

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion

The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion (Russian: "Протоколы сионских мудрецов" or "Сионские протоколы") is one of many titles given to an antisemitic text purporting to describe a plan to achieve global domination by the Jewish people. Following its first public publication in 1903 in the Russian Empire, a series of articles printed in *The Times* in 1921 revealed that much of the material was directly plagiarized from earlier works of political satire unrelated to Jews.^[1]

Publication history

The Protocols appeared in print in the Russian Empire as early as 1903. The anti-Semitic tract was published in *Znamya*, a Black Hundreds newspaper owned by Pavel Krushevan, as a serialized set of articles. It appeared again in 1905 as a final chapter (Chapter XII) of a second edition of *Velikoe v malom i antikhrisť* (The Great in the Small & Antichrist), a book by Serge Nilus. In 1906 it appeared in pamphlet form edited by G. Butmi.^[1]

These first three (and subsequently more) Russian language imprints were published and circulated in the Russian Empire during 1903–1906 period as a tool for scapegoating Jews, blamed by the monarchists for the defeat in the Russo-Japanese War and the 1905 Russian Revolution. Common to all three texts is the idea that Jews aim for world domination. Since *The Protocols* are presented as merely a document, the front matter and back matter are needed to explain its alleged origin. The diverse imprints, however, are mutually inconsistent. The general claim is that the document was stolen from a secret Jewish organization. Since the alleged original stolen manuscript does not exist, one is forced to restore a purported original edition. This has been done by the Italian scholar, Cesare G. De Michelis in 1998, in a work which was translated into English and published in 2004, where he treats his subject as Apocrypha.^{[2][3]} As fiction in the genre of literature the tract was further analyzed by Umberto Eco in his novel *Foucault's Pendulum* in 1988 (English translation in 1989), and in 1994 in chapter 6, "Fictional Protocols", of his *Six Walks in the Fictional Woods*.

As the 1917 Russian Revolution unfolded, causing white Russians to flee to the West, this text was carried along and assumed a new purpose. Until then *The Protocols* remained obscure;^[4] it was now an instrument for blaming Jews for the Russian Revolution. It was now a tool, a political weapon used against the Bolsheviks who were depicted as overwhelmingly Jews, allegedly executing the "plan" embodied in *The Protocols*. The purpose was to discredit the October Revolution, prevent the West from recognizing the Soviet Union, and bring the downfall of Vladimir Lenin's regime.^{[2][3]}

The Protocols in the West

In the United States *The Protocols* are to be understood in the context of the Red scare, the First Red Scare (1917–1920). The text circulated in 1919 in American government circles, specifically diplomatic and military, in typescript form, a copy of which is archived by the Hoover Institute.^[5] It also appeared in 1919 in the *Public Ledger* as a pair of serialized newspaper articles. But all references to "Jews" were replaced with references to *Bolsheviki* as an expose by the journalist and

subsequently highly respected Columbia University School of Journalism dean Carl W. Ackerman.^[6]

In 1923 there appeared an anonymously edited pamphlet by the Britons Publishing Society, a successor to The Britons, an entity created and headed by Henry Hamilton Beamish. This imprint was allegedly a translation by Victor E. Marsden, who died in October 1920.^[5]

Most versions substantially involve "protocols", or minutes of a speech given in secret involving Jews who are organized as Elders, or Sages, of Zion,^[7] and underlies 24 protocols that are supposedly followed by the Jewish people. *The Protocols* has been proven to be a literary forgery and hoax as well as a clear case of plagiarism.^{[8][9][10][11][12]}



The front piece of a 1912 edition utilizing occult symbols

Plagiarism Sources and Origin of the Plot

Implicated in the creation of the forgery was Pyotr Ivanovich Rachkovsky, head of the Paris office of the Russian Secret Police during the same time period.^{[13][14]}

The source material for the forgery was the synthesis of an 1864 book of fiction by French political satirist Maurice Joly, titled *Dialogue aux enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu* or *Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu* and a chapter from a 1868 book of fiction entitled "Biarritz" by antisemitic German novelist Hermann Goedsche, which had been translated into Russian in 1872.^[15]

Joly's book was written as a veiled attack on the political ambitions of Napoleon III. In the book, Napoleon III was represented by Machiavelli^[16] and was depicted as secretly plotting to rule the world. Joly, a monarchist and legitimist, had been imprisoned as a direct result of his book's publication.

Literary forgery

The forgery contains numerous elements typical of what is known in literature as a "False Document": a document that is deliberately written to fool the reader into believing that what is

written is truthful and accurate even though, in actuality, it is not.^[2] It is also one of the best-known and most-discussed examples of literary forgery, with analysis and proof of its fraudulent origin going as far back as 1921.^[17] The forgery is also an early example of "Conspiracy Theory" literature.^[18] Written mainly in the first person plural,^[19] the text embodies generalizations, truisms and platitudes on how to take over the world: take control of the media and the financial institutions, change the traditional social order, etc. It does not contain specifics.

Maurice Joly

Elements of the text in the *Protocols* were plagiarized from the 1864 book, *Dialogue aux enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu* (*Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*), written by the French satirist Maurice Joly. Joly's work attacks the political ambitions of Napoleon III using Machiavelli as a diabolical plotter in Hell as a stand-in for Napoleon's views^[16]. In the book, Machiavelli describes a series of steps that he intends to take to become ruler of the world.

Hermann Goedsche

Hermann Goedsche's 1868 novel, *Biarritz* (in English as *To Sedan*) contributed another idea that may have inspired the scribe behind the *Protocols*. In the chapter, "The Jewish Cemetery in Prague and the Council of Representatives of the Twelve Tribes of Israel", Goedsche wrote about a nocturnal meeting between members of a mysterious rabbinical cabal, describing how at midnight, the Devil appears before those who have gathered on behalf of the Twelve Tribes of Israel to plan a "Jewish conspiracy". His depiction is also similar to the scene in Alexandre Dumas, père's *Joseph Balsamo*, where Cagliostro and company plot the affair of the diamond necklace. With *Biarritz* appearing at about the same time as *The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, it is possible that Goedsche was inspired by the ideas in Joly's pamphlet, especially in detailing the outcome of the cabal's secret meeting.^[20]

"Goedsche was a postal clerk and a spy for the Prussian secret police. He had been forced to leave the postal work due to his part in forging evidence in the prosecution against the Democratic leader Benedict Waldeck in 1849."^[21] Following his dismissal, Goedsche began a career as a conservative columnist, while also producing literary work under the pen name Sir John Retcliffe.^[22] In 1871, the story was being presented in France as serious history. In 1872, "The Jewish Cemetery in Prague", translated into Russian, appeared in St. Petersburg as a separate pamphlet of purported non-fiction. François Bournand, in his *Les Juifs et nos contemporains* (1896), reproduced a speech from the chapter as that of a Chief Rabbi "John Readcliff".

First Russian language editions

Comparison between *The Protocols* and Maurice Joly's *Dialogue in Hell*

The Protocols 1–19 closely follow the order of Maurice Joly's *The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu* 1–17. In some places, the plagiarism is incontrovertible to any observer, trained or not. For example:

<i>Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu</i>	<i>The Protocols of the Elders of Zion</i>
How are loans made? By the issue of bonds	A loan is an issue of Government paper which

entailing on the Government the obligation to pay interest proportionate to the capital it has been paid. Thus, if a loan is at 5%, the State, after 20 years, has paid out a sum equal to the borrowed capital. When 40 years have expired it has paid double, after 60 years triple: yet it remains debtor for the entire capital sum. — Montesquieu, <i>Dialogues</i> , p. 209	entails an obligation to pay interest amounting to a percentage of the total sum of the borrowed money. If a loan is at 5%, then in 20 years the Government would have unnecessarily paid out a sum equal to that of the loan in order to cover the percentage. In 40 years it will have paid twice; and in 60 thrice that amount, but the loan will still remain as an unpaid debt. — <i>Protocols</i> , p. 77
Like the god Vishnu, my press will have a hundred arms, and these arms will give their hands to all the different shades of opinion throughout the country. — Machiavelli, <i>Dialogues</i> , p. 141	These newspapers, like the Indian god Vishnu, will be possessed of hundreds of hands, each of which will be feeling the pulse of varying public opinion. — <i>Protocols</i> , p. 43
Now I understand the figure of the god Vishnu; you have a hundred arms like the Indian idol, and each of your fingers touches a spring. — Montesquieu, <i>Dialogues</i> , p. 207	Our Government will resemble the Hindu god Vishnu. Each of our hundred hands will hold one spring of the social machinery of State. — <i>Protocols</i> , p. 65

In addition to mentioning Vishnu, improbable in the Jewish religious literature, and the lack of Talmudic citations that would be expected in it, textual references to the "King of the Jews", the semi-messianic idea that carries strong connotations of Jesus, further suggest the author was not well-versed in Jewish culture, as this term has been avoided in the Judaic tradition since the schism between Judaism and Christianity.^[23]

In 1921, when Philip Graves published articles in *The Times* which showed the writers of the *Protocols* had plagiarized from the *Dialogue*, it became clear that the *Protocols* was not an authentic document.^[24]

Conspiracy references

According to Daniel Pipes,

The great importance of *The Protocols* lies in its permitting antisemites to reach beyond their traditional circles and find a large international audience, a process that continues to this day. The forgery poisoned public life wherever it appeared; it was "self-generating; a blueprint that migrated from one conspiracy to another."^[25] The book's vagueness — almost no names, dates, or issues are specified — has been one key to this wide-ranging success. The purportedly Jewish authorship also helps to make the book more convincing. Its embrace of contradiction — that to advance, Jews use all tools available, including capitalism and communism, philo-Semitism and antisemitism, democracy and tyranny — made it possible for *The Protocols* to reach out to all: rich and poor, Right and Left, Christian and Muslim, American and Japanese.^[26]

Pipes notes that the *Protocols* emphasizes recurring themes of conspiratorial antisemitism: "Jews always scheme", "Jews are everywhere", "Jews are behind every institution", "Jews obey a central authority, the shadowy 'Elders'", and "Jews are close to success."^[27]

The Protocols is widely considered influential in the development of other conspiracy theories, and reappears repeatedly in contemporary conspiracy literature, such as Jim Marrs' *Rule by Secrecy*. Some recent editions proclaim that the "Jews" depicted in the *Protocols* are a cover identity for

other conspirators such as the Illuminati,^[28] Freemasons, the Priory of Sion, or even, in the opinion of David Icke, "extra-dimensional entities."

Historical publications, usage, and investigations

Emergence in Russia

The chapter "In the Jewish Cemetery in Prague" from Goedsche's *Biarritz*, with its strong antisemitic theme containing the alleged rabbinical plot against the European civilization, was translated into Russian as a separate pamphlet in 1872.^[15] In 1921 Princess Catherine Radziwill gave a private lecture in New York. She claimed that the *Protocols* were a forgery compiled in 1904-1905 by Russian journalists Matvei Golovinski and Manasevich-Manuilov at the direction of Pyotr Rachkovsky, Chief of the Russian secret service in Paris.^[14]

In 1944 German writer Konrad Heiden identified Golovinski as an author of the *Protocols*.^[28] Radziwill's account was supported by Russian historian Mikhail Lepekhine, who published his findings in November 1999 in the French newsweekly *L'Express*.^[29] Lepekhine considers the *Protocols* a part of a scheme to persuade Tsar Nicholas II that the modernization of Russia was really a Jewish plot to control the world. Ukrainian scholar Vadim Skuratovsky offers extensive literary, historical and linguistic analysis of the original text of the *Protocols* and traces the influences of Fyodor Dostoyevsky's prose (in particular, *The Grand Inquisitor* and *The Possessed*) on Golovinski's writings, including the *Protocols*.^[30]

In his book *The Non-Existent Manuscript*, Italian scholar Cesare G. De Michelis studies early Russian publications of the *Protocols*. The *Protocols* were first mentioned in the Russian press in April 1902, by the Saint Petersburg newspaper, *Novoye Vremya* (Новое Время - *The New Times*). The article was written by a famous conservative publicist Mikhail Menshikov as a part of his regular series "Letters to Neighbors" ("Письма к ближним") and was titled "Plots against Humanity". The author described his meeting with a lady (Yuliana Glinka, as it is known now) who, after telling him about her mystical revelations, implored him to get familiar with the documents later known as the *Protocols*; but after reading some excerpts Menshikov became quite skeptical about their origin and did not publish them.^[31]

Krushevan and Nilus editions

The *Protocols* were published at the earliest, in serialized form, from August 28 to September 7 (O.S.) 1903, in *Znamya*, a Saint Petersburg daily newspaper, under Pavel Krushevan. Krushevan had initiated the Kishinev pogrom four months earlier.^[32]

In 1905, Sergei Nilus published the full text of the *Protocols* in *Chapter XII*, the final chapter (pages 305–417), of the second edition (or third, according to some sources) of his book, *Velikoe v malom i antikhrisť*, which translates as "The Great within the Small: The Coming of the Anti-Christ and the Rule of Satan on Earth". He claimed it was the work of the First Zionist Congress, held in 1897 in Basel, Switzerland.^[33] When it was pointed out that the First Zionist Congress had been open to the public and was attended by many non-Jews, Nilus changed his story, saying the *Protocols* were the work of the 1902–1903 meetings of the Elders, but contradicting his own prior statement that he had received his copy in 1901:

In 1901, I succeeded through an acquaintance of mine (the late Court Marshal Alexei Nikolayevich Sukotin of Chernigov) in getting a manuscript that exposed with unusual perfection and clarity the course and development of the secret Jewish Freemasonic conspiracy, which would bring this wicked world to its inevitable end. The person who gave me this manuscript guaranteed it to be a faithful translation of the original documents that were stolen by a woman from one of the highest and most influential leaders of the Freemasons at a secret meeting somewhere in France — the beloved nest of Freemasonic conspiracy.^[34]

Stolypin's fraud investigation, 1905

A subsequent secret investigation ordered by Pyotr Stolypin, the newly appointed chairman of the Council of Ministers, came to the conclusion that the *Protocols* first appeared in Paris in antisemitic circles around 1897–1898.^[35] When Nicholas II learned of the results of this investigation, he requested: "The Protocols should be confiscated, a good cause cannot be defended by dirty means."^[36] Despite the order, or because of the "good cause", numerous reprints proliferated.^[32]

English language imprints

On October 27 and 28, 1919, the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* published excerpts of an English language translation as the "Red Bible," deleting all references to the purported Jewish authorship and re-casting the document as a Bolshevik manifesto.^[37] The author of the articles was the paper's correspondent at the time, Carl W. Ackerman, who later became the head of the journalism department at Columbia University. On May 8, 1920, an article^[38] in *The Times* followed German translation and appealed for an inquiry into what it called "uncanny note of prophecy".



 Title page of 1920 edition from Boston.

United States

In the United States, Henry Ford sponsored the printing of 500,000 copies, and, from 1920 to 1922, published a series of antisemitic articles titled "The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem", in *The Dearborn Independent*, a newspaper he owned. In 1921, Ford cited evidence of a Jewish threat: "The only statement I care to make about the *Protocols* is that they fit in with what is

going on. They are 16 years old, and they have fitted the world situation up to this time."^[39] In 1927, however, the courts ordered Ford to retract his publication and apologize; he complied, claiming his assistants had duped him. He remained an admirer of Nazi Germany, however.^[40]

In 1934, an anonymous editor expanded the compilation with "Text and Commentary" (pages 136–141). The production of this uncredited compilation was a 300-page book, an inauthentic expanded edition of the twelfth chapter of Nilus's 1905 on the coming of the anti-Christ. It consists of substantial liftings of excerpts of articles from Ford's antisemitic periodical *The Dearborn Independent*. This 1934 text circulates most widely in the English-speaking world, as well as on the internet. The "Text and Commentary" concludes with a comment on Haim Weizman's October 6, 1920 remark at a banquet: "A beneficent protection which God has instituted in the life of the Jew is that He has dispersed him all over the world". Marsden, who was dead by then, is credited with the following assertion:

It proves that the Learned Elders exist. It proves that Dr. Weizmann knows all about them. It proves that the desire for a "National Home" in Palestine is only camouflage and an infinitesimal part of the Jew's real object. It proves that the Jews of the world have no intention of settling in Palestine or any separate country, and that their annual prayer that they may all meet "Next Year in Jerusalem" is merely a piece of their characteristic make-believe. It also demonstrates that the Jews are now a world menace, and that the Aryan races will have to domicile them permanently out of Europe.^[41]

This quote occurs on page 138. On the previous page, the nameless commentator has the following: "There has been recently published a volume of Theodor Herzl's *Diaries*, a translation of some passages of which appeared in the *Jewish Chronicle* of July 14, 1922". Accordingly, the commentary must have been written at least two years after Marsden's death.

***The Times* exposes a forgery, 1921**



The Times exposed the *Protocols* as a forgery on August 16–18, 1921

In 1920-1921, the history of the concepts found in the *Protocols* was traced back to the works of Goedsche and Jacques Crétineau-Joly by Lucien Wolf (an English Jewish journalist), and published in London in August 1921. But a dramatic exposé occurred in the series of articles in *The Times* by its Constantinople reporter, Philip Graves, who discovered the plagiarism from the work of Maurice Joly.

According to writer Peter Grose, Allen Dulles, who was in Constantinople developing relationships in post-Ottoman political structures, discovered 'the source' of the documentation ultimately provided to *The Times*. Grose writes that *The Times* extended a loan to the source, a Russian émigré who refused to be identified, with the understanding the loan would not be repaid.^[42] Colin Holmes, a lecturer in economic history of Sheffield University, identified the émigré as Michael Raslovleff, a self-identified antisemite, who gave the information to Graves so as not to "give a weapon of any kind to the Jews, whose friend I have never been."^[43]

In the first article of Graves' series, titled "A Literary Forgery", the editors of *The Times* wrote, "our Constantinople Correspondent presents for the first time conclusive proof that the document is in the main a clumsy plagiarism. He has forwarded us a copy of the French book from which the plagiarism is made."^[44] *The New York Times* reprinted the articles on September 4, 1921.^[45] In the same year, an entire book^[46] documenting the hoax was published in the United States by Herman Bernstein. Despite this widespread and extensive debunking, the *Protocols* continued to be regarded as important factual evidence by antisemites.

German language publications

The first and "by far the most important"^[47] German translation was by Gottfried Zur Beek (pseudonym of Ludwig Müller von Hausen). It appeared in January 1920 as a part of a larger antisemitic tract^[48] dated 1919. After *The Times* discussed the book respectfully in May 1920 it became a bestseller. "The Hohenzollern family helped defray the publication costs, and Kaiser Wilhelm II had portions of the book read out aloud to dinner guests".^[49]

Alfred Rosenberg's 1923 edition^[50] "gave a forgery a huge boost".^[49]

Middle East

A translation made by an Arab Christian appeared in Cairo in 1927 or 1928, this time as a book. The first translation by an Arab Muslim was also published in Cairo, but only in 1951.^[51]

Switzerland

The Berne Trial, 1934–1935

Main article: Berne Trial

The selling of the *Protocols* (edited by German antisemite Theodor Fritsch) by the National Front during a political manifestation in the Casino of Berne on June 13, 1933^[52] led to the Berne Trial in the *Amtsgericht* (district court) of Berne, the capital of Switzerland, on October 29, 1934. The plaintiffs (the Swiss Jewish Association and the Jewish Community of Berne) were represented by Hans Matti and Georges Brunschvig, helped by Emil Raas. Working on behalf of the defense was German anti-Semitic propagandist Ulrich Fleischhauer. On May 19, 1935, two defendants

(Theodore Fischer and Silvio Schnell) were convicted of violating a Bernese statute prohibiting the distribution of "immoral, obscene or brutalizing" texts ^[53] while three other defendants were acquitted. The court declared the *Protocols* to be forgeries, plagiarisms, and obscene literature. Judge Walter Meyer, a Christian who had not heard of the *Protocols* earlier, said in conclusion:

I hope, the time will come when nobody will be able to understand how in 1935 nearly a dozen sane and responsible men were able for two weeks to mock the intellect of the Bern court discussing the authenticity of the so-called Protocols, the very Protocols that, harmful as they have been and will be, are nothing but laughable nonsense. ^[32]

Vladimir Burtsev, a Russian émigré, anti-Bolshevik and anti-Fascist who exposed numerous Okhrana agents provocateurs in the early 1900s, served as a witness at the Berne Trial. In 1938 in Paris he published a book, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion: A Proved Forgery*, based on his testimony.

On November 1, 1937 the defendants appealed the verdict to the *Obergericht* (Cantonal Supreme Court) of Berne. A panel of three judges acquitted them, holding that the *Protocols*, while false, did not violate the statute at issue because they were "political publications" and not "immoral (obscene) publications (Schundliteratur)" in the strict sense of the law. ^[53] The presiding judge's opinion stated, though, that the forgery of the *Protocols* was not questionable and expressed regret that the law did not provide adequate protection for Jews from this sort of literature. The court refused to impose the fees of defence of the acquitted defendants to the plaintiffs, and the acquitted Theodor Fischer had to pay 100 Fr. to the total state costs of the trial (Fr. 28'000) that were eventually paid by the Canton of Berne. ^[54] This decision gave grounds for later allegations that the appeal court "confirmed authenticity of the Protocols" which is contrary to the facts. A view favorable to the pro-Nazi defendants is reported in an appendix to Leslie Fry's *Waters Flowing Eastward*. ^[55] A more scholarly work on the trial is in a 139 page monograph by Urs Lüthi.

The Basel Trial

A similar trial in Switzerland took place at **Basel**. The Swiss Frontists Alfred Zander and Eduard Rüegegger distributed the *Protocols* (edited by the German Gottfried zur Beek) in Switzerland. Jules Dreyfus-Brodsky and Marcus Cohen sued them for insult to Jewish honor. At the same time, chief rabbi Marcus Ehrenpreis of Stockholm (who also witnessed at the Berne Trial) sued Alfred Zander who contended that Ehrenpreis himself had said that the *Protocols* were authentic (referring to the foreword of the edition of the *Protocols* by the German antisemite Theodor Fritsch). In June 5, 1936 these proceedings ended with a settlement. ^[56]

Jewish efforts concentrated on the Berne Trial because Bernese law seemed to offer better chances for their concern. Only in 1942 a central Swiss Criminal Law was introduced, and since 1995 Art. 261 bis (against racial discrimination) should prevent discrimination and racial propaganda.

Germany

The *Protocols* also became a part of the Nazi propaganda effort to justify persecution of the Jews. It was made required reading for German students. In *The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry 1933–1945*, Nora Levin states that "Hitler used the *Protocols* as a manual in his war to exterminate the Jews":

Despite conclusive proof that the *Protocols* were a gross forgery, they had sensational popularity and large sales in the 1920s and 1930s. They were translated into every language of Europe and sold widely in Arab lands, the United States, and England. But it was in Germany after World War I that they had their greatest success. There they were used to explain all of the disasters that had befallen the country: the defeat in the war, the hunger, the destructive inflation.^[57]

Hitler refers to the *Protocols* in *Mein Kampf*:

... To what extent the whole existence of this people is based on a continuous lie is shown incomparably by the *Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*, so infinitely hated by the Jews. They are based on a forgery, the *Frankfurter Zeitung* moans and screams once every week: the best proof that they are authentic. [...] the important thing is that with positively terrifying certainty they reveal the nature and activity of the Jewish people and expose their inner contexts as well as their ultimate final aims.^[58]

Hitler endorsed it in his speeches from August 1921 on, and it was studied in German classrooms after the Nazis came to power. At the height of World War II, the Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels proclaimed: "The Zionist Protocols are as up-to-date today as they were the day they were first published."^[49] In Norman Cohn's words, it served as the Nazis' "warrant for genocide".

Contemporary imprints

While there is continued popularity of *The Protocols* in nations from South America to Asia, since the defeat of Nazi Germany and fascist Italy in WWII, governments or political leaders in most parts of the world have generally avoided claims that *The Protocols* represent factual evidence of a real Jewish conspiracy. The exception to this is the Middle East, where a large number of Arab and Muslim regimes and leaders have endorsed them as authentic. Past endorsements of *The Protocols* from Presidents Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat of Egypt, one of the President Arifs of Iraq, King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, and Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi of Libya, among other political and intellectual leaders of the Arab world, are echoed by 21st century endorsements from the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Sheikh Ekrima Sa'id Sabri, and Hamas, to the education ministry of Saudi Arabia.^[59]

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