Department of Homeland Security is now 'moving to replace or alter much of' it because 'it is ineffective, unreliable or too expensive to operate.' For example, radiation monitors at ports and borders reportedly could not 'differentiate between radiation emitted by a nuclear bomb and naturally occurring radiation from everyday material like cat litter or ceramic tile'. . . .

- 'The TSA awarded Boeing a cost-plus contract to install over 1,000 explosive detection systems for airline passenger luggage. After installation, the machines 'began to register false alarms' and '[s]creeners were forced to open and hand-check bags.' To reduce the number of false alarms, the sensitivity of the machines was lowered, which reduced the effectiveness of the detectors. Despite these serious problems, Boeing received an \$82 million profit that the Inspector General determined to be 'excessive'. . . .

- 'The FBI spent \$170 million on a 'Virtual Case File' system that does not operate as required. After three years of work under a cost-plus contract failed to produce a functional system, the FBI scrapped the program and began work on the new 'Sentinel' Case File System. . . .

- 'The Department of Homeland Security Inspector General found that taxpayer dollars were being lavished on perks for agency officials. One IG report found that TSA spent over \$400,000 on its first leader's executive office suite. Another found that TSA spent \$350,000 on a gold-plated gym. . . .

- 'According to news reports, Pentagon auditors . . . examined a contract between the Transportation Security Administration (TSA) and Unisys, a technology and consulting company, for the upgrade of airport computer networks. Among other irregularities, government auditors found that Unisys may have overbilled for as much as 171,000 hours of labor and overtime by charging for employees at up to twice their actual rate of compensation. While the cost ceiling for the contract was set at \$1 billion, Unisys has reportedly billed the Government \$940 million with more than half of the seven-year contract remaining and more than half of the TSA-monitored airports still lacking upgraded networks.'

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XVII**

### **Illegal Detention: Detaining Indefinitely and Without Charge Persons Both U.S. Citizens and Foreign Captives**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in

violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, violated United States and International Law and the U.S. Constitution by illegally detaining indefinitely and without charge persons both U.S. citizens and foreign captives.

- In a statement on February 7, 2002, President Bush declared that in the U.S. fight against al Qaeda, 'none of the provisions of Geneva apply,' thus rejecting the Geneva Conventions that protect captives in wars and other conflicts. By that time, the administration was already transporting captives from the war in Afghanistan, both alleged al Qaeda members and supporters, and also Afghans accused of being fighters in the army of the Taliban government, to U.S.-run prisons in Afghanistan and to the detention facility at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The round-up and detention without charge of Muslim non-citizens inside the U.S. began almost immediately after the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, with some being held as long as nine months. The U.S., on orders of the president, began capturing and detaining without charge alleged terror suspects in other countries and detaining them abroad and at the U.S. Naval base in Guantanamo.

- Many of these detainees have been subjected to systematic abuse, including beatings, which have been subsequently documented by news reports, photographic evidence, testimony in Congress, lawsuits, and in the case of detainees in the U.S., by an investigation conducted by the Justice Department's Office of the Inspector General.

- In violation of U.S. law and the Geneva Conventions, the Bush Administration instructed the Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Defense to refuse to provide the identities or locations of these detainees, despite requests from Congress and from attorneys for the detainees. The president even declared the right to detain U.S. citizens indefinitely, without charge and without providing them access to counsel or the courts, thus depriving them of their constitutional and basic human rights. Several of those U.S. citizens were held in military brigades in solitary confinement for as long as three years before being either released or transferred to civilian detention.

- Detainees in U.S. custody in Iraq and Guantanamo have, in violation of the Geneva Conventions, been hidden from and denied visits by the International Red Cross organization, while thousands of others in Iraq, Guantanamo, Afghanistan, ships in foreign off-shore sites, and an unknown number of so-called 'black sites' around the world have been denied any opportunity to challenge their detentions. The president, acting on his own claimed authority, has declared the hundreds of detainees at Guantanamo Bay to be 'enemy combatants' not subject to U.S. law and not even subject to military law, but nonetheless potentially liable to the death penalty.

- The detention of individuals without due process violates the 5th Amendment. While the Bush administration has been rebuked in several court cases, most recently that of Ali al-Marri, it continues to attempt to exceed constitutional limits.

- In all of these actions violating U.S. and International law, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

**Article XVIII**  
**Torture: Secretly Authorizing, and Encouraging the Use of Torture**  
**Against Captives in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Other Places, as a Matter of**  
**Official Policy**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, violated United States and International Law and the U.S. Constitution by secretly authorizing and encouraging the use of torture against captives in Afghanistan, Iraq in connection with the so-called 'war' on terror.

- In violation of the Constitution, U.S. law, the Geneva Conventions (to which the U.S. is a signatory), and in violation of basic human rights, torture has been authorized by the President and his administration as official policy. Water-boarding, beatings, faked executions, confinement in extreme cold or extreme heat, prolonged enforcement of painful stress positions, sleep deprivation, sexual humiliation, and the defiling of religious articles have been practiced and exposed as routine at Guantanamo, at Abu Ghraib Prison and other U.S. detention sites in Iraq, and at Bagram Air Base in Afghanistan. The president, besides bearing responsibility for authorizing the use of torture, also as Commander in Chief, bears ultimate responsibility for the failure to halt these practices and to punish those responsible once they were exposed.

- The administration has sought to claim the abuse of captives is not torture, by redefining torture. An August 1, 2002, memorandum from the Administration's Office of Legal Counsel Jay S. Bybee addressed to White House Counsel Alberto R. Gonzales concluded that to constitute torture, any pain inflicted must be akin to that accompanying 'serious physical injury, such as organ failure, impairment of bodily function, or even death.' The memorandum went on to state that even should an act constitute torture under that minimal definition, it might still be permissible if applied to 'interrogations undertaken pursuant to the President's Commander-in-Chief powers.' The memorandum further asserted that 'necessity or self-defense could provide justifications that would eliminate any criminal liability.'

- This effort to redefine torture by calling certain practices simply 'enhanced interrogation techniques' flies in the face of the Third Geneva Convention Relating to the Treatment of Prisoners of War, which states that 'No physical or mental torture, nor any other form of coercion, may be inflicted on prisoners of war to secure from them information of any kind whatever. Prisoners of war who refuse to answer may not be threatened, insulted, or exposed to any unpleasant or disadvantageous treatment of any kind.'

- Torture is further prohibited by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the paramount international human rights statement adopted unanimously by the United Nations General Assembly, including the United States, in 1948. Torture and other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment is also prohibited by international treaties ratified by the United States: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT).

- When the Congress, in the Defense Authorization Act of 2006, overwhelmingly passed a measure banning torture and sent it to the President's desk for signature, the President, who together with his vice president, had fought hard to block passage of the amendment, signed it, but then quietly appended a signing statement in which he pointedly asserted that as Commander in Chief, he was not bound to obey its strictures.

- The administration's encouragement of and failure to prevent torture of American captives in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and in the battle against terrorism, has undermined the rule of law in the U.S. and in the U.S. military, and has seriously damaged both the effort to combat global terrorism, and more broadly, America's image abroad. In his effort to hide torture by U.S.

military forces and the CIA, the president has defied Congress and has lied to the American people, repeatedly claiming that the U.S. 'does not torture'.

- In all of these actions and decisions in violation of U.S. and International law, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article XIX**

#### **Rendition: Kidnapping People and Taking Them Against Their Will to 'Black Sites' Located in Other Nations, Including Nations Known To Practice Torture**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, violated United States and International Law and the U.S. Constitution by kidnapping people and renditioning them to 'black sites' located in other nations, including nations known to practice torture.

- The president has publicly admitted that since the 9/11 attacks in 2001, the U.S. has been kidnapping and transporting against the will of the subject (renditioning) in its so-called 'war' on terror--even people captured by U.S. personnel in friendly nations like Sweden, Germany, Macedonia and Italy--and ferrying them to places like Bagram Airbase in Afghanistan, and to prisons operated in Eastern European countries, African countries and Middle Eastern countries where security forces are known to practice torture.

- These people are captured and held indefinitely, without any charges being filed, and are held without being identified to the Red Cross, or to their families. Many are clearly innocent, and several cases, including one in Canada and one in Germany, have demonstrably been shown subsequently to have been in error, because of a similarity of names or because of misinformation provided to U.S. authorities.

- Such a policy is in clear violation of U.S. and International Law, and has placed the United States in the position of a pariah state. The CIA has no law enforcement authority, and cannot legally arrest or detain anyone. The program of 'extraordinary rendition' authorized by the president is the substantial equivalent of the policies of 'disappearing' people, practices widely practiced and universally condemned in the military dictatorships of Latin America during the late 20th Century.

- The administration has claimed that prior administrations have practiced extraordinary rendition, but, while this is technically true, earlier renditions were used only to capture people with outstanding arrest warrants or convictions who were outside in order to deliver them to stand trial or serve their sentences in the U.S. The president has refused to divulge how many people have been subject to extraordinary rendition since September, 2001. It is possible that some have died in captivity. As one U.S. official has stated off the record, regarding the program, some of those who were renditioned were later delivered to Guantanamo, while others were sent there directly. An example of this is the case of six Algerian Bosnians who, immediately after being cleared by the Supreme Court of Bosnia Herzegovina in January 2002 of allegedly plotting to attack the U.S. and U.K. embassies, were captured, bound and gagged by U.S. special forces and renditioned to Guantanamo.



- In perhaps the most egregious proven case of rendition, Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen born in Syria, was picked up in September 2002 while transiting through New York's JFK airport on his way home to Canada. Immigration and FBI officials detained and interrogated him for nearly two weeks, illegally denying him his rights to access counsel, the Canadian consulate, and the courts. Executive branch officials asked him if he would volunteer to go to Syria, where he hadn't been in 15 years, and Maher refused.

- Maher was put on a private jet plane operated by the CIA and sent to Jordan, where he was beaten for 8 hours, and then delivered to Syria, where he was beaten and interrogated for 18 hours a day for a couple of weeks. He was whipped on his back and hands with a 2 inch thick electric cable and asked questions similar to those he had been asked in the United States. For over ten months Maher was held in an underground grave-like cell--3 .0A 6 0A 7 feet--which was damp and cold, and in which the only light came in through a hole in the ceiling. After a year of this, Maher was released without any charges. He is now back home in Canada with his family. Upon his release, the Syrian Government announced he had no links to al Qaeda, and the Canadian Government has also said they've found no links to al Qaeda. The Canadian Government launched a Commission of Inquiry into the Actions of Canadian Officials in Relation to Maher Arar, to investigate the role of Canadian officials, but the Bush Administration has refused to cooperate with the Inquiry.

- Hundreds of flights of CIA-chartered planes have been documented as having passed through European countries on extraordinary rendition missions like that involving Maher Arar, but the administration refuses to state how many people have been subjects of this illegal program.

- The same U.S. laws prohibiting aiding and abetting torture also prohibit sending someone to a country where there is a substantial likelihood they may be tortured. Article 3 of CAT prohibits forced return where there is a 'substantial likelihood' that an individual 'may be in danger of' torture, and has been implemented by Federal statute. Article 7 of the ICCPR prohibits return to country of origin where individuals may be 'at risk' of either torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

- Under international Human Rights law, transferring a POW to any nation where he or she is likely to be tortured or inhumanely treated violates article 12 of the Third Geneva Convention, and transferring any civilian who is a protected person under the Fourth Geneva Convention is a grave breach and a criminal act.

- In situations of armed conflict, both international human rights law and humanitarian law apply. A person captured in the zone of military hostilities 'must have some status under international law; he is either a prisoner of war and, as such, covered by the Third Convention, [or] a civilian covered by the Fourth Convention. . . . There is no intermediate status; nobody in enemy hands can be outside the law.' Although the state is obligated to repatriate prisoners of war as soon as hostilities cease, the ICRC's commentary on the 1949 Conventions states that prisoners should not be repatriated where there are serious reasons for fearing that repatriating the individual would be contrary to general principles of established international law for the protection of human beings. Thus, all of the Guantanamo detainees as well as renditioned captives are protected by international human rights protections and humanitarian law.

- By his actions as outlined above, the President has abused his power, broken the law, deceived the American people, and placed American military personnel, and indeed all Americans--especially those who may travel or live abroad--at risk of similar treatment. Furthermore, in the eyes of the rest of the world, the President has made the U.S., once a model of respect for human rights and respect for the rule of law, into a state where international law is

neither respected nor upheld.

- In all of these actions and decisions in violation of United States and International law, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XX Imprisoning Children**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, authorized or permitted the arrest and detention of at least 2,500 children under the age of 18 as 'enemy combatants' in Iraq, Afghanistan, and at Guantanamo Bay Naval Station in violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention relating to the treatment of 'protected persons' and the Optional Protocol to the Geneva Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict, signed by the U.S. in 2002. To wit:

- In May 2008, the U.S. Government reported to the United Nations that it has been holding upwards of 2,500 children under the age of 18 as 'enemy combatants' at detention centers in Iraq, Afghanistan and at Guantanamo Bay (where there was a special center, Camp Iguana, established just for holding children). The length of these detentions has frequently exceeded a year, and in some cases has stretched to five years. Some of these detainees have reached adulthood in detention and are now not being reported as child detainees because they are no longer children.

- In addition to detaining children as 'enemy combatants', it has been widely reported in media reports that the U.S. military in Iraq has, based upon Pentagon rules of engagement, been treating boys as young as 14 years of age as 'potential combatants', subject to arrest and even to being killed. In Fallujah, in the days ahead of the November 2004 all-out assault, Marines ringing the city were reported to be turning back into the city men and boys 'of combat age' who were trying to flee the impending scene of battle--an act which in itself is a violation of the Geneva Conventions, which require combatants to permit anyone, combatants as well as civilians, to surrender, and to leave the scene of battle.

- Under the Fourth Geneva Convention, to which the United States has been a signatory since 1949, children under the age of 15 captured in conflicts, even if they have been fighting, are to be considered victims, not prisoners. In 2002, the United States signed the Optional Protocol to the Geneva Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of children in Armed Conflict, which raised this age for this category of 'protected person' to under 18.

- The continued detention of such children, some as young as 10, by the U.S. military is a violation of both convention and protocol, and as such constitutes a war crime for which the President, as Commander in Chief, bears full responsibility.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XXI**

### **Misleading Congress and the American People About Threats From Iran, and Supporting Terrorist Organizations Within Iran, With the Goal of Overthrowing the Iranian Government**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates misled the Congress and the citizens of the United States about a threat of nuclear attack from the nation of Iran.

- The National Intelligence Estimate released to Congress and the public on December 4, 2007, which confirmed that the government of the nation of Iran had ceased any efforts to develop nuclear weapons, was completed in 2006. Yet, the president and his aides continued to suggest during 2007 that such a nuclear threat was developing and might already exist. National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley stated at the time the National Intelligence Estimate regarding Iran was released that the president had been briefed on its findings 'in the last few months'. Hadley's statement establishes a timeline that shows the president knowingly sought to deceive Congress and the American people about a nuclear threat that did not exist.

- Hadley has stated that the president 'was basically told: stand down' and, yet, the president and his aides continued to make false claims about the prospect that Iran was trying to 'build a nuclear weapon' that could lead to 'World War III'.

- This evidence establishes that the president actively engaged in and had full knowledge of a campaign by his administration to make a false 'case' for an attack on Iran, thus warping the national security debate at a critical juncture and creating the prospect of an illegal and unnecessary attack on a sovereign nation.

- Even after the National Intelligence Estimate was released to Congress and the American people, the president stated that he did not believe anything had changed and suggested that he and members of his administration would continue to argue that Iran should be seen as posing a threat to the United States. He did this despite the fact that United States intelligence agencies had clearly and officially stated that this was not the case.

- Evidence suggests that the Bush Administration's attempts to portray Iran as a threat are part of a broader U.S. policy toward Iran. On September 30, 2001, then-Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld established an official military objective of overturning the regime in Iran, as well as those in Iraq, Syria, and four other countries in the Middle East, according to a document quoted in then-Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Douglas Feith's book, 'War and Decision'.

- General Wesley Clark, reports in his book 'Winning Modern Wars' being told by a friend in the Pentagon in November 2001 that the list of governments that Rumsfeld and Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz planned to overthrow included Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya, Sudan, and Somalia. Clark writes that the list also included Lebanon.

- Journalist Gareth Porter reported in May 2008 asking Feith at a public event which of the six regimes on the Clark list were included in the Rumsfeld paper, to which Feith replied 'All of them'.

- Rumsfeld's aides also drafted a second version of the paper, as instructions to all military commanders in the development of 'campaign plans against terrorism'. The paper called for military commanders to assist other government agencies 'as directed' to 'encourage populations

dominated by terrorist organizations or their supporters to overthrow that domination'.

- In January 2005, Seymour Hersh reported in the New Yorker Magazine that the Bush Administration had been conducting secret reconnaissance missions inside Iran at least since the summer of 2004.

- In June 2005 former United Nations weapons inspector Scott Ritter reported that United States security forces had been sending members of the Mujahedeen-e Khalq (MEK) into Iranian territory. The MEK has been designated a terrorist organization by the United States, the European Union, Canada, Iraq, and Iran. Ritter reported that the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had used the MEK to carry out remote bombings in Iran.

- In April 2006, Hersh reported in the New Yorker Magazine that U.S. combat troops had entered and were operating in Iran, where they were working with minority groups including the Azeris, Baluchis, and Kurds.

- Also in April 2006, Larisa Alexandrovna reported on Raw Story that the U.S. Department of Defense (DOD) was working with and training the MEK, or former members of the MEK, sending them to commit acts of violence in southern Iran in areas where recent attacks had left many dead. Raw Story reported that the Pentagon had adopted the policy of supporting MEK shortly after the 2003 invasion of Iraq, and in response to the influence of Vice President Richard B. Cheney's office. Raw Story subsequently reported that no Presidential finding, and no Congressional oversight, existed on MEK operations.

- In March 2007, Hersh reported in the New Yorker Magazine that the Bush administration was attempting to stem the growth of Shiite influence in the Middle East (specifically the Iranian Government and Hezbollah in Lebanon) by funding violent Sunni organizations, without any Congressional authorization or oversight. Hersh said funds had been given to 'three Sunni jihadist groups . . . connected to al Qaeda' that 'want to take on Hezbollah'.

- In April 2008, the Los Angeles Times reported that conflicts with insurgent groups along Iran's borders were understood by the Iranian Government as a proxy war with the United States and were leading Iran to support its allies against the United States occupation force in Iraq. Among the groups the U.S. DOD is supporting, according to this report, is the Party for Free Life in Kurdistan, known by its Kurdish acronym, PEJAK. The United States has provided 'foodstuffs, economic assistance, medical supplies, and Russian military equipment, some of it funneled through nonprofit groups'.

- In May 2008, Andrew Cockburn reported on Counter Punch that President Bush, six weeks earlier had signed a secret finding authorizing a covert offensive against the Iranian regime. President Bush's secret directive covers actions across an area stretching from Lebanon to Afghanistan, and purports to sanction actions up to and including the funding of organizations like the MEK and the assassination of public officials.

- All of these actions by the President and his agents and subordinates exhibit a disregard for the truth and a recklessness with regard to national security, nuclear proliferation and the global role of the United States military that is not merely unacceptable but dangerous in a commander in chief.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## Article XXII Creating Secret Laws

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, established a body of secret laws through the issuance of legal opinions by the Department of Justice's Office of Legal Counsel (OLC).

- The OLC's March 14, 2003, interrogation memorandum ('Yoo Memorandum') was declassified years after it served as law for the executive branch. On April 29, 2008, House Judiciary Committee Chairman John Conyers and Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Chairman Jerrold Nadler wrote in a letter to Attorney General Michael Mukasey:

- 'It appears to us that there was never any legitimate basis for the purely legal analysis contained in this document to be classified in the first place. The Yoo Memorandum does not describe sources and methods of intelligence gathering, or any specific facts regarding any interrogation activities. Instead, it consists almost entirely of the Department's legal views, which are not properly kept secret from Congress and the American people. J. William Leonard, the Director of the National Archive's Office of Information Security Oversight Office, and a top expert in this field concurs, commenting that '[t]he document in question is purely a legal analysis' that contains 'nothing which would justify classification'. In addition, the Yoo Memorandum suggests an extraordinary breadth and aggressiveness of OLC's secret legal opinion-making. Much attention has rightly been given to the statement in footnote 10 in the March 14, 2003, memorandum that, in an October 23, 2001, opinion, OLC concluded 'that the Fourth Amendment had no application to domestic military operations'. As you know, we have requested a copy of that memorandum on no less than four prior occasions and we continue to demand access to this important document.

- 'In addition to this opinion, however, the Yoo Memorandum references at least 10 other OLC opinions on weighty matters of great interest to the American people that also do not appear to have been released. These appear to cover matters such as the power of Congress to regulate the conduct of military commissions, legal constraints on the 'military detention of United States citizens', legal rules applicable to the boarding and searching foreign ships, the President's authority to render U.S. detainees to the custody of foreign governments, and the President's authority to breach or suspend U.S. treaty obligations. Furthermore, it has been more than five years since the Yoo Memorandum was authored, raising the question how many other such memoranda and letters have been secretly authored and utilized by the Administration.

- 'Indeed, a recent court filing by the Department in FOIA litigation involving the Central Intelligence Agency identifies 8 additional secret OLC opinions, dating from August 6, 2004, to February 18, 2007. Given that these reflect only OLC memoranda identified in the files of the CIA, and based on the sampling procedures under which that listing was generated, it appears that these represent only a small portion of the secret OLC memoranda generated during this time, with the true number almost certainly much higher.'

- Senator Russ Feingold, in a statement during an April 30, 2008, Senate hearing stated:

- 'It is a basic tenet of democracy that the people have a right to know the law. In keeping with this principle, the laws passed by Congress and the case law of our courts have historically been matters of public record. And when it became apparent in the middle of the 20th century that

federal agencies were increasingly creating a body of non-public administrative law, Congress passed several statutes requiring this law to be made public, for the express purpose of preventing a regime of 'secret law'. That purpose today is being thwarted. Congressional enactments and agency regulations are for the most part still public. But the law that applies in this country is determined not only by statutes and regulations, but also by the controlling interpretations of courts and, in some cases, the executive branch. More and more, this body of executive and judicial law is being kept secret from the public, and too often from Congress as well. . . .

- 'A legal interpretation by the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel . . . binds the entire executive branch, just like a regulation or the ruling of a court. In the words of former OLC head Jack Goldsmith, 'These executive branch precedents are 'law' for the executive branch'. The Yoo memorandum was, for a nine-month period in 2003 until it was withdrawn by Mr. Goldsmith, the law that this Administration followed when it came to matters of torture. And of course, that law was essentially a declaration that few if any laws applied. . . .

- 'Another body of secret law is the controlling interpretations of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act that are issued by the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court. FISA, of course, is the law that governs the Government's ability in intelligence investigations to conduct wiretaps and search the homes of people in the United States. Under that statute, the FISA Court is directed to evaluate wiretap and search warrant applications and decide whether the standard for issuing a warrant has been met--a largely factual evaluation that is properly done behind closed doors. But with the evolution of technology and with this Administration's efforts to get the Court's blessing for its illegal wiretapping activities, we now know that the Court's role is broader, and that it is very much engaged in substantive interpretations of the governing statute. These interpretations are as much a part of this country's surveillance law as the statute itself. Without access to them, it is impossible for Congress or the public to have an informed debate on matters that deeply affect the privacy and civil liberties of all Americans . . .

- 'The Administration's shroud of secrecy extends to agency rules and executive pronouncements, such as Executive Orders, that carry the force of law. Through the diligent efforts of my colleague Senator Whitehouse, we have learned that OLC has taken the position that a President can 'waive' or 'modify' a published Executive Order without any notice to the public or Congress--simply by not following it.'

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article XXIII**

#### **Violation of the Posse Comitatus Act**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that

the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, repeatedly and illegally established programs to appropriate the power of the military for use in law enforcement. Specifically, he has contravened U.S.C. title 18, section 1385, originally enacted in 1878, subsequently amended as 'Use of Army and Air Force as Posse Comitatus' and commonly known as the Posse Comitatus Act.

- The Act states:

- 'Whoever, except in cases and under circumstances expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or the Air Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined under this title or imprisoned not more than two years, or both.'

- The Posse Comitatus Act is designed to prevent the military from becoming a national police force.

- The Declaration of Independence states as a specific grievance against the British that the King had 'kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the consent of our legislatures,' had 'affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the civil power,' and had 'quarter[ed] large bodies of armed troops among us . . . protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States'.

- Despite the Posse Comitatus Act's intent, and in contravention of the law, President Bush--

- (1) has used military forces for law enforcement purposes on U.S. border patrol;

- (2) has established a program to use military personnel for surveillance and information on criminal activities;

- (3) is using military espionage equipment to collect intelligence information for law enforcement use on civilians within the United States; and

- (4) employs active duty military personnel in surveillance agencies, including the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

- In June 2006, President Bush ordered National Guard troops deployed to the border shared by Mexico with Arizona, Texas, and California. This deployment, which by 2007 reached a maximum of 6,000 troops, had orders to 'conduct surveillance and operate detection equipment, work with border entry identification teams, analyze information, assist with communications and give administrative support to the Border Patrol' and concerned ' . . . providing intelligence . . . inspecting cargo, and conducting surveillance'.

- The Air Force's 'Eagle Eyes' program encourages Air Force military staff to gather evidence on American citizens. Eagle Eyes instructs Air Force personnel to engage in surveillance and then advises them to 'alert local authorities', asking military staff to surveil and gather evidence on public citizens. This contravenes DoD Directive 5525.5 'SUBJECT: DoD Cooperation with Civilian Law Enforcement' which limits such activities.

- President Bush has implemented a program to use imagery from military satellites for domestic law enforcement through the National Applications Office.

- President Bush has assigned numerous active duty military personnel to civilian institutions such as the CIA and the Department of Homeland Security, both of which have responsibilities for law enforcement and intelligence.

- In addition, on May 9, 2007, President Bush released 'National Security Presidential Directive/NSPD 51', which effectively gives the president unchecked power to control the entire government and to define that government in time of an emergency, as well as the power to determine whether there is an emergency. The document also contains 'classified Continuity Annexes'. In July 2007, and again in August 2007, Rep. Peter DeFazio, a senior member of the House Homeland Security Committee, sought access to the classified annexes. DeFazio and other leaders of the Homeland Security Committee, including Chairman Bennie Thompson, have been denied a review of the Continuity of Government classified annexes.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

#### **Article XXIV**

#### **Spying on American Citizens, Without a Court-Ordered Warrant, in Violation of the Law and the Fourth Amendment**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, knowingly violated the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution and the Foreign Intelligence Service Act of 1978 (FISA) by authorizing warrantless electronic surveillance of American citizens to wit:

- (1) The President was aware of the FISA Law requiring a court order for any wiretap as evidenced by the following:

- (A) 'Now, by the way, any time you hear the United States Government talking about wiretap, it requires--a wiretap requires a court order. Nothing has changed, by the way. When we're talking about chasing down terrorists, we're talking about getting a court order before we do.' White House Press conference on April 20, 2004. [White House Transcript]

- (B) 'Law enforcement officers need a Federal judge's permission to wiretap a foreign terrorist's phone, or to track his calls, or to search his property. Officers must meet strict standards to use any of the tools we're talking about.' President Bush's speech in Baltimore, Maryland, on July 20th, 2005. [White House Transcript]

- (2) The President repeatedly ordered the NSA to place wiretaps on American citizens without requesting a warrant from FISA as evidenced by the following:

- (A) 'Months after the Sept. 11 attacks, President Bush secretly authorized the National Security Agency to eavesdrop on Americans and others inside the United States to search for evidence of terrorist activity without the court-approved warrants ordinarily required for domestic spying, according to government officials.' New York Times article by James Risen and Eric Lichtblau on December 12, 2005. [NYTimes]

- (B) The President admits to authorizing the program by stating 'I have reauthorized this program more than 30 times since the September the 11th attacks, and I intend to do so for as long as our nation faces a continuing threat from al Qaeda and related groups. The NSA's activities



under this authorization are thoroughly reviewed by the Justice Department and NSA's top legal officials, including NSA's general counsel and inspector general. Leaders in Congress have been briefed more than a dozen times on this authorization and the activities conducted under it.' Radio Address from the White House on December 17, 2005. [White House Transcript]

- (C) In a December 19th, 2005 press conference the President publicly admitted to using a combination of surveillance techniques including some with permission from the FISA courts and some without permission from FISA.

- Reporter: It was, why did you skip the basic safeguards of asking courts for permission for the intercepts?

- THE PRESIDENT: . . . We use FISA still--you're referring to the FISA court in your question--of course, we use FISAs. But FISA is for long-term monitoring. What is needed in order to protect the American people is the ability to move quickly to detect. Now, having suggested this idea, I then, obviously, went to the question, is it legal to do so? I am--I swore to uphold the laws. Do I have the legal authority to do this? And the answer is, absolutely. As I mentioned in my remarks, the legal authority is derived from the Constitution, as well as the authorization of force by the United States Congress. [White House Transcript]

- (D) Mike McConnell, the Director of National Intelligence, in a letter to Senator Arlen Specter, acknowledged that Bush's Executive Order in 2001 authorized a series of secret surveillance activities and included undisclosed activities beyond the warrantless surveillance of e-mails and phone calls that Bush confirmed in December 2005. 'NSA Spying Part of Broader Effort' by Dan Eggen, Washington Post, 8/1/07.

- (3) The President ordered the surveillance to be conducted in a way that would spy upon private communications between American citizens located within the United States borders as evidenced by the following:

- (A) Mark Klein, a retired AT&T communications technician, submitted an affidavit in support of the Electronic Frontier Foundation's EFF's lawsuit against AT&T. He testified that in 2003 he connected a 'splitter' that sent a copy of Internet traffic and phone calls to a secure room that was operated by the NSA in the San Francisco office of AT&T. He heard from a co-worker that similar rooms were being constructed in other cities, including Seattle, San Jose, Los Angeles, and San Diego. From 'Whistle-Blower Outs NSA Spy Room', Wired News, 4/7/06. [Wired] [EFF Case]

- (4) The President asserted an inherent authority to conduct electronic surveillance based on the Constitution and the 'Authorization to use Military Force in Iraq' (AUMF) that was not legally valid as evidenced by the following:

- (A) In a December 19th, 2005 Press Briefing General Alberto Gonzales admitted that the surveillance authorized by the President was not only done without FISA warrants, but that the nature of the surveillance was so far removed from what FISA can approve that FISA could not even be amended to allow it. Gonzales stated 'We have had discussions with Congress in the past--certain members of Congress--as to whether or not FISA could be amended to allow us to adequately deal with this kind of threat, and we were advised that that would be difficult, if not impossible.'

- (B) The fourth amendment to the United States Constitution states 'The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.'

- (C) 'The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 unambiguously limits warrantless domestic electronic surveillance, even in a congressionally declared war, to the first 15 days of that war; criminalizes any such electronic surveillance not authorized by statute; and expressly establishes FISA and two chapters of the federal criminal code, governing wiretaps for intelligence purposes and for criminal investigation, respectively, as the 'exclusive means by which electronic surveillance . . . and the interception of domestic wire, oral, and electronic communications may be conducted.'. 50 U.S.C. 1811, 1809, 18 U.S.C. 2511(2)(f).' Letter from Harvard Law Professor Lawrence Tribe to John Conyers on 1/6/06.

- (D) In a December 19th, 2005 Press Briefing Attorney General Alberto Gonzales stated 'Our position is, is that the authorization to use force, which was passed by the Congress in the days following September 11th, constitutes that other authorization, that other statute by Congress, to engage in this kind of signals intelligence.'

- (E) The 'Authorization to use Military Force in Iraq' does not give any explicit authorization related to electronic surveillance. [H.J. Res. 114]

- (F) 'From the foregoing analysis, it appears unlikely that a court would hold that Congress has expressly or impliedly authorized the NSA electronic surveillance operations here under discussion, and it would likewise appear that, to the extent that those surveillances fall within the definition of 'electronic surveillance' within the meaning of FISA or any activity regulated under title III, Congress intended to cover the entire field with these statutes.'. From the 'Presidential Authority to Conduct Warrantless Electronic Surveillance to Gather Foreign Intelligence Information' by the Congressional Research Service on January 5, 2006.

- (G) 'The inescapable conclusion is that the AUMF did not implicitly authorize what the FISA expressly prohibited. It follows that the presidential program of surveillance at issue here is a violation of the separation of powers--as grave an abuse of executive authority as I can recall ever having studied.' Letter from Harvard Law Professor Lawrence Tribe to John Conyers on 1/6/06.

- (H) On August 17, 2006, Judge Anna Diggs Taylor of the United States District Court in Detroit, in ACLU v. NSA, ruled that the 'NSA program to wiretap the international communications of some Americans without a court warrant violated the Constitution. . . . Judge Taylor ruled that the program violated both the Fourth Amendment and a 1978 law that requires warrants from a secret court for intelligence wiretaps involving people in the United States. She rejected the administration's repeated assertions that a 2001 Congressional authorization and the president's constitutional authority allowed the program.' From a New York Times article 'Judge Finds Wiretap Actions Violate the Law' 8/18/06 and the Memorandum Opinion.

- (I) In July 2007, the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed the case, ruling the plaintiffs had no standing to sue because, given the secretive nature of the surveillance, they could not state with certainty that they have been wiretapped by the NSA. This ruling did not address the legality of the surveillance so Judge Taylor's decision is the only ruling on that issue. [ACLU Legal Documents]

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## Article XXV

### Directing Telecommunications Companies To Create an Illegal and

## **Unconstitutional Database of the Private Telephone Numbers and Emails of American Citizens**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, violated the Stored Communications Act of 1986 and the Telecommunications Act of 1996 by creating of a very large database containing information related to the private telephone calls and emails of American citizens, to wit:

- The President requested that telecommunication companies release customer phone records to the Government illegally as evidenced by the following:

- 'The Stored Communications Act of 1986 (SCA) prohibits the knowing disclosure of customer telephone records to the government unless pursuant to subpoena, warrant or a National Security Letter (or other Administrative subpoena); with the customers lawful consent; or there is a business necessity; or an emergency involving the danger of death or serious physical injury. None of these exceptions apply to the circumstance described in the USA Today story.' From page 169, 'George W Bush versus the U.S. Constitution.'. Compiled at the direction of Representative John Conyers.

- According to a May 11, 2006, article in USA Today by Lesley Cauley, 'The National Security Agency has been secretly collecting the phone call records of tens of millions of Americans, using data provided by AT&T, Verizon, and BellSouth.' An unidentified source said 'The agency's goal is to 'create a database of every call ever made' within the nation's borders.'

- In early 2001, Qwest CEO Joseph Nacchio rejected a request from the NSA to turn over customers records of phone calls, emails and other Internet activity. Nacchio believed that complying with the request would violate the Telecommunications Act of 1996. From National Journal, November 2, 2007.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article XXVI Announcing the Intent To Violate Laws With Signing Statements, and Violating Those Laws**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has used signing statements to claim the right to violate acts of Congress even as he signs them into law.

- In June 2007, the Government Accountability Office reported that in a sample of Bush signing statements the office had studied, for 30 percent of them the Bush administration had already proceeded to violate the laws the statements claimed the right to violate.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XXVII**

### **Failing To Comply With Congressional Subpoenas and Instructing Former Employees Not To Comply**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, refused to comply with Congressional subpoenas, and instructed former employees not to comply with subpoenas.

- Subpoenas not complied with include:

- A House Judiciary Committee subpoena for Justice Department papers and Emails, issued April 10, 2007;

- A House Oversight and Government Reform Committee subpoena for the testimony of the Secretary of State, issued April 25, 2007;

- A House Judiciary Committee subpoena for the testimony of former White House Counsel Harriet Miers and documents, issued June 13, 2007;

- A Senate Judiciary Committee subpoena for documents and testimony of White House Chief of Staff Joshua Bolten, issued June 13, 2007;

- A Senate Judiciary Committee subpoena for documents and testimony of White House Political Director Sara Taylor, issued June 13, 2007 (Taylor appeared but refused to answer questions);

- A Senate Judiciary Committee subpoena for documents and testimony of White House Deputy Chief of Staff Karl Rove, issued June 26, 2007;

- A Senate Judiciary Committee subpoena for documents and testimony of White House Deputy Political Director J. Scott Jennings, issued June 26, 2007 (Jennings appeared but refused to answer questions);

- A Senate Judiciary Committee subpoena for legal analysis and other documents concerning the NSA warrantless wiretapping program from the White House, Vice President Richard Cheney, The Department of Justice, and the National Security Council. If the documents are not produced, the subpoena requires the testimony of White House chief of staff Josh Bolten, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, Cheney chief of staff David Addington, National Security Council executive director V. Philip Lago, issued June 27, 2007; and

- A House Oversight and Government Reform Committee subpoena for Lt. General Kensinger.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional

government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

**Article XXVIII**  
**Tampering With Free and Fair Elections, Corruption of the**  
**Administration of Justice**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, conspired to undermine and tamper with the conduct of free and fair elections, and to corrupt the administration of justice by United States Attorneys and other employees of the Department of Justice, through abuse of the appointment power.

- Toward this end, the President and Vice President, both personally and through their agents, did:

- Engage in a program of manufacturing false allegations of voting fraud in targeted jurisdictions where the Democratic Party enjoyed an advantage in electoral performance or otherwise was problematic for the President's Republican Party, in order that public confidence in election results favorable to the Democratic Party be undermined;

- Direct United States Attorneys to launch and announce investigations of certain leaders, candidates and elected officials affiliated with the Democratic Party at times calculated to cause the most political damage and confusion, most often in the weeks immediately preceding an election, in order that public confidence in the suitability for office of Democratic Party leaders, candidates and elected officials be undermined;

- Direct United States Attorneys to terminate or scale back existing investigations of certain Republican Party leaders, candidates and elected officials allied with the George W. Bush administration, and to refuse to pursue new or proposed investigations of certain Republican Party leaders, candidates and elected officials allied with the George W. Bush administration, in order that public confidence in the suitability of such Republican Party leaders, candidates and elected officials be bolstered or restored; and

- Threaten to terminate the employment of the following United States Attorneys who refused to comply with such directives and purposes;

- David C. Iglesias as U.S. Attorney for the District of New Mexico;
- Kevin V. Ryan as U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of California;
- John L. McKay as U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Washington;
- Paul K. Charlton as U.S. Attorney for the District of Arizona;
- Carol C. Lam as U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of California;
- Daniel G. Bogden as U.S. Attorney for the District of Nevada;
- Margaret M. Chiara as U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Michigan;

- Todd Graves as U.S. Attorney for the Western District of Missouri;
- Harry E. `Bud' Cummins, III as U.S. Attorney for the Eastern District of Arkansas;
- Thomas M. DiBiagio as U.S. Attorney for the District of Maryland; and
- Kasey Warner as U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of West Virginia.

• Further, George W. Bush has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President conspired to obstruct the lawful Congressional investigation of these dismissals of United States Attorneys and the related scheme to undermine and tamper with the conduct of free and fair elections, and to corrupt the administration of justice.

• Contrary to his oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, George W. Bush has without lawful cause or excuse directed not to appear before the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives certain witnesses summoned by duly authorized subpoenas issued by that Committee on June 13, 2007.

• In refusing to permit the testimony of these witnesses George W. Bush, substituting his judgment as to what testimony was necessary for the inquiry, interposed the powers of the Presidency against the lawful subpoenas of the House of Representatives, thereby assuming to himself functions and judgments necessary to the exercise of the checking and balancing power of oversight vested in the House of Representatives.

• Further, the President has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President directed the United States Attorney for the District of Columbia to decline to prosecute for contempt of Congress the aforementioned witnesses, Joshua B. Bolten and Harriet E. Miers, despite the obligation to do so as established by statute (2 U.S.C. 194) and pursuant to the direction of the United States House of Representatives as embodied in its resolution (H. Res. 982) of February 14, 2008.

• In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XXIX**

### **Conspiracy To Violate the Voting Rights Act of 1965**

• In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution `to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, has willfully corrupted and manipulated the electoral process of the United States for his personal gain and the personal gain of his co-conspirators and allies; has violated the United States Constitution and law by failing to protect the civil rights of African-American voters and others in the 2004 Election, and has impeded the right of the people to vote and have their vote properly and accurately counted, in that--

- (1) on November 5, 2002, and prior thereto, James Tobin, while serving as the regional director of the National Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee and as the New England Chairman of Bush-Cheney '04 Inc., did, at the direction of the White House under the administration of George W. Bush, along with other agents both known and unknown, commit unlawful acts by aiding and abetting a scheme to use computerized hang-up calls to jam phone lines set up by the New Hampshire Democratic Party and the Manchester firefighters' union on Election Day;

- (2) an investigation by the Democratic staff of the House Judiciary Committee into the voting procedures in Ohio during the 2004 election found `widespread instances of intimidation and misinformation in violation of the Voting Rights Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1968, Equal Protection, Due Process and the Ohio right to vote';

- (3) the 14th Amendment Equal Protection Clause guarantees that no minority group will suffer disparate treatment in a Federal, State, or local election in stating that: `No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.'. However, during and at various times of the year 2004, John Kenneth Blackwell, then serving as the Secretary of State for the State of Ohio and also serving simultaneously as Co-Chairman of the Committee to Re-Elect George W. Bush in the State of Ohio, did, at the direction of the White House under the administration of George W. Bush, along with other agents both known and unknown, commit unlawful acts in violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution by failing to protect the voting rights of African-American citizens in Ohio and further, John Kenneth Blackwell did disenfranchise African-American voters under color of law, by--

- (A) willfully denying certain neighborhoods in the cities of Cleveland, Ohio, and Columbus, Ohio, along with other urban areas in the State of Ohio, an adequate number of electronic voting machines and provisional paper ballots, thereby unlawfully impeding duly registered voters from the act of voting and thus violating the civil rights of an unknown number of United States citizens;

- (i) in Franklin County, George W. Bush and his agent, Ohio Secretary of State John Kenneth Blackwell, Co-Chair of the Bush-Cheney Re-election Campaign, failed to protect the rights of African-American voters by not properly investigating the withholding of 125 electronic voting machines assigned to the city of Columbus;

- (ii) forty-two African-American precincts in Columbus were each missing one voting machine that had been present in the 2004 primary; and

- (iii) African-American voters in the city of Columbus were forced to wait three to seven hours to vote in the 2004 presidential election;

- (B) willfully issuing unclear and conflicting rules regarding the methods and manner of becoming a legally registered voter in the State of Ohio, and willfully issuing unclear and unnecessary edicts regarding the weight of paper registration forms legally acceptable to the State of Ohio, thereby creating confusion for both voters and voting officials and thus impeding the right of an unknown number of United States citizens to register and vote;

- (i) Ohio Secretary of State John Kenneth Blackwell directed through Advisory 2004-31 that voter registration forms, which were greatest in urban minority areas, should not be accepted and should be returned unless submitted on 80 bond paper weight. Blackwell's own office was found to

be using 60 bond paper weight;

- (C) willfully permitted and encouraged election officials in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Toledo to conduct a massive partisan purge of registered voter rolls, eventually expunging more than 300,000 voters, many of whom were duly registered voters, and who were thus deprived of their constitutional right to vote;

- (i) between the 2000 and 2004 Ohio presidential elections, 24.93 percent of the voters in the city of Cleveland, a city with a majority of African-American citizens, were purged from the voting rolls;

- (ii) in that same period, the Ohio county of Miami, with census data indicating a 98 percent Caucasian population, refused to purge any voters from its rolls. Miami County 'merged' voters from other surrounding counties into its voting rolls and even allowed voters from other states to vote; and

- (iii) in Toledo, Ohio, an urban city with a high African-American concentration, 28,000 voters were purged from the voting rolls in August of 2004, just prior to the presidential election. This purge was conducted under the control and direction of George W. Bush's agent, Ohio Secretary of State John Kenneth Blackwell outside of the regularly established cycle of purging voters in odd-numbered years;

- (D) willfully allowing Ohio Secretary of State John Kenneth Blackwell, acting under color of law and as an agent of George W. Bush, to issue a directive that no votes would be counted unless cast in the right precinct, reversing Ohio's long-standing practice of counting votes for president if cast in the right county;

- (E) willfully allowing his agent, Ohio Secretary of State John Kenneth Blackwell, the Co-Chair of the Bush-Cheney Re-election Campaign, to do nothing to assure the voting rights of 10,000 people in the city of Cleveland when a computer error by the private vendor Diebold Election Systems, Inc. incorrectly disenfranchised 10,000 voters;

- (F) willfully allowing his agent, Ohio Secretary of State John Kenneth Blackwell, the Co-Chair of the Bush-Cheney Re-election Campaign, to ensure that uncounted and provisional ballots in Ohio's 2004 presidential election would be disproportionately concentrated in urban African-American districts;

- (i) in Ohio's Lucas County, which includes Toledo, 3,122 or 41.13 percent of the provisional ballots went uncounted under the direction of George W. Bush's agent, the Secretary of State of Ohio, John Kenneth Blackwell, Co-Chair of the Committee to Re-Elect Bush/Cheney in Ohio;

- (ii) in Ohio's Cuyahoga County, which includes Cleveland, 8,559 or 32.82 percent of the provisional ballots went uncounted;

- (iii) in Ohio's Hamilton County, which includes Cincinnati, 3,529 or 24.23 percent of the provisional ballots went uncounted; and

- (iv) Statewide, the provisional ballot rejection rate was 9 percent as compared to the greater figures in the urban areas;

- (4) the Department of Justice, charged with enforcing the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the 14th Amendment's Equal Protection Clause, and other voting rights laws in the United States of America, under the direction and Administration of George W. Bush did willfully and purposely obstruct and stonewall legitimate criminal investigations into myriad cases of reported electoral



fraud and suppression in the State of Ohio. Such activities, carried out by the department on behalf of George W. Bush in counties such as Franklin and Knox by persons such as John K. Tanner and others, were meant to confound and whitewash legitimate legal criminal investigations into the suppression of massive numbers of legally registered voters and the removal of their right to cast a ballot fairly and freely in the State of Ohio, which was crucial to the certified electoral victory of George W. Bush in 2004;

- (5) on or about November 1, 2006, members of the United States Department of Justice, under the control and direction of the Administration of George W. Bush, brought indictments for voter registration fraud within days of an election, in order to directly effect the outcome of that election for partisan purposes, and in doing so, thereby violated the Justice Department's own rules against filing election-related indictments close to an election;

- (6) emails have been obtained showing that the Republican National Committee and members of Bush-Cheney '04 Inc., did, at the direction of the White House under the Administration of George W. Bush, engage in voter suppression in five states by a method known as 'vote caging', an illegal voter suppression technique;

- (7) agents of George W. Bush, including Mark F. 'Thor' Hearne, the national general counsel of Bush/Cheney '04, Inc., did, at the behest of George W. Bush, as members of a criminal front group, distribute known false information and propaganda in the hopes of forwarding legislation and other actions that would result in the disenfranchisement of Democratic voters for partisan purposes. The scheme, run under the auspices of an organization known as 'The American Center for Voting Rights' (ACVR), was funded by agents of George W. Bush in violation of laws governing tax exempt 501(c)3 organizations and in violation of federal laws forbidding the distribution of such propaganda by the Federal Government and agents working on its behalf;

- (8) members of the United States Department of Justice, under the control and direction of the Administration of George W. Bush, did, for partisan reasons, illegally and with malice aforethought block career attorneys and other officials in the Department of Justice from filing three lawsuits charging local and county governments with violating the voting rights of African-Americans and other minorities, according to seven former senior United States Justice Department employees;

- (9) members of the United States Department of Justice, under the control and direction of the Administration of George W. Bush, did illegally and with malice aforethought derail at least two investigations into possible voter discrimination, according to a letter sent to the Senate Rules and Administration Committee and written by former employees of the United States Department of Justice, Voting Rights Section; and

- (10) members of the United States Election Assistance Commission (EAC), under the control and direction of the Administration of George W. Bush, have purposefully and willfully misled the public, in violation of several laws, by;

- (A) withholding from the public and then altering a legally mandated report on the true measure and threat of Voter Fraud, as commissioned by the EAC and completed in June 2006, prior to the 2006 mid-term election, but withheld from release prior to that election when its information would have been useful in the administration of elections across the country, because the results of the statutorily required and tax-payer funded report did not conform with the illegal, partisan propaganda efforts and politicized agenda of the Bush Administration;

- (B) withholding from the public a legally mandated report on the disenfranchising effect of Photo Identification laws at the polling place, shown to disproportionately disenfranchise voters not of George W. Bush's political party. The report was commissioned by the EAC and completed in

June 2006, prior to the 2006 mid-term election, but withheld from release prior to that election when its information would have been useful in the administration of elections across the country; and

- (C) withholding from the public a legally mandated report on the effectiveness of Provisional Voting as commissioned by the EAC and completed in June 2006, prior to the 2006 mid-term election, but withheld from release prior to that election when its information would have been useful in the administration of elections across the country, and keeping that report unreleased for more than a year until it was revealed by independent media outlets.

- For directly harming the rights and manner of suffrage, for suffering to make them secret and unknowable, for overseeing and participating in the disenfranchisement of legal voters, for instituting debates and doubts about the true nature of elections, all against the will and consent of local voters affected, and forced through threats of litigation by agents and agencies overseen by George W. Bush, the actions of Mr. Bush to do the opposite of securing and guaranteeing the right of the people to alter or abolish their government via the electoral process, being a violation of an inalienable right, and an immediate threat to Liberty.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article XXX**

#### **Misleading Congress and the American People in an Attempt To Destroy Medicare**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, pursued policies which deliberately drained the fiscal resources of Medicare by forcing it to compete with subsidized private insurance plans which are allowed to arbitrarily select or not select those they will cover; failing to provide reasonable levels of reimbursements to Medicare providers, thereby discouraging providers from participating in the program, and designing a Medicare Part D benefit without cost controls which allowed pharmaceutical companies to gouge the American taxpayers for the price of prescription drugs.

- The President created, manipulated, and disseminated information given to the citizens and Congress of the United States in support of his prescription drug plan for Medicare that enriched drug companies while failing to save beneficiaries sufficient money on their prescription drugs. He misled Congress and the American people into thinking the cost of the benefit was \$400 billion. It was widely understood that if the cost exceeded that amount, the bill would not pass due to concerns about fiscal irresponsibility.

- A Medicare Actuary who possessed information regarding the true cost of the plan, \$539 billion, was instructed by the Medicare Administrator to deny Congressional requests for it. The Actuary was threatened with sanctions if the information was disclosed to Congress, which, unaware of the information, approved the bill. Despite the fact that official cost estimates far exceeded \$400 billion, President Bush offered assurances to Congress that the cost was \$400 billion, when his office had information to the contrary. In the House of Representatives, the bill

passed by a single vote and the Conference Report passed by only 5 votes. The White House knew the actual cost of the drug benefit was high enough to prevent its passage. Yet the White House concealed the truth and impeded an investigation into its culpability.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article XXXI**

#### **Katrina: Failure To Plan for the Predicted Disaster of Hurricane Katrina, Failure To Respond to a Civil Emergency**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, failed to take sufficient action to protect life and property prior to and in the face of Hurricane Katrina in 2005, given decades of foreknowledge of the dangers of storms to New Orleans and specific forewarning in the days prior to the storm. The President failed to prepare for predictable and predicted disasters, failed to respond to an immediate need of which he was informed, and has subsequently failed to rebuild the section of our nation that was destroyed.

- Hurricane Katrina killed at least 1,282 people, with 2 million more displaced. 302,000 housing units were destroyed or damaged by the hurricane, 71 percent of these were low-income units. More than 500 sewage plants were destroyed, more than 170 point-source leakages of gasoline, oil, or natural gas, more than 2,000 gas stations submerged, several chemical plants, 8 oil refineries, and a superfund site was submerged. 8 million gallons of oil were spilled. Toxic materials seeped into floodwaters and spread through much of the city and surrounding areas.

- The predictable increased strength of hurricanes such as Katrina has been identified by scientists for years, and yet the Bush Administration has denied this science and restricted such information from official reports, publications, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Agency's website. Donald Kennedy, editor-in-chief of Science, wrote in 2006 that 'hurricane intensity has increased with oceanic surface temperatures over the past 30 years. The physics of hurricane intensity growth . . . has clarified and explained the thermodynamic basis for these observations. [Kerry] Emanuel has tested this relationship and presented convincing evidence.'

- FEMA's 2001 list of the top three most likely and most devastating disasters were a San Francisco earthquake, a terrorist attack on New York, and a Category 4 hurricane hitting New Orleans, with New Orleans being the number one item on that list. FEMA conducted a five-day hurricane simulation exercise in 2004, 'Hurricane Pam', mimicking a Katrina-like event. This exercise combined the National Weather Service, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the LSU Hurricane Center and other state and federal agencies, resulting in the development of emergency response plans. The exercise demonstrated, among other things, that thousands of mainly indigent New Orleans residents would be unable to evacuate on their own. They would need substantial government assistance. These plans, however, were not implemented in part due to the President's slashing of funds for protection. In the year before Hurricane Katrina hit, the President continued to cut budgets and deny grants to the Gulf Coast. In June of 2004, the Army Corps of Engineers levee budget for New Orleans was cut, and it was cut again in June of 2005, this time by \$71.2 million or a whopping 44 percent of the budget. As a result, ACE was forced to suspend any repair work on the levees. In 2004 FEMA denied a Louisiana disaster mitigation grant request.

- The President was given multiple warnings that Hurricane Katrina had a high likelihood of causing serious damage to New Orleans and the Gulf Coast. At 10 a.m. on Sunday, August 28, 2005, the day before the storm hit, the National Weather Service published an alert titled 'DEVASTATING DAMAGE EXPECTED'. Printed in all capital letters, the alert stated that 'MOST OF THE AREA WILL BE UNINHABITABLE FOR WEEKS . . . PERHAPS LONGER. AT LEAST ONE HALF OF WELL CONSTRUCTED HOMES WILL HAVE ROOF AND WALL FAILURE. . . . POWER OUTAGES WILL LAST FOR WEEKS. . . . WATER SHORTAGES WILL MAKE HUMAN SUFFERING INCREDIBLE BY MODERN STANDARDS.'

- The Homeland Security Department also briefed the President on the scenario, warning of levee breaches and severe flooding. According to the New York Times, 'a Homeland Security Department report submitted to the White House at 1:47 a.m. on August 29, hours before the storm hit, said, 'Any storm rated Category 4 or greater will likely lead to severe flooding and/or levee breaching.' These warnings clearly contradict the statements made by President Bush immediately after the storm that such devastation could not have been predicted. On September 1, 2005, the President said, 'I don't think anyone anticipated the breach of the levees.'

- The President's response to Katrina via FEMA and DHS was criminally delayed, indifferent, and inept. The only FEMA employee posted in New Orleans in the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, Marty Bahamonde, emailed head of FEMA Michael Brown from his Blackberry device on August 31, 2005, regarding the conditions. The email was urgent and detailed and indicated that 'The situation is past critical. . . . Estimates are many will die within hours.'. Brown's reply was emblematic of the administration's entire response to the catastrophe: 'Thanks for the update. Anything specific I need to do or tweak?'. The Secretary of Homeland Security, Michael Chertoff, did not declare an emergency, did not mobilize the Federal resources, and seemed to not even know what was happening on the ground until reporters told him.

- On Friday, August 26, 2005, Governor Kathleen Blanco declared a State of Emergency in Louisiana and Governor Haley Barbour of Mississippi followed suit the next day. Also on that Saturday, Governor Blanco asked the President to declare a Federal State of Emergency, and on August 28, 2005, the Sunday before the storm hit, Mayor Nagin declared a State of Emergency in New Orleans. This shows that the local authorities, responding to federal warnings, knew how bad the destruction was going to be and anticipated being overwhelmed. Failure to act under these circumstances demonstrates gross negligence.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and Commander in Chief, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

## **Article XXXII**

### **Misleading Congress and the American People, Systematically Undermining Efforts To Address Global Climate Change**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, ignored the peril to life and property posed by global climate change, manipulated scientific information and mishandled protective policy, constituting nonfeasance and malfeasance in office, abuse of power, dereliction of duty, and

deception of Congress and the American people.

- President Bush knew the expected effects of climate change and the role of human activities in driving climate change. This knowledge preceded his first Presidential term.

- (1) During his 2000 Presidential campaign, he promised to regulate carbon dioxide emissions.

- (2) In 2001, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, a global body of hundreds of the world's foremost experts on climate change, concluded that 'most of observed warming over last 50 years (is) likely due to increases in greenhouse gas concentrations due to human activities.' The Third Assessment Report projected several effects of climate change such as continued 'widespread retreat' of glaciers, an 'increase threats to human health, particularly in lower income populations, predominantly within tropical/subtropical countries', and 'water shortages'.

- (3) The grave danger to national security posed by global climate change was recognized by the Pentagon's Defense Advanced Planning Research Projects Agency in October of 2003. An agency-commissioned report 'explores how such an abrupt climate change scenario could potentially de-stabilize the geo-political environment, leading to skirmishes, battles, and even war due to resource constraints such as: 1) Food shortages due to decreases in net global agricultural production, 2) Decreased availability and quality of fresh water in key regions due to shifted precipitation patterns, causing more frequent floods and droughts, 3) Disrupted access to energy supplies due to extensive sea ice and storminess.'

- (4) A December 2004 paper in Science reviewed 928 studies published in peer reviewed journals to determine the number providing evidence against the existence of a link between anthropogenic emissions of carbon dioxide and climate change. 'Remarkably, none of the papers disagreed with the consensus position.'

- (5) The November 2007 Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Fourth Assessment Report showed that global anthropogenic emissions of greenhouse gasses have increased 70 percent between 1970 and 2004, and anthropogenic emissions are very likely the cause of global climate change. The report concluded that global climate change could cause the extinction of 20 to 30 percent of species in unique ecosystems such as the polar areas and biodiversity hotspots, increase extreme weather events especially in the developing world, and have adverse effects on food production and fresh water availability.

- The President has done little to address this most serious of problems, thus constituting an abuse of power and criminal neglect. He has also actively endeavored to undermine efforts by the Federal Government, States, and other nations to take action on their own.

- (1) In March 2001, President Bush announced the U.S. would not be pursuing ratification of the Kyoto Protocol, an international effort to reduce greenhouse gasses. The United States is the only industrialized nation that has failed to ratify the accord.

- (2) In March of 2008, Representative Henry Waxman wrote to EPA Administrator Stephen Johnson: 'In August 2003, the Bush Administration denied a petition to regulate CO<sub>2</sub> emissions from motor vehicles by deciding that CO<sub>2</sub> was not a pollutant under the Clean Air Act. In April 2007, the U.S. Supreme Court overruled that determination in Massachusetts v. EPA. The Supreme Court wrote that 'If EPA makes a finding of endangerment, the Clean Air Act requires the agency to regulate emissions of the deleterious pollutant from new motor vehicles.'. The EPA then conducted an extensive investigation involving 60-70 staff who concluded that 'CO<sub>2</sub> emissions endanger both human health and welfare.'. These findings were submitted to the White House,

after which work on the findings and the required regulations was halted.'.

- (3) A Memo to Members of the Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on May 19, 2008, stated, 'The record before the Committee shows: (1) the career staff at EPA unanimously supported granting California's petition (to be allowed to regulate greenhouse gas emissions from cars and trucks, consistent with California state law); (2) Stephen Johnson, the Administrator of EPA, also supported granting California's petition at least in part; and (3) Administrator Johnson reversed his position after communications with officials in the White House.'

- The President has suppressed the release of scientific information related to global climate change, an action which undermines Congress's ability to legislate and provide oversight, and which has thwarted efforts to prevent global climate change despite the serious threat that it poses.

- (1) In February, 2001, ExxonMobil wrote a memo to the White House outlining ways to influence the outcome of the Third Assessment report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. The memo opposed the reelection of Dr. Robert Watson as the IPCC Chair. The White House then supported an opposition candidate, who was subsequently elected to replace Dr. Watson.

- (2) The New York Times on January 29, 2006, reported that James Hansen, NASA's senior climate scientist was warned of 'dire consequences' if he continued to speak out about global climate change and the need for reducing emissions of associated gasses. The Times also reported that: 'At climate laboratories of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, for example, many scientists who routinely took calls from reporters five years ago can now do so only if the interview is approved by administration officials in Washington, and then only if a public affairs officer is present or on the phone.'

- (3) In December of 2007, the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform issued a report based on 16 months of investigation and 27,000 pages of documentation. According to the summary: 'The evidence before the Committee leads to one inescapable conclusion: the Bush Administration has engaged in a systematic effort to manipulate climate change science and mislead policy makers and the public about the dangers of global warming.' The report described how the White House appointed former petroleum industry lobbyist Phil Cooney as head of the Council on Environmental Quality. The report states 'There was a systematic White House effort to minimize the significance of climate change by editing climate change reports. CEQ Chief of Staff Phil Cooney and other CEQ officials made at least 294 edits to the Administration's Strategic Plan of the Climate Change Science Program to exaggerate or emphasize scientific uncertainties or to de-emphasize or diminish the importance of the human role in global warming.'

- (4) On April 23, 2008, Representative Henry Waxman wrote a letter to EPA Administrator Stephen L. Johnson. In it he reported: 'Almost 1,600 EPA scientists completed the Union of Concerned Scientists survey questionnaire. Over 22 percent of these scientists reported that 'selective or incomplete use of data to justify a specific regulatory outcome' occurred 'frequently' or 'occasionally' at EPA. Ninety-four EPA scientists reported being frequently or occasionally directed to inappropriately exclude or alter technical information from an EPA scientific document. Nearly 200 EPA scientists said that they have frequently or occasionally been in situations in which scientists have actively objected to, resigned from or removed themselves from a project because of pressure to change scientific findings.'

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article XXXIII**

#### **Repeatedly Ignored and Failed To Respond to High Level Intelligence Warnings of Planned Terrorist Attacks in the U.S., Prior to 9/11**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, failed in his Constitutional duties to take proper steps to protect the nation prior to September 11, 2001.

- The White House's top counter-terrorism adviser, Richard A. Clarke, has testified that from the beginning of George W. Bush's presidency until September 11, 2001, Clarke attempted unsuccessfully to persuade President Bush to take steps to protect the nation against terrorism. Clarke sent a memorandum to then-National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice on January 24, 2001, 'urgently' but unsuccessfully requesting 'a Cabinet-level meeting to deal with the impending al Qaeda attack.'

- In April 2001, Clarke was finally granted a meeting, but only with second-in-command department representatives, including Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz, who made light of Clarke's concerns.

- Clarke confirms that in June, July, and August 2001, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) warned the president in daily briefings of unprecedented indications that a major al Qaeda attack was going to happen against the United States somewhere in the world in the weeks and months ahead. Yet, Clarke was still unable to convene a cabinet-level meeting to address the issue.

- Condoleezza Rice has testified that George Tenet met with the president 40 times to warn him that a major al Qaeda attack was going to take place, and that in response the president did not convene any meetings of top officials. At such meetings, the FBI could have shared information on possible terrorists enrolled at flight schools. Among the many preventive steps that could have been taken, the Federal Aviation Administration, airlines, and airports might have been put on full alert.

- According to Condoleezza Rice, the first and only cabinet-level meeting prior to 9/11 to discuss the threat of terrorist attacks took place on September 4, 2001, one week before the attacks in New York and Washington.

- On August 6, 2001, President Bush was presented a President's Daily Brief (PDB) article titled 'Bin Laden Determined to Strike in U.S.'. The lead sentence of that PDB article indicated that Bin Laden and his followers wanted to 'follow the example of World Trade Center bomber Ramzi Yousef and 'bring the fighting to America'. The article warned: 'Al-Qa'ida members--including some who are U.S. citizens--have resided in or traveled to the U.S. for years, and the group apparently maintains a support structure that could aid attacks.'

- The article cited a 'more sensational threat reporting that Bin Laden wanted to hijack a U.S. aircraft', but indicated that the CIA had not been able to corroborate such reporting. The PDB item included information from the FBI indicating 'patterns of suspicious activity in this country consistent with preparations for hijackings or other types of attacks, including recent surveillance of Federal buildings in New York'. The article also noted that the CIA and FBI were investigating 'a call to our embassy in the UAE in May saying that a group of Bin Laden supporters was in the U.S. planning attacks with explosives'.

- The president spent the rest of August 6, and almost all the rest of August 2001 on vacation. There is no evidence that he called any meetings of his advisers to discuss this alarming report. When the title and substance of this PDB article were later reported in the press, then-National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice began a sustained campaign to play down its significance, until the actual text was eventually released by the White House.

- New York Times writer Douglas Jehl, put it this way: 'In a single 17-sentence document, the intelligence briefing delivered to President Bush in August 2001 spells out the who, hints at the what and points towards the where of the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington that followed 36 days later.'

- Eleanor Hill, Executive Director of the joint congressional committee investigating the performance of the U.S. intelligence community before September 11, 2001, reported in mid-September 2002 that intelligence reports a year earlier 'reiterated a consistent and constant theme: Osama bin Laden's intent to launch terrorist attacks inside the United States'.

- That joint inquiry revealed that just two months before September 11, an intelligence briefing for 'senior government officials' predicted a terrorist attack with these words: 'The attack will be spectacular and designed to inflict mass casualties against U.S. facilities or interests. Attack preparations have been made. Attack will occur with little or no warning.'

- Given the White House's insistence on secrecy with regard to what intelligence was given to President Bush, the joint-inquiry report does not divulge whether he took part in that briefing. Even if he did not, it strains credulity to suppose that those 'senior government officials' would have kept its alarming substance from the president.

- Again, there is no evidence that the president held any meetings or took any action to deal with the threats of such attacks.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

#### **Article XXXIV**

#### **Obstruction of Investigation Into the Attacks of September 11, 2001**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, obstructed investigations into the attacks on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001.

- Following September 11, 2001, President Bush and Vice President Cheney took strong steps to thwart any and all proposals that the circumstances of the attack be addressed. Then-Secretary of State Colin Powell was forced to renege on his public promise on September 23 that a 'White Paper' would be issued to explain the circumstances. Less than two weeks after that promise, Powell apologized for his 'unfortunate choice of words', and explained that Americans would have to rely on 'information coming out in the press and in other ways'.



- On September 26, 2001, President Bush drove to Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) headquarters in Langley, Virginia, stood with Director of Central Intelligence George Tenet and said: 'My report to the nation is, we've got the best intelligence we can possibly have thanks to the men and women of the C.I.A.' George Tenet subsequently and falsely claimed not to have visited the president personally between the start of Bush's long Crawford vacation and September 11, 2001.

- Testifying before the 9/11 Commission on April 14, 2004, Tenet answered a question from Commission member Timothy Roemer by referring to the president's vacation (July 29-August 30) in Crawford and insisting that he did not see the president at all in August 2001. 'You never talked with him?' Roemer asked. 'No', Tenet replied, explaining that for much of August he too was 'on leave'. An Agency spokesman called reporters that same evening to say Tenet had misspoken, and that Tenet had briefed Bush on August 17 and 31. The spokesman explained that the second briefing took place after the president had returned to Washington, and played down the first one, in Crawford, as uneventful.

- In his book, *At the Center of the Storm* (2007), Tenet refers to what is almost certainly his August 17 visit to Crawford as a follow-up to the 'Bin Laden Determined to Strike in the U.S.' article in the CIA-prepared President's Daily Brief of August 6. That briefing was immortalized in a Time Magazine photo capturing Harriet Myers holding the PDB open for the president, as two CIA officers sit by. It is the same briefing to which the president reportedly reacted by telling the CIA briefer, 'All right, you've covered your ass now.'. (Ron Suskind, *The One-Percent Doctrine*, p. 2, 2006). In *At the Center of the Storm*, Tenet writes: 'A few weeks after the August 6 PDB was delivered, I followed it to Crawford to make sure that the president stayed current on events.'

- A White House press release suggests Tenet was also there a week later, on August 24. According to the August 25, 2001, release, President Bush, addressing a group of visitors to Crawford on August 25, told them: 'George Tenet and I, yesterday, we piled in the new nominees for the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, the Vice Chairman and their wives and went right up the canyon.'

- In early February 2002, Vice President Dick Cheney warned then-Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle that if Congress went ahead with an investigation, administration officials might not show up to testify. As pressure grew for an investigation, the president and vice president agreed to the establishment of a congressional joint committee to conduct a 'Joint Inquiry'. Eleanor Hill, Executive Director of the Inquiry, opened the Joint Inquiry's final public hearing in mid-September 2002 with the following disclaimer: 'I need to report that, according to the White House and the Director of Central Intelligence, the president's knowledge of intelligence information relevant to this inquiry remains classified, even when the substance of the intelligence information has been declassified.'

- The National Commission on Terrorist Attacks, also known as the 9/11 Commission, was created on November 27, 2002, following the passage of congressional legislation signed into law by President Bush. The President was asked to testify before the Commission. He refused to testify except for one hour in private with only two Commission members, with no oath administered, with no recording or note taking, and with the Vice President at his side. Commission Co-Chair Lee Hamilton has written that he believes the commission was set up to fail, was underfunded, was rushed, and did not receive proper cooperation and access to information.

- A December 2007 review of classified documents by former members of the Commission found that the commission had made repeated and detailed requests to the CIA in 2003 and 2004 for documents and other information about the interrogation of operatives of al Qaeda, and had been told falsely by a top CIA official that the agency had 'produced or made available for review'

everything that had been requested.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

### **Article XXXV**

#### **Endangering the Health of 9/11 First Responders**

- In his conduct while President of the United States, George W. Bush, in violation of his constitutional oath to faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty under article II, section 3 of the Constitution 'to take care that the laws be faithfully executed', has both personally and acting through his agents and subordinates, together with the Vice President, recklessly endangered the health of first responders, residents, and workers at and near the former location of the World Trade Center in New York City.

- The Inspector General of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) August 21, 2003, report numbered 2003-P-00012 and entitled 'EPA's Response to the World Trade Center Collapse: Challenges, Successes, and Areas for Improvement', includes the following findings:

- '[W]hen EPA made a September 18 announcement that the air was 'safe' to breathe, it did not have sufficient data and analyses to make such a blanket statement. At that time, air monitoring data was lacking for several pollutants of concern, including particulate matter and polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs). Furthermore, The White House Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ) influenced, through the collaboration process, the information that EPA communicated to the public through its early press releases when it convinced EPA to add reassuring statements and delete cautionary ones.' . . .

- 'As a result of the White House CEQ's influence, guidance for cleaning indoor spaces and information about the potential health effects from WTC debris were not included in EPA-issued press releases. In addition, based on CEQ's influence, reassuring information was added to at least one press release and cautionary information was deleted from EPA's draft version of that press release. . . . [T]he White House's role in EPA's public communications about WTC environmental conditions was described in a September 12, 2001, e-mail from the EPA Deputy Administrator's Chief of Staff to senior EPA officials:

- 'All statements to the media should be cleared through the NSC [National Security Council] before they are released.'

- 'According to the EPA Chief of Staff, one particular CEQ official was designated to work with EPA to ensure that clearance was obtained through NSC. The Associate Administrator for the EPA Office of Communications, Education, and Media Relations (OCEMR)<sup>3</sup> said that no press release could be issued for a 3- to 4-week period after September 11 without approval from the CEQ contact.'

- Acting EPA Administrator Marianne Horinko, who sat in on EPA meetings with the White House, has said in an interview that the White House played a coordinating role. The National Security Council played the key role, filtering incoming data on ground zero air and water, Horinko said: 'I think that the thinking was, these are experts in WMD (weapons of mass destruction), so they should have the coordinating role.'

- In the cleanup of the Pentagon following September 11, 2001, Occupational Safety and Health Administration laws were enforced, and no workers became ill. At the World Trade Center site, the same laws were not enforced.

- In the years since the release of the EPA Inspector General's above-cited report, the Bush Administration has still not effected a clean-up of the indoor air in apartments and workspaces near the site.

- Screenings conducted at the Mount Sinai Medical Center and released in the September 10, 2004, Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report (MMWR) of the Federal Centers For Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), produced the following results:

- `Both upper and lower respiratory problems and mental health difficulties are widespread among rescue and recovery workers who dug through the ruins of the World Trade Center in the days following its destruction in the attack of September 11, 2001.

- `An analysis of the screenings of 1,138 workers and volunteers who responded to the World Trade Center disaster found that nearly three-quarters of them experienced new or worsened upper respiratory problems at some point while working at Ground Zero. And half of those examined had upper and/or lower respiratory symptoms that persisted up to the time of their examinations, an average of eight months after their WTC efforts ended.'

- A larger study released in 2006 found that roughly 70 percent of nearly 10,000 workers tested at Mount Sinai from 2002 to 2004 reported that they had new or substantially worsened respiratory problems while or after working at ground zero. This study showed that many of the respiratory ailments, including sinusitis and asthma, and gastrointestinal problems related to them, initially reported by ground zero workers persisted or grew worse over time. Most of the ground zero workers in the study who reported trouble breathing while working there were still having those problems two and a half years later, an indication of chronic illness unlikely to improve over time.

- In all of these actions and decisions, President George W. Bush has acted in a manner contrary to his trust as President, and subversive of constitutional government, to the prejudice of the cause of law and justice and to the manifest injury of the people of the United States. Wherefore, President George W. Bush, by such conduct, is guilty of an impeachable offense warranting removal from office.

END





# Echelon & related Data Interception Capabilities 2000

by: Jim Keith

## **1. Organisations and methods**

*What is communications intelligence?*

*UKUSA alliance*

*Other Comint organisations*

*How intelligence works*

*Planning*

*Access and collection*

*Processing*

*Production and dissemination*

## **2. Intercepting international communications**

*International Leased Carrier (ILC) communications*

*High frequency radio*

*Microwave radio relay*

*Subsea cables*

*Communications satellites*

*Communications techniques*

*ILC communications collection*

*Access*

*Operation SHAMROCK*

*High frequency radio interception*

*Space interception of inter-city networks*

*Sigint satellites*

*COMSAT ILC collection*

*Submarine cable interception*

*Intercepting the Internet*

*Covert collection of high capacity signals*

*New satellite networks*

## **3. ECHELON and Comint production**

*The "Watch List"*

*New information about ECHELON sites and systems*

*Westminster, London : Dictionary computer*

*Sugar Grove, Virginia : COMSAT interception at ECHELON site*

*Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico and Leitrim, Canada : COMSAT interception sites*

*Waihopai, New Zealand : Intelsat interception at ECHELON site ILC processing techniques*

## **4. Comint and Law Enforcement**

*Misrepresentation of law enforcement interception requirements Law enforcement communications interception - policy development in Europe*

## **5. Comint and economic intelligence**

*Tasking economic intelligence*

*Disseminating economic intelligence*

*The use of Comint economic intelligence product*

*Panavia European Fighter Aircraft consortium and Saudi Arabia*

*Thomson CSF and Brazil*

*Airbus Industrie and Saudi Arabia*

*International trade negotiations*

*Targeting host nations*

## 6. Comint capabilities after 2000

*Developments in technology*

*Policy issues for the European Parliament*

*Technical annexe*

*Broadband (high capacity multi-channel) communications*

*Communications intelligence equipment*

*Wideband extraction and signal analysis*

*Filtering, data processing, and facsimile analysis*

*Traffic analysis, keyword recognition, text retrieval, and topic analysis*

*Speech recognition systems*

*Continuous speech recognition*

*Speaker identification and other voice message selection techniques*

*"Workfactor reduction"; the subversion of cryptographic systems*

### **Glossary and definitions**

### **Footnotes**

### **Summary**

1. Communications intelligence (Comint) involving the covert interception of foreign communications has been practised by almost every advanced nation since international telecommunications became available. Comint is a large-scale industrial activity providing consumers with intelligence on diplomatic, economic and scientific developments. The capabilities of and constraints on Comint activity may usefully be considered in the framework of the "intelligence cycle" (section 1).

2. Globally, about 15-20 billion Euro is expended annually on Comint and related activities. The largest component of this expenditure is incurred by the major English-speaking nations of the UKUSA alliance. (1) This report describes how Comint organisations have for more than 80 years made arrangements to obtain access to much of the world's international communications. These include the unauthorised interception of commercial satellites, of long distance communications from space, of undersea cables using submarines, and of the Internet. In excess of 120 satellite systems are currently in simultaneous operation collecting intelligence (section 2).

3. The highly automated UKUSA system for processing Comint, often known as ECHELON, has been widely discussed within Europe following a 1997 STOA report. (2) That report summarised information from the only two primary sources then available on ECHELON. (3) This report provides original new documentary and other evidence about the ECHELON system and its involvement in the interception of communication satellites (section 3). A technical annexe gives a supplementary, detailed description of Comint processing methods.

4. Comint information derived from the interception of international communications has long been routinely used to obtain sensitive data concerning individuals, governments, trade and international organisations. This report sets out the organisational and reporting frameworks within which economically sensitive information is collected and disseminated, summarising examples where European commercial organisations have been the subject of surveillance (section 4).

5. This report identifies a previously unknown international organisation - "ILETS" - which has, without parliamentary or public discussion or awareness, put in place contentious plans to require manufacturers and operators of new communications systems to build in monitoring capacity for use by national security or law enforcement organisations (section 5).

6. Comint organisations now perceive that the technical difficulties of collecting communications

are increasing, and that future production may be costlier and more limited than at present. The perception of such difficulties may provide a useful basis for policy options aimed at protective measures concerning economic information and effective encryption (section 6).

7. Key findings concerning the state of the art in Comint include :

Comprehensive systems exist to access, intercept and process every important modern form of communications, with few exceptions (section 2, technical annexe); Contrary to reports in the press, effective "word spotting" search systems automatically to select telephone calls of intelligence interest are not yet available, despite 30 years of research. However, speaker recognition systems - in effect, "voiceprints" - have been developed and are deployed to recognise the speech of targeted individuals making international telephone calls;

Recent diplomatic initiatives by the United States government seeking European agreement to the "key escrow" system of cryptography masked intelligence collection requirements, and formed part of a long-term program which has undermined and continues to undermine the communications privacy of non-US nationals, including European governments, companies and citizens; There is wide-ranging evidence indicating that major governments are routinely utilising communications intelligence to provide commercial advantage to companies and trade.

## **1. Organisations and methods**

### *What is communications intelligence?*

1. Communications intelligence (Comint) is defined by NSA, the largest agency conducting such operations as "technical and intelligence information derived from foreign communications by other than their intended recipient". (4) Comint is a major component of Sigint (signals intelligence), which also includes the collection of non-communications signals, such as radar emissions. (5) Although this report deals with agencies and systems whose overall task may be Sigint, it is concerned only with Comint. 2. Comint has shadowed the development of extensive high capacity new civil telecommunications systems, and has in consequence become a large-scale industrial activity employing many skilled workers and utilising exceptionally high degrees of automation.

3. The targets of Comint operations are varied. The most traditional Comint targets are military messages and diplomatic communications between national capitals and missions abroad. Since the 1960s, following the growth of world trade, the collection of economic intelligence and information about scientific and technical developments has been an increasingly important aspect of Comint. More recent targets include narcotics trafficking, money laundering, terrorism and organised crime.

4. Whenever access to international communications channels is obtained for one purpose, access to every other type of communications carried on the same channels is automatic, subject only to the tasking requirements of agencies. Thus, for example, NSA and its British counterpart GCHQ, used Comint collected primarily for other purposes to provide data about domestic political opposition figures in the United States between 1967 and 1975.

### *UKUSA alliance*

5. The United States Sigint System (USSS) consists of the National Security Agency (NSA), military support units collectively called the Central Security Service, and parts of the CIA and other organisations. Following wartime collaboration, in 1947 the UK and the US made a secret agreement to continue to conduct collaborative global Comint activities. Three other English-speaking nations, Canada, Australia and New Zealand joined the UKUSA agreement as "Second

Parties". The UKUSA agreement was not acknowledged publicly until March 1999, when the Australian government confirmed that its Sigint organisation, Defence Signals Directorate (DSD) "does co-operate with counterpart signals intelligence organisations overseas under the UKUSA relationship". (6) The UKUSA agreement shares facilities, tasks and product between participating governments.

6. Although UKUSA Comint agency staffs and budgets have shrunk following the end of the cold war, they have reaffirmed their requirements for access to all the world's communications. Addressing NSA staff on his departure in 1992, then NSA director Admiral William Studeman described how "the demands for increased global access are growing". The "business area" of "global access" was, he said, one of "two, hopefully strong, legs upon which NSA must stand" in the next century. (7)

#### *Other Comint organisations*

7. Besides UKUSA, there at least 30 other nations operating major Comint organisations. The largest is the Russian FAPSI, with 54,000 employees. (8) China maintains a substantial Sigint system, two stations of which are directed at Russia and operate in collaboration with the United States. Most Middle Eastern and Asian nations have invested substantially in Sigint, in particular Israel, India and Pakistan.

#### *How intelligence works*

8. In the post cold war era, Comint interception has been constrained by recognisable industrial features, including the requirement to match budgets and capabilities to customer requirements. The multi-step process by means of which communications intelligence is sought, collected, processed and passed on is similar for all countries, and is often described as the "intelligence cycle". The steps of the intelligence cycle correspond to distinct organisational and technical features of Comint production. Thus, for example, the administration of NSA's largest field station in the world, at Menwith Hill in England and responsible for operating over 250 classified projects, is divided into three directorates: OP, Operations and Plans; CP, Collection Processing; and EP, Exploitation and Production.

#### *Planning*

9. Planning first involves determining customer requirements. Customers include the major ministries of the sponsoring government - notably those concerned with defence, foreign affairs, security, trade and home affairs. The overall management of Comint involves the identification of requirements for data as well as translating requirements into potentially achievable tasks, prioritising, arranging analysis and reporting, and monitoring the quality of Comint product. 10. Once targets have been selected, specific existing or new collection capabilities may be tasked, based on the type of information required, the susceptibility of the targeted activity to collection, and the likely effectiveness of collection.

#### *Access and collection*

11. The first essential of Comint is access to the desired communications medium so that communications may be intercepted. Historically, where long-range radio communications were used, this task was simple. Some important modern communications systems are not "Comint friendly" and may require unusual, expensive or intrusive methods to gain access. The physical means of communication is usually independent of the type of information carried. For example, inter-city microwave radio-relay systems, international satellite links and fibre optic submarine cables will all usually carry mixed traffic of television, telephone, fax, data links, private voice, video and data.



12. Collection follows interception, but is a distinct activity in that many types of signals may be intercepted but will receive no further processing save perhaps technical searches to verify that communications patterns remain unchanged. For example, a satellite interception station tasked to study a newly launched communications satellite will set up an antenna to intercept all that the satellite sends to the ground. Once a survey has established which parts of the satellite's signals carry, say, television or communications of no interest, these signals will not progress further within the system.

13. Collection includes both acquiring information by interception and passing information of interest downstream for processing and production. Because of the high information rates used in many modern networks, and the complexity of the signals within them, it is now common for high speed recorders or "snapshot" memories temporarily to hold large quantities of data while processing takes place. Modern collection activities use secure, rapid communications to pass data via global networks to human analysts who may be a continent away. Selecting messages for collection and processing is in most cases automated, involving large on-line databanks holding information about targets of interest.

### *Processing*

14. Processing is the conversion of collected information into a form suitable for analysis or the production of intelligence, either automatically or under human supervision. Incoming communications are normally converted into standard formats identifying their technical characteristics, together with message (or signal) related information (such as the telephone numbers of the parties to a telephone conversation). 15. At an early stage, if it is not inherent in the selection of the message or conversation, each intercepted signal or channel will be described in standard "case notation". Case notation first identifies the countries whose communications have been intercepted, usually by two letters. A third letter designates the general class of communications: C for commercial carrier intercepts, D for diplomatic messages, P for police channels, etc. A fourth letter designates the type of communications system (such as S for multi-channel). Numbers then designate particular links or networks. Thus for example, during the 1980s NSA intercepted and processed traffic designated as "FRD" (French diplomatic) from Chicksands, England, while the British Comint agency GCHQ deciphered "ITD" (Italian diplomatic) messages at its Cheltenham headquarters. (9)

16. Processing may also involve translation or "gisting" (replacing a verbatim text with the sense or main points of a communication). Translation and gisting can to some degree be automated.

### *Production and dissemination*

17. Comint production involves analysis, evaluation, translation and interpretation of raw data into finished intelligence. The final step of the intelligence cycle is dissemination, meaning the passing of reports to the intelligence consumers. Such reports can consist of raw (but decrypted and/or translated) messages, gists, commentary, or extensive analyses. The quality and relevance of the disseminated reports lead in turn to the re-specification of intelligence collection priorities, thereby completing the intelligence cycle.

18. The nature of dissemination is highly significant to questions of how Comint is exploited to obtain economic advantage. Comint activities everywhere are highly classified because, it is argued, knowledge of the success of interception would be likely to lead targets to change their communications methods to defeat future interception. Within the UKUSA system, the dissemination of Comint reports is limited to individuals holding high-level security "SCI" clearances. (10) Further, because only cleared officials can see Comint reports, only they can set requirements and thus control tasking. Officials of commercial companies normally neither have

clearance nor routine access to Comint, and may therefore only benefit from commercially relevant Comint information to the extent that senior, cleared government officials permit. The ways in which this takes place is described in Section 5, below.

19. Dissemination is further restricted within the UKUSA organisation by national and international rules generally stipulating that the Sigint agencies of each nation may not normally collect or (if inadvertently collected) record or disseminate information about citizens of, or companies registered in, any other UKUSA nation. Citizens and companies are collectively known as "legal persons". The opposite procedure is followed if the person concerned has been targeted by their national Comint organisation.

20. For example, Hager has described (11) how New Zealand officials were instructed to remove the names of identifiable UKUSA citizens or companies from their reports, inserting instead words such as "a Canadian citizen" or "a US company". British Comint staff have described following similar procedures in respect of US citizens following the introduction of legislation to limit NSA's domestic intelligence activities in 1978. (12) The Australian government says that "DSD and its counterparts operate internal procedures to satisfy themselves that their national interests and policies are respected by the others ... the Rules [on Sigint and Australian persons] prohibit the dissemination of information relating to Australian persons gained accidentally during the course of routine collection of foreign communications; or the reporting or recording of the names of Australian persons mentioned in foreign communications". (13) The corollary is also true; UKUSA nations place no restrictions on intelligence gathering affecting either citizens or companies of any non-UKUSA nation, including member states of the European Union (except the UK).

## **2. Intercepting international communications**

### *International Leased Carrier (ILC) communications*

21. It is a matter of record that foreign communications to and from, or passing through the United Kingdom and the United States have been intercepted for more than 80 years. (14) Then and since, most international communications links have been operated by international carriers, who are usually individual national PTTs or private companies. In either case, capacity on the communication system is leased to individual national or international telecommunications undertakings. For this reason, Comint organisations use the term ILC (International Leased Carrier) to describe such collection. High frequency radio 22. Save for direct landline connections between geographically contiguous nations, high frequency (HF) radio system were the most common means of international telecommunications prior to 1960, and were in use for ILC, diplomatic and military purposes. An important characteristic of HF radio signals is that they are reflected from the ionosphere and from the earth's surface, providing ranges of thousands of miles. This enables both reception and interception.

### *Microwave radio relay*

23. Microwave radio was introduced in the 1950s to provide high capacity inter-city communications for telephony, telegraphy and, later, television. Microwave radio relay communications utilise low power transmitters and parabolic dish antennae placed on towers in high positions such as on hilltops or tall buildings. The antennae are usually 1-3m in diameter. Because of the curvature of the earth, relay stations are generally required every 30-50km.

### *Subsea cables*

24. Submarine telephone cables provided the first major reliable high capacity international communications systems. Early systems were limited to a few hundred simultaneous telephone

channels. The most modern optical fibre systems carry up to 5 Gbps (Gigabits per second) of digital information. This is broadly equivalent to about 60,000 simultaneous telephone channels.

#### *Communications satellites*

25. Microwave radio signals are not reflected from the ionosphere and pass directly into space. This property has been exploited both to provide global communications and, conversely, to intercept such communications in space and on land. The largest constellation of communications satellites (COMSATs) is operated by the International Telecommunications Satellite organisation (Intelsat), an international treaty organisation. To provide permanent communications from point to point or for broadcasting purposes, communications satellites are placed into so-called "geostationary" orbits such that, to the earth-based observer, they appear to maintain the same position in the sky. 26. The first geostationary Intelsat satellites were orbited in 1967. Satellite technology developed rapidly. The fourth generation of Intelsat satellites, introduced in 1971, provided capacity for 4,000 simultaneous telephone channels and were capable of handling all forms of communications simultaneously -telephone, telex, telegraph, television, data and facsimile. In 1999, Intelsat operated 19 satellites of its 5th to 8th generations. The latest generation can handle the equivalent to 90,000 simultaneous calls.

#### *Communications techniques*

27. Prior to 1970, most communications systems (however carried) utilised analogue or continuous wave techniques. Since 1990, almost all communications have been digital, and are providing ever higher capacity. The highest capacity systems in general use for the Internet, called STM-1 or OC-3, operates at a data rate of 155Mbps. (Million bits per second; a rate of 155 Mbps is equivalent to sending 3 million words every second, roughly the text of one thousand books a minute.) For example, links at this capacity are used to provide backbone Internet connections between Europe and the United States. Further details of communications techniques are given in the technical annexe. ILC communications collection Access

28. Comint collection cannot take place unless the collecting agency obtains access to the communications channels they wish to examine. Information about the means used to gain access are, like data about code-breaking methods, the most highly protected information within any Comint organisation. Access is gained both with and without the complicity or co-operation of network operators.

#### *Operation SHAMROCK*

29. From 1945 onwards in the United States the NSA and predecessor agencies systematically obtained cable traffic from the offices of the major cable companies. This activity was codenamed SHAMROCK. These activities remained unknown for 30 years, until enquiries were prompted by the Watergate affair. On 8 August 1975, NSA Director Lt General Lew Allen admitted to the Pike Committee of the US House of Representatives that : "NSA systematically intercepts international communications, both voice and cable".

30. He also admitted that "messages to and from American citizens have been picked up in the course of gathering foreign intelligence". US legislators considered that such operations might have been unconstitutional. During 1976, a Department of Justice team investigated possible criminal offences by NSA. Part of their report was released in 1980. It described how intelligence on US citizens:

"was obtained incidentally in the course of NSA's interception of aural and non-aural (e.g., telex) international communications and the receipt of GCHQ-acquired telex and ILC (International Leased Carrier) cable traffic (SHAMROCK)" (emphasis in original). (15)

High frequency radio interception antenna (AN/FLR9) DODJOCC sign at NSA station, Chicksands

### *High frequency radio interception*

31. High frequency radio signals are relatively easy to intercept, requiring only a suitable area of land in, ideally, a "quiet" radio environment. From 1945 until the early 1980s, both NSA and GCHQ operated HF radio interception systems tasked to collect European ILC communications in Scotland. (16) 32. The most advanced type of HF monitoring system deployed during this period for Comint purposes was a large circular antenna array known as AN/FLR-9. AN/FLR-9 antennae are more than 400 metres in diameter. They can simultaneously intercept and determine the bearing of signals from as many directions and on as many frequencies as may be desired. In 1964, AN/FLR-9 receiving systems were installed at San Vito dei Normanni, Italy; Chicksands, England, and Karamursel, Turkey.

33. In August 1966, NSA transferred ILC collection activities from its Scottish site at Kirknewton, to Menwith Hill in England. Ten years later, this activity was again transferred, to Chicksands. Although the primary function of the Chicksands site was to intercept Soviet and Warsaw Pact air force communications, it was also tasked to collect ILC and "NDC" (Non-US Diplomatic Communications). Prominent among such tasks was the collection of FRD traffic (i.e., French diplomatic communications). Although most personnel at Chicksands were members of the US Air Force, diplomatic and ILC interception was handled by civilian NSA employees in a unit called DODJOCC. (17)

34. During the 1970s, British Comint units on Cyprus were tasked to collect HF communications of allied NATO nations, including Greece and Turkey. The interception took place at a British army unit at Ayios Nikolaos, eastern Cyprus. (18) In the United States in 1975, investigations by a US Congressional Committee revealed that NSA was collecting diplomatic messages sent to and from Washington from an army Comint site at Vint Hill Farms, Virginia. The targets of this station included the United Kingdom. (19)

### *Space interception of inter-city networks*

35. Long distance microwave radio relay links may require dozens of intermediate stations to receive and re-transmit communications. Each subsequent receiving station picks up only a tiny fraction of the original transmitted signal; the remainder passes over the horizon and on into space, where satellites can collect it. These principles were exploited during the 1960s to provide Comint collection from space. The nature of microwave "spillage" means that the best position for such satellites is not above the chosen target, but up to 80 degrees of longitude away. 36. The first US Comint satellite, CANYON, was launched In August 1968, followed soon by a second. The satellites were controlled from a ground station at Bad Aibling, Germany. In order to provide permanent coverage of selected targets, CANYON satellites were placed close to geostationary orbits. However, the orbits were not exact, causing the satellites to change position and obtain more data on ground targets. (20) Seven CANYON satellites were launched between 1968 and 1977.

37. CANYON's target was the Soviet Union. Major Soviet communications links extended for thousands of miles, much of it over Siberia, where permafrost restricted the reliable use of underground cables. Geographical circumstances thus favoured NSA by making Soviet internal communications links highly accessible. The satellites performed better than expected, so the project was extended.

38. The success of CANYON led to the design and deployment of a new class of Comint satellites, CHALET. The ground station chosen for the CHALET series was Menwith Hill, England. Under NSA project P-285, US companies were contracted to install and assist in operating the satellite

control system and downlinks (RUNWAY) and ground processing system (SILKWORTH). The first two CHALET satellites were launched in June 1978 and October 1979. After the name of the first satellite appeared in the US press, they were renamed VORTEX. In 1982, NSA obtained approval for expanded "new mission requirements" and were given funds and facilities to operate four VORTEX satellites simultaneously. A new 5,000m<sup>2</sup> operations centre (STEEPLEBUSH) was constructed to house processing equipment. When the name VORTEX was published in 1987, the satellites were renamed MERCURY. (21)

39. The expanded mission given to Menwith Hill after 1985 included MERCURY collection from the Middle East. The station received an award for support to US naval operations in the Persian Gulf from 1987 to 1988. In 1991, a further award was given for support of the Iraqi war operations, Desert Storm and Desert Shield. (22) Menwith Hill is now the major US site for Comint collection against its major ally, Israel. Its staff includes linguists trained in Hebrew, Arabic and Farsi as well as European languages. Menwith Hill has recently been expanded to include ground links for a new network of Sigint satellites launched in 1994 and 1995 (RUTLEY). The name of the new class of satellites remains unknown.

#### *Sigint satellites*

40. The CIA developed a second class of Sigint satellite with complementary capabilities over the period from 1967 to 1985. Initially known as RHYOLITE and later AQUACADE, these satellites were operated from a remote ground station in central Australia, Pine Gap. Using a large parabolic antenna which unfolded in space, RHYOLITE intercepted lower frequency signals in the VHF and UHF bands. Larger, most recent satellites of this type have been named MAGNUM and then ORION. Their targets include telemetry, VHF radio, cellular mobile phones, paging signals, and mobile data links.

41. A third class of satellite, known first as JUMPSEAT and latterly as TRUMPET, operates in highly elliptical near-polar orbits enabling them to "hover" for long period over high northern latitudes. They enable the United States to collect signals from transmitters in high northern latitudes poorly covered by MERCURY or ORION, and also to intercept signals sent to Russian communications satellites in the same orbits.

Comint satellites in geostationary orbits, such as VORTEX, intercept terrestrial microwave spillage Inter-city microwave radio relay tower pills" signals into space

42. Although precise details of US space-based Sigint satellites launched after 1990 remain obscure, it is apparent from observation of the relevant ground centres that collection systems have expanded rather than contracted. The main stations are at Buckley Field, Denver, Colorado; Pine Gap, Australia; Menwith Hill, England; and Bad Aibling, Germany. The satellites and their processing facilities are exceptionally costly (of the order of \$1 billion US each). In 1998, the US National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) announced plans to combine the three separate classes of Sigint satellites into an Integrated Overhead Sigint Architecture (IOSA) in order to "improve Sigint performance and avoid costs by consolidating systems, utilising ... new satellite and data processing technologies". (23)

43. It follows that, within constraints imposed by budgetary limitation and tasking priorities, the United States can if it chooses direct space collection systems to intercept mobile communications signals and microwave city-to-city traffic anywhere on the planet. The geographical and processing difficulties of collecting messages simultaneously from all parts of the globe suggest strongly that the tasking of these satellites will be directed towards the highest priority national and military targets. Thus, although European communications passing on inter-city microwave routes can be collected, it is likely that they are normally ignored. But it is very highly probable that communications to or from Europe and which pass through the microwave communications

networks of Middle Eastern states are collected and processed.

44. No other nation (including the former Soviet Union) has deployed satellites comparable to CANYON, RHYOLITE, or their successors. Both Britain (project ZIRCON) and France (project ZENON) have attempted to do so, but neither persevered. After 1988 the British government purchased capacity on the US VORTEX (now MERCURY) constellation to use for unilateral national purposes. (24) A senior UK Liaison Officer and staff from GCHQ work at Menwith Hill NSA station and assist in tasking and operating the satellites.

#### *COMSAT ILC collection*

45. Systematic collection of COMSAT ILC communications began in 1971. Two ground stations were built for this purpose. The first at Morwenstow, Cornwall, England had two 30-metre antennae. One intercepted communications from the Atlantic Ocean Intelsat; the other the Indian Ocean Intelsat. The second Intelsat interception site was at Yakima, Washington in the northwestern United States. NSA's "Yakima Research Station" intercepted communications passing through the Pacific Ocean Intelsat satellite. 46. ILC interception capability against western-run communications satellites remained at this level until the late 1970s, when a second US site at Sugar Grove, West Virginia was added to the network. By 1980, its three satellite antenna had been reassigned to the US Naval Security Group and were used for COMSAT interception. Large-scale expansion of the ILC satellite interception system took place between 1985 and 1995, in conjunction with the enlargement of the ECHELON processing system (section 3). New stations were constructed in the United States (Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico), Canada (Leitrim, Ontario), Australia (Kojarena, Western Australia) and New Zealand (Waihopai, South Island). Capacity at Yakima, Morwenstow and Sugar Grove was expanded, and continues to expand.

Based on a simple count of the number of antennae currently installed at each COMSAT interception or satellite SIGINT station, it appears that the UKUSA nations are between them currently operating at least 120 satellite based collection systems. The approximate number of antennae in each category are:

- Tasked on western commercial communications satellites (ILC) 40
- Controlling space based signals intelligence satellites 30
- Currently or formerly tasked on Soviet communications satellites 50

Systems in the third category may have been reallocated to ILC tasks since the end of the cold war. (25)

47. Other nations increasingly collect Comint from satellites. Russia's FAPSI operates large ground collection sites at Lourdes, Cuba and at Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam. (26) Germany's BND and France's DGSE are alleged to collaborate in the operation of a COMSAT collection site at Kourou, Guyana, targeted on "American and South American satellite communications". DGSE is also said to have COMSAT collection sites at Domme (Dordogne, France), in New Caledonia, and in the United Arab Emirates. (27) The Swiss intelligence service has recently announced a plan for two COMSAT interception stations. (28)

Satellite ground terminal at Etam, West Virginia connecting Europe and the US via Intelsat IV GCHQ constructed an identical "shadow" station in 1972 to intercept Intelsat messages for UKUSA

#### *Submarine cable interception*

48. Submarine cables now play a dominant role in international telecommunications, since - in contrast to the limited bandwidth available for space systems - optical media offer seemingly unlimited capacity. Save where cables terminate in countries where telecommunications operators

provide Comint access (such as the UK and the US), submarine cables appear intrinsically secure because of the nature of the ocean environment. 49. In October 1971, this security was shown not to exist. A US submarine, Halibut, visited the Sea of Okhotsk off the eastern USSR and recorded communications passing on a military cable to the Khamchatka Peninsula.

Halibut was equipped with a deep diving chamber, fully in view on the submarine's stern. The chamber was described by the US Navy as a "deep submergence rescue vehicle". The truth was that the "rescue vehicle" was welded immovably to the submarine. Once submerged, deep-sea divers exited the submarine and wrapped tapping coils around the cable. Having proven the principle, USS Halibut returned in 1972 and laid a high capacity recording pod next to the cable. The technique involved no physical damage and was unlikely to have been readily detectable. (29)

50. The Okhotsk cable tapping operation continued for ten years, involving routine trips by three different specially equipped submarines to collect old pods and lay new ones; sometimes, more than one pod at a time. New targets were added in 1979. That summer, a newly converted submarine called USS Parche travelled from San Francisco under the North Pole to the Barents Sea, and laid a new cable tap near Murmansk. Its crew received a presidential citation for their achievement. The Okhotsk cable tap ended in 1982, after its location was compromised by a former NSA employee who sold information about the tap, codenamed IVY BELLS, to the Soviet Union. One of the IVY BELLS pods is now on display in the Moscow museum of the former KGB. The cable tap in the Barents Sea continued in operation, undetected, until tapping stopped in 1992.

51. During 1985, cable-tapping operations were extended into the Mediterranean, to intercept cables linking Europe to West Africa. (30) After the cold war ended, the USS Parche was refitted with an extended section to accommodate larger cable tapping equipment and pods. Cable taps could be laid by remote control, using drones. USS Parche continues in operation to the present day, but the precise targets of its missions remain unknown. The Clinton administration evidently places high value on its achievements. Every year from 1994 to 1997, the submarine crew has been highly commended. (31) Likely targets may include the Middle East, Mediterranean, eastern Asia, and South America. The United States is the only naval power known to have deployed deep-sea technology for this purpose.

52. Miniaturised inductive taps recorders have also been used to intercept underground cables. (32) Optical fibre cables, however, do not leak radio frequency signals and cannot be tapped using inductive loops. NSA and other Comint agencies have spent a great deal of money on research into tapping optical fibres, reportedly with little success. But long distance optical fibre cables are not invulnerable. The key means of access is by tampering with optoelectronic "repeaters" which boost signal levels over long distances. It follows that any submarine cable system using submerged optoelectronic repeaters cannot be considered secure from interception and communications intelligence activity.

USS halibut with disguised chamber for diving Cable tapping pod laid by US submarine off Khamchatka

### *Intercepting the Internet*

53. The dramatic growth in the size and significance of the Internet and of related forms of digital communications has been argued by some to pose a challenge for Comint agencies. This does not appear correct. During the 1980s, NSA and its UKUSA partners operated a larger international communications network than the then Internet but based on the same technology. (33) According to its British partner "all GCHQ systems are linked together on the largest LAN [Local Area Network] in Europe, which is connected to other sites around the world via one of the largest WANs [Wide Area Networks] in the world ... its main networking protocol is Internet Protocol (IP). (34) This global network, developed as project EMBROIDERY, includes PATHWAY, the NSA's main

computer communications network. It provides fast, secure global communications for ECHELON and other systems. 54. Since the early 1990s, fast and sophisticated Comint systems have been developed to collect, filter and analyse the forms of fast digital communications used by the Internet. Because most of the world's Internet capacity lies within the United States or connects to the United States, many communications in "cyberspace" will pass through intermediate sites within the United States. Communications from Europe to and from Asia, Oceania, Africa or South America normally travel via the United States. 55. Routes taken by Internet "packets" depend on the origin and destination of the data, the systems through which they enter and leaves the Internet, and a myriad of other factors including time of day. Thus, routers within the western United States are at their most idle at the time when central European traffic is reaching peak usage. It is thus possible (and reasonable) for messages travelling a short distance in a busy European network to travel instead, for example, via Internet exchanges in California. It follows that a large proportion of international communications on the Internet will by the nature of the system pass through the United States and thus be readily accessible to NSA.

56. Standard Internet messages are composed of packets called "datagrams" . Datagrams include numbers representing both their origin and their destination, called "IP addresses". The addresses are unique to each computer connected to the Internet. They are inherently easy to identify as to country and site of origin and destination. Handling, sorting and routing millions of such packets each second is fundamental to the operation of major Internet centres. The same process facilitates extraction of traffic for Comint purposes.

57. Internet traffic can be accessed either from international communications links entering the United States, or when it reaches major Internet exchanges. Both methods have advantages. Access to communications systems is likely to be remain clandestine - whereas access to Internet exchanges might be more detectable but provides easier access to more data and simpler sorting methods. Although the quantities of data involved are immense, NSA is normally legally restricted to looking only at communications that start or finish in a foreign country. Unless special warrants are issued, all other data should normally be thrown away by machine before it can be examined or recorded.

58. Much other Internet traffic (whether foreign to the US or not) is of trivial intelligence interest or can be handled in other ways. For example, messages sent to "Usenet" discussion groups amounts to about 15 Gigabytes (GB) of data per day; the rough equivalent of 10,000 books. All this data is broadcast to anyone wanting (or willing) to have it. Like other Internet users, intelligence agencies have open source access to this data and store and analyse it. In the UK, the Defence Evaluation and Research Agency maintains a 1 Terabyte database containing the previous 90 days of Usenet messages. (35) A similar service, called "Deja News", is available to users of the World Wide Web (WWW). Messages for Usenet are readily distinguishable. It is pointless to collect them clandestinely.

59. Similar considerations affect the World Wide Web, most of which is openly accessible. Web sites are examined continuously by "search engines" which generate catalogues of their contents. "Alta Vista" and "Hotbot" are prominent public sites of this kind. NSA similarly employs computer "bots" (robots) to collect data of interest. For example, a New York web site known as JYA.COM (<http://www.jya.com/crypto.htm>) offers extensive public information on Sigint, Comint and cryptography. The site is frequently updated. Records of access to the site show that every morning it is visited by a "bot" from NSA's National Computer Security Centre, which looks for new files and makes copies of any that it finds. (36)

60. It follows that foreign Internet traffic of communications intelligence interest - consisting of e-mail, file transfers, "virtual private networks" operated over the internet, and some other messages - will form at best a few per cent of the traffic on most US Internet exchanges or backbone links. According to a former employee, NSA had by 1995 installed "sniffer" software to



collect such traffic at nine major Internet exchange points (IXPs). (37) The first two such sites identified, FIX East and FIX West, are operated by US government agencies. They are closely linked to nearby commercial locations, MAE East and MAE West (see table). Three other sites listed were Network Access Points originally developed by the US National Science Foundation to provide the US Internet with its initial "backbone".

#### *Internet site Location Operator Designation*

FIX East College Park, Maryland US government Federal Information Exchange  
FIX West Mountain View, California US government Federal Information Exchange  
MAE East Washington, DC MCI Metropolitan Area Ethernet  
New York NAP Pennsauken, New Jersey Sprintlink Network Access Point  
SWAB Washington, DC PSInet / Bell Atlantic SMDS Washington Area Bypass  
Chicago NAP Chicago, Illinois Ameritech / Bellcorp Network Access Point  
San Francisco NAP San Francisco, California Pacific Bell Network Access Point  
MAE West San Jose, California MCI Metropolitan Area Ethernet  
CIX Santa Clara California CIX Commercial Internet Exchange

Table 1. *NSA Internet Comint access at IXP sites (1995)* (38)

61. The same article alleged that a leading US Internet and telecommunications company had contracted with NSA to develop software to capture Internet data of interest, and that deals had been struck with the leading manufacturers Microsoft, Lotus, and Netscape to alter their products for foreign use. The latter allegation has proven correct (see technical annexe). Providing such features would make little sense unless NSA had also arranged general access to Internet traffic. Although NSA will not confirm or deny such allegations, a 1997 court case in Britain involving alleged "computer hacking" produced evidence of NSA surveillance of the Internet. Witnesses from the US Air Force component of NSA acknowledged using packet sniffers and specialised programmes to track attempts to enter US military computers. The case collapsed after the witnesses refused to provide evidence about the systems they had used. (39)

#### *Covert collection of high capacity signals*

62. Where access to signals of interest is not possible by other means, Comint agencies have constructed special purpose interception equipment to install in embassies or other diplomatic premises, or even to carry by hand to locations of special interest. Extensive descriptions of operations of this kind have been published by Mike Frost, a former official of CSE, the Canadian Sigint agency. (40) Although city centre embassy premises are often ideally situated to intercept a wide range of communications, ranging from official carphone services to high capacity microwave links, processing and passing on such information may be difficult. Such collection operations are also highly sensitive for diplomatic reasons. Equipment for covert collection is therefore specialised, selective and miniaturised.

63. A joint NSA/CIA "Special Collection Service" manufactures equipment and trains personnel for covert collection activities One major device is a suitcase-sized computer processing system. ORATORY. ORATORY is in effect a miniaturised version of the Dictionary computers described in the next section, capable of selecting non-verbal communications of interest from a wide range of inputs, according to pre-programmed selection criteria. One major NSA supplier ("The IDEAS Operation") now offers micro-miniature digital receivers which can simultaneously process Sigint data from 8 independent channels. This radio receiver is the size of a credit card. It fits in a standard laptop computer. IDEAS claim, reasonably, that their tiny card "performs functions that would have taken a rack full of equipment not long ago".

#### *New satellite networks*

64. New network operators have constructed mobile phone systems providing unbroken global coverage using satellites in low or medium level earth orbits. These systems are sometimes called satellite personal communication systems (SPCS). Because each satellite covers only a small area and moves fast, large numbers of satellites are needed to provide continuous global coverage. The satellites can relay signals directly between themselves or to ground stations. The first such system to be completed, Iridium, uses 66 satellites and started operations in 1998. Iridium appears to have created particular difficulties for communications intelligence agencies, since the signals down from the Iridium and similar networks can only be received in a small area, which may be anywhere on the earth's surface.

### **3. ECHELON and Comint production**

65. The ECHELON system became well known following publication of the previous STOA report. Since then, new evidence shows that ECHELON has existed since the 1970s, and was greatly enlarged between 1975 and 1995. Like ILC interception, ECHELON has developed from earlier methods. This section includes new information and documentary evidence about ECHELON and satellite interception.

#### *The "Watch List"*

66. After the public revelation of the SHAMROCK interception programme, NSA Director Lt General Lew Allen described how NSA used "watch lists" as an aid to watch for foreign activity of reportable intelligence interest". (41) "We have been providing details ... of any messages contained in the foreign communications we intercept that bear on named individuals or organisations. These compilations of names are commonly referred to as 'Watch Lists'", he said. (42) Until the 1970s, Watch List processing was manual. Analysts examined intercepted ILC communications, reporting, "gisting" or analysing those which appeared to cover names or topics on the Watch List.

#### *New information about ECHELON sites and systems*

67. It now appears that the system identified as ECHELON has been in existence for more than 20 years. The need for such a system was foreseen in the late 1960s, when NSA and GCHQ planned ILC satellite interception stations at Mowenstow and Yakima. It was expected that the quantity of messages intercepted from the new satellites would be too great for individual examination. According to former NSA staff, the first ECHELON computers automated Comint processing at these sites. (43)

68. NSA and CIA then discovered that Sigint collection from space was more effective than had been anticipated, resulting in accumulations of recordings that outstripped the available supply of linguists and analysts. Documents show that when the SILKWORTH processing systems was installed at Menwith Hill for the new satellites, it was supported by ECHELON 2 and other databanks (see illustration).

69. By the mid 1980s, communications intercepted at these major stations were heavily sifted, with a wide variety of specifications available for non-verbal traffic. Extensive further automation was planned in the mid 1980s as NSA Project P-415. Implementation of this project completed the automation of the previous Watch List activity. From 1987 onwards, staff from international Comint agencies travelled to the US to attend training courses for the new computer systems.

70. Project P-415/ECHELON made heavy use of NSA and GCHQ's global Internet-like communication network to enable remote intelligence customers to task computers at each

collection site, and receive the results automatically. The key component of the system are local "Dictionary" computers, which store an extensive database on specified targets, including names, topics of interest, addresses, telephone numbers and other selection criteria. Incoming messages are compared to these criteria; if a match is found, the raw intelligence is forwarded automatically. Dictionary computers are tasked with many thousands of different collection requirements, described as "numbers" (four digit codes).

71. Tasking and receiving intelligence from the Dictionaries involves processes familiar to anyone who has used the Internet. Dictionary sorting and selection can be compared to using search engines, which select web pages containing key words or terms and specifying relationships. The forwarding function of the Dictionary computers may be compared to e-mail. When requested, the system will provide lists of communications matching each criterion for review, analysis, "gisting" or forwarding. An important point about the new system is that before ECHELON, different countries and different stations knew what was being intercepted and to whom it was sent. Now, all but a fraction of the messages selected by Dictionary computers at remote sites are forwarded to NSA or other customers without being read locally.

List of intelligence databanks operating at ECHELON Menwith Hill in 1979 included the second generation of ECHELON Satellite interception site at Sugar Grove, West Virginia, showing six antennae targeted on European and Atlantic

#### *Ocean regional communications satellites*

##### Westminster, London - Dictionary computer

72. In 1991, a British television programme reported on the operations of the Dictionary computer at GCHQ's Westminster, London office. The system "secretly intercepts every single telex which passes into, out of or through London; thousands of diplomatic, business and personal messages every day. These are fed into a programme known as 'Dictionary'. It picks out keywords from the mass of Sigint, and hunts out hundreds of individuals and corporations". (44) The programme pointed out that the Dictionary computers, although controlled and tasked by GCHQ, were operated by security vetted staff employed by British Telecom (BT), Britain's dominant telecommunications operator. (45) The presence of Dictionary computers has also been confirmed at Kojarena, Australia; and at GCHQ Cheltenham, England. (46) Sugar Grove, Virginia - COMSAT interception at ECHELON site 73. US government documents confirm that the satellite receiving station at Sugar Grove, West Virginia is an ECHELON site, and that collects intelligence from COMSATs. The station is about 250 miles south-west of Washington, in a remote area of the Shenandoah Mountains. It is operated by the US Naval Security Group and the US Air Force Intelligence Agency. 74. An upgraded system called TIMBERLINE II, was installed at Sugar Grove in the summer of 1990. At the same time, according to official US documents, an "ECHELON training department" was established. (47) With training complete, the task of the station in 1991 became "to maintain and operate an ECHELON site". (48)

75. The US Air Force has publicly identified the intelligence activity at Sugar Grove: its "mission is to direct satellite communications equipment [in support of] consumers of COMSAT information ... This is achieved by providing a trained cadre of collection system operators, analysts and managers". (49) In 1990, satellite photographs showed that there were 4 satellite antennae at Sugar Grove. By November 1998, ground inspection revealed that this had expanded to a group of 9.

Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico and Leitrim, Canada - COMSAT interception sites 76. Further information published by the US Air Force identifies the US Naval Security Group Station at Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico as a COMSAT interception site. Its mission is "to become the premier satellite communications processing and analysis field station". (50) 77. Canadian Defence Forces

have published details about staff functions at the Leitrim field station of the Canadian Sigint agency CSE. The station, near Ottawa, Ontario has four satellite terminals, erected since 1984. The staff roster includes seven Communications Satellite Analysts, Supervisors and Instructors. (51)

78. In a publicly available resume, a former Communication Satellite Analyst employed at Leitrim describes his job as having required expertise in the "operation and analysis of numerous Comsat computer systems and associated subsystems ... [utilising] computer assisted analysis systems ... [and] a broad range of sophisticated electronic equipment to intercept and study foreign communications and electronic transmissions. (52) Financial reports from CSE also indicate that in 1995/96, the agency planned payments of \$7 million to ECHELON and \$6 million to Cray (computers). There were no further details about ECHELON. (53)

Waihopai, New Zealand - Intelsat interception at ECHELON site 79. New Zealand's Sigint agency GCSB operates two satellite interception terminals at Waihopai, tasked on Intelsat satellites covering the Pacific Ocean. Extensive details have already been published about the station's Dictionary computers and its role in the ECHELON network. (54) After the book was published, a New Zealand TV station obtained images of the inside of the station operations centre. The pictures were obtained clandestinely by filming through partially curtained windows at night. The TV reporter was able to film close-ups of technical manuals held in the control centre. These were Intelsat technical manuals, providing confirmation that the station targeted these satellites. Strikingly, the station was seen to be virtually empty, operating fully automatically. One guard was inside, but was unaware he was being filmed. (55)

#### *ILC processing techniques*

80. The technical annexe describes the main systems used to extract and process communications intelligence. The detailed explanations given about processing methods are not essential to understanding the core of this report, but are provided so that readers knowledgeable about telecommunications may fully evaluate the state of the art. 81. Fax messages and computer data (from modems) are given priority in processing because of the ease with which they are understood and analysed.

The main method of filtering and analysing non-verbal traffic, the Dictionary computers, utilise traditional information retrieval techniques, including keywords. Fast special purpose chips enable vast quantities of data to be processed in this way. The newest technique is "topic spotting". The processing of telephone calls is mainly limited to identifying call-related information, and traffic analysis. Effective voice "wordspotting" systems do not exist are not in use, despite reports to the contrary. But "voiceprint" type speaker identification systems have been in use since at least 1995. The use of strong cryptography is slowly impinging on Comint agencies' capabilities. This difficulty for Comint agencies has been offset by covert and overt activities which have subverted the effectiveness of cryptographic systems supplied from and/or used in Europe.

82. The conclusions drawn in the annexe are that Comint equipment currently available has the capability, as tasked, to intercept, process and analyse every modern type of high capacity communications system to which access is obtained, including the highest levels of the Internet. There are few gaps in coverage. The scale, capacity and speed of some systems is difficult fully to comprehend. Special purpose systems have been built to process pager messages, cellular mobile radio and new satellites.

#### **4. Comint and Law Enforcement**

83. In 1990 and 1991, the US government became concerned that the marketing of a secure telephone system by AT&T could curtail Comint activity. AT&T was persuaded to withdraw its

product. In its place the US government offered NSA "Clipper" chips for incorporation in secure phones. The chips would be manufactured by NSA, which would also record built-in keys and pass this information to other government agencies for storage and, if required, retrieval. This proposal proved extremely unpopular, and was abandoned. In its place, the US government proposed that non government agencies should be required to keep copies of every user's keys, a system called "key escrow" and, later, "key recovery". Viewed in retrospect, the actual purpose of these proposals was to provide NSA with a single (or very few) point(s) of access to keys, enabling them to continue to access private and commercial communications.

Misrepresentation of law enforcement interception requirements 84. Between 1993 to 1998, the United States conducted sustained diplomatic activity seeking to persuade EU nations and the OECD to adopt their "key recovery" system. Throughout this period, the US government insisted that the purpose of the initiative was to assist law enforcement agencies. Documents obtained for this study suggest that these claims wilfully misrepresented the true intention of US policy. Documents obtained under the US Freedom of Information Act indicate that policymaking was led exclusively by NSA officials, sometimes to the complete exclusion of police or judicial officials. For example, when the specially appointed US "Ambassador for Cryptography", David Aaron, visited Britain on 25 November 1996, he was accompanied and briefed by NSA's most senior representative in Britain, Dr James J Hearn, formerly Deputy Director of NSA. Mr Aaron had did not meet or consult FBI officials attached to his Embassy. His meeting with British Cabinet officials included NSA's representative and staff from Britain's GCHQ, but police officers or justice officials from both nations were excluded.

85. Since 1993, unknown to European parliamentary bodies and their electors, law enforcement officials from many EU countries and most of the UKUSA nations have been meeting annually in a separate forum to discuss their requirements for intercepting communications. These officials met under the auspices of a hitherto unknown organisation, ILETs (International Law Enforcement Telecommunications Seminar). ILETs was initiated and founded by the FBI. Table 2 lists ILETs meetings held between 1993 and 1997.

86. At their 1993 and 1994 meetings, ILETs participants specified law enforcement user requirements for communications interception. These appear in a 1974 ILETs document called "IUR 1.0". This document was based on an earlier FBI report on "Law Enforcement Requirements for the Surveillance of Electronic Communications", first issued in July 1992 and revised in June 1994. The IUR requirement differed little in substance from the FBI's requirements but was enlarged, containing ten requirements rather than nine. IUR did not specify any law enforcement need for "key escrow" or "key recovery". Cryptography was mentioned solely in the context of network security arrangements.

87. Between 1993 and 1997 police representatives from ILETs were not involved in the NSA-led policy making process for "key recovery", nor did ILETs advance any such proposal, even as late as 1997. Despite this, during the same period the US government repeatedly presented its policy as being motivated by the stated needs of law enforcement agencies. At their 1997 meeting in Dublin, ILETs did not alter the IUR. It was not until 1998 that a revised IUR was prepared containing requirements in respect of cryptography. It follows from this that the US government misled EU and OECD states about the true intention of its policy.

88. This US deception was, however, clear to the senior Commission official responsible for information security. In September 1996, David Herson, head of the EU Senior Officers' Group on Information Security, stated his assessment of the US "key recovery" project :

"'Law Enforcement' is a protective shield for all the other governmental activities ... We're talking about foreign intelligence, that's what all this is about. There is no question [that] 'law enforcement' is a smoke screen". (56)

89. It should be noted that technically, legally and organisationally, law enforcement requirements for communications interception differ fundamentally from communications intelligence. Law enforcement agencies (LEAs) will normally wish to intercept a specific line or group of lines, and must normally justify their requests to a judicial or administrative authority before proceeding. In contrast, Comint agencies conduct broad international communications "trawling" activities, and operate under general warrants. Such operations do not require or even suppose that the parties they intercept are criminals. Such distinctions are vital to civil liberty, but risk being eroded if the boundaries between law enforcement and communications intelligence interception becomes blurred in future.

*Year Venue Non-EU participants EU participants*  
 1993 Quantico, Virginia, USA Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Norway United States Denmark, France, Germany, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom  
 1994 Bonn, Germany Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, Norway, United States Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom  
 1995 Canberra, Australia Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Norway, United States Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom  
 1997 Dublin, Ireland Australia, Canada, Hong Kong, New Zealand, Norway, United States Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom

*Table 2 ILETS meetings, 1993-1997*

Law enforcement communications interception - policy development in Europe 90. Following the second ILETS meeting in Bonn in 1994, IUR 1.0 was presented to the Council of Ministers and was passed without a single word being altered on 17 January 1995. (57) During 1995, several non EU members of the ILETS group wrote to the Council to endorse the (unpublished) Council resolution. The resolution was not published in the Official Journal for nearly two years, on 4 November 1996.

91. Following the third ILETS meeting in Canberra in 1995, the Australian government was asked to present the IUR to International Telecommunications Union (ITU). Noting that "law enforcement and national security agencies of a significant number of ITU member states have agreed on a generic set of requirements for legal interception", the Australian government asked the ITU to advise its standards bodies to incorporate the IUR requirements into future telecommunications systems on the basis that the "costs of [providing] legal interception capability and associated disruptions can be lessened by providing for that capability at the design stage". (58)

92. It appears that ILETS met again in 1998 and revised and extended its terms to cover the Internet and Satellite Personal Communications Systems such as Iridium. The new IUR also specified "additional security requirements for network operators and service providers", extensive new requirements for personal information about subscribers, and provisions to deal with cryptography.

93. On 3 September 1998, the revised IUR was presented to the Police Co-operation Working Group as ENFOPOL 98. The Austrian Presidency proposed that, as in 1994, the new IUR be adopted verbatim as a Council Resolution on interception "in respect of new technology". (59) The group did not agree. After repeated redrafting, a fresh paper has been prepared by the German Presidency, for the eventual consideration of Council Home and Justice ministers. (60)

## **5. Comint and economic intelligence**

94. During the 1998 EP debate on "Transatlantic relations/ECHELON system" Commissioner Bangeman observed on behalf of the Commission that "If this system were to exist, it would be an

intolerable attack against individual liberties, competition and the security of the states". (61) The existence of ECHELON was described in section 3, above. This section describes the organisational and reporting frameworks within which economically sensitive information collected by ECHELON and related systems is disseminated, summarising examples where European organisations have been the subject of surveillance.

#### *Tasking economic intelligence*

95. US officials acknowledge that NSA collects economic information, whether intentionally or otherwise. Former military intelligence attaché Colonel Dan Smith worked at the US Embassy, London until 1993. He regularly received Comint product from Menwith Hill. In 1998, he told the BBC that at Menwith Hill:

"In terms of scooping up communications, inevitably since their take is broadband, there will be conversations or communications which are intercepted which have nothing to do with the military, and probably within those there will be some information about commercial dealings" "Anything would be possible technically. Technically they can scoop all this information up, sort through it and find out what it is that might be asked for . . . But there is not policy to do this specifically in response to a particular company's interest(62)

96. In general, this statement is not incorrect. But it overlooks fundamental distinctions between tasking and dissemination, and between commercial and economic intelligence. There is no evidence that companies in any of the UKUSA countries are able to task Comint collection to suit their private purposes. They do not have to. Each UKUSA country authorises national level intelligence assessment organisations and relevant individual ministries to task and receive economic intelligence from Comint. Such information may be collected for myriad purposes, such as: estimation of future essential commodity prices; determining other nation's private positions in trade negotiations; monitoring international trading in arms; tracking sensitive technology; or evaluating the political stability and/or economic strength of a target country. Any of these targets and many others may produce intelligence of direct commercial relevance. The decision as to whether it should be disseminated or exploited is taken not by Comint agencies but by national government organisation(s).

#### *Disseminating economic intelligence*

97. In 1970, according to its former Executive Director, the US Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board recommended that "henceforth economic intelligence be considered a function of the national security, enjoying a priority equivalent to diplomatic, military, technological intelligence". (63) On 5 May 1977, a meeting between NSA, CIA and the Department of Commerce authorised the creation of secret new department, the "Office of Intelligence Liaison". Its task was to handle "foreign intelligence" of interest to the Department of Commerce. Its standing orders show that it was authorised to receive and handle SCI intelligence - Comint and Sigint from NSA. The creation of this office THUS provided a formal mechanism whereby NSA data could be used to support commercial and economic interests. After this system was highlighted in a British TV programme in 1993, its name was changed to the "Office of Executive Support". (64) Also in 1993, President Clinton extended US intelligence support to commercial organisations by creating a new National Economic Council, paralleling the National Security Council.

98. The nature of this intelligence support has been widely reported. "Former intelligence officials and other experts say tips based on spying ... regularly flow from the Commerce Department to U.S. companies to help them win contracts overseas. (65) The Office of Executive Support provides classified weekly briefings to security officials. One US newspaper obtained reports from the Commerce Department demonstrating intelligence support to US companies:

One such document consists of minutes from an August 1994 Commerce Department meeting [intended] to identify major contracts open for bid in Indonesia in order to help U.S. companies win the work. A CIA employee ... spoke at the meeting; five of the 16 people on the routine distribution list for the minutes were from the CIA.

99. In the United Kingdom, GCHQ is specifically required by law (and as and when tasked by the British government) to intercept foreign communications "in the interests of the economic well-being of the United Kingdom ...in relation to the actions or intentions of persons outside the British Islands". Commercial interception is tasked and analysed by GCHQ's K Division. Commercial and economic targets can be specified by the government's Overseas Economic Intelligence Committee, the Economic Staff of the Joint Intelligence Committee, the Treasury, or the Bank of England. (66) According to a former senior JIC official, the Comint take routinely includes "company plans, telexes, faxes, and transcribed phone calls. Many were calls between Europe and the South[ern Hemisphere]". (67) 100. In Australia, commercially relevant Comint is passed by DSD to the Office of National Assessments, who consider whether, and if so where, to disseminate it. Staff there may pass information to Australian companies if they believe that an overseas nation has or seeks an unfair trade advantage. Targets of such activity have included Thomson-CSF, and trade negotiations with Japanese purchasers of coal and iron ore. Similar systems operate in the other UKUSA nations, Canada and New Zealand.

*The use of Comint economic intelligence product Panavia European Fighter Aircraft consortium and Saudi Arabia*

101. In 1993, former National Security Council official Howard Teicher described in a programme about Menwith Hill how the European Panavia company was specifically targeted over sales to the Middle East. "I recall that the words 'Tornado' or 'Panavia' - information related to the specific aircraft - would have been priority targets that we would have wanted information about". (68)

*Thomson CSF and Brazil*

102. In 1994, NSA intercepted phone calls between Thomson-CSF and Brazil concerning SIVAM, a \$1.3 billion surveillance system for the Amazon rain forest. The company was alleged to have bribed members of the Brazilian government selection panel. The contract was awarded to the US Raytheon Corporation - who announced afterwards that "the Department of Commerce worked very hard in support of U.S. industry on this project". (69) Raytheon also provide maintenance and engineering services to NSA's ECHELON satellite interception station at Sugar Grove.

*Airbus Industrie and Saudi Arabia*

103. According to a well-informed 1995 press report : "from a commercial communications satellite, NSA lifted all the faxes and phone calls between the European consortium Airbus, the Saudi national airline and the Saudi government. The agency found that Airbus agents were offering bribes to a Saudi official. It passed the information to U.S. officials pressing the bid of Boeing Co and McDonnell Douglas Corp., which triumphed last year in the \$6 billion competition." (70)

*International trade negotiations*

104. Many other accounts have been published by reputable journalists and some firsthand witnesses citing frequent occasions on which the US government has utilised Comint for national commercial purposes. These include targeting data about the emission standards of Japanese vehicles;(71) 1995 trade negotiations the import of Japanese luxury cars;(72) French participation in the GATT trade negotiations in 1993; the Asian-Pacific Economic Conference (APEC), 1997.



### *Targeting host nations*

105. The issue of whether the United States utilises communications intelligence facilities such as Menwith Hill or Bad Aibling to attack host nations' communications also arises. The available evidence suggests that such conduct may normally be avoided. According to former National Security Council official Howard Teicher, the US government would not direct NSA to spy on a host governments such as Britain: " [But] I would never say never in this business because, at the end of the day, national interests are national interests ... sometimes our interests diverge. So never say never - especially in this business"

## **6. Comint capabilities after 2000**

### *Developments in technology*

106. Since the mid-1990s, communications intelligence agencies have faced substantial difficulties in maintaining global access to communications systems. These difficulties will increase during and after 2000. The major reason is the shift in telecommunications to high capacity optical fibre networks. Physical access to cables is required for interception. Unless a fibre network lies within or passes through a collaborating state, effective interception is practical only by tampering with optoelectronic repeaters (when installed). This limitation is likely to place many foreign land-based high capacity optical fibre networks beyond reach. The physical size of equipment needed to process traffic, together with power, communications and recording systems, makes clandestine activity impractical and risky. 107. Even where access is readily available (such as to COMSATS), the proliferation of new systems will limit collection activities, partly because budgetary constraint will restrict new deployments, and partly because some systems (for example, Iridium) cannot be accessed by presently available systems.

108. In the past 15 years the substantial technological lead in computers and information technology once enjoyed by Comint organisations has all but disappeared. Their principal computer systems are bought "off the shelf" and are the equal of or even inferior to those used by first rank industrial and academic organisations. They differ only in being "TEMPEST shielded", preventing them emitting radio signals which could be used to analyse Sigint activity.

109. Communications intelligence organisations recognise that the long war against civil and commercial cryptography has been lost. A thriving academic and industrial community is skilled in cryptography and cryptology. The Internet and the global marketplace have created a free flow in information, systems and software. NSA has failed in its mission to perpetuate access by pretending that that "key escrow" and like systems were intended to support law enforcement (as opposed to Comint) requirements.

110. Future trends in Comint are likely to include limits on investment in Comint collection from space; greater use of human agents to plant collection devices or obtain codes than in the past; and an intensified effort to attack foreign computer systems, using the Internet and other means (in particular, to gain access to protected files or communications before they are encrypted).

111. Attempts to restrict cryptography have nevertheless delayed the large-scale introduction of effective cryptographic security systems. The reduced cost of computational power has also enabled Comint agencies to deploy fast and sophisticated processing and sorting tools.

112. Recent remarks to CIA veterans by the head of staff of the US House of Representatives Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, ex CIA officer John Millis illustrate how NSA views the same issues:

"Signals intelligence is in a crisis. ... Over the last fifty years ... In the past, technology has been the friend of NSA, but in the last four or five years technology has moved from being the friend to being the enemy of Sigint.

The media of telecommunications is no longer Sigint-friendly. It used to be. When you were doing RF signals, anybody within range of that RF signal could receive it just as clearly as the intended recipient. We moved from that to microwaves, and people figured out a great way to harness that as well. Well, we're moving to media that are very difficult to get to.

Encryption is here and it's going to grow very rapidly. That is bad news for Sigint ... It is going to take a huge amount of money invested in new technologies to get access and to be able to break out the information that we still need to get from Sigint".

#### *Policy issues for the European Parliament*

1. The 1998 Parliamentary resolution on "Transatlantic relations/ECHELON system"(73) called for "protective measures concerning economic information and effective encryption". Providing such measures may be facilitated by developing an in-depth understanding of present and future Comint capabilities.

2. At the technical level, protective measures may best be focused on defeating hostile Comint activity by denying access or, where this is impractical or impossible, preventing processing of message content and associated traffic information by general use of cryptography.

3. As the SOGIS group within the Commission has recognised,(74) the contrasting interests of states is a complex issue. Larger states have made substantial investments in Comint capabilities. One member state is active in the UKUSA alliance, whilst others are either "third parties" to UKUSA or have made bilateral arrangements with NSA. Some of these arrangements were a legacy of the cold war; others are enduring. These issues create internal and international conflicts of interest. Technical solutions are not obvious. It should be possible to define a shared interest in implementing measures to defeat future external Comint activities directed against European states, their citizens and commercial activities.

4. A second area of apparent conflict concerns states' desires to provide communications interception for legitimate law enforcement purposes. The technical and legal processes involved in providing interception for law enforcement purpose differ fundamentally from those used in communications intelligence. Partly because of the lack of parliamentary and public awareness of Comint activities, this distinction is often glossed over, particularly by states that invest heavily in Comint. Any failure to distinguish between legitimate law enforcement interception requirements and interception for clandestine intelligence purposes raises grave issues for civil liberties. A clear boundary between law enforcement and "national security" interception activity is essential to the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms.

5. At the present time, Internet browsers and other software used in almost every personal computer in Europe is deliberately disabled such that "secure" communications they send can, if collected, be read without difficulty by NSA. US manufacturers are compelled to make these arrangements under US export rules. A level playing field is important. Consideration could be given to a countermeasure whereby, if systems with disabled cryptographic systems are sold outside the United States, they should be required to conform to an "open standard" such that third parties and other nations may provide additional applications which restore the level of security to at least enjoyed by domestic US customers.

6. The work of ILETS has proceeded for 6 years without the involvement of parliaments, and in the absence of consultation with the industrial organisations whose vital interests their work affects.

It is regrettable that, prior to the publication of this report, public information has not been available in states about the scope of the policy-making processes, inside and outside the EU, which have led to the formulation of existing and new law enforcement "user requirements". As a matter of urgency, the current policy-making process should be made open to public and parliamentary discussion in member states and in the EP, so that a proper balance may be struck between the security and privacy rights of citizens and commercial enterprises, the financial and technical interests of communications network operators and service providers, and the need to support law enforcement activities intended to suppress serious crime and terrorism.

## **Technical annexe**

### *Broadband (high capacity multi-channel) communications*

1. From 1950 until the early 1980s, high capacity multi-channel analogue communications systems were usually engineered using separate communications channels carried at different frequencies. The combined signal, which could include 2,000 or more speech channels, was a "multiplex". The resulting "frequency division multiplex" (FDM) signal was then carried on a much higher frequency, such as by a microwave radio signal.

2. Digital communications have almost universally taken over from analogue methods. The basic system of digital multi-channel communications is time division multiplexing (TDM). In a TDM telephony system, the individual conversational channels are first digitised. Information concerning each channel is then transmitted sequentially rather than simultaneously, with each link occupying successive time "slots".

3. Standards for digital communications evolved separately within Europe and North America. In the United States, the then dominant public network carrier (the Bell system, run by AT&T) established digital data standards. The basic building block, a T-1 link, carries the equivalent of 24 telephone channels at a rate of 1.544 Mbps. Higher capacity systems operate at greater data transmission rates. Thus, the highest transmission rate, T-5, carries the equivalent of 8,000 speech channels at a data rate of 560 Mbps.

4. Europe adopted a different framework for digital communications, based on standards originally agreed by the CEPT. The basic European standard digital link, E-1, carries 30 telephone channels at a data rate of 2 Mbps. Most European telecommunications systems are based on E-1 links or (as in North America), multiples thereof. The distinction is significant because most Comint processing equipment manufactured in the United States is designed to handle intercepted communications working to the European forms of digital communications.

5. Recent digital systems utilise synchronised signals carried by very high capacity optical fibres. Synchronising signals enables single channels to be easily extracted from high capacity links. The new system is known in the US as the synchronous optical network (SONET), although three equivalent definitions and labels are in use. (75)

### *Communications intelligence equipment*

6. Dozens of US defence contractors, many located in Silicon Valley (California) or in the Maryland "Beltway" area near Washington, manufacture sophisticated Sigint equipment for NSA. Major US corporations, such as Lockheed Martin, Space Systems/Loral, TRW, Raytheon and Bendix are also contracted by NSA to operate major Sigint collection sites. A full report on their products and services is beyond the scope of this study. The state of the art in contemporary communications intelligence may usefully be demonstrated, however, by examining some of the Comint processing products of two specialist NSA niche suppliers: Applied Signal Technology Inc (AST), of Sunnyvale, California, and The IDEAS Operation of Columbia, Maryland (part of Science

Applications International Corporation (SAIC)). (76)

7. Both companies include senior ex-NSA staff as directors. When not explicitly stated, their products can be identified as intended for Sigint by virtue of being "TEMPEST screened". AST states generally that its "equipment is used for signal reconnaissance of foreign telecommunications by the United States government". One leading cryptographer has aptly and engagingly described AST as a "one-stop ECHELON shop".

#### *Wideband extraction and signal analysis*

8. Wideband (or broadband) signals are normally intercepted from satellites or tapped cables in the form of multiplex microwave or high frequency signals. The first step in processing such signals for Comint purposes is "wideband extraction". An extensive range of Sigint equipment is manufactured for this purpose, enabling newly intercepted systems to be surveyed and analysed. These include transponder survey equipment which identify and classify satellite downlinks, demodulators, decoders, demultiplexers, microwave radio link analysers, link survey units, carrier analysis systems, and many other forms of hardware and software.

9. A newly intercepted communications satellite or data link can be analysed using the AST Model 196 "Transponder characterisation system". Once its basic communications structure has been analysed, the Model 195 "Wideband snapshot analyser", also known as SNAPPER, can record sample data from even the highest capacity systems, sufficient to analyse communications in minute detail. By the start of 1999, operating in conjunction with the Model 990 "Flexible Data Acquisition Unit", this systems was able to record, playback and analyse at data rates up to 2.488 Gbps (SONET OC-48). This is 16 times faster than the largest backbone links in general use on the Internet; larger than the telephony capacity of any current communications satellite; and equivalent to 40,000 simultaneous telephone calls. It can be fitted with 48 Gbyte of memory (500-1000 times larger than found in an average personal computer), enabling relatively lengthy recordings of high-speed data links. The 2.5 Gbps capacity of a single SNAPPER unit exceeds the current daily maximum data rate found on a typical large Internet exchange. (77)

10. Both AST and IDEAS offer a wide range of recorders, demultiplexers, scanners and processors, mostly designed to process European type (CEPT) E-1, E-3 (etc) signals at data rates of up to 160 Mbps. Signals may be recorded to banks of high-speed tape recorders, or into high capacity "RAID"(78) hard disk networks. Intercepted optical signals can be examined with the AST Model 257E "SONET analyser".

11. Once communications links have been analysed and broken down to their constituent parts, the next stage of Comint collection involves multi-channel processors which extract and filter messages and signals from the desired channels. There are three broad categories of interest: "voice grade channels", normally carrying telephony; fax communications; and analogue data modems. A wide selection of multi-channel Comint processors are available. Almost all of them separate voice, fax and data messages into distinct "streams" for downstream processing and analysis.

12. The AST Model 120 multi-channel processor - used by NSA in different configurations known as STARQUAKE, COBRA and COPPERHEAD - can handle 1,000 simultaneous voice channels and automatically extract fax, data and voice traffic. Model 128, larger still, can process 16 European E-3 channels (a data rate of 500 Mbps) and extract 480 channels of interest. The 1999 giant of AST's range, the Model 132 "Voice Channel Demultiplexer", can scan up to 56,700 communications channels, extracting more than 3,000 voice channels of interest. AST also provides Sigint equipment to intercept low capacity VSAT(79) satellite services used by smaller businesses and domestic users. These systems can be intercepted by the AST Model 285 SCPS processor, which identifies and extracts up to 48 channels of interest, distinguished between

voice, fax and data.

13. According to US government publications, an early Wideband Extraction system was installed at NSA's Vint Hill Farms field station in 1970, about the time that systematic COMSAT interception collection began. That station is now closed. US publications identify the NSA/CSS Regional Sigint Operations Centre at San Antonio, Texas, as a site currently providing a multi-channel Wideband Extraction service.

*Filtering, data processing, and facsimile analysis*

14. Once communications channels have been identified and signals of interest extracted, they are analysed further by sophisticated workstations using special purpose software. AST's ELVIRA Signals Analysis Workstation is typical of this type of Sigint equipment. This system, which can be used on a laptop computer in covert locations, surveys incoming channels and extracts standard Comint data, including technical specifications (STRUM) and information about call destinations (SRI, or signal related information). Selected communications are relayed to distant locations using NSA standard "Collected Signals Data Format" (CSDF). (80)

15. High-speed data systems can also be passed to AST's TRAILMAPPER software system, which works at a data rate of up to 2.5 Gbps. It can interpret and analyse every type of telecommunications system, including European, American and optical standards. TRAILMAPPER appears to have been designed with a view to analysing ATM (asynchronous transfer mode) communications. ATM is a modern, high-capacity digital communications system. It is better suited than standard Internet connections to carrying multimedia traffic and to providing business with private networks (VPN, LAN or WAN). TRAILMAPPER will identify and characterise such business networks.

16. In the next stage downstream, intercepted signals are processed according to whether they are voice, fax or data. AST's "Data Workstation" is designed to categorise all aspects of data communications, including systems for handling e-mail or sending files on the Internet. (81) Although the very latest modem systems (other than ISDN) are not included in its advertised specification, it is clear from published research that AST has developed the technology to intercept and process the latest data communications systems used by individuals and business to access the Internet. (82) The Data Workstation can store and automatically process 10,000 different recorded signals.

17. Fax messages are processed by AST's Fax Image Workstation. This is described as a "user friendly, interactive analysis tool for rapid examination images stored on disk. Although not mentioned in AST's literature, standard fax pre-processing for Dictionary computers involves automatic "optical character recognition" (OCR) software. This turns the typescript into computer readable (and processable) text. The effectiveness of these systems makes fax-derived Comint an important collection subsystem. It has one drawback. OCR computer systems that can reliably recognise handwriting do not exist. No one knows how to design such a system. It follows that, perversely, hand-written fax messages may be a secure form of communication that can evade Dictionary surveillance criteria, provided always that the associated "signal related information" (calling and receiving fax numbers) have not been recognised as being of interest and directed to a Fax Image Workstation.

18. AST also make a "Pager Identification and Message Extraction" system which automatically collects and processes data from commercial paging systems. IDEAS offer a Video Teleconferencing Processor that can simultaneously view or record two simultaneous teleconferencing sessions. Sigint systems to intercept cellular mobile phone networks such as GSM are not advertised by AST or IDEAS, but are available from other US contractors. The specifications and ready availability of such systems indicate how industrialised and pervasive

Comint has become. It has moved far from the era when (albeit erroneously), it was publicly associated only with monitoring diplomatic or military messages.

*NSA "Trailmapper software showing automatic detection of private networks inside intercepted high capacity STM-1 digital communications system*

Traffic analysis, keyword recognition, text retrieval, and topic analysis 19. Traffic analysis is a method of obtaining intelligence from signal related information, such as the number dialled on a telephone call, or the Calling Line Identification Data (CLID) which identifies the person making the call. Traffic analysis can be used where message content is not available, for example when encryption is used. By analysing calling patterns, networks of personal associations may be analysed and studied. This is a principal method of examining voice communications.

20. Whenever machine readable communications are available, keyword recognition is fundamental to Dictionary computers, and to the ECHELON system. The Dictionary function is straightforward. Its basic mode of operation is akin to web search engines. The differences are of substance and of scale. Dictionaries implement the tasking of their host station against the entire mass of collected communications, and automate the distribution of selected raw product.

21. Advanced systems have been developed to perform very high speed sorting of large volumes of intercepted information. In the late 1980s, the manufacturers of the RHYOLITE Sigint satellites, TRW, designed and manufactured a Fast Data Finder (FDF) microchip for NSA. The FDF chip was declassified in 1972 and made available for commercial use by a spin-off company, Paracel. Since then Paracel has sold over 150 information filtering systems, many of them to the US government. Paracel describes its current FDF technology as the "fastest, most accurate adaptive filtering system in the world":

A single TextFinder application may involve trillions of bytes of textual archive and thousands of online users, or gigabytes of live data stream per day that are filtered against tens of thousands of complex interest profiles ... the TextFinder chip implements the most comprehensive character-string comparison functions of any text retrieval system in the world.

Devices like this are ideal for use in ECHELON and the Dictionary system. 22. A lower capacity system, the PRP-9800 Pattern Recognition Processor, is manufactured by IDEAS. This is a computer card which can be fitted to a standard PC. It can analyse data streams at up to 34 Mbps (the European E-3 standard), matching every single bit to more than 1000 pre-selected patterns.

23. Powerful though Dictionary methods and keyword search engines may be, however, they and their giant associated intelligence databases may soon seem archaic. Topic analysis is a more powerful and intuitive technique, and one that NSA is developing and promoting with confidence. Topic analysis enables Comint customers to ask their computers to "find me documents about subject X". X might be "Shakespeare in love" or "Arms to Iran".

24. In a standard US test used to evaluate topic analysis systems,(83) one task the analysis program is given is to find information about "Airbus subsidies". The traditional approach involves supplying the computer with the key terms, other relevant data, and synonyms. In this example, the designations A-300 or A-320 might be synonymous with "Airbus". The disadvantage of this approach is that it may find irrelevant intelligence (for example, reports about export subsidies to goods flown on an Airbus) and miss relevant material (for example a financial analysis of a company in the consortium which does not mention the Airbus product by name). Topic analysis overcomes this and is better matched to human intelligence.

25. The main detectable thrust of NSA research on topic analysis centres on a method called N-gram analysis. Developed inside NSA's Research group - responsible for Sigint automation - N-

gram analysis is a fast, general method of sorting and retrieving machine-readable text according to language and/or topic. The N-gram system is claimed to work independently of the language used or the topic studied. NSA patented the method in 1995. (84)

26. To use N-gram analysis, the operator ignores keywords and defines the enquiry by providing the system with selected written documents concerning the topic of interest. The system determines what the topic is from the seed group of documents, and then calculates the probability that other documents cover the same topic. In 1994, NSA made its N-gram system available for commercial exploitation. NSA's research group claimed that it could be used on "very large data sets (millions of documents)", could be quickly implemented on any computer system and that it could operate effectively "in text containing a great many errors (typically 10-15% of all characters)".

27. According to former NSA Director William Studeman, "information management will be the single most important problem for the (US) Intelligence Community" in the future. (85) Explaining this point in 1992, he described the type of filtering involved in systems like ECHELON:

One [unidentified] intelligence collection system alone can generate a million inputs per half hour; filters throw away all but 6500 inputs; only 1,000 inputs meet forwarding criteria; 10 inputs are normally selected by analysts and only one report is produced. These are routine statistics for a number of intelligence collection and analysis systems which collect technical intelligence.

*The "Data Workstation" Comint software system analyses up to 10,000 recorded messages, identifying Internet traffic, e-mail messages and attachments*

*Speech recognition systems*

28. For more than 40 years, NSA, ARPA, GCHQ and the British government Joint Speech Research Unit have conducted and sponsored research into speech recognition. Many press reports (and the previous STOA report) have suggested that such research has provided systems which can automatically select telephone communications of intelligence interest based on the use of particular "key words" by a speaker. If available, such systems would enable vastly more extensive Comint information to be gathered from telephone conversations than is available from other methods of analysis. The contention that telephone word-spotting systems are readily available appears to be supported by the recent availability of a string of low-cost software products resulting from this research. These products permit PC users to dictate to their computers instead of entering data through the keyboard. (86)

29. The problem is that for Comint applications, unlike personal computer dictation products, speech recognition systems have to operate in a multi-speaker, multi-language environment where numerous previously never heard speakers may each feature physiological differences, dialect variations, and speech traits. Commercial PC systems usually require one or more hours of training in order reliably to recognise a single speaker. Even then, such systems may mistranscribe 10% or more of the words spoken.

30. In PC dictation applications, the speaker can correct mistranscriptions and continually retrain the recognition system, making a moderate error rate acceptable. For use in Comint, where the interception system has no prior knowledge of what has been said (or even the language in use), and has to operate in the poorer signal environment of a telephone speech channel, such error rates are unachievable. Worse still, even moderate error rates can make a keyword recognition system worthless by generating both false positive outputs (words wrongly identified as keywords) and false negative outputs (missing genuine keywords).

31. This study has found no evidence that voice keyword recognition systems are currently operationally deployed, nor that they are yet sufficiently accurate to be worth using for intelligence purposes.

### *Continuous speech recognition*

32. The fundamental technique in many speech recognition applications is a statistical method called Hidden Markov Modelling (HMM). HMM systems have been developed at many centres and are claimed academically to offer "good word spotting performance ... using very little or no acoustic speech training". (87) The team which reported this result tested its system using data from the US Department of Defense "Switchboard Data", containing recordings of thousand of different US telephone conversations. On a limited test the probabilities of correctly detecting the occurrences of 22 keywords ranged from 45-68% on settings which allowed for 10 false positive results per keyword per hour. Thus if 1000 genuine keywords appeared during an hour's conversation, there would be at least 300 missed key words, plus 220 false alarms.

33. At about the same time, (February 1990), the Canadian Sigint organisation CSE awarded a Montreal-based computer research consultancy the first of a series of contracts to develop a Comint wordspotting system. (88) The goal of the project was to build a word-spotter that worked well even for noisy calls. Three years later, CRIM reported that "our experience has taught us that, regardless of the environmental conditions, wordspotting remains a difficult problem". The key problem, which is familiar to human listeners, is that a single word heard on its own can easily be misinterpreted, whereas in continuous speech the meaning may be deduced from surrounding words. CRIM concluded in 1993 that "it is probable that the most effective way of building a reliable wordspotter is to build a large vocabulary continuous speech recognition (CSR) system".

34. Continuous speech recognition software working in real time needs a powerful fast, processor. Because of the lack of training and the complex signal environment found in intercepted telephone calls, it is likely that even faster processors and better software than used in modern PCs would yield poorer results than are now provided by well-trained commercial systems. Significantly, an underlying problem is that voice keyword recognition is, as with machine-readable messages, an imperfect means to the more useful intelligence goal - topic spotting.

35. In 1993, having failed to build a workable wordspotter, CRIM suggesting "bypassing" the problem and attempting instead to develop a voice topic spotter. CRIM reported that "preliminary experiments reported at a recent meeting of American defense contractors ... indicate that this may in fact be an excellent approach to the problem". They offered to produce an "operational topic spotting" system by 1995. They did not succeed. Four years later, they were still experimenting on how to built a voice topic spotter. (89) They received a further research contract. One method CRIM proposed was NSA's N-gram technique.

Speaker identification and other voice message selection techniques 36. In 1993, CRIM also undertook to supply CSE with an operational speaker identification module by March 1995. Nothing more was said about this project, suggesting that the target may have been met. In the same year, according to NSA documents, the IDEAS company supplied a "Voice Activity Detector and Analyser", Model TE464375-1, to NSA's offices inside GCHQ Cheltenham. The unit formed the centre of a 14-position computer driven voice monitoring system. This too may have been an early speaker identification system.

37. In 1995, widely quoted reports suggested that NSA speaker identification had been used to help capture the drug cartel leader Pablo Escobar. The reports bore strong resemblance to a novel by Tom Clancy, suggesting that the story may have owed more to Hollywood than high tech. In



1997, the Canadian CRE awarded a contract to another researcher to develop "new retrieval algorithms for speech characteristics used for speaker identification", suggesting this method was not by then a fully mature technology. According to Sigint staff familiar with the current use of Dictionary, it can be programmed to search to identify particular speakers on telephone channels. But speaker identification is still not a particularly reliable or effective Comint technique. (90)

38. In the absence of effective wordspotting or speaker identification techniques, NSA has sought alternative means of automatically analysing telephone communications. According NSA's classification guide, other techniques examined include Speech detection - detecting the presence or absence of speech activity; Speaker discrimination - techniques to distinguish between the speech of two or more speakers; and Readability estimation - techniques to determine the quality of speech signals. System descriptions must be classified "secret" if NSA "determines that they represent major advances over techniques known in the research community". (91)

"Workfactor reduction"; the subversion of cryptographic systems 39. From the 1940s to date, NSA has undermined the effectiveness of cryptographic systems made or used in Europe. The most important target of NSA activity was a prominent Swiss manufacturing company, Crypto AG. Crypto AG established a strong position as a supplier of code and cypher systems after the second world war. Many governments would not trust products offered for sale by major powers. In contrast, Swiss companies in this sector benefited from Switzerland's neutrality and image of integrity.

40. NSA arranged to rig encryption systems sold by Crypto AG, enabling UKUSA agencies to read the coded diplomatic and military traffic of more than 130 countries. NSA's covert intervention was arranged through the company's owner and founder Boris Hagelin, and involved periodic visits to Switzerland by US "consultants" working for NSA. One was Nora L MacKabee, a career NSA employee. A US newspaper obtained copies of confidential Crypto AG documents recording Ms Mackabee's attendance at discussion meetings in 1975 to design a new Crypto AG machine". (92)

41. The purpose of NSA's interventions were to ensure that while its coding systems should appear secure to other cryptologists, it was not secure. Each time a machine was used, its users would select a long numerical key, changed periodically. Naturally users wished to select their own keys, unknown to NSA. If Crypto AG's machines were to appear strong to outside testers, then its coding system should work, and actually be strong. NSA's solution to this apparent conundrum was to design the machine so that it broadcast the key it was using to listeners. To prevent other listeners recognising what was happening, the key too had also to be sent in code - a different code, known only to NSA. Thus, every time NSA or GCHQ intercepted a message sent using these machines, they would first read their own coded part of the message, called the "hilfsinformationen" (help information field) and extract the key the target was using. They could then read the message itself as fast or even faster than the intended recipient(93)

42. The same technique was re-used in 1995, when NSA became concerned about cryptographic security systems being built into Internet and E-mail software by Microsoft, Netscape and Lotus. The companies agreed to adapt their software to reduce the level of security provided to users outside the United States. In the case of Lotus Notes, which includes a secure e-mail system, the built-in cryptographic system uses a 64 bit encryption key. This provides a medium level of security, which might at present only be broken by NSA in months or years.

43. Lotus built in an NSA "help information" trapdoor to its Notes system, as the Swedish government discovered to its embarrassment in 1997. By then, the system was in daily use for confidential mail by Swedish MPs, 15,000 tax agency staff and 400,000 to 500,000 citizens. Lotus Notes incorporates a "workfactor reduction field" (WRF) into all e-mails sent by non US users of

the system. Like its predecessor the Crypto AG "help information field" this device reduces NSA's difficulty in reading European and other e-mail from an almost intractable problem to a few seconds work. The WRF broadcasts 24 of the 64 bits of the key used for each communication. The WRF is encoded, using a "public key" system which can only be read by NSA. Lotus, a subsidiary of IBM, admits this. The company told Svenska Dagbladet:

"The difference between the American Notes version and the export version lies in degrees of encryption. We deliver 64 bit keys to all customers, but 24 bits of those in the version that we deliver outside of the United States are deposited with the American government". (94) 44. Similar arrangements are built into all export versions of the web "browsers" manufactured by Microsoft and Netscape. Each uses a standard 128 bit key. In the export version, this key is not reduced in length. Instead, 88 bits of the key are broadcast with each message; 40 bits remain secret. It follows that almost every computer in Europe has, as a built-in standard feature, an NSA workfactor reduction system to enable NSA (alone) to break the user's code and read secure messages.

45. The use of powerful and effective encryption systems will increasingly restrict the ability of Comint agencies to process collected intelligence. "Moore's law" asserts that the cost of computational power halves every 18 months. This affects both the agencies and their targets. Cheap PCs can now efficiently perform complex mathematical calculations need for effective cryptography. In the absence of new discoveries in physics or mathematics Moore's law favours codemakers, not codebreakers.

#### *Notes*

1.UKUSA refers to the 1947 United Kingdom - United States agreement on Signals intelligence. The nations of the UKUSA alliance are the United States (the "First Party"), United Kingdom, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (the "Second Parties").

2."An appraisal of the Technologies of Political Control", Steve Wright, Omega Foundation, European Parliament (STOA), 6 January 1998.

3."They've got it taped", Duncan Campbell, New Statesman, 12 August 1988. "Secret Power : New Zealand's Role in the International Spy Network", Nicky Hager, Craig Potton Publishing, PO Box 555, Nelson, New Zealand, 1996.

4.National Security Council Intelligence Directive No 6, National Security Council of the United States, 17 February 1972 (first issued in 1952).

5.SIGINT is currently defined as consisting of COMINT, ELINT (electronic or non-communications intelligence and FISINT (Foreign Instrumentation Signals Intelligence).

6.Statement by Martin Brady, Director of DSD, 16 March 1999. To be broadcast on the Sunday Programme, Channel 9 TV (Australia), May 1999.

7."Farewell", despatch to all NSA staff, William Studeman, 8 April 1992. The two business areas to which Studeman referred were "increased global access" and "SMO" (support to military operations).

8.Federalnoe Agenstvo Pravitelstvennoi Svyazi i Informatsii, the (Russian) Federal Agency for Government Communications and Information. FAPSI's functions extend beyond Comint and include providing government and commercial communications systems.

9.Private communications from former NSA and GCHQ employees.

10.Sensitive Compartmented Intelligence.

11.See note 1.

12. Private communications from former GCHQ employees; the US Act is the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA).

13. See note 6.

14. In 1919, US commercial cable companies attempted to resist British government demands for access to all cables sent overseas. Three cable companies testified to the US Senate about these practices in December 1920. In the same year, the British Government introduced legislation (the Official Secrets Act, 1920, section 4) providing access to all or any specified class of communications. The same power was recodified in 1985, providing lawful access for Comint purposes to all "external communications", defines as any communications which are sent from or received outside the UK (Interception of Communication Act 1984, Section 3(2)). Similar requirements on telecommunications operators are made in the laws of the other UKUSA countries. See also "Operation SHAMROCK", (section 3).

15."The Puzzle Palace", James Bamford, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1982, p331.

16.Personal communications from former NSA and GCHQ employees.

17."Dispatches : The Hill", transmitted by Channel 4 Television (UK), 6 October 1993. DODJOCC stood for Department of Defense Joint Operations Centre Chicksands.

18."The Justice Game", Geoffrey Robertson, Chapter 5, Chatto and Windus, London, 1998

19.Fink report to the House Committee on Government Operations, 1975, quoted in "NSA spies on the British government", New Statesman, 25 July 1980

20."Amerikanskiye sputniki radioelektronnoy razvedki na Geosynchronnykh orbitakh" ("American Geosynchronous SIGINT Satellites"), Major A Andronov, Zarubezhnoye Voennoye Obozreniye, No.12, 1993, pps 37-43.

21."Space collection", in The US Intelligence Community (fourth edition), Jeffrey Richelson, Westview, Boulder, Colorado, 1999, pages 185-191.

22.See note 18.

23.Richelson, op cit.

24."UK Eyes Alpha", Mark Urban, Faber and Faber, London, 1996, pps 56-65.

25.Besides the stations mentioned, a major ground station whose targets formerly included Soviet COMSATS is at Misawa, Japan. Smaller ground stations are located at Cheltenham, England; Shoal Bay, Australia.

26."Sword and Shield : The Soviet Intelligence and Security Apparatus", Jeffrey Richelson, Ballinger, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1986.

27."Les Francais aussi ecountent leurs allies", Jean Guisnel, Le Point, 6 June 1998.

28.Intelligence (Paris), 93, 15 February 1999, p3.

29."Blind mans Bluff : the untold story of American submarine espionage", Sherry Sontag and Christopher Drew, Public Affairs, New York, 1998.

30.Ibid.

31.Ibid

32.A specimen of the IVY BELLS tapping equipment is held in the former KGB museum in Moscow. It was used on a cable running from Moscow to a nearby scientific and technical institution.

33.TCP/IP. TCP/IP stands for Terminal Control Protocol/Internet Protocol. IP is the basic network layer of the Internet.

34.GCHQ website at <http://www.gchq.gov.uk/technol.html>

35.Personal communication from DERA. A Terabyte is one thousand Gigabytes, i.e., 1012 bytes.

36.Personal communication from John Young.

37."Puzzle palace conducting internet surveillance", Wayne Madsen, Computer Fraud and Security Bulletin, June 1995.

38.Ibid.

39."More Naked Gun than Top Gun", Duncan Campbell, Guardian, 26 November 1997.

40."Spyworld", Mike Frost and Michel Gratton, Doubleday Canada, Toronto, 1994.

41.The National Security Agency and Fourth Amendment Rights, Hearings before the Select Committee to Study Government Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities, US Senate, Washington, 1976.

42.Letter from, Lt Gen Lew Allen, Director of NSA to US Attorney General Elliot Richardson, 4 October 1973; contained in the previous document.

43.Private communication.

44.World in Action, Granada TV.

45.This arrangements appears to be an attempt to comply with legal restrictions in the Interception of Communications Act 1985, which prohibit GCHQ from handling messages except those identified in government "certificates" which "describe the intercepted material which should be examined". The Act specifies that "so much of the intercepted material as is not certified by the certificate is not [to be] read, looked at or listened to by any person". It appears from this that, although all messages passing through the United Kingdom are intercepted and sent to GCHQ's London office, the organisation considers that by having British Telecom staff operate the Dictionary computer, it is still under the control of the telecommunications network operator unless and until it is selected by the Dictionary and passes from BT to GCHQ.

46.Private communications.

47."Naval Security Group Detachment, Sugar Grove History for 1990", US Navy, 1 April 1991.

48.Missions, functions and tasks of Naval Security Group Activity (NAVSECGRUACT) Sugar Grove, West Virginia", NAVSECGRU INSTRUCTION C5450.48A, 3 September 1991.

49.Report on tasks of Detachment 3 , 544 Air Intelligence Group, Air Intelligence Agency Almanac, US Air Force, 1998-99.

50.Ibid, Detachment 2, 544 Air Intelligence Group.

51.Information obtained by Bill Robinson, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, Ontario. CDF and CFS documents were obtained under the Freedom of Information Act, or published on the World Wide Web.

52.Career resume of Patrick D Duguay, published at: <http://home.istar.ca/~pdduguay/resume.htm>

53.CSE Financial Status Report, 1 March 1996, released under the Freedom of Information Act. Further details about "ECHELON" were not provided. It is therefore ambiguous as to whether the expenditure was intended for the ECHELON computer system, or for different functions (for example telecommunications or power services).

54."Secret Power", op cit.

55.Twenty/Twenty, TV3 (New Zealand), October 1999.

56.Interview with David Herson, Head of Senior Officers' Group on Information Security, EU, by staff of Engineering Weekly (Denmark), 25 September 1996. Published at <http://www.ing.dk/arkiv/herson.htm>

57.Council Resolution on the Lawful Interception of Telecommunications, 17 January 1995, (96C\_329/01)

58."International Harmonisation of Technical Requirements for Legal Interception of Telecommunications", Resolution 1115, Tenth Plenary meeting of the ITU Council, Geneva, 27 June 1997.

59.ENFOPOL 98, Draft Resolution of the Council on Telecommunications Interception in respect of New Technology. Submitted by the Austrian Presidency. Brussels, 3 September 1998.

60.ENFOPOL 19, 13 March 1999.

61.European Parliament, 14 September 1998.

62."Uncle Sam's Eavesdroppers", Close Up North, BBC North, 3 December 1998; reported in "Star Wars strikes back", Guardian, 3 December 1998

63."Dispatches : The Hill", Channel 4 Television (UK), 6 October 1993

64.Ibid.

65."Mixing business with spying; secret information is passed routinely to U.S.", Scott Shane, Baltimore Sun, 1 November 1996.

66."UK Eyes Alpha", op cit, p235.

67.Private communication.

68.See note 62.

69.Raytheon Corp press release: published at: <http://www.raytheon.com/sivam/contract.html>

70."America's Fortress of Spies", Scott Shane and Tom Bowman, Baltimore Sun 3 December 1995.

71."Company Spies", Robert Dreyfuss, Mother Jones, May/June 1994.

72.Financial Post, Canada, 28 February 1998.

73.European Parliament, 16 September 1998.

74.See note 56.

75.Equivalent communications may be known as Synchronous Transport Module (STM) signals within the Synchronous Digital Hierarchy (ITU standard); Synchronous Transport Signals (STS) within the US SONET system; or as Optical Carrier signals (OC).

76.The information about these Sigint systems has been drawn from open sources (only).

77.In April 199, the peak data rate at MAE West was less than 1.9 Gbps.

78.Redundant Arrays of Inexpensive Disks.

79.Very Small Aperture Terminal; SCPC is Single Channel Per Carrier.

80."Collected Signals Data Format"; defined in US Signals Intelligence Directive 126 and in NSA's CSDF manual. Two associated NSA publications providing further guidance are the Voice Processing Systems Data Element Dictionary and the Facsimile Data Element Dictionary, both issued in March 1997.

81.The Data Workstation processes TCP/IP, PP, SMTP, POP3, MIME, HDLC, X.25, V.100, and modem protocols up to and including V.42 (see glossary).

82."Practical Blind Demodulators for high-order QAM signals", J R Treichler, M G Larimore and J C Harp, Proc IEEE, 86, 10, 1998, p1907. Mr Treichler is technical director of AST. The paper describes a system used to intercept multiple V.34 signals, extendable to the more recent protocols.

83.The tasks were set in the second Text Retrieval conference(TREC) organised by the ARPA and the US National Institute of Science and Technology (NIST), Gaithersburg, Maryland. The 7th annual TREC conference took place in Maryland in 1999.

84."Method of retrieving documents that concern the same topic"; US Patent number 5418951, issued 23 May 1995; inventor, Marc Damashek; rights assigned to NSA.

85.Address to the Symposium on "National Security and National Competitiveness : Open Source Solutions" by Vice Admiral William Studeman, Deputy Director of Central Intelligence and former director of NSA, 1 December 1992, McLean, Virginia.

86.For example, IBM Via Voice, Dragon Naturally Speaking, Lemout and Hauspe Voice Xpress.

87."A Hidden Markov Model based keyword recognition system", R.C.Rose and D.B.Paul, Proceedings of the International Conference on Accoustics, Speech and Signal processing, April 1990.

88.Centre de Recherche Informatique de Montreal.

89."Projet detection des Themes", CRIM, 1997; published at <http://www.crim.ca/adi/projet2.html>.

90.Private communication.

91.NSA/CSS Classification Guide, NSA, revised 1 April 1983.

92."Rigging the game: Spy Sting", Tom Bowman, Scott Shane, Baltimore Sun, 10 December 1995.

93."Wer ist der Befugte Vierte?", Der Spiegel, 36, 1996, pp. 206-7.

94."Secret Swedish E-Mail Can Be Read by the U.S.A", Fredrik Laurin, Calle Froste, Svenska Dagbladet, 18 November 1997



# Report of Investigation

Department of the Treasury  
United States Customs Service  
Documents

| OFFICIAL USE ONLY                                           |  |  |  |                             |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|--|--|--|-----------------------------|--|
| DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY<br>UNITED STATES CUSTOMS SERVICE |  |  |  | 1. THIS REPORT DATES<br>C-3 |  |
| REPORT OF INVESTIGATION                                     |  |  |  | 2. PAGE<br>1 OF 2           |  |
| 3. DATE RECEIVED                                            |  |  |  | 4. CASE NUMBER              |  |
| 5. TITLE                                                    |  |  |  |                             |  |
| FINDERS                                                     |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 6. NAME OF FINDER                                           |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 7. REPORT DATE<br>04/13/87                                  |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 8. DATE ASSIGNED<br>02/05/87                                |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 9. CLASS<br>1                                               |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 10. NUMBER OF CASES<br>700                                  |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 11. NUMBER OF CASES<br>1                                    |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 12. RELATED CASE FILE NUMBERS                               |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 13. UNDEVELOPED LEADS TO                                    |  |  |  |                             |  |
| None                                                        |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 14. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 15. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 16. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 17. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 18. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 19. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 20. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 21. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 22. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 23. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 24. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 25. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 26. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 27. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 28. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 29. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 30. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 31. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 32. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 33. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 34. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 35. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 36. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 37. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 38. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 39. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 40. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 41. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 42. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 43. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 44. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 45. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 46. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 47. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 48. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 49. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 50. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 51. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 52. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 53. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 54. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 55. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 56. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 57. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 58. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 59. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 60. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 61. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 62. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 63. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 64. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 65. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 66. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 67. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 68. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 69. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 70. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 71. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 72. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 73. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 74. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 75. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 76. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 77. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 78. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 79. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 80. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 81. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 82. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 83. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 84. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 85. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 86. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 87. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 88. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 89. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 90. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 91. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 92. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 93. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 94. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 95. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 96. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 97. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 98. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 99. TYPE OF REPORT                                          |  |  |  |                             |  |
| 100. TYPE OF REPORT                                         |  |  |  |                             |  |

On Thursday, February 5, 1987, Senior Special Agent Harrold and I assisted the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) with two search warrants involving the possible sexual exploitation of children. During the course of the search warrants, numerous documents were discovered which appeared to be concerned with international trafficking in children, high tech transfer to the United Kingdom, and international transfer of currency.

| 16. DISTRIBUTION                |  | 17. SIGNATURE (Print Name & Title)          |  |
|---------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------------|--|
| SAC/VA Beach<br>RAC/Tallahassee |  | Ramon J. Martinez, Special Agent            |  |
| SAC/VA Beach<br>RAC/Tallahassee |  | Lynwood Rountree, Resident Agent in Charge  |  |
| SAC/VA Beach<br>RAC/Tallahassee |  | Resident Agent in Charge                    |  |
| SAC/VA Beach<br>RAC/Tallahassee |  | 12350 Pinecrest Blvd. Tallahassee, FL 32309 |  |
| SAC/VA Beach<br>RAC/Tallahassee |  | 1447-0554                                   |  |



*To: Resident Agent in Charge*

*Date: 021287*

*Subject: Finders*

This office was contacted by the Tallahassee Police Department on February 5, 1987, who requested assistance in attempting to identify two adult males and six minor children, all taken into custody the previous day. The men, arrested and charged with multiple counts of child abuse, were being very evasive with police in the questions being asked of them pursuant the children and their condition.

This agent contacted SS/A, Bob Harrold, RAC/Reston, Virginia, and requested telephone numbers and names of police persons in area police departments in an attempt to follow-up on two leads which were a Virginia license number and that the children had commented about living in a Washington, D.C., commune.

Subsequently, this office received a telephone call from the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department inquiring about the men and children. This office put the MPD and the TPD in contact with each other.

**Walter F. Kreitlow II**

*Special Agent*

**Fredric D. Maiduk**

*Resident Agent in Charge*

**Office of Enforcement**

*227 N. Bronough St. Rm 6045*

*Tallahassee, FL 32301*

#### **DETAILS OF INVESTIGATION:**

On Thursday, February 5, 1987, this office was contacted via telephone by Sergeant JoAnn VanMETER of the Tallahassee Police Department, Juvenile Division. Sgt. VanMETER requested assistance in identifying two adult males and six minor children ages 7 years to 2 years.

The adult males were tentatively identified by TPD as Michael HOULIHAN and Douglas AMMERMAN, both of Washington, D.C. who were arrested the previous day on charges of child abuse.

The police had received an anonymous telephone call relative two well-dressed white men wearing suits and ties in Myers Park, (Tallahassee), apparently watching six dirty and unkempt children in the playground area. HOULIHAN and AMMERMAN were near a 1980 Blue Dodge van bearing Virginia license number XHW-557, the inside of which was later described as foul-smelling filled with maps, books, letters, with a mattress situated to the rear of the van which appeared as if it were used as a bed, and the overall appearance of the van gave the impression that all eight persons were living in it.

The children were covered with insect bites, were very dirty, most of the children were not wearing underwear and all of the children had not been bathed in many days.

The men were arrested and charged with multiple counts of child abuse and lodged in the Leon County Jail. Once in custody the men were somewhat evasive in their answers to the police regarding the children and stated only that they both were the children's teachers and that all

were enroute to Mexico to establish a school for brilliant children.

The children tentatively were identified as Mary (deleted), white female, age 7; (deleted) LIVINGSTON, white male, age 6; (deleted) FRANKLIN, white male, age 4; (deleted) EVANS, white female, age 3; B.B., white male, age 2; and that they lived in tents in a commune in the Washington, D.C., area and were going to Mexico to go to a school for smart kids.

This office contacted the Office of the RAC/DC and spoke with SS/A Bob Harrold. This agent requested telephone numbers and names of police persons in area departments that might be aware of said activities described by the children and to follow-up on leads which were the Virginia license number and a check on the men's names with local law enforcement.

A short time later this office was contacted by Detective, Jim Bradley of the Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Police Department. Bradley indicated that the case here in Tallahassee appeared to be strongly related to a case he was currently working in the Washington, D.C. area.

He stated that the actions of the two men in custody in Tallahassee relative the children just might give his case enough probable cause for search warrants to search premises occupied by a cult group called FINDERS.

This agent directed Bradley to telephone TPD and discuss with police directly any activities forthcoming relative the instant case. At this time it was determined that there was no Customs violations found to exist and therefore, this case is being closed pending receipt of additional information.

#### **ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY LESD/TECS:**

Create a permanent DRR/TECS record.

#### **IDENTIFYING DATA/TECS-FIN QUERIES:**

---

*To: Resident Agent in Charge*

*Date: 02/07/87*

*From: Special Agent*

*Subject: Customs cooperation/interest in Tallahassee/Washington MPD child abuse investigation.*

On Thursday, 2/5/87, the duty agent, SS/A Bob Harrold, received a call from SS/A Walter Krietlow, USCS, Tallahassee, Florida. SS/A Krietlow was seeking assistance in contacting an appropriate local police agency to coordinate a child abuse investigation in with the Tallahassee Police Department. SS/A Krietlow further requested assistance in checking some names, addresses and a vehicle through the Customs Child Pornography Unit data base, and stated there was some suspicion of the subjects being involved in supplying children for the production of child pornography. Further, he was informed by the Tallahassee Police Department that the children may have been enroute to Mexico from the Washington, D.C. area. The possibility of Customs interest in the investigation due to possible violations of the Child Protection Act of 1984, and the alleged nexus with the U.S./Mexican Border were discussed and agreed upon. SS/A Krietlow related the following background information. SS/A Krietlow was contacted by the Tallahassee Police Department for assistance in identifying six children and two adults taken into custody in the Tallahassee area. U.S. Customs was contacted because the police officers involved suspected the adults of being involved in child pornography and knew the Customs Service to have a network of child pornography investigators, and of the existence of the Child Pornography and Protection Unit. SS/A Krietlow stated the two adults were well dressed white

males. They had custody of six white children (boys and girls), ages three to six years. The children were observed to be poorly dressed, bruised, dirty, and behaving like wild animals in a public park in Tallahassee. The police were notified by a concerned citizen and all eight persons were taken into custody. The subjects were living out of a white 1979 Dodge van, Virginia license no. XHW 557. Upon being taken into custody, the adult white males refused to cooperate, one of whom produced a "business" card with a name on one side and a statement on the other. The statement indicated that the bearer knew his constitutional rights to remain silent and that he intended to do so. Upon interviewing the children, the police officers found that they could not adequately identify themselves or their custodians. Further, they stated that they were enroute to Mexico to attend a school for "smart kids." SS/A Kreitlow was further advised the children were unaware of the function and purpose of telephones, televisions and toilets, and that the children had stated they were not allowed to live indoors and were only given food as a reward.

After receiving the request from Tallahassee, SS/A Harrold contacted me while I was on official business at Customs Headquarters. He requested that I conduct computer checks on the Customs Child Pornography Unit data base. The checks were to be conducted on the names, addresses, and a vehicle provided by SS/A Krietlow. After conducting the computer checks, I made direct contact with SS/A Krietlow to inform him that all the checks were negative. At that time I was informed by SS/A Krietlow that the Tallahassee police had discovered large quantities of records, to include computer discs and a U.S. passport in the van. From some of these records the police had obtained tentative identification of the two adults, and partial identification of the children. Furthermore, the two Washington, D.C. addresses had been discovered through these documents, one of which was verified through the vehicle registration. I advised SS/A Krietlow I was leaving Headquarters and he would be receiving a response to the remainder of his request from SS/A Harrold. I then left as stated and proceeded to conduct other business in the District.

A short time later, at approximately 11:30 a.m., SS/A Harrold contacted me by radio, and advised me that a Detective Jim Bradley of the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) was interested in the information provided by SS/A Krietlow, was in contact with Tallahassee, and would very probably be conducting search warrants in the area later in the day. He also informed me that U.S. Customs was invited to participate due to the continuing possibility of violations of law enforced by the Customs Service. As I was already in Washington, I terminated my other business and proceeded to make contact with Detective Bradley, Intelligence Division, MPD.

Upon contacting Detective Bradley, I learned that he had initiated an investigation on the two addresses provided by the Tallahassee Police Dept. during December of 1986. An informant had given him information regarding a cult, known as the "Finders" operating various businesses out of a warehouse located at 1307 4th St., N.E., and were supposed to be housing children at 3918/3920 W St., N.W. The information was specific in describing "blood rituals" and sexual orgies involving children, and an as yet unsolved murder in which the Finders may be involved. With the information provided by the informant, Detective Bradley was able to match some of the children in Tallahassee with names of children known alleged to be in the custody of the Finders. Furthermore, Bradley was able to match the tentative ID of the adults with known members of the Finders. I stood by while Bradley consulted with AUSA Harry Benner and obtained search warrants for the two premises. I advised acting RAC SS/A Tim Halloran of my intention to accompany MPD on the execution of the warrants, received his permission, and was joined by SS/A Harrold. SS/A Harrold accompanied the team which went to 1307 4th St, and I went to 3918/20 W St.

During the execution of the warrant at 3918/20 W St., I was able to observe and access the entire building. I saw large quantities of children's clothing and toys. The clothing consisting of diapers and clothes in the toddler to pre-school range. No children were found on the premises. There were several subjects on the premises. Only one was deemed to be connected with the Finders. The rest were renting living space from this individual. He was identified as Stuart Miles

SILVERSTONE, DOB/061941, U.S. Passport No. (deleted). SILVERSTONE was located in a room equipped with several computers, printers, and numerous documents. cursory examination of the documents revealed detailed instructions for obtaining children for unspecified purposes. The instructions included the impregnation of female members of the community known as the Finders, purchasing children, trading, and kidnapping. There were telex messages using MCI account numbers between a computer terminal believed to be located in the same room, and others located across the country and in foreign locations. One such telex specifically ordered the purchase of two children in Hong Kong to be arranged through a contact in the Chinese Embassy there. Another telex expressed interest in "bank secrecy" situations. Other documents identified interests in high-tech transfers to the United Kingdom, numerous properties under the control of the Finders, a keen interest in terrorism, explosives, and the evasion of law enforcement. Also found in the "computer room" was a detailed summary of the events surrounding the arrest and taking into custody of the two adults and six children in Tallahassee the previous night. There were also a set of instructions which appeared to be broadcast via a computer network which advised the participants to move "the children" and keep them moving through different jurisdictions, and instructions on how to avoid police attention.

One of the residents was identified as a Chinese National. Due to the telex discovered referencing the Chinese Embassy in Hong Kong, he was fully identified for future reference: WANG/Gengxin, DOB/092747, POB/Tianjin, People's Republic of China Passport No. (deleted), entered the U.S. on January 22, 1987, admitted until December 31, 1987. He is in the U.S. as a graduate student in the Anatomy Department of Georgetown University. His Visa was issued on November 10, 1986, in London, England, number 00143.

During the course of the evening, I contacted Sector 4 to initiate a TECS check on SILVERSTONE, and initiate an archives check on him for the last four years. I also contacted SS/A Halloran to keep him advised of the proceedings and asked for and received permission to contact SS/A John Sullivan of the CPPU to query some names through the CPPU data base. SS/A Halloran told me he would call Southeast Region Headquarters to keep them posted on the proceedings as well. I later contacted SS/A Sullivan for the stated purpose, and in the discussion that followed I gave him some background on the purpose of the request. I advised him that the information was not for dissemination at Headquarters, that Region was being notified, and that Region would probably contact Headquarters later if deemed necessary. SS/A Sullivan assured me that the information would go no further until official notification was made by Region. No positive matches were obtained from the CPPU data base. I was later joined at the W Street address by SS/A Harrold. SS/A Harrold advised me that there were extremely large quantities of documents and computer equipment at the warehouse, and that MPD was posting officers inside the building there and sealing the building until morning, in which a second warrant for that premises would be obtained and executed. SS/A Harrold also advised me that the news media had been notified and had been waiting for the execution of the warrant at the 4th Street address. Detective Bradley later stated that the MPD Public Information Officer had been contacted by a Tallahassee reporter. When it became apparent that the PIO had no information on the search warrants, the reporter contacted local media representatives and a check of public records containing the affidavits for the search warrants disclosed the locations and purpose of the warrants. Detective Bradley surmised that someone on the Tallahassee Police Department was the original source of the information for the press. I advised SS/A Halloran of the involvement of the press, and he stated that he would, in turn, relay the information to Region. SS/A Harrold and I assisted in the transport of the evidence seized pursuant to the warrant and cleared MPD after the press left the area.

On Friday, 2/6/87, I met Detective Bradley at the warehouse on 4th Street, N.E. I duly advised my acting group supervisor, SS/A Don Blutworth. I was again granted unlimited access to the premises. I was able to observe numerous documents which described explicit sexual conduct between the members of the community known as Finders. I also saw a large collection of

photographs of unidentified persons. Some of the photographs were nudes, believed to be of members of the Finders. There were numerous photos of children, some nude, at least one of which was a photo of a child "on display" and appearing to accent the child's genitals. I was only able to examine a very small amount of the photos at this time. However, one of the officers presented me with a photo album for my review. The album contained a series of photos of adults and children dressed in white sheets participating in a "blood ritual." The ritual centered around the execution of at least two goats. The photos portrayed the execution, disembowelment, skinning and dismemberment of the goats at the hands of the children. This included the removal of the testes of a male goat, the discovery of a female goat's "womb" and the "baby goats" inside the womb, and the presentation of a goat's head to one of the children.

Further inspection of the premises disclosed numerous files relating to activities of the organization in different parts of the world. Locations I observed are as follows: London, Germany, the Bahamas, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Africa, Costa Rica, and "Europe." There was also a file identified as "Palestinian." Other files were identified by member name or "project" name. The projects appearing to be operated for commercial purposes under front names for the Finders. There was one file entitled "Pentagon Break-In," and others referring to members operating in foreign countries. Not observed by me but related by an MPD officer were intelligence files on private families not related to the Finders. The process undertaken appears to be have been a systematic response to local newspaper advertisements for babysitters, tutors, etc. A member of the Finders would respond and gather as much information as possible about the habits, identity, occupation, etc., of the family. The use to which this information was to be put is still unknown. There was also a large amount of data collected on various child care organizations.

The warehouse contained a large library, two kitchens, a sauna, hot-tub, and a "video room." The video room seemed to be set up as an indoctrination center. It also appeared that that the organization had the capability to produce its own videos. There were what appeared to be training areas for children and what appeared to be an altar set up in a residential area of the warehouse. Many jars of urine and feces were located in this area.

I should also mention that both premises were equipped with satellite dish antennas.

I discussed the course of action to be taken by MPD with Detective Bradley. He stated that he was only interested in making the child abuse case(s). I was assured that all of the evidence would be available to U.S. Customs in furtherance of any investigative/criminal action pursued. MPD personnel were to begin around the clock review and sorting of the evidence until completed. Customs will have access after this is accomplished. This will include several U.S. Passports discovered during the search.

Upon leaving the 4th Street premises, I encountered a news media representative and was asked the reason behind U.S. Customs involvement in the investigation. I advised the reporter that I could not discuss anything and I referred her to the PAO/DC. I left immediately thereafter.

There is no further information available at this time. It will take three to five days for all the information to be sorted, reviewed and logged by the MPD. I will maintain contact with Detective Bradley until the evidence is again accessible.

Respectfully submitted,  
Ramon J. Martinez  
Special Agent, USCS

---

To: Resident Agent in Charge  
Date: 04/13/87

On Thursday, February 5, 1987, Senior Special Agent Harrold and I assisted the Washington D.C. Metropolitan Police Department (MPD) with two search warrants involving the possible sexual exploitation of children. During the course of the search warrants, numerous documents were discovered which appeared to be concerned with international trafficking in children, high tech transfer to the United Kingdom, and international transfer of currency.

#### **DETAILS OF INVESTIGATION:**

On March 31, 1987, I contacted Detective Jim Bradley of the Washington, DC Metropolitan Police Department (MPD). I was to meet with Detective Bradley to review the documents seized pursuant to two search warrants executed in January, 1987. The meeting was to take place on April 2 or 3, 1987.

On April 2, 1987, I arrived at MPD at approximately 9:00 a.m. Detective Bradley was not available. I spoke to a third party who was willing to discuss the case with me on a strictly "off the record" basis.

I was advised that all the passport data had been turned over to the State Department for their investigation. The State Department in turn, advised the MPD that all travel and use of the passports by the holders of the passports was within the law and no action would be taken. This included travel to Moscow, North Korea, and North Vietnam from the late 1950s to mid 1970s.

The individual further advised me of circumstances which indicated that the investigation into the activity of the Finders had become a CIA internal matter. The MPD report has been classified SECRET and was not available for review. I was advised that the FBI had withdrawn from the investigation several weeks prior and that the FBI Foreign Counter Intelligence Division had directed MPD not to advise the FBI Washington Field Office of anything that had transpired.

No further information will be available. No further action will be taken.

#### **ACTION TO BE TAKEN BY LESD/TECS:**

No action to be taken on the basis of this report.

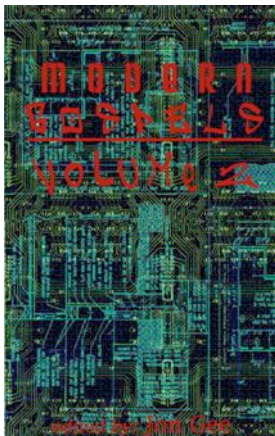
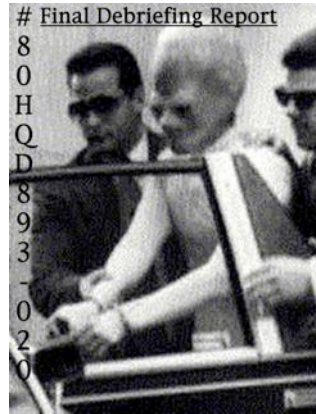
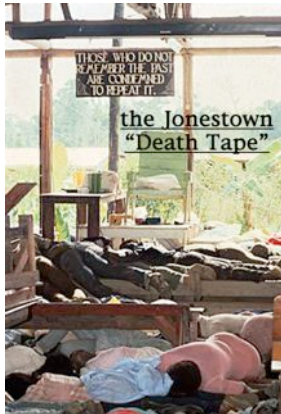
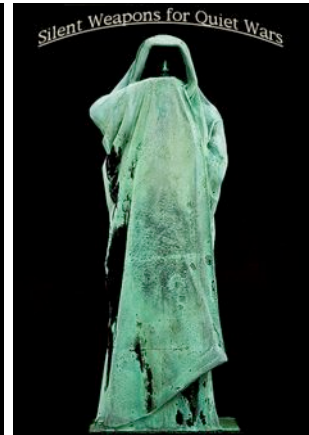
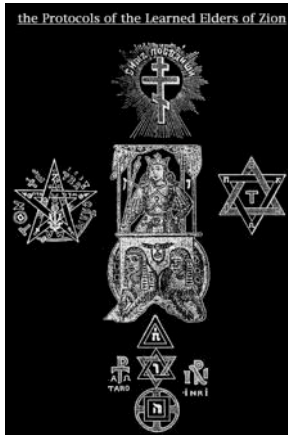
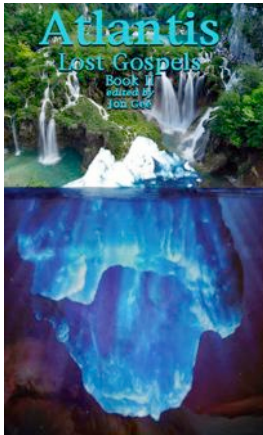
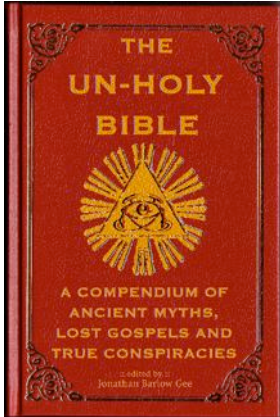




### **SIGNET OF THE BLACK SUN**

Above is the symbol of the innermost secret society of Nazi Germany: the Black Sun. It is illegal to print or display this symbol in Germany today.







THE  
**UN-HOLY BIBLE**

**:: INCLUDES ::**

**(B.C. SECTION)**

**THE LOST BOOK OF ENKI**

*containing Sitchin's translation with appendix of diagrams and archeological articles by Gee.*

**LOST GOSPELS 1 : "ENOCK"**

*containing excerpts from Josephus, Flaccus Albinus, Alcuinus, Louis Ginzberg, JP Mahe and Enoch.*

**FORBIDDEN GOSPELS**

*containing the Gospels of Salome, Judas, and Pilate; Sefer Toledoth Yeshu and excerpts from the Talmud.*

**(A.D. SECTION)**

**LOST GOSPELS 2 : "ATLANTIS"**

*containing excerpts from Plato, Sir Thomas More, Francis Bacon and Johann Valentin Andreae.*

**MODERN GOSPELS 1**

*containing the Protocols of Zionism; Silent Weapons for Quiet Wars; Jim Jones' death-tape; Majestic debriefing; Project Blue Beam; and the Testimony of KSM.*

**MODERN GOSPELS 2**

*containing the Nuremberg Directives; the Cremation of Care ceremony of Bohemian Grove; quotes by and about the Illuminati and the New World Order; a speech by Pope Benedict XVI; a lecture by Myron Fagan; excerpts from Andrew Carnegie; "Constant Conflict;" H. Res. 1258 to Impeach George W. Bush; "Echelon" by Jim Keith; and FBI, FDLE and TPD documents about the "Finders."*