

THE
NATIONALITY PROBLEM
OF THE
SOVIET UNION
AND
RUSSIAN COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM

by

Roman Smal-Stocki

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with a preface by
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FOREWORD

Under the regime of the Soviet Union, all liberal arts and sciences, the whole cultural life of all nationalities, are subordinated to the Russian Communist dictatorship and its strategy for subduing the free world. Consequently we are in these pages conducting not only a scientific discussion with the Soviet scholars in the style of Western Europe, but we shall attempt simultaneously to combat the Russian aggressive ideology, an ideology which found in my new homeland, the U.S.A., a surprisingly large number of partisans and sympathizers, who completely obscure American public opinion on the nationality problem of the Soviet Union, so closely connected with the general political and cultural freedom of the whole world. This problem has for us university professors a particular concern, for the Russian dynamic ideology abolishes all academic freedom in the countries under its sway and attempts to enforce it the world over.

The U.S.A. in fact is now forced to fight her second War for Independence. We, the DP scholars, as new Americans do not wish to hide behind the front line because we are aware that the fate of freedom is at stake in every part of the world. Stalin inadvertently brings to Americans the truth of Abraham Lincoln's words: "Our defense is in the preservation of liberty as the heritage of all men, in all lands, everywhere." These words keep our fighting spirit alive for they represent the antithesis to the political ideology of some American proponents of Machiavellianism and Prussian "Realpolitik" who forgot Lincoln's warning: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God will not long retain it."

These pages could not have been written without the technical help kindly granted to me by my Deans, Rev. Fathers V. Roach, S.J., College of Liberal Arts, and E. J. Drummond, S.J., Graduate School, Marquette University. I wish to express to them my sincere gratitude.

To Prof. L. Dobriansky, Georgetown University, an American authority on nationality problems, who wrote the preface, I present my warm thanks.

I express my special gratitude to Prof. Merle Fainsod, Harvard University, Chairman of The Joint Committee on Slavic Studies, appointed by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council, for the kind permission to quote the copyrighted translations from The Current Digest of the Soviet Press.

I did not attempt to bring order to the chaos of the transliteration of Slavic words in English; I used such transliterations which are customary in the contemporary American press and publications.

PREFACE

In the face of an imposing mass of contemporary literary output on the Soviet Union it would appear manifestly superfluous to place further emphasis on the critical and urgent need for a comprehensive knowledge and consequent perspectival understanding of the complexities surrounding this forcibly contrived political entity. Mainly because of the direct, mortal threat it presently poses to the institutional framework and foundational values of Western civilization, and in particular to the vibrant national freedom of the United States which in reality represents today the quintessential thread of global salvation from the virulent talons of Soviet Russian imperialism, the Soviet Union in evolving as a prodigious object of curious inquiry has come to absorb the unremitting energies of countless students and observers feverishly engaged in the pursuit of almost every conceivable line of investigation bearing on the nature, composition, and operations of this self-dedicated enemy of the West. Yet despite this evidence, along the broad front of such vigorous research activity there continues to exist a pitiful and even tragic neglect of one of the most vital, and in several pre-eminent respects unquestionably the most determining, issues engulfing the continued existence of the Soviet Union, so much so as to provide adequate cause for a sound re-emphasis on the afore-mentioned need. Indeed, it is no exaggeration that in many American quarters of thought and learning, in addition to those of public authority, a veritable intellectual iron curtain prevails with respect to this important phenomenon, namely, the insoluble nationalities' problem in the Soviet Union.

The crucial importance of comprehending this deep-rooted issue with any measure of significant appreciation finds solid justification not only in the presupposed interests of objective truth but also, and with equal strength, in the current necessities of prudent political action as well as spirited moral motivation. A scrutinous examination of a not unsubstantial portion of the contemporary output dealing with the Soviet Union reveals, sadly enough, a sciolistic ineptitude in the satisfaction of these three fundamental requirements for a sound structural and operational analysis. The uncritical and persistent use of the ethnically baseless term "Russia" when applied to the territorial area of the Soviet Union, the unimpressive farrage of bewildering discourse built on the nonsensical identification of all the inhabitants of the Soviet Union as "Russians," and the chronic, blatant lack of any reasonable acquaintance with the distinctive histories, languages, customs, psychological peculiarities, and the heroic features of the invincible liberation movements of the numerous non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union can scarcely be said to set the mark of competent scholarship in the field. Strange as it may seem, even the celebrated works of several of our accepted American experts on Eastern Europe suffer from these

standard rudimentary limitations and weaknesses, and inadvertently serve to perpetuate an unwholesome variety of misconceptions founded on misrepresented empirical facts. Fortunately, magna est veritas, et praevalebit.

In failing to portray a complete and true picture of the political, national, and cultural realities abounding in the Soviet Union such inaccurate works naturally fall short of meeting the remaining two requisites demanding our closest attention in the current situation. For instance, it can be forcefully argued that in the formulation of American policy to cope with prevaricating Soviet propaganda in the so-called battle of ideas no more fertile and explosive area can be effectively exploited by us than that offered by the stern and unyielding opposition of over 100 million non-Russian Soviet people to the tyrannical yoke of Soviet Russian imperialism. As in the case of all non-Russian peoples bludgeoned into submission by this modern version of traditional Russian imperialism, this hostile opposition to the Kremlin, as against any that might be generated among the Russians themselves, is peculiarly twofold in substance and character. This fundamental point of distinction cannot be too strongly emphasized. The 45 million Ukrainians, 25 million Moslems, 10 million Byelo-Russians, 3 million Balts, 2 million Georgians, and additional millions of Cossacks, Armenians, Azerbaijani, Tatars, Turkestani, Uzbeks, Kirgizes, etc.—in other words, the restless and liberation-striving non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union who inhabit the broad, strategic periphery from the Baltic to the Black Sea to the Pacific and who, since the recent Soviet annexations, constitute now approximately 53 per cent of the total Soviet population—these “majority minorities” concentrate their respective national resistance not only against the totalitarianism of entrenched domestic communism but also, in fact far more so, on the imperialist bondage saddled on them by the despots of Soviet Russia. For successful and triumphant political action in peace and obviously in war, an operational recognition of these general facts, as several prominent American political leaders have already seized upon, is plainly sine qua non.

The third requisite of spirited moral motivation is amply satisfied by the striking compatibility of ideals permeating the aspirations of these peoples and those of Americans and others in the basically common struggle against Soviet Russian imperialism and for international comity grounded in a responsible self-determination of peacefully willed peoples. Not only is the Christian conscience in its overwhelming passion of charity gravely aroused by the flagitious acts of Soviet terrorism, inhumanity, and national genocide as are ruthlessly perpetrated upon these victimized and unsupported peoples, but in its formidable passion for justice is quickly drawn to the hopes and yearnings of these courageous souls for individual liberty, national freedom, and universal fellowship. Military power alone is surely not the means of salvation from the dehumanizing scourge of Soviet Russian imperialism. As in the historical past, so more now, the moral spirit must be attuned to the perennial values of civilized life—fiat justitia, ruat caelum.

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It is with this balancing orientation that the distinguished and scholarly author of this work advances the content and results of his investigation of certain paramount issues pertaining to Soviet thought and practice. Unusually well equipped by a unique background of direct experience with and long study of Russian Bolshevism, not to mention his intimate familiarity and extensive contacts with the many non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and their leading representatives abroad, he is doubtless best fitted to present to the American mind these relatively neglected aspects of the thorniest problem confronting the Soviet oligarchy. This work may well represent that much needed wedge in the numerous iron curtains of thought existing here in America with regard to this weakest link in the Soviet chain of imperialist power, and should certainly stimulate the thought and imagination of every dispassionate student of the Soviet Union as well as those to whom the fateful direction of American foreign policy toward Eastern Europe are entrusted.

Lev E. Dobriansky
Georgetown University

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We regarded as necessary for the elucidation of all questions involved in the nationality problem of the Soviet Union to submit before the reader numerous quotations from publications of other scholars and from articles of the current Soviet press. Our acknowledgments to publishers and authors for the material which they have kindly permitted us to use are therefore extensive.

We are indebted to Simon and Schuster, Inc., for permission to use quotations from Wendell L. Willkie, One World; to the Dial Press, Inc., for quotations from William Mandel, A Guide to the Soviet Union; to the Philosophical Library for quotations from Sir Arthur Keith, A New Theory of Human Evolution, and from Joseph S. Roucek, Slavonic Encyclopedia; to Barnes & Noble, Inc., for quotations from Walter Kirchner, Outline History of Russia; to Harcourt, Brace and Company for quotations from Corliss Lamont, The Peoples of the Soviet Union; to the Horizon Press, Inc., and the author for quotations from Corliss Lamont, The Independent Mind; to the Harvard University Press for quotations from Samuel Hazzard Cross, Slavic Civilization Through the Ages; to Columbia University, Department of Slavic Languages, for quotations from N. Troubetzkoy, The Common Slavic Element in Russian Culture, edited by Leon Stilman, Columbia Slavic Studies, New York, 1950; to the Macmillan Company for quotations from Edward H. Carr, Nationalism and After; to the Oxford University Press for quotations from Julian Towster, Political Power in the U.S.S.R., 1917-1947; to Constantin R. Jurgela, History of the Lithuanian Nation; to Lancelot Lawton for quotations from Ukrainia: Europe's Greatest Problem; to Duell Sloan & Pearce, Inc., for quotations from Hede Massing, This Deception; to E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., for quotations from Nicholas S. Timasheff, The Great Retreat.

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INTRODUCTION

It is rather difficult for our American colleagues to picture the tragic fate of academic freedom in the Soviet Union; it is also difficult for them to imagine the thorny way of the scholars of the non-Russian nationalities, who since the establishment of the Soviet Union have refused to capitulate before Russian Communism.

First after 1920-1922 we had to retreat from our mother countries, which were forced into the Soviet Union by Russian Communist aggression, we had to take refuge in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Bulgaria, Germany, and France, continuing there as figures in the public eye and as teachers in the universities our fight against the Russian Communist dictatorship over liberal arts and sciences, and mobilizing all moral forces for the defense of academic freedom in the Soviet Union; academic freedom is synonymous for us with personal and national freedom, because freedom is a general idea.

The second phase began after World War II. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, East Germany, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania suffered the same fate previously undergone in the years 1920-22 by Ukraine, Byelo-Ruthenia (Byelo-Russia), Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasus, the Cossack, Tatarian, and Turkestan peoples. All academic freedom was suppressed in these countries also. Together with the DP professors of these new victim-countries of Russian Communism who refused to capitulate before Stalin, we again had to retreat to the west and finally reached the last line of defense, the U.S.A. In the still free remainder of Europe these academic and national freedoms are at present in mortal danger, and their final fate completely depends on the real force commanded by the Atlantic Pact nations. Thus since the year 1920 we have heard the hoofs of the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse—and we hear them still in the U.S.A.

All European scholars are rather well acquainted with the ideological background of the U.S.A. and the principles of the American Declaration of Independence, but we had not anticipated how deeply these principles have been undermined in some universities by some influences in philosophy, education, and political theory which deny that the individual possesses any rights at all as against the almighty State, any rights which the State may not take away, as actually happened in the Soviet Union. Therefore, we regarded this great nation as the natural moral leader in the present great ideological world war between Russian Communist dictatorship and Democracy, in this war which for us, the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union, has already lasted without intermission for one third of a century. It is true that some of us, professors, were deeply suspicious of the U.S.A. and its academic world, because in the course of the past decades we had not received, in our

fight for academic freedom in the Soviet Union, one single spontaneous word of encouragement from the American universities; on the contrary, many books of American scholars glorified the regime which killed academic freedom, independent thought and all free intellectual creation. In recent times we were astonished at what a tiny impression had been made on the American academic world by the fate of the oldest universities in Central Europe: Prague, Leipzig, Cracow....

Our destiny soon brought us face to face with the American realities. What did we find here, we fanatics of academic freedom?

First, we found an amazing discrepancy between the professed American principles of freedom, democracy, and self-determination, and their theoretical and practical application to the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union—and that includes for us also our academic freedom. American official policy readily defends these principles for the nationalities of Asia and the tribes of Africa, but regarding the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union these principles dare not even be used as lip service for the observance of elementary democratic decency. The American official policy regarding the right of self-determination of the non-Russian nationalities is up to the present moment scrupulously made to conform with the nationality policy of the Russian Communist Party. It is hostile to their liberation movements, their national ideas and freedom.

Second, we found here, in the U.S.A., a scientific Iron Curtain, with the emblem of a "red herring," regarding all matters connected with the Soviet Union, and a very active staff of a "Soviet-Russian Occupation Zone" in American intellectual and academic life. These facts explain for us that kind of censorship and thought control which exists especially in the American liberal press and converts this country into an intellectual colony of the Soviet- or Pan-Russian ideology. Some of the DP professors, after a couple of months in the U.S.A., had the feeling that they were trapped here by Stalin's "second front" against the fight for academic freedom and the liberty of the non-Russian nationalities behind the Iron Curtain. Only the moral integrity, courage, and patriotism of the American "man in the street" who sentenced the "American" Communist Party Board—in reality a Communist Army staff—and the encouragement we receive from some few American scholars and some Catholic universities restored their confidence in this nation which started to clean house only two years ago.

Thus the DP emigration here in the U.S.A. is confronted with a double task and mission: (a) We must continue the fight for academic freedom behind the Iron Curtain, making sure that the united public opinion of the free world and the UN could, by courageous acts of condemnation—if not bring real relief for the scholars, at least surely stimulate the will and spirit of all academic institutions, staff and youth of the U.S.S.R., to continue their effective intellectual opposition against Russian Communist dictatorship and give them the assurance of being not isolated in their fight but backed by the whole free world. (b) In 1947 we had immediately to begin a dirty job: to remove that Iron Curtain in American public life and in the academic field, and to challenge to a public discussion

the operators of the intellectual "Soviet Russian Occupation Sphere," often commanded by American colleagues.

Do these American colleagues think that we, who for decades refused to capitulate before Russian Communism and Stalin, will in the U.S.A. capitulate before them and their Soviet Russian, open and hidden, allies? What kind of people do they think we are? They are badly mistaken. No special "job policy" will break the overwhelming majority of the DP scholars and close their mouth.

We are warned by our American friends that the fight for academic freedom and liberty behind the Iron Curtain is rather unpopular among some influential professors. We were warned also by our American colleagues before the fellow-traveler smear and terror, operating through broadcasting, newspapers, and academic pressure, which have intimidated or disgusted many honest American intellectuals and created such an impression on the DP's that they asked one another: Does academic freedom in Slavic and Soviet matters still exist in the U.S.A. also for non-Marxists and non-fellow travelers or only for Marxists and fellow-traveling "liberals"?

Despite all the smear, terror, and character assassination which the author of this book has to anticipate from the Russian bolsheviks and mensheviks, and their American protectors, he has decided to publish it. Why?

(a) He feels a moral obligation to the memory of all the thousands of colleagues of all the nationalities of the Soviet Union who were murdered by the Russian Communist dictatorship in the previous decades because of their defense of academic and national freedom; he feels the moral duty to honor the thousands of writers, poets, and journalists who were "liquidated" for their defense of free creative thought. (b) He feels a moral obligation toward all colleagues and "men of the pen" of all nationalities of the Soviet Union presently imprisoned and persecuted for their defense of free thought and research. (c) He feels it a duty to publish these pages as an "outline of the history of the struggle for liberty of the non-Russian nationalities, enslaved in the U.S.S.R. This outline is at the same time also an "outline of the history of Slavistics and linguistics in the Soviet Union" for the last third of a century, the saddest pages of Slavic liberal arts since the Tatar invasion. (d) He feels also a moral duty, now as an American professor, to warn his colleagues, the American youth and public opinion against Soviet Russian infiltration into the academic sphere, and publicly to denounce all the dogmas of Russian bolshevik and menshevik propaganda in the U.S.A., which aims at the realization of the thesis: Soviet Russia first, the interest of the truth and of the U.S.A. second.

Thus by this book our fight against the scientific Iron Curtain in the U.S.A., its academic operators and their rather numerous pupils, enters a new stage, and we have to make it clear again to our American colleagues and friends against what and whom we were and are fighting this ideological war, and for what world outlook: we have to formulate our attitude toward a certain group in the American academic world in which some of us DP professors and scholars are already included on

the one hand, and on the other from which others of our group are systematically excluded.

In this connection we regard it necessary to state openly our attitude regarding the Russian nation in order that there may be no misinterpretations. We have stated it publicly many times, have printed it in Europe and are repeating it here, in the U.S.A.: we are not fighting the Russian nation and all its legitimate rights; we are fighting Russian imperialism and intolerant chauvinism, merged together with Russian Communism into a messianistic dynamic force aiming at world conquest. Thus, as we fought Pan-Germanism of the Nazis and their German imperialism and chauvinism, so we are opposing Pan-Russian imperialism and its allies, open and secret, in the U.S.A. We regard it as an exclusive business of the Russians themselves to organize their own political, national, and cultural life according to their own convictions; we only defend the just claim of all these rights also for all non-Russian nationalities behind the Iron Curtain and in the Soviet Union. We regard as the worst enemy of the Russian nation itself anybody who fosters Russian imperialism and intolerance, because that is the way into a Russian catastrophe on the same scale as the German catastrophe. Only justice, equality, and freedom can build up a peaceful world of the future and lead us to an organized humanity. Therefore every true friend of the Russian nation should appeal to the Christian conscience and political wisdom of the Russians voluntarily to grant all enslaved peoples liberty for that cause and to cease to discriminate and murder the non-Russian peoples. Therefore it is with moral shock and horror that we witness how in the land of Washington and Jefferson the Menshevik Dallin has joined the Bolshevik Stalin in a common front against the liberty of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. Godless Russian Marxism also in the U.S.A. has dropped its "humanitarian" mask forgetting even Marx's thesis that "a nation which oppresses other nationalities can never be free itself."

We have too great a respect and feel too great a gratitude to such Russians as Soloviev, Herzen, Fortunatov, etc., to lose the ultimate hope that the Russians as a whole will embrace the Christian and democratic principles regarding their near and far neighbors. We were and are friends of the Russian nation, to the culture of which Ukrainians have contributed much, but we will never give up the membership of the Ukrainian nation in the Western European cultural sphere, in the European family of nations, and renounce our cultural heritage connected with Rome and not only with Constantinople. To the Russian and the "American" admirers and worshipers of force, terror, and slavery we answer with the quotation from a work of the poetess Lesya Ukrainka, who wrote over a half century ago, "Kill me—but I will never surrender to Russian absolutism!" The same attitude toward Russia proper is professed also by Finno-Karelians, the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelo-Ruthenians, the Cossacks; the Caucasus is also oriented to Europe.

We repeat once again in very clear terms that we observe a distinction between the historically absolutist, bloody and undemocratic Russian leadership and the victimized common Russian people, in spite of

the fact that Russian Communism is backed at present by millions of Russians who are fascinated by Communist Pan-Russian imperialism, and are profiting by it. We are conducting our fight against this Russian imperialistic Communism realized in the Soviet Union, which according to the great Russian thinker Berdyaev is the third form of Russian imperialism, having succeeded its first and second form, the Muscovite Tsardom and the Russian Empire. This Pan-Russian imperialism is also rather prevalent amongst the Russians in the U.S.A., who instead of accepting the American principles expressed in the Declaration of Independence, are attempting to Russianize the U.S.A. For many anti-Communist Russian political leaders in this country the territorial conservation of that new Russian Slave Labor Camp Empire is more important than the defeat of Russian Communism, and they, often as naturalized American citizens, demand full subordination of the American foreign policy to that aim of Russian imperialism and colonialism, reserving for the American Democracy the honorable post of a junior co-jailer of the oppressed non-Russian nationalities in the new Communist prison of nations. Against these phony "democrats" and "Americans," who often like to pose as "new leaders," we will also continue to fight, proving in regard to them how right was the thesis of Lenin, proclaimed only for "tactical" reasons, that "any Russian Socialist who refuses to recognize the freedom of Finland and Ukraine is bound to degenerate into a chauvinist."

By the way, we are not without allies in this fight amongst the true Russian patriots themselves. In the Russian paper Nasha Strana (Argentine), No. 48, 1950, in the editorial "What About Tomorrow?" there is given a good picture of the present ideological plight of the overwhelming part of the Russian émigrés:

"The genuinely Russian national emigration has honestly to recognize the present tragic situation: nobody in the world has sufficient reason for having confidence in us. Around 80% of the Russian emigration in the U.S.A. is embraced by Soviet-patriotism. Nearly one half of the Russian generals, even 'white' generals, went over to the Soviets. Nearly the whole great emigration-literature, the journalistic publications and philosophy in one way or in another is merged with Sovietism: here are Bunin, Kuprin, Miliukov, and Kuskov and a whole list of professors, who for 30 years have preached about the evolution of the Cheka, G.P.U., N.K.V.D., M.V.D.,--the professors Ustrialov, Tatishchev, Savicky, Miliukov, Prokopovich,--we could enumerate two dozen more. Against all that, the genuinely national camp puts forward almost nothing or even absolutely nothing. As a matter of fact, for all our tragedies we have to thank our leadership,--from Markov to Lenin, from Alekseiev to Kerensky, from Gorky to Bunin, and from the monarchist, Kozembek to the solidarist Boldyrev. 'As we sowed, we shall reap.'"

Now we have to state our general world view from which our opposition to Russian Communism and imperialism springs, in order to make it clearly understood whom we regard as our allies and friends in the U.S.A. Not all anti-Communists here are our true friends

The DP professors and intellectuals represent a whole scale of political programs, from the left to the center, which have one common basic element; that is freedom, which as academic freedom is the basis of our research, teaching, and educational activity. We all agree that without this a nation cannot live, youth cannot be educated, research cannot be promoted, and our Jewish-Greek-Latin-Christian cultural heritage cannot be preserved. This freedom under the rule of the Moral Law we have defended and are defending. Consequently, anyone who believes in God and freedom, in human dignity, based on this freedom, feels the responsibility for these foundations of our culture and civilization against which Soviet Moscow has proclaimed the "inevitability of its Communist dictatorship," based on its special moral code, which subordinates human beings to its new god: the Russian Communist State, the nucleus of the World Soviet Union.

Not only theoretical thinking but the practical experience of one third of a century have persuaded all European scholars to subscribe to a thesis which makes many of our American colleagues "nervous." It is the thesis that there exists a fundamental and uncompromising conflict between Communism-Leninism and freedom. Only an "American professor in Sovietland," like an "Alice in Wonderland," can teach the "peaceful coexistence" of Marxism-Leninism and Democracy. That is an impossible assumption, contrary to all basic principles of Leninism-Stalinism, and the only professor who was compelled by the Western Powers to believe in it and made a practical experiment, E. Benesh, paid for it with the enslavement of his mother country. Therefore from the 1920's on we have learned, the hard way, the truth that the essential difference between these two world conceptions concerns not Eastern Europe only, but the entire world; this is not a simple struggle between two socioeconomical systems for the ownership of the means of production but is a fundamental struggle over man's soul and its freedom, a struggle of two moral systems, of two ways of life, of the ideas of a free society and a slave society. Freedom, the lifeblood of the one is poison to the other; the lifeblood of the other, Russian absolutism, is poison to the first one. The first view respects human liberty and the dignity of the individual of all nationalities and their religions, and embraces them in a free humanity under God; the second kills liberty and the dignity of individuals and nationalities, proclaiming as it does only the Russians as the chosen people of the Communist caliphate and their Communist police State as the realization of the godless and classless society, of that Russian brand of "humanity" which will conquer the whole world and thus "finally put in order" the senseless chaos of the universe.

The first view, so deeply impressed upon us by T. G. Masaryk's philosophy, clearly stresses the paramount importance of the nationality problem in constructive politics; the relation between nationality and mankind is not understood in such a way that mankind as a whole and internationalism are something different from, against, or above the nations and nationalities, but that nationalities are "the natural organs of mankind." The other view regarding the nationality problem is

practically a Russian Communist Murder Inc. for all non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union, under the glamorous propaganda slogan of a "federal and voluntary union of equal Soviet Socialist Republics."

From our point of view the interpretation of the history of the past decades, as well as the analysis of the roots of the present world crisis is different from popular academic thought in the U.S.A. We do not demand that American scholars and columnists accept uncritically our way of thought, but we demand in the interest of truth that our voice be heard and not silenced by the Russian Soviet racket. We regard it as a fact that history clearly put the nationality problem in the very center of international politics with World War I, and this nationality problem dominates the international situation until the present day.

It is therefore very shortsighted to look for the reasons of the present world crisis in the events of the last few years. These years belong to a historical cycle which began in 1905 and 1917 with the revolutions in the old Tsarist Empire, the notorious prison of nationalities. This designation already shows what problem is on the agenda of history—the freedom of nationalities. Thus let me briefly present my main thesis.

After World War I the British Democracy, with the traditions of the Magna Charta, and the British Revolution, the U.S.A. with the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence and Wilson's principles, the French Democracy with the Rights of Men—betrayed the principle of freedom and refused self-determination to the non-Russian nationalities of old Russia with the exception of Poland, Finland, and later Armenia. Thus was betrayed the great heritage of freedom, thus was lost the spiritual leadership of these nations in the world—and they themselves have contributed to the consolidation of the Russian Communist dictatorship, competing since Rapallo, in this direction, also with Germany. Since the 1920's the great powers have been learning the hard way that all deviations from the absolute code of honor and decency are political crimes, which also do not pay, and that moral integrity in foreign politics is the only way to peace, justice, and real success in world organization. As in private life the self-seeker and the liar will sooner or later meet bankruptcy, so all similar acts of nations represent the way into the abyss. The last revolution in Tsarist Russia was an act of international importance and represented a crossroad of world history. Fate has spiritually tried the democracies, as if to determine whether they really believed in what they profess: self-determination, liberty, and democracy under the International Law, represented by the League of Nations. The "elder brothers" in democracy could either realize their ideals by means of accepting the non-Russian nationalities into the great family of free nations—the League of Nations—isolating the Russian Communist pest; or they could refuse to do it. They did refuse, and consequently they also are coresponsible for the rise of Hitler and for World War II, and for the second betrayal of the great heritage of democracy and liberty at Yalta, and finally for the present virtual World War III. The betrayal started in 1920 with the Ukraine, the Caucasus, and Turkestan and finished after 1945 with Poland, Czechoslovakia and China.... And the whole world is standing before the abyss.

Let us sum up: Especially the U.S.A. missed two great chances namely (a) to become after 1920 the leader of freedom for all the non-Russian nationalities of the former Russian Empire in Europe and the Middle East; (b) to become after 1945 the leader of freedom for the oppressed nationalities in Asia. The responsible statesmen did not see these chances or the whole nationality problem, and they helped to build up the Communist Soviet Union, which with a sphere of influence including nearly 800-900 millions is now already strangling Uncle Sam himself. And now the "planners" of the U.S.A. foreign policy see (partly) the nationality problem at last, and try to save Greece and Turkey, instead of proclaiming, in 1920, that the historic mission of the nation of Washington and Jefferson was the abolition of slavery and tyranny the world over. And slowly the U.S.A. is beginning to grasp that America is compelled now to fight the second War of Independence—Independence from Russian Communism, which developed into the present world menace by the American disregard of the freedom of the non-Russian nationalities in Europe and Asia; now gradually the "planners" are grasping the thought that only the idea of national liberty can split and liquidate Russian Communism, and they are giving material help to the Communist Tito, after once having refused any moral help to the democratic non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union.

The period of the betrayal of the great heritage is not yet ended. Russian Communism-Leninism, with its ideological armies, the Communist Parties, is everywhere waging a continuous world war against freedom and democracy. How are the democracies defending themselves and their liberty under the leadership of the U.S.A.? Instead of accepting the challenge and answering the revolutionary Communist world war against Democracy and Freedom by a similarly firm and revolutionary ideological world war for Democracy and Freedom, supporting above all the non-Russian nationalities in their struggle for liberty, the "planners" of U.S.A. policy are fighting the dynamism of Russian Communism by a conception of a "half-free and half-enslaved Europe," realized in the Committee for a Free Europe, and by a similar idea of "half-free and half-enslaved Asia"—still tempting Russian imperialism with the "bait" of dividing the world. Thus until now the "democratic" politicians are still betraying the great heritage of freedom and do not understand that the present struggle is far more than a simple struggle for power, but that it is fundamentally a world struggle between human freedom and human slavery, draped with Marxist phraseology. Therefore they are unconsciously the best allies of Russian Communist imperialism, because such a prostitution of the idea of freedom by the democracies undermines any confidence in and the sympathy for them as leaders of the free world, and puts on the lips of all unhappy victims of Stalin the question: Are political ethics a myth? Are the democracies not aware that they themselves have helped building up the Red Empire as a mortal danger to the freedom of the world and to our cultural heritage? Must not the free world defend freedom everywhere against Communist aggression?

We have given a brief presentation of our way of thought about the present tragic world situation and about the great catastrophe which freedom and democracy suffered. Who is responsible for it?

And that brings us also to the question regarding our attitude to American scholarship and to the American teaching profession. What is the place of the American university professor in this world struggle for academic freedom?

There can be no discussion about the fact that in this life-and-death struggle the heaviest responsibility rests on the scholars and university professors. To them, as in all free nations, is entrusted the great mission to seek the truth, to proclaim it fearlessly, and to educate youth so that they become genuine seekers of truth and genuine citizens, to educate the intellectual leaders, teachers, journalists, the experts and planners for the foreign service; therefore the professors are fundamentally responsible for the fate of any nation.

Have some American universities and college professors, especially of the rich institutions of the east which educate the "intellectual elite," fulfilled their duties toward the American nation? We have no right to judge, but we have the right to ask. Because we cannot help having the impression that the American masses and intelligentsia were caught by the present world crisis rather unprepared and that they were awakened, badly disappointed, from the dream of a peaceful co-operation with Russian Communism and its "evolution" towards Democracy. This was for many years preached by a vociferous group of American professors and their pupils.

In regard to our fight for academic freedom behind the Iron Curtain and in the Soviet Union we found our American colleagues divided into four groups. There exists a very small group of excellent and distinguished personalities, who have welcomed us DP scholars, by word and deed; their scholarly achievements, objectivity, and moral courage command our profound respects, and their good will made the U.S.A. a new home for us. This group, compared with the tens of thousands of other academic teachers is so small, that they constitute a most insignificant minority. What is the attitude of the overwhelming majority of the American professors to our ideological war for academic freedom? Generally speaking the situation is this: at least a half, perhaps two thirds (of 95 per cent) of the American teachers (with the exception of the Catholic and Protestant universities) are living in complete "intellectual isolationism." We thought that in this war for academic freedom only the stars were neutral. We were mistaken; retreating after a third of a century to the U.S.A., our heads "bloody but unbowed," we made the painful discovery that many of our American colleagues are also neutral. The rest are divided into three groups; one, we are informed, is reactionary and attempts to infringe upon the academic freedom of a liberal group of professors in American universities; this liberal group, in order to have allies, supports the third group, consisting of very active and vociferous professors with open or hidden sympathies for Russian Communism and of professors of all shades of "liberal" fellow travelers and "fellow-traveling" liberals. This is a

very strange alliance of true and honest defenders of academic freedom with the potential killers of academic freedom in the name of the defense of academic freedom. Consequently also this strange alliance could develop only in an atmosphere of American intellectual isolationism, and we have the impression that the fellow travelers intentionally provoked the problems of "loyalty oaths" as a "problem" of academic freedom in the U.S.A. in order to establish by this mock fight for academic freedom an Iron Curtain in the U.S.A. against the academic slavery in the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence, and to isolate the American professors from the true fight for academic freedom against Russian Communism, conducted by the DP professors everywhere.

And to this vociferous group of Communist sympathizers and fellow travelers, their open and secret allies, who have produced together with their pupils, in the U.S.A. such a Niagara of fellow-traveler literature about Russian Communism and the Soviet Union as no other scholars of free nations, to them we should like to direct some pertinent questions.

How could you, seekers of truth, force your pens into the service of the "Big Lie" and write all these eulogies and glorifications, full of lies and distortions about Russian Communism, which has abolished all academic freedoms in the Soviet Union?

How could you become the instruments of Russian Communist propaganda, agents of evil, and confuse and corrupt the American youth by representing Stalin's bloody dictatorship as democracy?

How could you present to classes of American youths a completely false concept of Russian Communism; how could you silence its corruption of individuals and perversion of national ideals and not warn the academic youth that Russian World Communism means World Slavery?

How, above all, could some specialists in Soviet matters transform their chairs into factories of Russian myths and Soviet dreams, dominated by Pan-Russian dogmas, preconceived ideas, intolerance of different opinions, and organize a pro-Russian discrimination against all other Slavic nations?

How could you systematically suppress or misrepresent our fight for academic freedom and the whole nationality problem in the Soviet Union, the key problem not only to Soviet but to world politics? How could you "experts and professors" appear in the U.S.A. as "objective witnesses" that this problem is "solved" in the Soviet Union, and accuse anyone who dared to disagree with you of reaction, fascism, separation, tribalism, warmongering, etc.?

Have you not largely contributed to the sad situation that some campuses have become hotbeds of Russian Communism, in which loyalty to the American flag was in the name of "progress," changed to the loyalty to Communist ideology, represented by the Soviet Union, as the avant-garde of humanity?

Did you really know nothing about the aims of American Communism? How could it happen that a jury of citizens, men of the street, in New York was in this respect more intelligent than distinguished university pundits?

Have you not used your own academic freedom in the U.S.A. for the glorification of the destroyers of all academic freedom and thus decisively

contributed to this "intellectual climate" which fostered all "seeds of treason" and presented to your mother country such a number of university- and college-educated spies, agents, and traitors as have come from no other academic schools of any nation in the world? Have you not contributed to that climate in the English-speaking world which created such escapades as those of Prof. B. Pontecorvo, Prof. L. Infeld, Prof. Margaret Schlauch, Prof. Oscar Lange—of Donald Maclean and Guy Burgess?

Are you not co-responsible, as the educators of the planners of foreign policy, for the present catastrophe of democracy in Europe and Asia? Professors, suppressors of truth, is the blood of the American youths killed by Russian Communism in Korea, the blood of all the youths of the free nations fighting under the banner of the UN, not also on your conscience, who were consciously or unconsciously instruments of Russian propaganda for the moral disarmament of the free world?

Have not your "advices" after 1945 regarding Asia, as after 1920 regarding the non-Russian nationalities, helped to thwart the development of any effective program of U.S. help to anti-Communist forces?

I am only asking these questions and do not wish to act as a superficial judge. But they are based on a rather large amount of material, indicating how some Soviet band-wagon intellectuals by their pseudo-sophistication created in some classes and campuses this moral and cultural vacuum into which the Russian Communist pest penetrated, infecting the youth, who in course of time occupied many key positions in public life; these teachers have propagandized in their campuses amongst successive groups of American youth a sloganized "leftist" thinking of a deadening mediocrity with a worship of the authoritarian stars of Marx and Lenin, and of everything "Soviet Russian" as "social progress"; they are still creating that climate of thought, that "Soviet Russia worship" and "Russia mania," barring all objective research, and fostering that opinion amongst American university professors that a certain "fellow travelerism," of many different shades, is an absolutely necessary make-up for any scholar in the U.S.A. who wishes to be regarded as "progressive" or "liberal."... And these "liberals" then dedicate themselves not to fighting the vociferous pro-Soviet group amongst the American university professors, but to a vociferous defense of all activities of this group in the name of academic freedom. Thus, to rip up for a moment the scientific Iron Curtain in the U.S.A., it was necessary for a courageous woman, Mrs. Oksana Kosenkina, to jump from a fourth-floor window, in order to substitute some truth for all the lies of some professors about the Soviet Union.

All this happened in the American academic world, in which a well-organized pan-Russian and pro-Soviet pressure group was and is active, happened not by chance. For anyone who fought Communism it is clear that it is the result of careful planning because the U.S.A. constitutes for Russian Communism the chief target and last obstacle. And there can be no doubt that this achievement is a tremendous success of Soviet Russian propaganda, aiming at the conquest of American youth by its moral disarmament (against Russian Communism) and at its indoctrination by Soviet political, economic, national, historical, and linguistic

conceptions and interpretations. The "power through ideas" principle has won for Russian Communism and imperialism: Hiss, Wadleigh, Coplon, Dexter White, Chambers, Bentley, Presman, Marzani, Jaffe, Gold, Rosenbergs, Sobell, etc.—a proof of the ideological defeat of the liberal and democratic group among the American professors; they did not effectively criticize and attack the very roots of Soviet Russian propaganda of their colleagues, they had nothing to put forward against the Communist position, did not launch a dynamic counterattack of Democracy which would entrust American youth with a revolutionary world mission. The idea of the Communist world mission can be fought and defeated only by the idea of a democratic world mission.

Confronted with such a situation in the American academic world we, the DP professors, are forced to say:

a) We must begin here the fight for our academic freedom also against the "friends of Soviet Russia," some self-appointed censors, operating not in the open, but imposing a secret boycott aiming at the suppression of ideas, concepts, interpretations, and attitudes different from their own. These "experts" perform acts of censorship and intellectual coercion which are intolerable in a free society; they have established a kind of monopoly over all matters connected with the Soviet Union and Slavic nations.

b) We must demand "permission" from the bosses of the Slavistic Tammany Hall to discuss freely in the U.S.A. all problems of Marxism-Leninism in all spheres of Liberal Arts and to liquidate the systematic discrimination against us in editorial committees.

c) The main goal of the "friends of Soviet Russia" was and is the suppression and misrepresentation of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union. We demand free inquiry and free discussion from our former European and now American tormentors, and we will fight against this bottomless "academic" cynicism which justifies all crimes against humanity in the Soviet Union with a grinning comment: "You can't make an omelet without breaking the eggs" (the eggs being, of course, all those individuals and nationalities who remonstrate against the new slavery); we will demand of these American gentlemen some common decency because "the eggs" are now also American boys in Korea....

d) And we deeply deplore the fact that the "friends of Soviet Russia" are doing everything to keep us from a teaching contact with the American youth, a youth which according to my teaching experience is wonderful, and deeply shocked and moved by sympathetic reactions of outrage, horror, and anger after learning the truth about the Soviet Union and her nationality problem. Would not the university presidents break this Slavistic racket and re-establish also for us the freedom of teaching the history of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union? It is a pity that freshmen in all universities know very little of American history, its ideals and traditions, and are rather ignorant of the roots of Western civilization. Therefore they are often unable to grasp or understand what Russian Communism means and why it is a threat to the American nation, and more so, inasmuch as they are getting a glamorized picture

of Russian barbarism and slavery as "social progress." Briefly, we feel now jointly responsible for the education of the American youth. Open for us the possibilities of accomplishing this moral duty in our new homeland.

To sum up: we appeal even to the pro-Soviet group of American colleagues and ask them if they are really seekers of truth, to grant not only to us the traditional American fair play, founded on the respect for the truth and the dignity of the individual, but also to the underdogs: the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union that we are representing.

To be plain, as we are against all thought control and authoritarianism, so we respect any honest difference of opinion. (But, as we know how Russian Communism acts, we propose that some American colleagues realize the moral responsibility of their professional activity.) We do not question—we say it again clearly—the right of the pro-Soviet group to preach their opinions, but we openly question their right to silence our opinion. Is the demand for simple tolerance in the U.S.A. permitted?

We are, in the following pages, fighting not men but ideas. We are not hunting witches, we are not even interested in the exposition of academic turncoats. We make no charges of Communism or subversion against anybody, we are presenting facts; it is not our business to evaluate them. These false ideas about the Soviet Union must be fought now even by the children of the DP in the New York schools, where their American teachers instruct them about "the great social progress" executed by the Russian Communists in the Soviet Union "by giving the soil to the peasants, liberating the workers from exploitation and giving freedom to all peoples."

These facts will prove that the same ideas, which were and are on the scaffold in the Soviet Union, are also banned from Slavistics in the U.S.A. And we would be happy if our pages would activate the true liberal and neutral groups of American professors to a fight for academic freedom in the Soviet Union and behind the Iron Curtain; for in this great ideological battle will be finally decided also the fate of academic freedom of all American universities. Intellectual isolationism and neutralism in this fateful time is a crime—the crusade for freedom must begin by a crusade against the Iron Curtain in the U.S.A.

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Chapter I

THE NATIONAL IDEA

There exists an immense literature about "nationalism" in the languages of all civilized nationalities. England and America have contributed much to the study of this problem. The works of one American scholar—C. J. H. Hayes—especially deserve to be mentioned with great appreciation. The tremendous number of publications and the various approaches to this phenomenon by the different branches of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences are the best proofs of the paramount importance of the national idea at the present time.

In Europe among Slavic nations, there is a tendency to make a distinction between the "national idea" of a nation, containing, together with the emotion of patriotism and fellow feeling among all the members of it, all its legitimate rights and aspirations, and "nationalism," which has the tendency to make the nation an absolute ethical-political principle and represents an excess, an exaggeration of a nation's aspirations, including usually an infringement upon the legitimate rights of neighbor nations, consequently, "nationalism" means "chauvinism." In Italian, French, and American* special adjectives preceding the term "nationalism" try to keep the two completely different meanings apart. But at present in American publications they are often confused. The term "nationalism" is often used in both meanings so that the reader must guess what kind of nationalism is meant. Thus it is an absolute necessity to use different words for the different meanings and to establish a border line between them, similar to the American distinction between legitimate geopolitics and German "Geopolitik."

Because we reject all intolerant, aggressive chauvinism as a crime against humanity, we prefer in this study to use the term "national idea" for all legitimate rights and aspirations of a nation. Sometimes we also use the term "nationalism," with the same meaning but reserve for all negative expressions of nationalism the term "chauvinism."

It is not our special aim in this work to look for a scientific formulated definition of these phenomena: "national idea" and "nationality"; or specially to investigate their roots or their formation in space and time. Here we are only treating the "national idea" as a psychological,

*Cf. the address of Secretary of State Hull delivered July 23, 1942, in which a distinction is made between "healthy nationalism" and "extreme nationalism," and Pope Pius XI clearly distinguished "moderate" from "excessive" nationalism, which he condemned as "harsh and egoistic." Regarding the Catholic point of view cf. J. J. Wright, National Patriotism in Papal Teaching (Boston: Stratford Co., 1942).

sociological, and political fact, and we concentrate on one aspect of this idea. In our opinion it is the most important aspect: The role of "language" in the national ideas of nationalities in the Soviet Union, beginning with the final date of her formation (1922-1924)—when the Communist Party took over the rule of this large Eurasian State. All other chapters serve only as the necessary background for American readers to understand the whole nationality problem in the Soviet Union.

However, this limitation of our topic does not exempt us from the duty of presenting our general view about the national idea, its origin, and its paramount importance in European history and in the revolutionary process that formed the present Soviet Union—a process still far from complete. Therefore, the problems of the national ideas of all the nationalities of the Soviet Union, problems completely neglected or systematically misrepresented by American Communists and academic fellow travelers, deserve special attention.

1. The National Idea and the Language

In the development of the national idea from its primitive elements until today language plays a paramount role. In present research this role is quite generally neglected or underestimated.

Language is the means of thinking and of expressing thought, the means of communication, and, consequently, the basis of forming and developing society. Thus, language embraces all individuals of a people, unifying them into a speaking community, thus creating all the higher social forms. The wish to establish communication between human beings, the wish to exchange thoughts, created language. Therefore, community of language is a condition of the growth and development of the successive concentric circles from the small group to the modern nations. Languages, therefore, represent in their vocabulary and meanings a documentary archive of this evolution, an archive of the whole cultural history of nationalities.

But the vibrating words express not only meanings. They express also emotions and feelings with which many meanings are interwoven. Besides, the expressed sentences of each language have their own music and characteristic cadence, contain a special sentence melody, with accents and rhythms, from which emerges the language of folklore and literature as an art. This manifold music of language expressing the diapason of all the feeling of man connects human beings with the manifold voices of nature into one great ocean of sound and rhythm. They all are expressions of life. Where life is, there is sound and rhythm. Only death is silent.

The importance of language in the life of a people, nationality, or nation cannot be overestimated. Language with its thinking and emotional processes is their creative force and represents their national heritage. Wilhelm von Humboldt (*Kraft der Worte*) is right: "The true, genuine home and mother country (of a nationality) is the mother language."

Historical facts are drawing our attention to the great importance of language and writing in the formation of peoples, nationalities, nations,

facts established for the earliest times of human history. Here we limit ourselves to the ancient Classic and Hebrew-Christian traditions. What is at their very basis? Language.

God manifested Himself to the Jews not in an image, but by sound; the "word," *logos*, became the intermediary between Him and the chosen people. Language and faith and law permeated one another. Through the language of Moses and Jesus were expressed Judaism and Christianity, the Ten Commandments, and the Sermon on the Mount. Language and faith created the nationhood of the ancient Hebrews and effected their liberation from Egyptian bondage, inspiring even today every oppressed nationality with imperishable hope, because "The Lord says: Fear not, for I am with thee." The language of this faith proclaimed that the oppressor may triumph for a moment, but "his house is built on sand" and will not withstand the irresistible moral laws of life. The Hebrew liberation from Egyptian slavery inspired the imagination of all neighboring peoples and even today on the American Liberty Bell are the words of Moses: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof." Since this great liberation, people have never been content to live in chains, they have all been inspired by this Hebrew ideal of a free mankind and from it they all got the invincible revolutionary weapon for their liberation: the Bible. In the Hebrew language God's name, containing the greatest mystery and power, became the creative force of the people and formed this high tension of Messianism, so peculiar to the Hebrew national idea. The language was serving God; God manifested in it His teachings. Since that time all languages aspire to serve God in liberty.

This paramount importance of language for the formation of national individualities we notice also in Christianity, which inherited the Old Testament. In the Scriptures God's Son ordered His disciples to teach the true faith in all languages to all peoples. Thus later Greek and Latin shared the honor of being used for the translation of the Gospel and for serving God at ceremonies.

These ideas penetrated into the Greek cultural sphere, which was formed by Greek expansion and by the cultural unification of the seashores of the eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea, and of southern Italy including various nationalities. Later these ideas penetrated the Roman multinational cultural sphere, which embraced the seashores of the whole Mediterranean Sea. Both multinational cultural spheres, Roman and Greek, developed the first "international intermediary languages" of our civilization, which are still preserved as the traditional unifying symbols in the Roman Catholic Church (the Latin language) and in the Eastern Orthodox Church (the Greek language—now only partly used).

Any people coming in contact with Christianity becomes conscious of the fact that in his language is the divine *logos*. Christianity sanctified the languages of peoples, making the peoples like the individuals equal before the Lord.

Soon there developed in the East, in the eastern Mediterranean, and in the Black Sea basin as a corollary of these Christian ideas a longing

among the converted peoples that their languages also might serve the Lord; this was also a practical wish of the missionaries and clergy because only in the native language could Christianity really penetrate into the lowest level of the population, to the peasantry. The Christianization of a population meant virtually the elevation of an ethnographic mass to the rank of a nationality by dedicating its language to God's service. Thus began in the East the translation of the Gospel into some of the oriental languages, which does not interest us, though we regard as very important the translations into Armenian, Georgian, and Gothic, so closely connected with the clear formation of the national ideas of these nationalities. With these traditions of the Black Sea basin is connected the introduction of Old Bulgarian (863) into the Church service for the Slavs. Old Bulgarian was then a living vernacular and, as the differences between the Slavic languages at that time were small, it was generally understood. Therefore it was used also originally as the literary language of the Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Ukrainians, Byelo-Ruthenians, Novgorodians, and Muscovites. With the gradual nationalization of this language by the strong penetration of the separate vernaculars and the varied pronunciations of the respective peoples is connected the development of the national ideas of these nations. From Old Bulgarian developed the present Old Church Slavic, used, as Latin is used in the West, in the Catholic Churches of the Ukrainians, Byelo-Ruthenians, Croats, and the Orthodox Churches of the Bulgarians, Serbs, Ukrainians, Byelo-Ruthenians, Russians.

Thus, as we see, the monopoly of Greek for Church services was broken rather early in the East, but in the West this process regarding Latin started much later. In medieval and in early modern times in Western Europe the national ideas were based primarily on "state and dynasty" subordinated to the Common Church and the Holy Empire. Therefore Latin constituted in Western and Central Europe the intermediary language of the Church, science, literature, and diplomacy and separated the common man from all sources of learning and power. The centers of Church and State administration, usually connected with important economic centers, developed in the course of time in England, France, Spain, Germany, Italy, etc., their vernaculars as literary languages of the Church sermons, until Luther's Bible translation and King James version broke also in West and Central Europe the monopoly of Latin and the invasion of vernaculars into Church services started, accompanied by a deep nationalization of the masses. The invention of the printing press accelerated this process, simultaneously making the vernacular languages a forceful weapon in the fight for individual and national freedom during the gradual dissolution of the Common Church and Empire. Great writers publishing their works in the vernacular soon accomplished the formation of the modern literary languages as the paramount expressions of the modern national idea.

The rise of modern imperialism and intolerant chauvinism soon established in Europe two classes of nationalities and languages: those of ruling nations, and those of oppressed nationalities, thus creating the modern nationality problem in its cultural aspect. The imperialism of

European powers aimed not only to exploit economically the conquered nationalities but above all to "swallow" them by suppressing and destroying their languages and substituting the languages of the victorious nations. That chauvinistic cannibalism of our age regarded this method as the easiest way to increase the size of a nation and strengthen it to full homogeneity. Consequently, the languages of the subdued nations were excluded from church, schools, press, literature, theater, by the victors, and their use was forbidden. This linguocide (killing of languages) is intellectual genocide and the first stage of real genocide.

On the other hand, the fight of an oppressed nationality for its national freedom against political and economic oppression always starts with the fight for the freedom of language; any political renaissance is preceded by the renaissance of the language and literature of a nationality. Every ruling nation in Europe, English, German, French, Italian, Russian, constantly fought to have its language adopted as the intermediary tool in international life. Each tried to gain the first place in this race by practicing not only the brutal method of "swallowing," but also by special "cultural propaganda" and the formation of special "cultural spheres" for their languages. English ruled international commerce; French until World War I was the language of diplomacy and the intermediary language in the Near East; German was spoken in Central Europe and Scandinavia; Italian expanded in the Mediterranean; Russian was imposed on the peoples of the Russian Empire. World War II simplified the problem. Every nation must now choose between English-American and Russian as an international intermediary language, between the language of freedom and language of Communism.

2. The Roots and Elements of the National Idea

Surely, we must look on the national idea as a naturally home-grown phenomenon, determined in its origin by the influence of natural surroundings and from the very beginning interwoven with race, State, religion. The natural geopolitical forces which influenced the development of primitive State formations, also formed the roots of the ethnographic groups, the basis of "national ideas and nationalities." These forces established conditions for their emergence and growth by means of the common territory, common race, common work, common beliefs; above all the common language stimulated them, constituting simultaneously one of their decisive elements. Thus the common scenery of nature, the great power of landscape we put into the very foundations of the national idea—this power even today partly retains its importance. In the landscape is hidden a powerful might, and this deep intimacy between earth and man is glorified by the peasant writers of all nations. The native soil enters into bone and tissue, binding the human being to itself, to the "mother country." The earth stamps the human being like a coin, leaving its marks on the whole culture of a people. The landscape and the soil are also a kind of fate for a people; they not only form the style and character of the culture, but they shape the "soul" of a people, its character and language. This common "mother territory," common flora and fauna, common climate—they create on the one

hand a deep common attachment to this "mother," the feeling of home, and on the other hand common habits, common customs, common food, common folklore and folksongs amongst the "children." Consequently, within each group of "children" (of the common "mother" country) there developed the reciprocal "feeling of belonging to one another," the feeling of being a part of a living group, clan, tribe, people, inside the common mother country. The sight of the still living patriarch, the grandparents, parents, children, grandchildren—this endless succession of generation, between the common two mysterious ends: birth and death, created not only the feeling of physical continuity in the living groups, but also the common historical memory, common consciousness of the present, and the common expectation of the future, determined by the common gods, who were identified with the surrounding elementary forces of nature. In this "growing together" of families, clans, tribes into higher forms of group-consciousness, expressed by the common language, is the cradle of the national idea. Thus, through centuries, on the basis of stable geographical contiguity there gradually developed historical and cultural traditions, economical interests, and finally the individuality of a people.

Consciousness of this individuality is the birth of the national idea. Encounters between different peoples awakened the consciousness of primitive national individuality on both sides; and the difference of languages played a decisive role in this process. Feelings of superiority or hostility arose. In the subsequent processes of expansion and struggle for survival of these nature-grown proto-nationalities, the differentiation of languages into the languages of the victors and the vanquished was of great importance.

We have sketched briefly the roots and elements of the national idea. From the rather complicated structure of this nucleus to the modern national idea is a long way, in which this nucleus becomes closely connected with the whole history of Europe. Therefore only European history can explain the present form of the national idea, its dynamism and the dominating role it plays in modern times.

3. The European Background of the National Idea

We accept the theory that the European continent was the original home of the Indo-European family of languages and that the geopolitical units of Europe with its three seas—the Baltic, the Mediterranean, and the Black—contributed to the gradual formation of the peoples' individualities, parallel with the gradual differentiation of the original dialects of the Indo-European protolanguage into its language branches. Gradually, one by one, the Indo-European peoples appeared out of the dark of prehistoric times before the footlights on the stage of history. First came the Aryans, then the Greeks, the Thracians and Illyrians, the Italic peoples, the Celts, the Germanic peoples, and still later the Slavs and the Balts. The nucleus of the national idea passed through the forming of common tribal names into the stage at which community of language and race dominated the conception of a people's individuality. All Greeks were kept conscious of their unity by the common language

and called the non-Greeks "Barbarians" (etymologically: a foreigner, one whose language differs from the speaker's); later the Slavs called their German neighbors Niemce (Polish), Nemce (Czech), Nimtsi (Ukrainian), "the mutes"; the Germanic peoples called the Slavic neighbors: "Slavs" —which according to one etymology of this still unclear word* can be an original Germanic loan-word meaning "to be silent," "to be dumb"; because the Slavic and Germanic peoples mutually did not understand their languages.

Together with the mother-language aspect, the nucleus of the national idea went through a stage dominated by the community of religion. In both cases the borderlands of the language spheres of religious communities were the territories of increased "national" feelings on both sides.

But of the greatest importance is the political aspect of the "national idea," and its later connection with the basic problems of European history.

The majority of historians are in full agreement about the basic problems of European history.

From ancient times, the peoples of the Mediterranean cradle of our civilization, and later—through the Middle Ages until present times—all the nationalities of Europe have been confronted with two problems:

a) The problems of freedom; in course of time, with freedom of the individual, of the nations, of the churches;

b) The problems of the organization of freedom.**

Thus the whole of European history is a history of the struggle for freedom of individuals and nationalities, and for the establishment of a higher authority for the protection of freedom.

Consequently, freedom of nations is in the very center of this historical process, for without it there can be no freedom of the individual. The clear formulation of the idea of legitimate nationalism we find already on the very threshold of our civilization. We fully agree with the opinion that they are contained in the national consciousness of old Israel and Hellas.† The Greek philosophy, the Roman law, the Christian universalism of the Middle Ages which embraced also the Old Kievan Rus'-Ukraine in the tenth century have shaped the successive stages of the national idea and its struggles for freedom and order, for "Europe." The heavy blows of Asia and Islam, of the Tatars, the Turks and the flanking movement of the Arabs forged together the community of European Christian nations, in spite of the divisions between Rome and Constantinople. Common danger created in spontaneous neighborly cooperation the idea of federalism for the protection of freedom. Thus

*A. Stender-Petersen, Slavisch-Germanische Lehwortkunde, Goetborg, 1927.

**Cf. O. Halecki, The Limits and Divisions of European History (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1950), pp. 185-202.

†Hans Kohn, The Idea of Nationalism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944), pp. 27-60.

under the leadership of the Lithuanians (whose nobility was already Christianized but whose dynasty still wavered between the new faith and paganism), a wall from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea was erected in the fourteenth century against the Asiatic nomads and the attacking Moslem by the Byelo-Ruthenians and Ukrainians. Later Poland joined this federation, transforming it into the Jagellonian Commonwealth which dynastically embraced also Bohemia and Hungary for a short time. The common fight for freedom inside Europe created also the Swiss Confederation—a living example for the successive centuries of what “Europe” should be.

Protected by this human wall of the Lithuanian-Byelo-Ruthenian-Ukrainian-Polish nations, strengthened in Central Europe by the Austrians and upheld in constant fights at the cost of tremendous casualties and material losses—Western Europe, relatively undisturbed, could pass through the successive phases of modern European history, with all the blossoms of civilization, the intellectual quickening, the overseas explorations, the economic expansion, and could risk even the religious upheaval. One after another the modern Western nations appeared as leading stars on the stage of European history, as dominating powers in politics, economics, literature, language, and art: Spain and Portugal, France, England and the Netherlands, when in Central Europe the rise of Prussia began in the decaying Holy Roman Empire under Hapsburg rule. These tremendous economic, religious, and military upheavals, together with the earlier breakdown of medieval feudal institutions, were accompanied by national movements, which consolidated everywhere in the West the absolute monarchy, apparently guaranteeing the national independence of nations, but suppressing all personal liberty, and in conquered countries also all national liberty.

Situated between the European divine-right absolute monarchies and the Muscovite tyranny, the Polish-Lithuanian-Byelo-Ruthenian-Ukrainian Commonwealth faced a tragic fate. In spite of all her shortcomings (above all, the serfdom of the peasantry) it is a matter of fact that she represented in the East the European civilization, and in Europe the republican idea, with a President elected for lifetime, called King, with a constitution, a representative diet, even with the absurd veto right. But in this advanced fortress of European culture against Asia the leading Polish gentry proved incapable of solving the national, social, and religious problems inside the commonwealth, and especially unable to free the peasants from serfdom and elevate them to full citizenship, to full freedom. The consequence was the Ukrainian revolution (1648) under Hetman Bohdan Chmelnycky. In the Ukraine not the gentry but the peasantry became the driving force of the national idea, fighting for an Ukrainian Republic of free armed peasant Cossacks. The mistake made by the Hetman in using the Muscovite tyranny for the protection of the Ukrainian national democratic idea was a fatal mistake, leading on the one hand to the partitioning of the commonwealth by the absolute monarchies of Prussia, Austria, Russia, and on the other hand to the enslavement of Ukraine by the Russian tyranny.

In the revolutionary fight against the absolutism of the divine-right monarchy the national idea got its modern form throughout all of Europe and merged with the ideas of popular sovereignty and democracy. In the course of the last two centuries modern nationalism in Western and Central Europe developed many aspects: the humanitarian, Jacobin, traditional, liberal, integral nationalism.* The modern national idea has some distinguished godfathers in modern history, in the events which even now by their ideological content are giving to all national ideas a terrific dynamic force in current affairs: the American Revolution, with the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence, and the French Revolution with the Rights of Man. They stimulated throughout Europe, inside every nation, the fight for individual freedom, for "human rights" and for national freedom amongst all the nationalities which in the course of history had lost their independence.

The Napoleonic era, not having solved nationality problems but strongly stimulated the national ideas in Central and Eastern Europe on the one hand, showed also on the other hand the unhealthy aspects of exaggerated nationalism which ended in the reaction under Russian leadership and the establishment of Europe's order by the "Concert" of the great powers, acting according to the "balance of power" principle. The international situation included now in European politics a victorious new power advancing into East and Central Europe: Russia.

The modern form of the national idea is characterized by a limited influence of natural environments, by the great influence of poets, who "discovered" the masses and their art, folklore and life-wisdom, and in the "romantic movement" idealizing the past; by the influence of scholars, who gave a new national interpretation of history and of thinkers, stimulating love and patriotism for the mother country, the mother language, and its people. In its present form the national idea is merged with democracy and with industrialization, which gave nationalism a dominating role, based on modern information and propaganda. This idea forms the state of mind of modern nationalities; it creates the expressions of their consciousness; it acts as a common will in present times shaping the present and planning the future. Therefore, this idea requires the highest form of organized human activity: the national sovereign State, as the source of creative cultural energy especially in the sphere of language and of economic well-being. Thus, this idea took shape, imbuing the nationalities not only with very distinctive consciousness of national individuality, but also with the feeling of the basic solidarity of a nationality in past, present, and future. Consequently, the supreme loyalty of a human being is due to his own nation—its civilization, language, and European cultural heritage.

But this dynamic force of the modern national idea has also managed to shake off the subordination to Christian morality and has developed a "national cancer," which sooner or later brings catastrophe to the aggressive, egoistic, and intolerant nations. Modern imperialism with

*Carlton J. H. Hayes, The Historical Evolution of Nationalism, R. R. Smith, Inc., 1931.

its colonialism, the economic exploitation and political oppression of subdued nationalities (above all, of their languages) is the result of the moral anarchy that created this "cancer" of chauvinism. Chauvinism is a force disuniting humanity and an offspring of tyranny; the legitimate national idea, a child of freedom and democracy, is a uniting force of humanity, which can be realized under freedom by democratic co-operation.

Our modern times are completely dominated by the national idea. We have witnessed the dissolution of the Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian, Russian, and German Empires, and recently the transformation of the British and the Dutch Empires into commonwealths of free nations. Free Greece, Bulgaria, Albania, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia—finally free Ireland and rebuilt Israel show the victorious march of the idea of the freedom of nationalities.

Our modern times attempted after the two World Wars (both of which were fought under the banners of freedom and self-determination for nationalities) to realize also the superstructural organization for the protection of freedom: the League of Nations in Geneva and its second edition, the UN.

Finishing this brief survey of the development of the national idea, indissolubly interwoven with the struggle for individual, national, and religious freedom in Western, Central, and Southern Europe, we must stress the fact that these ideas are European, or, as is often said, "Western European." The conflict of Russia with this idea (since the Swedish-Ukrainian alliance of Charles XII and Hetman Mazepa, who tried to protect Europe against the spread of Muscovite tyranny, was defeated by Peter I at Poltava in 1709, after which the Ukraine was finally incorporated and Muscovy was transformed from an Asiatic State into the European power, Russia)—the account of this conflict forms the content of the next chapter.

4. Present Criticism of the National Idea

To bring our survey up to date we must mention the present criticism of the national idea in the English-speaking world. At the present time this criticism is rather fashionable in some liberal and left-wing spheres. Thus, with the exception of the atomic bomb, the national idea is made responsible for all the ills and troubles of our present time. If we disregard the anarchist outlook of the German Rudolf Rocker* this criticism has in reality two sources:

a) The first source is the old British imperialism, camouflaged as "defender of internationalism," charging the national idea with "Balkanization" of Europe and hindering the formation of higher super-national units, thus becoming a great obstacle to modern trade, commerce, and cultural intercourse.

This English criticism was very active during and after World War II and sought to preserve the British Empire by discouraging the nationalities in Asia and Africa from claiming their rights of self-determination

*Nationalism and Culture.

and perhaps dissolving the Empire. This fear proved completely unfounded, because England, in spite of some rather sad pages in the history of the national ideas in the Empire, contributed much to the general progress of the nations included in the British Empire.

Leading in this criticism was E. H. Carr (from 1916-1936 in the Foreign Office Service; 1939-1940, Director of Foreign Publicity at the Ministry of Information; later professor of International Politics, University of Wales). Carr's criticism is based on a complete misinterpretation of historical facts. The blame for the sad "Balkanization" cannot be laid upon the nationalities which after centuries of slavery attained statehood. The "Balkanization" was exclusively the achievement of the leading European powers, and of their rivalry in a territory that geopolitically was uniquely important. It is not the national ideas of the small nations that are responsible for that, but the imperialism of the powers which abused the national ideas for their own interests.

Carr's criticism is founded also on a conceited ignorance of the national program of the peoples who were or are struggling for self-determination. All of them always had, besides their own statehood, also a vision of a supernational organization to which they wished to belong. Consequently, all the nations fighting for their freedom know well the cultural and language spheres which are their wider families. The fact that the idea of the Balkan federation or of the Danube federation could not be realized in Europe after World War I is again a consequence of the rivalry of powers which for decades fostered anarchy in Europe.

Carr's "my country right or wrong" attitude represents in some parts the lowest level of English scholarship, and some of his thoughts, connected with our topic, deserve to be preserved for posterity in order to see quantilla sapientia mundus regatur. In 1941, Carr* writes about the Soviet aggression against the Baltic States:

"When Soviet Russia during the course of 1939-40 gradually reabsorbed Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania into the Russian orbit, it was reported that, while these measures were bitterly resented by the older generation, which had lived through the "liberation" period of 1919, they were greeted with relief by the younger generation, which was convinced that only incorporation in some larger unit could restore prosperity to these little countries, and this sense of the helplessness and hopelessness of the small national unit has spread rapidly in the Balkans, especially since the outbreak of war."

In 1945, Carr** contributed the following comparison to the discussion about the rights of nationalities:

"Whatever differences of outlook and method divide the three great powers, they are all united in loyalty to one principle: in the British

*The Future of Nations, Independence or Interdependence, London, 1941, p. 44.

**Nationalism and After (New York: The Macmillan Company).

Commonwealth an Englishman, Scot or Welshman or Frenchman or Dutchman,—in the U.S.A., a German, a Pole, an Italian, in the U.S.S.R. a Lithuanian, a Moldavian or a Kazbek without finding any avenue of political and economic opportunity closed on that account, or any carrier placed on devotion to ones own language or national customs! In the Soviet Union the predominant emphasis is laid, except in the sphere of language and culture, not on the national rights of the Kazbek Republic, but on the equality enjoyed by the Kazbek throughout the Union with the Uzbek or the Great Russians."

The first statement of Carr, besides being a document of moral atrocity, is a Communist propaganda falsification; the second shows this Soviet expert in his whole stature as a scholar. Cynicism, absence of any moral conscience, insular incapacity to understand and to recognize the American nation, complete ignorance of the basic facts of the Soviet Union, and of Communism, finally the invention of a "Kazbek" nation, qualifies this scholar surely for the membership in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Here is a rival of Lysenko. . . . In the year 1939, Carr in his Twenty Years' Crisis advised the democracies better come to terms with Nazism and Fascism which seemed to be the movements of the future. Today in his Studies in Revolution he is impressed by the success of Russian Communism and it seems that Carr sees in Stalinism the ideology of the future, which as a historical and dialectical continuation replaces the liberal democracy.

b) The second source of constant propaganda against the national idea and the self-determination rights of nationalities, especially in U.S.A. are the White Russian émigrés and the official Soviet propaganda. Here in U.S.A. they joined forces in the press, universities, publications, and lectures against the self-determination rights of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. Thus, American naturalized citizens of Russian descent and Soviet diplomats work hand in hand to defend the "indivisibility and unity of holy Russia-Soviet Union."* Only their methods are different—and to this political action we will dedicate our last chapter.

What of the future of the national idea? We should like to reply with a quotation from the book of Sir Arthur Keith, A New Theory of Human Evolution (Philosophical Library):

"What of the future? Is nationalism merely a passing phenomenon: Will nations be ultimately swallowed up in a universal government? I dare not look forward for more than a few centuries; within this limited period I feel confident that nationalism, far from weakening, will grow ever stronger. Modern nations are still imperfectly nationalized; the process will not cease until every nation is integrated into a unity such

*Whether the letter of a group of Russian intellectuals published in The New York Times, July 8, 1951, is a real change in the attitude of Russian émigrés to the self-determination rights of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union remains doubtful.

as was met with in the evolutionary units of primal humanity. Nations are giving lip-service to the U. N. O., but everywhere we find them searching for economic independence and self-sufficiency, and strengthening the social bonds and services which give unity and solidarity to nations. Everywhere nations become more national in thought and in deed."

Ex-president Hoover's opinion is rather important. According to The New York Times, December 2, 1951:

"Former President Hoover criticized as 'fuzzy-minded' those who contend that nationalism is an evil. The eradication of nationalist feelings 'is not the road to the freedom of mankind,' Mr. Hoover said.

"The former President addressed 700 young persons at the ninth annual youth forum at the Astor Hotel.

"Mr. Hoover said that 'lasting peace must include full maintenance of the independence and self-government of nations.'

"That nationalism is a powerful and progressive force has been witnessed by all of us in the creation of the State of Israel,' he said. 'We have seen history written.

"Mr. Hoover added that it was the nationalism of the countries forced behind the Iron Curtain by the Soviet Union that would ultimately 'redeem them from the Communist tyranny of the Kremlin.'

"The cooperation of independent nations is the only foundation upon which international peace can be permanently built and sustained,' Mr. Hoover said. 'In self-government lies the safety and guarantee of individual rights. It is said that vigilance is the price of liberty. It might be added that the seat of liberty must be kept near enough home to keep your eye on it.'"

Together with a deepening of nationalism will grow, in our opinion, the feeling of unity among nationalities. Unity, not mechanic uniformity, is the key to progress and lasting peace. Mankind will never accept the domination of a single culture, language, philosophy, or ideology. Nationhood, like personal freedom, is an absolute value—also for all non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union.

A decisive influence on the course of world affairs had and will have Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of the "self-determination of peoples" and his conception of the League of Nations, which manifested the birth of an international conscience. The torch of democracy and freedom of the American and French Revolutions was by this great man rekindled and kept aloft and from these American ideals has since come liberty for Ireland, India, Burma, Israel, Philippines, Indonesia, and the new edition of the League of Nations, the UN.

The abandoning of Woodrow Wilson's principles in 1920 and 1945 was the way into the present catastrophe.

Chapter II

RUSSIAN TSARISM'S CONFLICT WITH THE NATIONAL IDEA

1. What Is Russia?

Since Muscovy after the battle of Poltava in 1709 became geographically a European power* as modern Russia, this large state and the overwhelming majority of the dominant Russian nation has been in constant conflict with Europe and with all the ideas that Europe has stood for.

To uncover the real roots of this conflict we must give an answer to the question: What is Russia? Is Russia, culturally, Europe? Was Muscovy-Russia a partner of the historical cultural community Europe? This problem of the relation between Russia and Europe is for modern history a crucial issue,** investigated not only by non-Russian scholars like T. G. Masaryk, M. Hrushevsky, O. Halecki, J. Kucharczywski, F. Dvornik, C. A. Manning, and N. Chubaty, but by such Russian writers and scholars as A. Presniakov, P. Miliukov, D. S. Mirsky, E. Denissoff.

This problem the genius of A. K. Tolstoy long ago felt and solved:

"One Rus' "--he wrote--"has its roots in universal, or at least in European culture. In this Rus' the ideas of goodness, honor and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another Rus': the Rus' of the dark forests, the Rus' of the Taiga, the animal Russia, the fanatic Russia, the Mongol-Tartar Russia. This last Russia made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. . . . Kiev Rus' was a part of Europe, Moscow long remained the negation of Europe."†

This perception, this deep insight and understanding of the whole problem, the objective scholars can only support. Kievan Rus'-Ukraine (Ukraine is a term already used several times in the Nestor-Chronicle and it is older as a term for, at least, a part of the later Rus' territory, than the term Rus') is the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian national original home and heritage, which as the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine Empire was a part of Europe. We regard as decisively important for the emerging of the Kievan-Rus'-Ukraine even the earlier Gothic Empire (166-375) in the Ukraine and the Gothic influences on the ancestors of the Ukrainians,

*The battle of Poltava is listed in the book of Edward Shepherd Creasy, Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World, London, 1851.

**Cf. O. Halecki, The Limits and Divisions of European History, pp. 85-101.

†Cf. The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. XIX, 1939-1940, pp. 71-72.

the Antes.* The northeastern border colonies of the Kievan Rus'-Ukraine Empire, being colonial borderlands on the Slavic ethnographic frontiers, with their princely residences in Suzdal, Rostov, Vladimir, and Moscow, soon including and Slavizing the native pagan Finnish tribes, developed there a different nationality with a different kind of Christianity, a different, autocratic character of government, and a different culture. The clash between European Rus'-Ukraine and this cradle and home of what is now called the Russian nation (until Peter's decree, usually called "Moscovites and Muscovy") is reported as early as 1169, when Suzdal completely devastated Kiev and robbed the Kievan churches. That is a good refutation of the myth that Muscovy regarded Kiev as the "mother city."

After the Mongol invasion in 1240 the Ukrainian, Byelo-Ruthenians, and Novgorodians and the emerging Muscovite nation separated completely. The Ukrainians in the West attempted to co-operate with Lithuania and Catholic Poland against the Tatars, the Byelo-Ruthenians soon joined Lithuania, the Novgorodians, the nucleus of the fourth eastern Slavic nation, gradually were integrated with the Baltic-Scandinavian cultural sphere. But in the northeast the princes of Moscow capitulated completely and became servants of the Tatarian Khans. With the active support of their Tatarian sovereigns, they united that former colonial borderland of the old Kievan Empire, into a Tatarian vassal-dominion under their rule. The Ukrainians, Byelo-Ruthenians, Lithuanians, and Poles formed their Commonwealth from 1386 (which the Novgorodians later attempted to join also) participating more or less in all the Western European cultural trends and movements.

But Muscovy became a Tatarian cultural sphere under Tatarian influences that dominated the court, princes, family life, the whole mentality. The process of political liberation from the Tatarian yoke virtually lasted until the destruction of the Golden Horde in 1502 despite the fact that from 1480 tribute was no longer paid. All leading Russian historians from N. Karamzin (1766-1826), to V. Kliuchevsky (1841-1911) stressed the decisive Tatar influence, on the formation of Muscovite State, and the Soviet historian M. Pokrovsky (1868-1932) directly states that the Grand Duchy of Muscovy owed its birth entirely to Tatars. We can guess the force of these Tatarian influences by evaluating the fact that, according to Kliuchevsky, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries 17 per cent of the surnames of Muscovite nobility were Tatarian. The women were treated, in the Tatarian way, as second class, and until 1551 men wore headgear in the churches, a Tatar-Moslem custom. The greatest influence was on the absolutist conception of the ruler; the Khan was regarded as the shadow of the Lord on earth.

This Tatarian-Muscovite world acquired a Byzantine façade after the marriage (1472) of Sophia, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor, to

*Cf. *ibid.*, and also Roman Smal-Stocki, Die Germanisch - Deutschen Kultureinflüsse im Spiegel der Ukrainischen Sprache (Leipzig: Hirzel Verlag, 1942); F. Dvornik, The Kiev State and its Relations with Western Europe, transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 29 (1947), pp. 27-46.

Ivan III, who now began calling himself "Tsar of all the Russias." He regarded himself as the successor of the Byzantine emperor, he accepted the Byzantine double-eagle as the State emblem, and with the help of the clergy Moscow created the myth of the third Rome of Christianity (after the downfall of the second Rome, Constantinople, in 1453). In 1589 the Tsar obtained his own patriarch and nationalized the Church, establishing in Muscovy a Byzantine Caesaropapism. Igumen Philoteus advised the Tsar that he was the only true Christian ruler on earth, thus the natural Tsar of all Christians. The Mongol-Tartarian conception of the mastery of the world created by the Jenghizides acquired here the "Christian" formulation.

Tatarian tyranny was established behind this Byzantine Christian mask—and tyranny cannot stand still. It is a force like fire, it must destroy. Tyranny must annihilate all seeds of individual or national freedom or collapse. Ivan's successor, Vasily III, was a brutal tyrant and Ivan the Terrible murdered nearly three fourths of the dynastic and aristocratic families. Ivan himself subjugated the Republic Novgorod with unheard-of cruelty by smoke and flames and rivers of blood, fighting here the European traditions. Finally, after organizing a forced resettlement of thousands of free Novgorodians in Muscovy he "unified" them.*

That was the beginning of the expansion of Muscovite tyranny in all directions because of its excellent geopolitically central position. The increase of tyranny is parallel to its territorial growth, as J. Kucharzewski rightly stresses; the despotism of the Tsars is closely linked with the expansion of the State, for their unlimited power became inseparably connected with the might of the State. As their despotism became the State's source of power and aggrandizement the acceptance of slavery by the citizens became patriotism.

After the establishment of Tsarist tyranny in Muscovy many nationalities had to share the fate of the Novgorodians. The Tatars Khanats of Kazan and Astrakhan were conquered between 1552 and 1556, the penetration into Siberia and subjection of the Siberian peoples started in 1581 and in 1645 reached the Pacific. Peter I put on the throne of Poland his puppet, August II, and by a coalition with Poland and Denmark against Sweden started the expansion toward the Baltic Sea. Sweden and Ukraine, Charles XII and Hetman Mazepa attempted to stop Muscovite imperialism by a barrier in which Poland-Lithuania had also to be included, and which would have been backed by France and Turkey. But their defeat in 1709 in the battle of Poltava opened the West to Muscovy and finally enabled her to incorporate the Ukraine; in 1721 Livonia, Ingria, and parts of Finnish Karelia were annexed; in 1741 the Bering Sea and Straits were reached; in 1740 Transcaspia was incorporated; in 1739 the Black Sea coast from the mouth of the Don to the Bug River was reached; in 1783 Crimea was absorbed, and in 1792 the Black Sea shore to the Dniester; in 1772-1792 in the partitioning of Poland, Russia acquired Byelo-Ruthenia, Western Ukraine, and Kurland; in 1813 Baku

*Jan Kucharzewski, The Origins of Modern Russia, 1948, p. 4.

was annexed from Persia; after 1815 Poland, Finland, and Bessabia were annexed and Russia reached the pre-World War I frontiers in the West, in 1813 Russia annexed Georgia, in 1854 the Amur region; in 1860 she founded Vladivostok, and in 1865-1881 conquered Central Asia (Bokhara Khiva, Turkestan, Turkomania); and in 1898 she founded Port Arthur. On the American continent Russia insisted on the formal acknowledgment as a Russian territory of the land from Alaska to the Columbia River and trading posts as far as San Francisco, and after 1814 Russia proclaimed the entire northern Pacific Ocean a Russian mare clausum. The sale of Alaska in 1867 ended Russia's expansion in America, after she had partly provoked the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823.

Having freed herself from her own Asiatic conquerors Muscovy-Russia developed on lines justly compared by C. Vernadsky with similar trends of the Turkish Ottoman Empire, and, finding in Asia a power vacuum, Russia soon invaded even the American continent.

In the course of this expansion to the West, South, and East, many foreign countries and nationalities were incorporated into the Russian Empire but Russia's land hunger was still unsatisfied; she extended her feelers into Afghanistan, Tibet, Persia, Siam, even Abyssinia, and openly stated her claims to the inheritance from the Turks of Constantinople and of the Slavic peoples, rounding it off by aspirations for Greece as well. The subsequent history of Europe and the world passes under the constant "shadow" of Tsarist Russia.

On the one hand the Russian Empire gradually became everywhere in Europe and Asia a rival of the British Empire; on the other hand, by incorporating these nationalities which for centuries had belonged to the European community, and by her advance into Central Europe, Russia found herself faced with the basic problems of European history: the individual and national freedom. The ideas of the British, American, and French revolutions confronted Russia, who, in the great historical progress toward humanity herself developed into the antithesis of all the ideas the Western World cherished. We see the backwardness of Russia best in the fact that serfdom was abolished in Russia only in 1861, but in England it had disappeared before the sixteenth century. In Western Europe the serfs became mostly hired laborers and free tenants by the sixteenth century. Thus, compared with the West, there is in the East a great tardiness in the historical processes of human progress. In all spheres Russia proper was overdue to follow the West.

2. Russian Solution of the Nationality Problem

In the historical literature of United States there exists a profound misconception of the peculiarity of the old Russian Empire. The historians are misled by the conceptions of the old Holy Roman Empire or the Austro-Hungarian or British Empires and imagine a similarity also in the Old Russian Empire. This is a fundamental mistake. The Russian State, beginning with Muscovite times had always a specific character, and developed into a specific Russian Empire. The ruling Russian nation never regarded any part of the conquered or annexed non-Russian

nations in Europe and Asia as their colonies, but as "indivisible parts of Russia herself." The ruling Russian nation did not wish to acquire economic colonies; she wished to "swallow and digest" the non-Russian nationalities, transforming them into Russians and thereby increasing her own growth. Consequently, the Russian Empire never possessed dominions or colonies, but immediately included non-Russian nationalities and their countries in "Russia." A remarkable scholar of Russian history, W. Baczkowski,* compares the Russian Empire with China's territorial expansion and increase in population, absorbing, without even leaving a trace, many conquered peoples. But there exists, in my opinion, a basic difference between China and Russia. The Chinese digestion of non-Chinese nationalities was executed so to say by the "Chinese flood," the immense numerical superiority of the Chinese and the superiority of the Chinese culture and civilization. Besides, there were active in this process long centuries of common history and common cultural processes in a "natural organic way." Russia, on the contrary, had no superior culture or number in comparison with the non-Russian nationalities (they were, even until World War I, a minority of 43 per cent in the Russian Empire), but Moscovite Russia from the beginning of the rise of Muscovy developed the "artificial methods for Russification by all means and all the force of the State." The methods of using the terror of organized gangsterhood to strengthen the Russian State executed by the oprichnina was first used against the Russian feudal nobility; it later became the usual method of dealing with conquered nations, which in the northwest, in the west, south, and in the Caucasus were far superior in culture and civilization to Moscovite Russia.

The terror in the service of Russification, the whip, had a counterpart: the cookie. All renegades, opportunists, sadists of the conquered non-Russian nations, all the lowest scum of opportunists were eagerly invited by the Russian bureaucracy to join the ranks of the "Herrenvolk" and to participate, after full Russification, in the manifold careers as Russifiers all over the Empire, with all the honors of titles and the material benefits. This half-intelligent mob of the "new Russians," who denied their nationality and churches, became "more Russian" than the Russians themselves, and were then used systematically by the ruling, pure Russian bureaucracy for the "swallowing, digestion, and full Russification" of non-Russian nationalities. As the careers of this bureaucratic rabble were closely connected with special achievements in Russification there developed very soon from the ranks of German, Ukrainian, Polish, American, Georgian, even Jewish renegades many high-placed fanatical Russifiers. For their use the ruling, pure Russian bureaucracy developed a special method. They were seldom used in service among the people they had denied, because there they would feel the general scorn of their own nationality and its moral contempt. Consequently, Ukrainians were used in the Polish territory, Balts in Turkestan, Poles in the Caucasus, Caucasians in Byelo-Russia, etc.—with the

*W. Baczkowski, Towards an Understanding of Russia, Jerusalem, 1947, p. 163.

special mission to destroy all local traditions of a separate State existence, to erase all national peculiarities and characteristics of the separate political, cultural, and religious life. First of all, the languages of the non-Russian nationalities had to be suppressed in schools, churches, press, and public life. Everything had to be reduced to the one common Russian and Orthodox denominator. Only in the Russian language could one approach this Russian State in the administration, courts, and public life. Thus, the all powerful Russian bureaucracy became the well-paid chief agent of the State's Russification and assimilation policy, backed by the ever present secret political police, with the right to exile every person suspected of opposition, without judicial procedure but in the administrative way, to Siberia for a couple of years.

The Tsars carefully supervised this rather old policy with special instructions. A good illustration is the instruction issued to Prince Viasemsky, then General Procurator, by the Empress Catherine in 1764:

"Ukraine, Livonia and Finland are provinces ruled on the basis of privileges, granted to them, and their ruthless infringement would be indecent; calling them foreign and treating them as such, would not only be more than a mistake, it would be foolish. Those provinces as well as the province of Smolensk should be Russified very tactfully and should cease to be regarded as wolves in the forest [strange foreigners]. That could easily be done if clever men were selected for those provinces; not only should there be no Hetman in Ukraine, but care should be taken that even the name of Hetman disappears and no person should be appointed to the post."

The reigns of Nicolas I, Alexandre II, and the last Nicolas II are dark pages in the history of all the non-Russian nationalities in the Empire.

The Russian intellectual upper class and society—confronted with Europe, with the European basic problems of freedom, with European progress in all spheres of life—were filled with a deep sense of their own deficiencies which gave them an inferiority complex. And we can witness how this inferiority complex gradually developed the "compensation" and how, as in a hunchback, there emerged a "superiority complex," exalted soon into a Russian master-race complex and Russian messianism against the background of the almost endless Empire and the unlimited tyranny of the Tsars. The old ideology of the third Rome combined with the messianistic Pan-Slavism and with the influences of German philosophers such as Schelling, Fichte, Hegel, and became the ideological weapon against Europe and against all the subdued non-Russian nationalities of the Empire, soon proclaiming the program: one God, one Tsar, one nation, and one language. Westernized Poland especially, with her revolutionary outbursts (1794, 1830, 1846, 1863), Lithuania, Byelo-Ruthenia, Ukraine, and Finland became for Muscovy inside Russia "the European problem"; then a whole series of Russian writers and thinkers, especially Aksakov, Pogodin, Danilewsky, Dostoyewsky, formulated Russia's answer to Europe. A leader of this ideological pogrom of everything Europe highly esteemed is Dostoyewsky with his hatred and fear of Europe; with his fanatical hatred of France, Catholicism,

Socialism; with his conception of a "Russian God" and aggressive imperialism; with his admiration for the "iron chancellor" Bismarck and his "blood and iron" methods. True, there was also a group of Westerners among the Russians, even some liberals: the members of the Decabrists (1825), and later Herzen and V. Soloviev (1853-1900), who taught the right to be a free man in a free society and nationality, but they had no influence on Russian policy. Nor did the Socialist theorists in exile in Western Europe have any influence. The techniques, based on Pan-Slavism, for all non-Russian nationalities were the methods of the hangman Muraviev, secret police, prisons, Siberia, full absolutism, censorship, and Russification. Tsarist Russia not only crushed in domestic politics all freedom of individuals and nationalities, but was always ready with her army to crush, as in 1848 in Hungary, every national revolution against absolutism.

3. Russian Methods Applied to the Solution of Nationality Problems

We have given a general background of the "Russian" solution of nationality problems and we should like to demonstrate their methods. They have a rather long tradition and are linked with Muscovy. From the times of Ivan the Terrible until the end of the Russian Empire (1917) Muscovy used and in course of time perfected her own methods for solving the nationality problem, which in modern times became indissolubly connected with the basic problems of European history: with her fight against individual and national freedom, with her fight against democracy. Russia opposed these European ideas by her program of Russian chauvinism, which usually was formulated by the slogan: "Russian absolutism, Russian Orthodoxy, Russian nationality." Thus, the Russian solution of the national problem, we repeat, meant a complete Russification, and Orthodoxization of all non-Russian nationalities, so to say "unification" and eradication of all their democratic ideas by "educating" them into enthusiastic acceptance of Russian absolutism. This was the program put forward by the almighty Russian State, backed by the Russian Orthodox Church and the overwhelming part of the Russian nation.

This Russian solution of the national problem was for more than two centuries practically executed in the Russian Empire by the following methods:

a) Genocide. This modern word—for a rather old Muscovite specialty—means "race murder" or "nation murder."* It is the modern juridical term for any act which is committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial, or religious group; it is now used especially for killing members of the group, causing them

*K. P. Pobedonostsev (1829-1907), Cabinet minister under Nicholas II advocated the following solution of the "Jewish problem": one third of the Jews has to be converted to Christianity, one third forced to emigrate, and one third starved. Purishkevich proposed the deportation of all Jews into the Kolyma Region of arctic Siberia.

serious bodily or mental harm, deliberately inflicting on them conditions of life calculated to bring about their physical destruction.

b) Exile, forced labor and imprisonment of the leaders of the democratic national movements.

c) Systematic persecution and annihilation of non-Russian Churches, propagating ceaselessly the "unification" with Orthodoxy.

d) Systematic persecution and extermination of non-Russian languages by excluding them from schools, press, administration, public life, theaters, etc., and enforced Russification of non-Russian youth by schools, press, obligatory military service, corruption, etc. Especially the substitution of Latin letters by the Cyrillic letters, used in Russian, was regarded as the first stage of "unification" with Russian.

e) Colonization of non-Russian ethnographic territories by Russians and giving them a privileged standing for the Russification of the countries.

f) Iron Curtain; this curtain against Western Europe was established by the "censorship" over the whole correspondence with outside Russia, incoming and outgoing, by a special censorship on foreign books, by a special passport policy, often prohibiting for private persons any travel abroad.

g) Supervision and control of the whole life of all Russian citizens inside and outside Russia by a secret police with unlimited funds for stool pigeons and provocation.

h) In the last period (1871-1913) the Jews were made responsible for all the advances of democratic and national trends in Russia, and Jewish pogroms, organized by the police and their "black hundreds," became a favorite method of Russian absolutism in fighting also the Jewish national idea, advanced by the Jewish Bund and later Zionism. What it meant anyone can see from the fact that in one year—1905—700 pogroms took place in Russia. Russia is also the cradle of the famous falsification, "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" (later the chief propaganda weapon of Hitler; its contents were translated into 14 languages and distributed in millions of copies).*

There was not one non-Russian nationality in Russia which was not the object of this "Russian solution of the nationality problem." The nationalities of the Baltic: the Finns, and Finno-Karelians, the Ingridians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, Byelo-Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Tatars, the nationalities of the Caucasus and of Turkestan,** with their

*Jacob Lestchinsky, "Anti-Semitism," in F. Gross, European Ideologies, pp. 649-673.

**To demonstrate the cultural achievements of Muscovy in Asia may these quotations be sufficient: (1) From the complaint of the Jakuts to the Tsar against the Russian governor, Golovin, in the late forties of the seventeenth century: "He tortured us, your serfs and orphans, and our wives he shamed with many tortures, and he had us flogged one hundred and fifty times and more, and he burned us on open fire, and shook us many times, and poured icewater on our heads, and with the red-hot pincers pulled the veins and naval, and burned us [footnote continued]

national traditions, cultures, languages, and churches, became the objects of a systematic pogrom by the Russian State for many decades.

We do not have here sufficient space for presenting the tragic history of the "Russian solution of the nationality problem" applied practically to these non-Russian nationalities. We limit ourselves here to the Poles, Lithuanians, Byelo-Ruthenians, and Ukrainians as examples of the Russian Tsaristic epoch.

The Poles were, because of their revolutions, torchbearers for Europe in the dark age of the Russian Empire. Russian absolutism has fostered all the elements of disintegration of the Commonwealth, finally partitioning the State, erasing the very name of Poland from the map of Europe and imposing on the country the name of the "Vistula-land." Her whole public life was Russianized—the schools, the Warsaw University, the administration and courts; large Russian garrisons in Polish towns changed their pure Polish appearance. Even the Western European architectonic features of the main streets and places were changed, as in Warsaw, by alteration of the Empire façades by Russian ornaments or by special monumental churches built in the Russian-Byzantine style. Inscriptions on the streets enforced the law in Russian. All Polish publications were put under Russian censorship. Special systematic persecutions were endured by the Catholic Church, whose priests had to be educated in St. Petersburg and were forced into the churches to pray for the Tsar, the perpetrator of all these barbarities. The leaders of the revolutions were usually murdered, all their private property and that of the emigrants confiscated, and thousands of persons who participated in the national uprising were exiled to Siberia, kept in prisons, or employed in mines as forced laborers. Russia had even conceived a plan, not realized, to introduce Russian letters into the Polish alphabet in order to break even this link with Western Europe. No Pole could be a civil servant in Poland, but only outside the Polish ethnographic territory. And finally the Tsar built a citadel loaded with artillery opposite the former Polish capital Warsaw, promising to the Poles, in the case of a next uprising, to erase the capital with all their national treasures. . . .

[footnote continued] with fire in our private parts, and broke our ribs, and burnt our backs with candles, and poured smouldering coal and ashes upon our shoulders, and drove spikes under our nails." (2) What the situation was early in the twentieth century we see from a declaration of War Minister Kuropatkin in 1904 replying to the complaints of the Buriats: "If . . . you people have any intention of taking untoward liberties, opposing the Emperor, then you must know that you will be immediately erased from the face of the earth. Not even a trace shall be left of you. You may not demand anything. You may only beg for charity." An American scholar, W. Kirchner, of the University of Delaware, sums up in the following way Russia's government in Siberia (An Outline—History of Russia, p. 49): "The further the conquerors were away from Europe, the greater their lawlessness. Torture, abduction, murder, and cannibalism were among their crimes. . . ."

The persecution of Lithuanians is summed up by the Lithuanian historian C. R. Jurgela:*

"The (Russian) government embarked on the policy of eradicating completely all traces of a separate Lithuanian nationality, culture and history. All possible pressure was exercised to compel the Catholics to turn Orthodox. The Orthodox Church received numerous privileges. Russian temples were built in the Catholic communities. Catholic churches were confiscated and converted into schismatic temples, masses of Russian officials arrived, and no native could ever hope for any civil office in his mother country. Mounted Don Kozak regiments were constantly on the march all over the country.

"The Lithuanian language suffered most. Muravyov orally, and his successor, Constantin von Kaufmann, by a written decree, banned all printing in the Lithuanian language in the Latin characters, and ordered a Russian (Cyrillian) alphabet for Lithuanian books. . . .

"The Lithuanian farmers refused to send their children to Russian schools. . . . All non-Russian teachers were summarily dismissed from State schools. Russian teachers, former non-commissioned officers and misfits, were brought in, armed with loud vociferous patriotism, vodka and the knout. . . .

"Russian clerics were appointed to supervise the schools, police and county officials were instructed to see that all teaching proceed in the Russian language and spirit. . . .

"Priests were restricted to their residences. No priest could be appointed, and none permitted to leave their parish limits, without a specific permission of the government in each instance. . . . Sermons were ordered to be read from the printed government-approved sermon books. . . .

"All money bequeathed to monasteries was sequestered, the monks and nuns were left to themselves in providing a living, and gradually all Catholic cloisters were shut down and the buildings confiscated by the government for the use of Russian Orthodox institutions, or as prisons.

"Muravyov also disliked the roadside crosses embellishing the Lithuanian countryside and the rural homesteads. He claimed that these crosses, the creative art expressions of the folk spirit, were erected on purpose, to stress the Catholicism of this 'eternally Russian country' and its difference from Muscovy. Therefore, he banished all erection of the crosses without permission of the authorities. . . .

"Besides the colonization of Russian sectarians on the confiscated estates, suspected gentlemen were ordered to sell their lands to Russians exclusively,--or to suffer confiscation without compensation. The native gentry lost all rights to acquire any lands by inheritance or purchase, and all facilities for acquisition of real estate were extended 'to persons of non-Polish-Lithuanian origin, especially to Orthodox clergy, the Old Believers and to totally loyal peasants.'

"At first hordes of Muscovite peasants flocked to Lithuania, abetted and attracted by the official promises and inducements. . . . Vast sums

*C. R. Jurgela, History of Lithuanian Nation, 1948, pp. 469-472.

of public funds, principally raised by tax levies on the indigenous population, were wasted on subsidies for the colonists. A special subsidy bank was founded. . . . Prior to World War I, altogether about 7000 Russian families remained permanently settled—the most backward element. . . .”

The famous hangman Muravyov executed this policy after the last Lithuanian revolution (1863) with a Russian army of 90,000, having executed 128, banished to hard labor in Siberia 972, exiled to Siberia 1427, seized as recruits for the army 345, convicted to prison terms 864, banished to the interior 1529, “relocated” and endowed with land in Russia 4096—totaling 9361 persons while 1794 estates were confiscated.

Who was Muravyov? Tsar Alexander II looking for a man to suppress the “mutiny” boasted: “I shall defend myself, and my means shall be a man combining the qualities of a Roman proconsul and a Tatar Khan. I shall slap the law of nations! and he shall slap the laws of Divinity and humaneness!” He found the man in this unscrupulous general with a well-known record of embezzlements. In his memoirs the hangman wrote:*

“I answered the Tsar that, being Russian, I would act indecently should I decline. . . . I demanded that all the means be placed at my disposal . . . that is, strict prosecution of the plots and mutinies, lifting of the national dignity and Russian morale. . . . I knew in advance that my methods would not be pleasant . . . yet concessions and weakness would merely worsen the situation. . . . They were afraid [at St. Petersburg] not merely of losing Lithuania—they feared for Petersburg and themselves, they were afraid of a universal spread of the democratic principles. . . . The Emperor replied by thanking me for myself-sacrifice and readiness to assume this hard assignment, by saying that he fully shared my way of thinking about the proposed methods, and that he would not retreat from that system.”

Coming to Wilna, Muravyov started to hang and shoot indiscriminately on the slightest suspicion in the market place. The revolutionaries were executed publicly with fanfare heralding the executions. The scaffolds built in Wilna were busy for many months. . . . Parents were frequently compelled to witness the executions of their sons and then they too were banished on foot to Siberia. Muravyov extorted money from the gentry, he accepted 100,000 rubles from Count Tyzenhouz and gave one half to Katkov, the apostle of Pan-Slavism.

The “liberal” Tsar Alexander II conferred upon Muravyov the title of Count and throughout Russia his name commanded the greatest respect. On his birthday holy icons were presented to him with thanksgiving addresses, signed even by Metropolitan Filaret of Moscow, and “liberals” like Kavelin. Russian poets, among them Tyutchev and Nekrasov, wrote odes to Muravyov as the “national hero” of Russia. Therefore, Muravyov boasted in his memoirs:

*Ibid., pp. 449-450.

"Sympathy within Russia and among the Russian society active in the noble field of moral and political resubjugation (podboy) of the north-western territory, continually gained and expressed itself in the form of addresses and telegrams dispatched to me, in reporting the various events more or less favorable for the Russian cause, as, e.g., erection of new temples, conversion of Catholics into Orthodoxy, opening of new schools. . . ."

With such methods Russia attained her aim: the very name "Lithuania" was officially abolished and the country renamed "The North-western Territory" of Russia.

Similar to this was the fate of Byelo-Ruthenia, which for many centuries was united with Lithuania. Their national State was reproclaimed by Napoleon during the march to Moscow. After Napoleon's downfall the Russian repressions followed, against which the Byelo-Ruthenians simultaneously with the Poles rose in the revolutions of 1831 and 1863. V. Kalinovsky the leader of the Byelo-Ruthenians, caught and hanged by Muravyov, managed before his death to smuggle his last appeal to the Byelo-Ruthenians, which is an illuminating document regarding the ideology of all national movements in Russia:*

"My brothers, beloved humble peasants! I am writing to you from underneath the Muscovite gallows, probably for the last time. It hurts to leave the native soil and you, my dear fellow countrymen. My breast is rending apart, my heart is breaking, but I do not regret my dying for the cause of justice to you.

"Brothers, accept my words with trust, as they will reach you from the other world, and I have written them having but your well-being in mind.

"Brothers, there is no greater happiness in the world, than to have wisdom and enlightenment in one's head. But--just as the night and day do not walk together, so the true enlightenment does not mate with the Muscovite slavery. As long as that slavery shall dominate our country, we shall have no truth, no well-being, no enlightenment, and we shall be ruled like dumb animals, not for our own welfare, but to our perdition.

"Therefore, whenever you should hear that your brothers from the environs of Warsaw are fighting for Truth and Freedom, do not remain inactive: seize whatever weapon might be handy--the scythe or the axe --and rise en masse, keep on fighting for your rights as men and nation, for your religion, for your native soil.

"For I say unto you, People, from the gallows: you shall be able to live in happiness only when the Muscovite tyranny shall have been removed from your necks! (Boja tabie zpod szubienicy kazhu, Narodzie, szto tahdy tolko zazhywiesz szczeniwo, kali nad taboiu Moskala uzho ne budzie!)"

All of Byelo-Ruthenia was kept from 1863 until 1870 under military war dictatorship. Hundreds of estates were confiscated and presented to Russians as rewards. Already in 1820 the University in Polock was

*Ibid., p. 460.

closed, and in 1832 the University in Wilna, in which many Byelo-Ruthenians studied; in 1842 the Theological Academy was transferred to St. Petersburg and Russified, 190 monasteries and their schools were closed; in 1840 the special Lithuanian Law Codex of the courts was abolished. At the same time the Byelo-Ruthenian language was forbidden in the Orthodox churches and Russian introduced; the Byelo-Ruthenian Catholic Church was, in 1839, forcibly liquidated and Catholics by governmental order were included in the Russianized Orthodox Church. Byelo-Ruthenia was divided into Russian gubernias and her very name disappeared.

Muscovy struck perhaps its heaviest blows on the Ukraine. From the oldest times this nation as the Kievan Rus' -Ukraine Empire was with her Viking dynasty an integral part of the European *civitas christiana*. After the Mongol invasion and the occupation of Kiev in 1240 the Ukrainians became with the Byelo-Ruthenians a part of the Lithuanian federation, which used the old Byelo-Ruthenian-Ukrainian-Church language as the official language in their countries. Later, as a part of the Jagellonian Commonwealth, Ukraine was always under the influence of Western European culture and civilizations. In 1654 the revolution under Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky re-established the Ukrainian sovereignty. As the historian of law S. Shelukhyn points out, the principles of "equality, brotherhood, liberty" lived in the everyday practice of the Ukrainian Cossack Host two hundred years before the French Revolution and these slogans animated the Cossacks and peasants in their fight against the Polish gentry and aristocracy. In the Treaty of Perejaslav* concluded by the Hetman with the Muscovite dynasty (1654) S. Skelukhyn sees only a "personal Union" of the Ukrainian Republic under a common dynasty, and he established the fact that in the treaty are included some points of the English Magna Charta. In 1656 Khmelnytsky annulled the treaty by a close alliance with Sweden and Transylvania—in the next year he died. But the Tsar soon had his garrisons in the Ukraine and interfered with the internal Ukrainian affairs, breaking the treaty. Thus the foreign policy of all the immediate successors of Khmelnytsky had one aim: to get rid of the Muscovitean protectorate. Hetman Vyhovsky re-established the Federation of the Ukraine with Poland and Lithuania in a united Commonwealth, by the Union of Hadiach (1658). Hetman Doroshenko in 1671 even preferred the protectorate of Turkey to that of Muscovy; and Hetman Mazepa** finally made the attempt to liberate

*Against any alliance with the Muscovite Tsar was a violent opposition headed by Father Hursky and Colonel Bohun, which did quit the meeting.

**Today there is a vast literature on the life and statesmanship of Hetman Mazepa and his attempt to organize Western and Southern Europe against Peter the Great and Russian imperialism. Foremost is the work in French, La Vie de Mazepa (Paris, 1931), written jointly by a Ukrainian scholar, Elias Borshchak, and Rene Martel, the French writer. Prof. Borshchak also wrote The Great Mazepist Hryhor Orlyk, Lieutenant General of the Army of Louis XV (in Ukrainian, Lviv, 1932)—another

the Ukraine by the alliance with Charles XII of Sweden. Mazepa formed and shaped the political and cultural orientation of the Ukrainian nation. In his struggle with Russia, Mazepa displayed wisdom and foresight. As early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, Mazepa sensed the ever present and ever growing danger presented by Russia. He noted the gradual penetration of Russian influence into Ukraine, the Russian interference with Ukrainian internal affairs and the Russian infiltration into the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. He quickly saw that only an alliance of all the countries endangered by Russia, from the north to the south, could stop her aggressive advance.

His guiding idea in foreign policy was that Ukraine should form a common anti-Muscovite front together with Sweden (Finland, Estonia, and Latvia), Poland-Lithuania, and Turkey. In order to be successful, however, the alliance also needed the support of France from the west.

Only such a political alliance, he maintained, could successfully block the aggressive advance of Russia under Peter the Great into Northern, Western, and Southern Europe. Unfortunately, the first part of this coalition materialized belatedly (the Swedish-Ukrainian alliance), and its first attempt to stop Russia was crushed at Poltava, Ukraine, in 1709, where both the Swedish armies of King Charles XII and the Ukrainian armies under Hetman Mazepa were defeated by the Russians. King Charles XII and Hetman Mazepa went into exile to Turkey, where Mazepa died shortly afterward.

After the death of Mazepa, his great plans for an anti-Russian alliance of Western nations were continued by his successor, Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, whose diaries were found in the archives of Quai d'Orsay (the French Foreign Office).*

The son of Hetman Pylyp Orlyk, Hryhor, who was a lieutenant general in the French Army of King Louis XV, continued the work of Mazepa and inspired Voltaire to write his *L'Histoire de l'Ukraine*. It was Voltaire who was the author of the famous phrase: "The Ukraine always aspired to liberty." In his memo to the French Cardinal Minister Fleury, Hryhor prophetically stated: "France and all Europe think lightly of Muscovite expansion, and yet that is the chief factor which may destroy the entire European system."

Hryhor Orlyk fell in battle against the Prussians in 1759 as a French general. A group of Ukrainian diplomats, such as Voynarovsky, Mirovich,

[footnote continued] Ukrainian historian, Bohdan Krupnycky, wrote *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit* (Berlin, 1942), as well as a historical study, "The Mazepists" (*The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 3); another penetrating article on Mazepa, entitled, "Mazepa's Champion in the 'Secret du Roi,' of Louis XV, King of France," was written by Prof. N. Chubaty (*The Ukrainian Quarterly* Vol. V., No. 1). There are several historical studies on Charles XII, King of Sweden, and Hetman Mazepa in Swedish.

*They were edited by Prince de Tokary Tokarzewsky-Karasiewicz and published in *Les Travaux de l'Institut Scientifique Ukrainien*, Vol. XVII, Warsaw.

Nakhimovsky, and others, did not let the ideas of Mazepa die, but continued their patriotic work for the liberation of Ukraine.

It was Mazepa's uncompromising attitude toward Russia as a menace to the peace and freedom of smaller nations that evoked the profound hatred for him on the part of all Russians. Mazepa is the godfather of the anti-Muscovite and pro-European orientation in both the cultural and political sense. Mazepa's ideology, based on the ideas of freedom and independence, has inspired millions of Ukrainians to struggle for these God-given rights. This ideal of the Western European community of nations, given to the Ukrainians by Mazepa 250 years ago, spread to the other Eastern European nations.

How the Russian feared Mazepa is best exemplified by Peter the Great's order after the battle of Poltava. He ordered the razing of Baturyn, Mazepa's capital, to the ground, and had some 18,000 inhabitants killed, mostly women and children. He ordered the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church to anathematize Mazepa as a "traitor." From that time on until 1917, every Good Friday the Russian Orthodox Church, in a special ceremony, faithfully and servilely excommunicated Mazepa.

To make the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for freedom as horrible and "criminal" in old Russia as possible, the Russians began applying the term "Mazepists," that is, the partisans of Mazepa, to all the Ukrainian patriots ever since. Muscovy systematically applied genocide to the bearers of the national consciousness of the Ukraine, the Ukrainian Cossacks and their leaders. The Hetmans Somoylovych, Doroshenko, and Mnohohrishny were exiled to Siberia; Hetman Polubotok died in the Petropavlovsk fortress near Petersburg; the Cossack army was used as forced labor at the construction of Petersburg, along the Volga, and more than 20,000 perished in toiling on the Ladoga Canal. Catherine II, for whom the Ukrainian folksongs reserved the title "daughter of a bitch," annihilated (in 1775) the traditional center of the Cossack Host, the Zaporogian Sich, exiling and imprisoning their commander Kalnyshevsky in the Solowki Islands; she enforced from the last Hetman Razumovsky his abdication in 1764 (died 1802), divided the Ukraine into Russian gubernias provinces and imposed serfdom on the Ukrainian peasantry. Finally, in order to erase any tradition (as the last Hetman attempted to introduce a hereditary hetmanate) the Rozumovsky family was exiled under the pretext of a Russian ambassadorship to Vienna (where the ambassador became the protector of Van Beethoven)—intermarried with the Austrian nobility and became Austrianized.

Systematically, Muscovy annihilated the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and its direct subordination to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Moscow forced the election of her candidate Prince G. Svyatopolk Chetwertynsky to the Metropolitanship of Kiev, and in 1685 he subordinated the Ukrainian Church to the Muscovite Patriarch. Catherine II confiscated the estates of the Ukrainian Church in 1786, distributing hundreds of thousands of acres to her lovers. The opposing Bishop Arsen Matsiyewich was tried in St. Petersburg and by Catherine's order immured in a tower in Reval.

But the Ukrainian language had to suffer the most systematic persecution. Hatred and intolerance for everything that was not Muscovite was peculiar to Moscow and anything different was regarded as heresy and as treason against Orthodoxy. Therefore, Moscow, the "Third Rome," immediately started to persecute the Ukrainian Church language and to "unify" it with the Muscovite. Already before the personal Union of Ukraine with the Muscovitean dynasty, all books which differed in language with the Muscovite had been burned in Moscow. The Russian priests preached that there must be "one language" everywhere. In 1690 Patriarch Yoakim anathematized all books printed in the former Polish-Lithuanian-Ukrainian Commonwealth and nearly the whole Ukrainian Church literature of that time was forbidden. Even the first volume of the works of St. Dmytro Rostovsky was burned as differing in its Ukrainian language from Russian, and all new editions were "unified with Russian." We find an open hatred of the Ukrainian language in the preface to the works of Yoan Zlatoust printed 1709 in Moscow, where it is stated that the "very obscure Ukrainian" was, in its orthography and language, "translated and corrected into Russian." Gradually Moscow began to persecute the books and printing presses in the Ukraine. Moscow attempted to enforce the Russian-Moscovitean pronunciation of letters in the Ukrainian language, which had, like the Bulgarian, Serbian, and Byelo-Ruthenian an alphabet similar to the Muscovite. In 1720, Peter I forbade the printing of books in the Ukraine with the exception of Church books; but the Church books had to be completely "unified" with the Muscovite Church books, "in order that there may be not the slightest difference and no separate language in them." In 1721, an order was issued that all manuscripts of books to be printed in Ukrainian printing presses had to be sent to Moscow "for correction and unification with the Russian" in the Synodalian Censorship Office. By constant heavy fines this order was strictly executed: in 1724, the Archymandrit of the Kievan Pecherska Lawra monastery was fined 1000 rubles for printing a "Triod" different from the Muscovitean one; in 1726, the Brotherhood of Chernyhiv was fined 2000 rubles for printing Ukrainian books, and the printing press was confiscated and brought to Moscow. Finally at the time of the Metropolitan Raphael Zaborovsky (1731-1747) Moscow ordered that all old Ukrainian Church books be confiscated and destroyed, and Muscovite introduced. In 1769, the Kievan Pecherska Lawra printing press was forbidden to publish anything in the Ukrainian tongue. At the end of the eighteenth century, Moscow enforced the introduction of the Russian teaching language in the Kievan Academy and all the existing schools in Ukraine; also the priests were ordered to pronounce the Old Church language not with the traditional Ukrainian but with the Russian-Muscovite pronunciation.

The Ukraine under Russia gradually became a land of illiteracy. . . . In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there existed over 20 printing presses in the whole Ukraine, but soon they disappeared with few exceptions in that part which came under the Muscovite rule. Around 1740 the left-bank Ukraine had 860 schools, and 60 years later only a dozen. . . .

In 1800, Tsar Paul forbade the construction of churches in the Ukrainian style with three cupolas; only the Muscovite style was permitted.

The whole nineteenth century is also filled with the Russian persecutions of the Ukrainian language and nation. In 1835 the self-government of Kiev based on the German Magdeburg Law was liquidated; in 1840 the Lithuanian Law Codex was abolished and Russian Laws in the courts in the Ukraine were introduced; in 1843 the obligatory passports were introduced; in 1839 the remnants of the Ukrainian Catholic Church on the right bank liquidated. Tsar Nicolas I organized a special committee for the Russification of the Ukraine and the erasing of all traces of different Ukrainian traditions.

But in spite of all these persecutions of the Ukrainian language, there was, in the Ukrainian folksongs and folklore, very much life beneath this official Russification, and soon the upper class returned to the use of it. And in 1798 there appeared the travesty on the Aeneid by Kotlyarevsky, written in the Ukrainian vernacular, which was followed by the works of Hulak Artemovsky, Kvitka, Hrebinka, and others. Of great importance were the anthologies of Ukrainian folksongs by Maxymovych, Sreznewsky, and by the Russian Tsertelev, who was deeply moved by the great spiritual wealth and creative energy of the Ukrainians. "Do you know," wrote Tsertelev, "that I value this popular poetry more highly than the major part of our (Russian) romances and ballads and even many of our romantic poems." And soon the national bard Taras Shewchenko appeared asking in the dark night of Tsarism: "When will at last arrive also our Washington, with the new and just law (The American Declaration of Independence)?" Russian Pan-Slavism (in reality brutal Pan-Muscovitism) was opposed by the Ukrainians by means of the ideology of the Brotherhood of SS. Cyril and Methodius, which repeated the Western European ideas with which Mickiewicz fanaticized the Poles.

And soon Moscow acted again. In 1847, the leaders of this brotherhood, Kostomaroy, Shevchenko, and Kulisch, were arrested and the government confiscated everything which appeared in Ukrainian. Russian censorship was in no hurry: Metlynsky's collection of songs were submitted to the censor in 1847 and returned from the office in 1854. The anthology of works of Ukrainian writers remained two years in the censor's office and returned half confiscated. Besides, the word volya, "liberty," was confiscated, even in the phrase kin' hulaye na woli, "the horse enjoys its freedom." The censor treated mercilessly the works of Hrebinka, Artemovsky-Hulak, Fedkovych, Zinkivsky, Marko Vovchok, Nechuy-Levytsky. . . . The government forbade the use of the terms "Ukraine," "Ukrainian"; even "Little Russia" was changed into "South Russia" or simply "Russia." The censorship refused permission to print the reader of Potebnya, the novels of Nechuy-Levytsky, Mykola Djerya, Zaporozhtsi, and Chmarya; a pamphlet: "About the life of the human body" by Maryupolec; a pamphlet: "Advice to mothers" by Myrovets; pamphlets about "Volcanos," about "The Mountains," etc.

In 1863, the minister of interior, Walujew, issued his famous circular stating that a separate Ukrainian language never existed, does not

exist, and never will exist, and the censorship refused permission to print the translation of the Bible into Ukrainian by F. Morachevsky. . . .

From 1862 to 1872 the Russian censorship passed a single Ukrainian pamphlet. . . . But luckily for the Ukrainians a part of their ethnographic territory after the partitions of the Polish Commonwealth and later also Bukovina became parts of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. Therefore they transferred the printing activity to Lviv in Galicia, even to Budapest, later to Praha, and to Switzerland.

In the year 1875 the southwestern branch of the Geographical Society controlled by Ukrainian scholars, was closed in Kiev and soon the leading Ukrainian professors Dragomanov (history), Zieber (economy), and Chubinsky (ethnography) were dismissed from the University of Kiev.

In the year 1876 the Tsar signed in the Bad Ems the following Ukaz—which is a unique document in European history:

“(1) The importation into the Russian Empire without special permission of the ‘Central Censorship over printing’ of all books and pamphlets in Ukrainian is forbidden.

“(2) The printing and publishing in the Empire of original works and translations in this language is forbidden with the exception of:

“(a) Historical documents and monuments;

“(b) Works of belle-lettres, but with the proviso that in the documents the orthography of the originals be retained; in works of belle-lettres no deviations from the accepted Russian orthography are permitted and permission for their printing should be given only by the Central Censorship over printing, after the examination of the manuscripts;

“(3) All theatrical performances and lectures in Ukrainian, as well as printing of texts to musical notes is forbidden.”

Consequently, the censor refused to allow composer Sokolowsky to print a collection of Ukrainian folksongs with their Ukrainian texts, and passed it only with a French text. In 1880, the censor burned the Ukrainian translation of the Book of Job. In 1883, the Russians refused permission to print the translation of the works of Shakespeare and they remained in manuscript 20 years. In 1884, they forbade the printing of Nishchynsky's translation of Homer's Odyssey. In 1885, they forbade the printing of a reader and reading books for children in Ukrainian. Only near the close of the century did the censorship become weaker, and the works of Nechuy-Levytsky, Myrny, Kotsiubynsky, Hrinchenko, Shevchenko, Marko Vovchok, Rudansky, Svydnytsky, Hlibov, Franko, Teslenko, Vasylchenko, and others began to appear; only after 1905 there was a short time of relief.

It must be kept in mind that these persecutions and acts of Russification were backed not only by the whole Russian administration, schools, and army, but by the Russian Church with the famous Russifiers Anthony and Eulogy; the universities with Russifiers such as Pogodin, Florinsky; by the Russian black hundred press and Purishkevich, the chief of Russian hooligans and apostles of the permanent pogrom of all non-Russian nationalities.

We cannot but draw attention here to the great moral courage and objectivity of a group of Russian scholars headed by Shakmatov, who in 1906, in a special declaration of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, defended the independence of the Ukrainian language and its right to free development.*

These examples may suffice. Similar persecutions were suffered by all the non-Russian languages and nations in the Russian Empire, especially the languages of the Caucasus and Turkestan.

4. The Fight of the Oppressed Nationalities Against Russian Tyranny

Not only did the Poles, the Lithuanians, the Ukrainians, and the Byelo-Ruthenians fight against Russian tyranny, defending their freedoms, but the whole modern history of Russia is internally a constant civil war between the oppressed nationalities and Russia, which from time to time flares up in full force, then again glimmers in the embers of Russian repressions. This fight forms practically one whole and is systematically disregarded by American historians of Russian descent.

*"In 1906 the Academy of Sciences was requested by the Council of Ministers to give a considered opinion upon the Ukrainian language. For this purpose, under the presidency of F. E. Korsh, a special Commission was composed consisting of A. S. Famitsin, V. V. Zelenski, F. F. Fortunatov, A. A. Shakhmatov, A. S. Lappo-Danilevski and S. F. Oldenburg. A report prepared by F. E. Korsh and A. A. Shakhmatov was approved by the Academy and submitted to the Council of Ministers; its main conclusions were that historic circumstances had brought about a complete differentiation between South-West Russia (Ukraine) and the region inhabited by (Great) Russians, that this differentiation was reflected in the languages of the two peoples, that instead of providing them with a common language, historical development had deepened dialectical differences manifested from the time when the two peoples first appeared on the stage of history, that in view of the fact that there was in existence a Ukrainian language, as spoken by the people of Poltava, Kiev, Lvov, the (Great) Russian language spoken by the people of Moscow, Yaroslavl, Archangelsk and Novgorod, could not be considered as 'all-Russian.' Finally, the recommendation was made that the Ukrainian people should have the same right as the (Great) Russian people to speak their own language in public and to print in it.

"In 1906, the year when the report alluded to was issued, in response to an inquiry from the Council of Ministers, the Universities of Kiev and Kharkov endorsed the findings of the Academy, and added a request that Ukrainian literature should be given the same rights as those enjoyed by Russian literature, that the Holy Scripture should be translated into Ukrainian, that teaching in the primary schools in Ukraine should be conducted in Ukrainian and that Ukrainian periodicals should be permitted to enter Russia from Galicia (Austria)." (Quotation from Lancelot Lawton, Ukraine: Europe's Greatest Problem, London, 1939.)

We should like briefly to survey this struggle against Russia. Simultaneously with the fight of the Ukrainians against Muscovy, after the death of Khmel'mitsky, the Don Cossacks revolted in 1667-1678 and their leader Stephen Razin became the legendary hero of the Volga peasantry. In 1773-1775 the Ural Cossacks with O. Pugatchev, repeated their rebellion. In this fight the Kazakhs also participated. In this territory from the shores of the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea there were from 1826-1834 145 rebellions; from 1838-1854 the people organized 848 smaller and larger uprisings. The Cossacks regarded themselves, and regard themselves now, as a separate nationality from the Muscovites.

The subdued peoples of the Asiatic part of Russia have a fine record of uprisings against Russia. In Kazakhstan* the defense against the Russian occupation lasted from 1783-1794 under the leadership of S. Datov. In the 30's and 40's of the nineteenth century the Kazakhs again revolted against the confiscation of land by Russia. The largest revolts occurred between 1837-1838 under the leadership of I. Tayman. The Uzbeks constantly revolted, from 1838-1898 they rebelled 608 times; great rebellions occurred in 1875 and 1885—all suppressed by mass executions.

The Siberian peoples also revolted in the 30's and 40's under the leadership of W. Pyatomlyn. The separatist tendencies there remained strong; even newcomers, immigrants, supported them; the Russian police uncovered a special organization of this movement in 1864.

The Bashkirs, Tatars, Mariis, Chuvashs, and Komis were in constant turmoil; in Bashkiria the people rebelled in 1840 and 1874. Because in 1906 the Russian government forbade the Komis and Kalmyks to settle within the circuit of ten kilometers from every Russian colony, they revolted.

The fight of the Caucasus against the Russians was heroic. The Georgians revolted in 1804, 1807, 1812, 1841—in Abkhazia in 1877. The Azerbaijanians fought from 1870-1880, the Armenians from 1885-1886, the Caucasian Highlanders fought the Russians under the leadership of Shamyl for twenty years and not until 1859 did he surrender, although the spirit of the Highlanders was never broken.**

In the decades before World War I the oppressed nationalities gave many leading personalities to the revolutionary movement in Tsarist Russia. As the revolutionary movement of these decades merged with the Socialist movement, in which the Russian socialists and social revolutionaries participated and which they also led, the significance of the participation of these representatives of the non-Russian nationalities in the revolutionary fight against Russian tyranny is often disregarded. This participation was a continuation of the fight for national freedom of the oppressed peoples, who attempted to use the Russian socialist movement for their own liberation.

*Regarding the Kazakhs the Russian administration applied the principle: "There is no other way to manage the Kazakhs except through massacres," cf. *Encyclopedia Americana*, p. 291, Vol. 27, 1947.

**Cf. J. Milton Mackie, Life of Shamyl and Narrative of the Circassian War of Independence Against Russia, Boston, 1856.

The revolution of 1905 showed immediately all the national problems of Russia and the elections to the first Duma, carried through in a relatively honest way, gave all the oppressed nationalities many representatives in the Russian parliament. And immediately at the initiative of Alexander Lednicki all the non-Russian nationalities formed a common front against the Russians in the so-called "Club of the Autonomists," demanding national self-government for their countries. The Russian tyranny, backed also by the chauvinism of the overwhelming part of the Russian intelligentsia, stopped the peaceful transformation of Russia into a commonwealth of free nationalities, dissolved the Duma, changed the electoral laws, and the democratic spring ended with a real Russian reactionary winter. All the non-Russian nationalities became finally disappointed in the Russian liberals and so-called democrats and were brought to the conviction that only an active fight against the Russian Herrenvolk could give them freedom.

5. The Victory and Defeat of the National Idea

Tsarist Russia has done in foreign politics everything in her power to combat outside Russia the ideas of the American and French revolutions, with which her nationality problem was inseparably united.

But no unholy "Holy Alliance" could abolish the progress of individual freedom and national liberty in Europe. Gradually the national idea dissolved the Ottoman Empire, liberated Roumania, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, Albania, and slowly undermined also the foundations of Austria-Hungary and Russia, the "Prison of nationalities."

The economic rivalries between the European Powers led later to the reciprocal use by these powers of the national ideas of the oppressed nationalities against one another. England tried to weaken the junior partner of Germany, Austria-Hungary, by sympathizing with the national ideas of the Czechs and Slovaks, Poles, Croats, Slovenes, Italians, and Roumanians; Russia, so intolerant in internal politics of all the non-Russian nationalities, especially of the Poles, Ukrainians, Byelo-Ruthenians, the Baltic, Caucasian, and Turkestanian nations, in foreign politics supported the national aspirations of the Serbs, Montenegrins, Croats, and Slovenes, and tried to create by heavy subsidies also a Russophile orientation among the Ukrainians in Austria-Hungary; Germany fought Russian opposition against her Berlin-Bagdad project by supporting the idea of the dissolution of Russia in her national parts and supporting the national ideas of the Finns, Lithuanians, Byelo-Ruthenians, Ukrainians, of the Caucasian and Turkestanian nations. Germany besides fought England by supporting the Irish and Indians. France fought for the restoration of the self-determination of Alsace-Lorraine by Germany by sympathizing with the Poles annexed to Prussia.

Thus, the national idea of the oppressed nationalities became the sharpest weapon in the ideological war between the European powers, and was closely connected with their foreign politics and economical conceptions, which before World War I finally appeared as the Triple Entente and Triple Alliance, both promising freedom to the oppressed nationalities in their desired sphere of influence.

The whole European policy, which the American historians seldom understand, was conducted on two levels. The ministries of existing European powers, exploiting the national ideas for their purposes, is the upper level; but there existed at the same time a lower level: the struggle for freedom of the oppressed nationalities, usually under leadership of underground organizations, backed by public opinion. These nationalities consciously exploited the rivalries of the European powers for the realization of their national aims. This whole period is characterized by the struggle for democracy and the advance of socialism in Europe, giving the national ideas of the subdued nationalities the general character of the struggle for social justice and self-government. Shining examples of independence showed the way to the realization of the national ideas: the revolutionary spirit of Ireland against England and the indomitable will for liberty of Poland, Lithuania, Byelo-Ruthenia, Ukraine, and of the heroic Caucasian nations against Russia, and of the Greeks, Serbs, and Bulgarians against Turkey.

These revolutionary ideas not only penetrated the oppressed non-Russian nationalities in European Russia, but also many nationalities of Asiatic Russia, whose youth was usually studying at the Russian European universities. Thus, through this underground, the modern national idea continued its victorious march into Russian Asia.

World War I was an explosion of all the economic, territorial, and political rivalries of England, France, Russia on the one side and of Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey on the other. This explosion found a tremendous response among the non-Russian nationalities in Russia. Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, now openly including the liberation of the non-Russian nationalities in their war aims, were supported in the war against Russia by Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Finnish, Azerbaijani, Turkestanian, Georgian, Tatarian political organizations and formations of fighting volunteers. These facts hastened the military and political breakdown of the Russian tyranny. And as a matter of fact the revolution in Russia in 1917 started with the mutiny of the guards, composed of Ukrainians,* who refused to fire upon strikers, and with mass desertions from the front of soldiers of all non-Russian nationalities. It must be clearly stated that these peoples did not revolt in order to help Kaiserism or effete Austria-Hungary to defeat democratic France and England. J. Pilsudski, who later became marshall, gave a good formulation of the political tactics of the underground of the oppressed non-Russian nationalities: first, the Russian Tsarist Empire must be destroyed, then we will help the West to destroy the other oppressors, Prussia (Germany) and Austria. The peace of Brest Litovsk was not only the victory of Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey over Russia, but also a victory of the national ideas of the non-Russian nationalities over Russia in the West and the beginning of Russia's dissolution.

Let us survey the revolution in Russia from the point of view of the national idea, which aimed at the realization in this vast territory of the great European idea of freedom.

*The Volynian Regiment revolted March 12.

We deliberately speak about the "revolution in Russia" and not about the "Russian revolution." This latter term is very misleading for Americans and is systematically used by the (white and red) Russian-inspired historians in the United States in order to hide the most important question and cause of the revolution in Russia: the nationality problem of the old empire.

Actually, two revolutions started in Russia in 1917: a Russian revolution in the Russian ethnographic territory, with primarily political, later social aims; and an anti-Russian revolution in all the non-Russian ethnographic territories of the oppressed non-Russian nationalities with aims primarily national and social, which could be realized by the departure of the Russian profiteering classes from the non-Russian territories.

This anti-Russian revolution was soon greatly intensified by the ideas proclaimed by President Wilson, when World War I in its final stage brought into European politics a power from outside of Europe, the U.S.A. In all the great ideological processes the 14 points, the self-determination principle for the nationalities and the idea of the League of Nations played a decisive role.

The last fateful act which preceded the dissolution of the Russia Empire and Brest Litovsk, was the permission given by Germany to Lenin and his bolsheviks to return from exile to Petrograd. Thus, there returned home the man who transferred Von Clausewitz' methods into politics with a blueprint (long ago thought out) for the world revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the Russian proletariat.

The revolution in Russia of 1917-1918 opened the doors to freedom and sovereignty for all the subject peoples under Tsarist Russian rule. Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Kubania, and the Caucasian countries (Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, North Caucasia), the whole of Turkestan became free and independent, while the Don Cossacks and the various Tatar peoples experienced a great national revival.

All these nationalities responded enthusiastically to the principles of President Wilson and to his new international institution, the League of Nations. In throwing off the chains of Russian slavery they were willing to accept the duties and obligations of this new World Confederation, and longingly waited for the leadership of the U.S.A. The seeds of a real Eastern democracy, called forth and animated by the great American idealist, burst into full bloom, and were cultivated by the Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries, who in all the various national democratic republics formed the governments and were backed by the entire equally enthusiastic youth of their nations. They believed that a new era was coming to give humanity at last the reign of law, and therefore all these Socialist governments decided at once to disarm their nations—as a visible sign of goodwill and good faith toward the League of Nations and an example for the coming universal disarmament.

Unfortunately, this blossom of democracy, this freedom and sovereignty of the nationalities, was short-lived. The most important reasons for the catastrophic turn of events were in our opinion:

a) On the ruins of Tsarist Russia after a coup d'état and the scattering of a lawfully elected Parliament, there was installed, within the walls of Moscow, the Communistic Dictatorship with its ideology of the coming proletarian world revolution. To achieve this Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin forcibly mobilized, armed, drilled, and fanaticized the (Great) Russian working masses; they murdered all opponents or put them in concentration camps; they abolished all human rights and put forward, against the idea of Democracy, the idea of the proletarian dictatorship, against the idea of the League of Nations in Geneva they advanced their own method for the organization of the entire world: the Comintern of Moscow, the blueprint for the World Soviet Union.

Thus, at once there was created an ideological battle front in Eastern Europe between the "national ideas" of the liberated nationalities with their Democratic Republics, Socialist Governments, and their support of the League of Nations in Geneva, and the Proletarian Dictatorship of Soviet Moscow with its Comintern, which was intended to use "Red Russia" as the mighty base for the world revolution. The Russian Communists started a furious propaganda against the sovereignty of the nationalities conquered and oppressed by the Russian Tsars; they accused all democrats, who had often spent years in Tsarist prisons for their national cause, as traitors, agents, and hirelings of capitalism; they ridiculed the League of Nations as a "bourgeois deceit," as a "devil's kitchen," a "prostitute," and started at once with the newly formed Red armies a series of aggressive wars against the neighboring peaceful, disarmed democratic republics.

b) The U.S.A. was not prepared politically for a constructive leadership of the world or an active collaboration in world politics. The American people and authorities were completely unaware that the new democratic republics of the former oppressed nationalities in Tsarist Russia were in reality "the children of Wilson's principles and of the American Declaration of Independence." The greatest blow which the young Eastern Democracy received was given by President Wilson himself when he openly repudiated the right of "self-determination" for the nations of former Tsarist Russia. There is no need to throw stones at the tragic figure of President Wilson. It is enough to cite the opinion of Robert Lansing (The Peace Negotiations, 1921, p. 99):

"But Mr. Wilson even further discredited the phrase 'right of self-determination' by adopting a policy toward Russia which ignored his own principle. The peoples of Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Ukraine, Georgia and Azerbaijan have by blood, language, and racial traits elements of difference which gave each of them in more or lesser degree the character of a distinct nationality. These people all possess aspirations to become independent states, and yet throughout the negotiations at Paris and since that time, the Government of the United States has repeatedly refused to recognize the right of the inhabitants of these territories to determine for themselves the sovereignty under which they shall live. It has, on the contrary, declared in favor of a 'Great Russia' comprising the vast territory of the old Empire except the province which belonged

to the dismembered Kingdom of Poland and the lands included within the present boundaries of the Republic of Finland."

Characteristic of the American policy of that time is the case of the Ukraine in the League of Nations in Geneva.

In 1920 the Government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, for its part, instructed its minister in London, Mr. Arnold Margolin, former president of the Jewish Territorial Organization in the Ukraine, judge of the Ukrainian Supreme Court, the well-known jurist and the defender of Beilis, to submit an application for the admission of the Ukraine to the League of Nations.

The aim of the application was obvious: the Ukrainian Democratic Government wished to submit to the judgment of the League of Nations the causes of the war due to the invasion of the Ukraine by the Communist army from Moscow, and to ask the League of Nations to bring this dispute to a peaceful end. By the entrance of the Ukraine into the League of Nations a foundation was to be laid for the political and economic reconstruction of Eastern Europe.

Mr. Arnold Margolin in his note* summed up as a lawyer the international status of the Ukraine:

"The Ukraine was (formerly) for many centuries an independent and sovereign State. . . . In 1654, the Ukraine voluntarily allied herself by the Treaty of Perejaslav with Russia as a sovereign and confederate State, accepting only the protectorate of the Tsar, but expressly reserving, by articles VI and XIV of this Treaty, not only complete autonomy in its internal affairs, the free election of its Hetman (head of the State), but, more than that, the right of international and diplomatic relations. Later on, Russian absolutism succeeded in gradually annihilating all these prerogatives of independence and sovereignty and bringing the Ukraine under the Russian yoke. But this was done illegally, not only in contravention of all international and human rights, but also against the will of the Ukrainian people, which showed itself by several insurrections, brutally suppressed by the Tsars.

"In April, 1917, following the Russian Revolution, the Ukrainian National Congress elected the Central Rada as the Ukrainian Parliament, which was composed of 813 deputies from all the Ukrainian parties and also from all the national minorities (Great Russians, Jews, Poles, etc). This Parliament confirmed the restoration of the Ukrainian State, and proclaimed the sovereignty of that State by the acts of the 7th of November, 1917, and of the 9th of January, 1918. In December, 1917, France and England accredited to the Ukrainian Republic certain diplomatic representatives, to wit, General Tabouis and Mr. Bagge, and by this act have recognized the Ukrainian Republic. The (Great) Russian Soviet Government for its part also recognized the independence and sovereignty of the Ukraine, by the Decree of 4th December, 1917, published

*Cf. Roman Smal-Stocki, "Application of the Ukrainian Republic for Admission to the League of Nations," Paris, 1930, Association Ukrainienne pour la Société des Nations.

in its official gazette (Nr. 26 of 'Gazetta Vremenogo Robotshago i Krestjanskago Pravitelstva'); but at the same time it declared war on the Ukrainian Government, regarding it as a bourgeois Government. Threatened by invasion by the Bolsheviks, the Ukraine was constrained to conclude the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk in February 1918. In May 1918, the Russian Soviet Government sent its representatives to Kiev [the representative of Soviet Ukraine in the U.N., Manuilsky!] in order to negotiate peace with the Ukrainian Government, and recognized anew the sovereignty of the Ukrainian Republic. . . ."

In the denial of the application of the Ukraine for admission to the League of Nations a note by the Undersecretary of State of the United States, Mr. Bainbridge Colby, to the Italian Minister at Washington, Baron Camille Roman Avezana, played a decisive part. This note is an interesting example of American lack of information concerning the problems of Eastern Europe, due to the want of elementary knowledge of the history of Tsarist Russia.*

The Ukraine soon became Soviet Moscow's first Korea! The American note was even an open invitation to aggression and annexation. Thus the Moscow bolsheviks then concentrated all their forces against the rich land of Ukraine. Owing to lack of munitions, arms, and medicaments, the Ukrainian government, its army and the provisional Parliament consisting at that time of representatives of all democratic parties, left the country and sought refuge in the West, in France.

c) While these blows were felt in the political field, Winston Churchill—who as a young Tory gained wide experience in "dealing with the nationality problems" in India, South Africa, Egypt, and Ireland—administered a still heavier blow to Ukrainian and Caucasian democracy in a realm of greatest importance: in the military-strategical field. Already Wilhelm II, after the downfall of Tsarist Russia in the East, followed the policy of restoring Russian Tsarism, and gathered on the Don under the leadership of Generals Krasnow and Denikin the White Russian Tsaristic Army. After the downfall of Germany and the restoration of the Democratic Ukrainian People's Republic in the Ukraine, Churchill granted millions of tons of war material and millions of financial means in full support of Denikin and induced France in the Crimea to do the same for General Wrangel, whose group was even then recognized as the Provisional Government of "Russia."

Thus the young Ukrainian and Caucasian democracies with their improvised and badly equipped armies were suddenly compelled to fight a war on two fronts: against the Communistic aggressors, the Communistic dictatorship in the north and against the Tsaristic reactionary dictatorship of Denikin and Wrangel on the other fronts. The Red and White Russians had on one point a common aim: the suppression of the freshly gained national sovereignty of the former oppressed non-Russian nationalities and the destruction of the new democratic republics.

These were the chief reasons that determined the result of the aggressive war of the Communistic Moscow dictatorship against the

*Cf. its analysis, *ibid.*, pp. III - V.

liberated democratic nations and their republics—a war which decided the fate of Democracy and of the League of Nations of Geneva so far as Eastern Europe was concerned. The lack of understanding in Western Europe of the Eastern problems and the disregard of Wilson's principles led to the complete breakdown of the ideas of democracy and of the authority of the League of Nations in the East, contributed to the victory of the totalitarian Communist dictatorship and brought about its later results: the appearance of Mussolini and Hitler in Europe.

The first victim of Soviet Moscow's armed aggression was Ukraine. After Ukraine the next victims were White Ruthenia, Don, Caucasus, Kubania, and Turkestan (the national governments of Kokand and Alash-Orda).

The League of Nations was informed of these facts of international banditry, but it kept silent about these evident cases of aggression. The League quietly watched the Soviet Moscow dictatorship annihilate all the democratic republics of Eastern Europe one after another, using that technique of aggression which is now known to everybody. Agents of Soviet Moscow's imperialism appointed by the Comintern occupied the countries one after another by means of the Soviet Red Army, murdered the democratic leaders and enslaved the peoples, while pretending to liberate them, and forced the legal governments of these peoples, confirmed by democratic parliaments, into exile.

From this pogrom of the democracies in Eastern Europe only Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland were saved, partly because of the exhaustion and weariness of the Soviet Red Army after the fights in Ukraine, Kubania, and Caucasia.

Thus the non-Russian nationalities of former Tsarist Russia lost the war—in the defense of democracy and the League of Nations—against the aggressive Communist dictatorship of Moscow, which has been indirectly supported by the American policy of denying their rights of self-determination.

Chapter III

RUSSIAN COMMUNISM'S CONFLICT WITH THE NATIONAL IDEA

Thus, the refusal of the Western European and American democracies to recognize and to support the young democratic national republics helped the Russian Communist dictatorship to gain a victory. How could it happen?

This ill will in the West and in America was created by two factors:

a) Big business: The leaders of international capital having invested billions of gold francs in Imperial Russia, were fully persuaded by the Russian capitalists in exile that only an undivided Russia could pay back the investments and guarantee for the future again large commercial transactions. Thus the "vested interest" plus the greed for future profits turned in the U.S.A. and Western Europe against the new national democratic republics all the "liberal" public opinion in the press and parliaments. This, in spite of the promises of the governments of these republics to pay their respective share of the old Russian debts.

b) The Socialist parties in Western Europe contributed their share to this attitude toward the Communist dictatorship in Russia proper. Their thought was that despite the "antidemocratic" Communist coup d'état by the dispersion of a lawfully elected constitutional assembly, the Communists were "Socialists" and had established a "government of workers and peasants." This Socialist opportunism and Machiavellianism overlooked the fact that, in all national republics invaded by the Russian Communists, Socialist governments had been in power, and that these Socialists were everywhere immediately "liquidated" as "social traitors" by the Russian Communists.

c) Both groups were handicapped by the conviction, based on the course of the French Revolution that the "tendency to the right" soon would come and that the revolution in Russia would end as in France with a bourgeois democratic republic. This opinion was several times expressed to the author even by such an extraordinary thinker as Walter Rathenau. This hostile attitude toward the rights of nationalities, prevalent in the West, doomed in advance the intervention of the Allies against the Russian Communists, and compelled the non-Russian nationalities to a two-front fight, one against the Russian Communists and the other against the Allies, who supported the idea of restoration of an indivisible "Russia."

d) The final victory of Russian Communist dictatorship was the treaty of Rapallo (1922), in which defeated Germany broke the common front of civilized European nations and recognized the Russian dictatorship as a lawful government. By this diplomatic master stroke Soviet Moscow provoked rivalry among the European powers, who wished to

secure immediately for their "big business" all "possibilities in the economical reconstruction of the ruined territories." The Nep policy fostered all the illusions and a race started among all the capitalist powers for the favors of the Russian Communist dictatorship. Lenin was right when he said: the stupidity of Western democracy and the greed of Western capitalism are boundless; they will deliver even their own coffins, the nails included, if only they are tempted in the right way by big profits from Russian Communism.

Thus, Western Europe and America are co-responsible for the victory of the Russian Communist tyranny over the champions of democracy and freedom. These shortsighted statesmen committed political crimes against Europe, democracy, and freedom. Also political crimes do not pay—this is the moral of the history of the last decades.

The Soviet Union did not evolve all at once after the victorious aggressive wars of the Russian Communists against the Democratic Republics of the non-Russian nationalities of former Tsarist Russia in the years 1919-1921. There is a complete parallel with the present "independent States" of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, China, North Korea, East Germany, which also are not yet formally incorporated into the Soviet Union in order not to provoke international "indignation." In the same way Soviet Moscow recognized as "independent States" the territories occupied by the Red Army of the Ukraine, Byelo-Ruthenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, of the Korezm and Far Eastern Republics, concluding with them only "treaties of friendship and commerce." Only as Communist Moscow became sure that the West and the League of Nations had lost interest in the fate of these nationalities did the Communist dictatorship take the next step: the establishment of the Soviet Union, finally ratified by the Second Assembly, January 31, 1924. Formally the U.S.S.R. is, according to the constitution, a "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" but behind this federalist façade, erected to deceive the nations outside the Soviet Union, is the dictatorial power of the Russian Communists who as "Russians" have the exclusive right by a complete totalitarian dictatorship to direct all affairs of the State and of all nations.*

In this way the Moscow Communist dictatorship managed to liquidate the "national ideas" with the "national sovereignty and the human rights" of all non-Russian nationalities of the former Tsarist Empire (as it did similarly in nearly the whole Balkan region and Central Europe after World War II).

This liquidation of the national ideas and freedom inside the Soviet Union the Soviet propaganda (in all languages) continuously represents

*The process of the "voluntary accession" of the non-Russian nationalities into the "Soviet Union" lasted nearly four years, but the "voluntary accession of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia during World War II was accomplished in a few months. In the same way the "voluntary accession" of Poland, Roumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria would have been executed long ago if these countries did not represent votes, present or future, for the Russian Communist dictatorship in the United Nations for the blowing up of this institution.

to the credulous public opinion outside the Soviet Union as the greatest achievement of "progressive democracy." The Soviet State is a "paradise of nationalities," in which there is no national persecution or oppression. All left-wing babbitts among the American university professors praise the Communist Soviet Union as "the only State which successfully solved the national problems, having given to the nationalities full freedom for the development of their culture and languages. . . ."

Only now, when the Communistic dictatorship is standing with its armies from the Elbe River to Vienna has the Western World become interested in the events behind the Iron Curtain. About the events in Eastern Europe after 1920 and the fate of the nationalities, their languages and cultures, there exists in the United States, in the heads even of the "specialists," a kind of blackout, systematically created by the Soviet propaganda.

Therefore we should like to throw some light on this decade's long struggle of the oppressed nationalities against the Moscow dictatorship, because this struggle was and is of world-wide importance for the fate of our Western civilization, for the very life of nations and their languages.

The Russian Communist party which established its dictatorship as a new tyranny over the non-Russian nationalities of the former Russian Tsarist Empire has its history in which the "national problem" was ever present in the discussion. In order to understand the fate of the non-Russian nationalities of the former Russian Empire we must present the gradual development of the national program of the bolshevik Communists and its historical background.

1. Marxism and the National Idea

The old Russian imperialistic expansion and its national program: "the permanent pogrom of the conquered non-Russian nationalities until their complete Russification and Orthodoxization," created in the Tsarist Russian Empire in course of time many revolutionary uprisings among these victims of Russian tyranny, and a deep hatred of the Russian oppressors. This national tension in the Russian Empire was intensified by the economic and social aspects of this oppression by the Russian bourgeoisie, against which also in Russian ethnic territory there existed a profound dissatisfaction and opposition. In course of time there developed in Russia a Socialist and revolutionary underground, acting partly by terror, with the usual consequence: the emerging of political émigrés centers in Western Europe.

Thus, two forces opposed Russian Tsarism in old Russia—the Russian Socialists with their revolutionary underground, and the national underground of the non-Russian oppressed nationalities. In the last analysis these two groups pursued the same ultimate goal. They conducted a common campaign against the Tsarist regime. This must be borne in mind as important for a deeper understanding of the later and present period.

Of decisive importance in the development of events in Russia were the Russian Socialist émigré center, and the Russian Socialist Party

(under the leadership of G. V. Plekhanov), which in 1898 held its first Congress at Minsk. This émigré center in Geneva was later joined by Lenin, who in the year 1903 at the second Congress (Brussels and London) created the factional split in the Russian Socialist party into the mensheviks and bolsheviks. This was followed by a complete party split in 1912.

Lenin was the ideological leader of the bolsheviks whom Stalin also joined. Naturally, Lenin at that time carefully followed all events on the "national battle front" in the Russian Empire and he was well aware of all the ramifications of the national problem. Under the immediate influence of the Western European Socialists and liberal trends these non-Russian nationalities confronted the ruling Russian nation, including the Russian Socialists and Democrats in Russia, with the demand for "freedom of national development" in three spheres:

a) In the cultural sphere. This included full national-cultural autonomy, with unlimited freedom in the use of their languages in public life, church, and schools.

b) In the economic sphere. This meant the abolition of colonial exploitation of the non-Russian territories by the Russians.

c) In the political sphere. This called for the "self-determination" of every nation (independence, confederation, federation).

All these problems, since they were actual problems in the old Tsarist Empire, included also a basic problem of political and cultural orientation, usually summed up in the words "East" or "West" in European Russia, but "Pan-Turanism," "Pan-Mongolism," or "Pan-Islamism" for the nationalities of the Asiatic Islam-cultural sphere of Asiatic Russia. All the non-Russian nationalities, pointing to the example of Switzerland and the freedom enjoyed by all languages of all émigrés in the U.S.A. became thus in the Russian Empire the dynamic counterforce against the program of Russian Tsarism: "One God, one Tsar, one State—one nation."

With these facts and problems Russian Socialism had to cope. Lenin soon had to turn his special attention to the nationality problem, since it began to play a vital role in the whole Socialist movement in Russia and in Europe. Lenin, as the leading personality of the bolsheviks, made use of Stalin for collecting materials on the nationality problems, sending him to Vienna in 1913, and of another Georgian bolshevik, S. G. Shaumyan, using them both as his mouthpiece for propagating his own tenets regarding the national problem. B. D. Wolfe has performed a fine scholarly achievement in bringing to light the real role of Stalin in the development of the Communist policy regarding the non-Russian nationalities,* and in exposing the falsifications of present Communist historiography about Stalin's part. Lenin not Stalin therefore is the man who formulated the Communist nationality program, Stalin later executed it. Lenin's influence on the fate of the non-Russian nationalities cannot be overestimated.

*B. D. Wolfe, Three Who Made a Revolution, 1948, pp. 579-590.

As a scholar of Marxism, Lenin, of course, was acquainted with the opinions of the founding fathers, Marx and Engels, about the nationality problem. What did they teach about the "nationality problem," with which, naturally, the question of national languages is inseparably connected?

Marx's and Engels' idea of nationality can be properly understood by keeping in mind that:

a) They were patriotic Germans, aiming at the creation of a national-united German Republic; Germany's power in their wishful thinking had to become the driving force of Marxism, the more powerful Germany grows the more powerful Marxism will become. German intolerant nationalism was in Marx linked with a foggy internationalism.

b) As to nationalities the Socialist prophets apparently believed they had discovered a new "iron law," dividing them into two classes: those gifted and talented for "progress," and those unfit for progress. The corollary is that only the "progressive" nationalities have rights to independent statehood and separate existence, but nationalities, proclaimed by the infallible Marx as "unfit" for progress are predestined agents of reaction; therefore, they have no rights, no historical future whatever, they have to remain under the rule of the "progressive" nations. As nations are divided into classes so also the whole human race is divided into classes of nationalities. As there are classes which are, according to Marx, doomed, similarly there are also doomed nationalities. The deciding principle of classification is their "contribution to progress."

Let us formulate the opinion of Marx about "progress" which lies at the basis of his classification. The only "progressive class," predestined to rule, is the proletariat; in addition to the capitalist class, the peasant class also is doomed. The peasants, even in France and Germany, are for Engels* "the barbarians of civilization," for Marx** they are "trogodytes," and "agricultural property shit." In the Communist Manifesto war to the death is proclaimed not only on the bourgeoisie but also on the peasant class. Consequently, nationalities which have not developed a rising proletarian class but whose overwhelming majority consisted of peasants are unprogressive, reactionary, doomed—of course along with their language and culture. They are mere material for assimilation. Even the Danes are inferior to Germans, and Marx demanded the annexation of Schleswig as an "expression of the right of civilization over barbarism, of progress over stagnation." Also the national aspirations of the Scandinavian nations are thus judged by Marx: "Scandinavianism is nothing but enthusiasm for a brutal, dirty, piratical, Old Norse nationalism. . . ." Thus, Marxism includes also the nucleus of the Socialist "Herrenvolk" idea and the future fanatical hostility of Russian Communism to the non-Russian peasant nations.

c) The opinions of Marx and Engels have to be always evaluated against the background of the international situation of their times.

*Marx-Engles, *Gesamtansgabe, Erste Abtlg.*, Vol. 7., p. 38.

***The Eighteen Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, p. 14.

d) We must always distinguish between their program for immediate realization and their long-range program for the Socialist paradise (promised by these Socialist prophets). They did not grasp the fact that Central Europe is approximately half a century behind Western Europe in the maturing and ripening of the national processes, but Eastern Europe and Russia are at least a century behind, and Asia a century and a half! This lack of right perspective from the West to the East is responsible for Marx's rather inaccurate "idea of nationality," which was expressed by him also in the terms: "country," "state," even "society."

In the Communist Manifesto (1847) we have in this regard contradictory ideas: "The workers have no country," on the one hand, but on the other the aim of the proletariat is "to establish itself as the nation." On one page Marx proclaimed that ("the national idea") nationalism was on the way out, but on the next page he demanded unconditionally the "independence of Poland."* . . .

Summing up the thoughts of Marx and Engels about the nationality problem, scattered up and down in their publications, the following points are important:

I. The ideas of nationalism in Western Europe have fulfilled a progressive task, having created unified nation States, nationwide markets, self-governing national economic, political, and cultural units, each with a (homogeneous) people and language.

a) This progressive right to national unification and independence they recognized for the Italians, the Irish, the Hungarians, and the Poles. As Poland has to be reconstituted according to their views within the frontiers of 1772, as the old Commonwealth, consequently also the Lithuanians, Byelo-Ruthenians, and the Ukrainians are here included, because, we suppose, Marx and Engels were not ignorant of the national composition of the old Polish Commonwealth. But it is doubtful whether they were granted the same rights of self-determination as the Poles.

b) But all other Slavic nations: Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, Ruthenians (Western Ukrainians) were regarded as ethnographic masses and "historyless peoples." They had to be "assimilated" by their "progressive and advanced" neighbors, the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Poles. But the Poles were granted "progressive rights" only temporarily by Engels; they were to "contribute to the overthrow of the Tsar by a national uprising." After the downfall of Tsarism "there is absolutely no more reason for Poland to exist." Consequently, Engels proposed then to take "from the western part of Poland anything that can be taken, to let Germany occupy their fortresses under the pretext of 'protection,'" use the people for "cannon fodder and devour their country."** (As we see this is a purely imperialistic master-race program, which in our times Hitler tried to realize. These

*The Poles did support Marx with 7000 francs. Cf. also N. Rjasanoff, *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels ueber die Polenfrage*, Archiv fuer die Geschichte des Socialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, Leipzig, Vol. VI, pp. 174-221.

**F. Engels, letter to Marx, May 23, 1851.

opinions of Marx and Engels about the necessity of assimilation of the "historyless peoples" were widely in Nazi propaganda.)

c) What were the real sources of these conceptions? Partly the hatred of all "peasant nations," partly the fear of Russia. Marx and Engels thought that the Poles, the Germans, and the Hungarians, only after swallowing their Slavic neighbors, would be able to act as a cordon sanitaire against Russia's imperialistic march into Europe. But if the above-mentioned Slavic "historyless" nations would get the right of self-determination they would be the steppingstones for Russian expansion to the West and would be swallowed by Russia. We assume that in the background of these conceptions is hidden a reaction to the first Pan-Slav Congress in Prague (1848). Marx and Engels clearly saw behind Pan-Slavism the shadow of Russia, and apparently understood the ill-fated role for all of Europe which some Russophile Czechs had then started to play under Bakunin's command.

d) As we see, Marx subordinated the principle of the self-determination of nations in Europe to the chief problem: how to save Europe from Russia; he did not understand that Europe could be saved from Russia only by the application, according to letter and spirit, of this very principle toward Russia.

Consequently, regarding the national problem Marx applied two standards. On the one hand, Marx attempted to convince the English working class that "the national emancipation of Ireland is not a question of abstract justice or human sympathy, but the first condition of their own emancipation"; Marx and Engels openly sympathized with the revolutionary struggle of the Poles for independence and hoped an independent Poland would "free Europe from Russia," but on the other hand they advanced for the remaining Slavic nations a program of assimilation by Germany and its constant ally Austria-Hungary with a "Drang nach Osten und Sueden" program.

e) The reason for this program was that the founding fathers were aware that Russia could not be included in Europe and that Russia and Europe represented cultural and political antitheses. The following quotations may explain Marx's views on Russia (and they have not lost their value for judging also current affairs):

"Russia keeps claiming that it has no annexationist designs. In order to ascertain the hypocrisy of this claim, it is sufficient to review the annexations carried out by Russia since the time of Peter the Great. Territories taken by Russia from Sweden are larger than the present possessions of that country. The conquests from Poland form an area as large as Austria. Territories which Turkey had to cede to Russia in the Balkans are equal to the area of Prussia. What they [Russians] obtained in Asia from Turkey is as large as Germany. Their acquisitions from Persia are comparable to the area of Great Britain" (Dispatch to the New York Tribune, June 14, 1853).

There can be no doubt that Marx condemned Russia's imperialistic expansion over the non-Russian nationalities and was well aware of the future danger (at present fully realized):

"The vital interest should render Great Britain the earnest and unyielding opponent of the Russian projects of annexations and aggrandizement. England cannot afford to allow Russia to become the possessor of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus. Both commercially and politically such an event would be a deep, if not deadly blow at British power. Let Russia once come into possession of Constantinople . . . in that case the Black Sea would be a Russian lake . . . Trebizond would be a Russian port, the Danube a Russian river. But having come thus far on the way to universal empire, is it probable that this gigantic swollen power will pause in its career? And as sure as conquest follows conquest, and annexation follows annexation, so surely would the conquest of Turkey by Russia be only the prelude for the annexation of Hungary, Prussia, Galicia [Western Ukraine], and the ultimate realization of the Slavonic Empire. The arrest of the Russian scheme of annexations is of the highest moment" (Dispatch to the New York Tribune, April 15, 1853).

Marx does not preach any "Eurasianic" missions for the Russian State, which Russian Socialism could later claim as its "special Socialist task" after coming to power. Nor any "cultural mission" as Marx well understood the essence of Russian culture.

"The conflict between Russian despotism and Western Democracy seems to be everlasting in the Balkans. Those who are working for the survival of democracy in Europe must introduce European arts, sciences, justice, liberty and the spirit of independence into the Balkans. Future peace and the progress of humanity are closely allied" (Dispatch to the New York Tribune, March 22, 1853).

The phrase "spirit of independence" is virtually a national self-determination program against Russia. We can infer from this quotation that the thinking of Marx was in a process of evolution, which would have brought him to the application of the right of self-determination also to Russian-oppressed nationalities. Marx certainly saw the nationality problem in Russia by fighting her imperialism.

"How does it happen, that the poor Times believed in the 'good faith' of Russia towards Turkey and her 'antipathy' against all aggrandizement? Peter proposed to raise himself on the ruins of Turkey. Catherine proposed dismemberment. . . . Nicholas, more moderate, only demands the exclusive protectorate of Turkey. Mankind will not forget that Russia was the protector of Poland, the protector of the Crimea, the protector of Courland [the Baltic Provinces--author], the protector of Georgia, Mingrelia, the Circassian and Caucasian tribes. And now Russia the protector of Turkey!" (Dispatch to New York Tribune, July 4, 1853.)

He saw also the only remedy against Russian imperialism:

"With a worthier and more equal social status, with the abolition of caste and privilege, with free political institutions, unfettered industry, and emancipated thought, the people of the West will rise again to power and unity of purpose, while the Russian Colossus itself will be shattered by the progress of the masses and the explosive force of ideas.

There is no reason to fear the conquest of Europe by the Cossacks. The very divisions and apparent weaknesses which would seem to render such an event easy, are the sure pledge of its impossibility" (Dispatch to New York Tribune, August 12, 1853).

And Marx saw clearly the reasons for the Russian successes. Even today, his remarks retain their force, they are even a prophetic vision:

"The cowardice and stupidity of the Western nations provide Russia with opportunities. Due to their ignorance, Western statesmen are losing control of the situation. Jealousies are their bane. Whatever they do benefits Russia. Will the Byzantinism represented by Russia yield to Western civilization, or will it one day find an opportunity to renew its pernicious influence in forms more terrible and more tyrannical than ever?" (Dispatch to the New York Tribune, June 14, 1853).

Taking Marx's attitudes into consideration regarding Ireland, Hungary, Italy, and Poland, then his plan to oppose Russian imperialism in the Balkans by the introduction of "liberty and the spirit of independence," we can conclude:

(1) That he regarded Russia's imperialism and Byzantinism as the chief obstacle to peace and progress of humanity and a danger to Europe.

(2) That he evolved in the direction of the application of the self-determination right against Russia and in the Balkans.

(3) That Marx's hate of the peasant-peoples made him unable to grasp the nationality problem either in Poland or in old Russia, despite his interest in the nationalities subdued by Russia. In this connection Marx's letter to Engels, March 24, 1870, is very interesting:

"Flerovsky, Russian Narodnik (author of The Condition of the Working Class in Russia, 1869) has a great feeling for national characteristics! 'The honest Kalmuck, the Mordvin, poetical despite his dirt (he compares him to the Irish), the agile, lively, Epicurean Tatar, the talented Ukrainian.' Like a good Russian he teaches his fellow countrymen what they should do to turn the hatred, which all these races have for them into its opposite. As an example of this hatred he instances among other things a genuinely Russian colony which emigrated from Poland to Siberia. These people know only Russian and not a word of Polish, but they regard themselves as Poles and cherish a Polish hatred to the Russians, etc. From his book it follows irrefutably that the present conditions in Russia could no longer be maintained, that the emancipation of serfs, of course, only hastened the process of disintegration and that a fearful social revolution was approaching. . . . In a special section Flerovsky shows that the 'Russification' of the alien races is a sheer optimistic delusion even in the East."

Engels in a letter to Marx (December 19, 1882) quotes the Ukrainian Socialist, Serhiy Podolynsky, but we have no traces of their attitude toward the Ukrainian problem of that time.

(4) We can only guess what Engels would have said about Russia by comparing what he said on "colonial policy" in his letter to Kautsky

(September 12, 1882): "In my opinion the colonies proper, i.e., the countries occupied by a European population, Canada, the Cape, Australia, will all become independent; on the other hand the countries inhabited by a native population, which are simply subjugated, India, Algiers, the Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish possessions, must be taken over for the time being by the proletariat and led as rapidly as possible towards independence."

(5) Essentially Marx subordinated the application of emancipation rights of nations to the paramount interest of the international proletariat according to the international situation, considering the self-determination rights as a weapon against the reaction.

II. Therefore, one has to keep in mind that the above-mentioned conceptions were maintained by Marx for the current international politics of the capitalistic era. The program for the future of mankind which the proletariat had in view was supernationalism or internationalism in which patriotism of nationalities could have its corresponding place, but no narrow-minded chauvinism. The Socialist era would demand unification of the world economy, as Engels wrote, in "the form of the one and indivisible republic!"* (But nothing is said about a "unification of languages"!) Consequently, Marx and Engels opposed the idea of federalism as a hindrance to economic and cultural development, regarding it only in special circumstances as a "step forward" toward full integration and centralization.

In spite of the contradictions in Marxism we can derive from these tenets the following corollaries and confront them with the facts in old Russia:

a) There existed in the pre-World War I period in a nationality an exploited class and an exploiting class, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

b) There existed among nationalities exploited nationalities, as the non-Russian nationalities in Russia, and exploiting nationalities (as the Russians in Russia); there existed consequently also ruling and oppressed "classes" among nationalities, on the one hand Russians, English, French, on the other the non-Russian, non-English, non-French nationalities in the respective Empires.

c) There was a difference in the plight of the proletariat of the ruling Russian and the oppressed non-Russian nationalities. The exploited class of an oppressed nationality suffers in comparison with the exploited class of a ruling nationality a triple oppression and exploitation: economic, national, and political.

d) There was a difference between the interest of the proletariat of the ruling Russian nationality and of the oppressed non-Russian nationalities. The proletariat of the ruling Russian nationality attempted "to establish itself as the nation" (Marx) and to inherit all the profits from the exploitation of the oppressed nationalities for the economic betterment of the Russian proletarian class. Thus they desired to continue exploiting and oppressing the victimized nationalities of their

*Marx, The Civil War in France, p. 42.

Russian ruling bourgeoisie. But the oppressed proletariat of the non-Russian nationalities attempted to rid themselves of the triple exploitations: on the one hand, of the exploitation in their own territory by bourgeoisie which was Russian and belonged to the ruling Russian nationality and which was regarded as foreign in the oppressed non-Russian countries, and on the other hand of the political exploitation of the nationality as a whole and of its economic resources. Parallel with this political and economic difference of interests is also a deep cultural difference of interests. The proletariat of the ruling Russian nationality, after its victory would regard the cultural Russian supremacy of their inherited (former) bourgeois Russian culture and language over the oppressed non-Russian nationalities with their culture and languages as "part of their proletarian victory." But the proletariat of the oppressed non-Russian nationalities sought to put an end, not only to the Russian political and economic exploitation of their nations as a whole, but also to the cultural and linguistic oppression by the Russian culture and language of the former Russian ruling bourgeoisie. They aim at the extinction of all Russian traces of their oppression by the Russian bourgeoisie in their ethnographic territories.

e) Consequently, the triple political, economic, and national-cultural oppression of the proletariats of the non-Russian oppressed nationalities constrains these proletariats, in the first place, to be loyal to their own nationalities as a whole, and second, it demands common front of all classes in the struggle against the exploiting Russian nation and its Russian bourgeoisie. National freedom and self-determination are the conditions for a victory of the proletariat of the non-Russian oppressed nationalities and they demand the unity of all classes, especially the unity of the workers with the peasantry. Therefore, in the Socialist ideology of the proletariats of the non-Russian oppressed nationalities the idea of social justice and national freedom were merged into one, and loyalty to one's own nation included loyalty to the working class for all the proletarians of the non-Russian peoples.

But the interest of the proletariats of the Russian ruling nation, later establishing itself (after the revolution) as "the Russian nation," inheriting all the Russian "cultural investments" of their Russian bourgeoisie in the oppressed non-Russian countries and nationalities, regards the former Russian ruling position of their former Russian bourgeoisie in these non-Russian countries also as an "inheritance of the Russian proletariat," claiming as their "Russian proletarian inheritance" the dominance of the Russian culture and language of their former Russian bourgeoisie. These Russian "proletarian" claims are "supported" by the demand of "loyalty" from the proletariats of the non-Russian oppressed nationalities to "Socialism," which the victorious Russian proletariat of the former ruling Russian nation now "represents." Consequently, the Socialism of the ruling Russian nationality becomes merged with the Russian Imperialism of the old Russian bourgeoisie into one whole, and, of course, it will be fully backed by all the remnants of aggressive chauvinism of the dethroned Russian bourgeoisie in the future.

f) Thus, from the beginning of Socialism the dynamism of the national ideas of the oppressed nationalities challenges Marx's statement that they are "bourgeois" ideas and proves their deeper roots which embrace all classes of a nationality. This dynamism challenges also the authority of Marx to sentence to a death of assimilation the oppressed "peasant" nationalities, blaming this conception as a kind of cannibalism of modern times. As a matter of fact these ideas of Marx are precursors of modern genocide and linguocide. The problem of loyalty to the class—or loyalty to the nationality—to this day remains a chief problem in Socialism and is closely connected with the practical interpretation of the content of the long-range program of "internationalism" regarding its future form of State, culture, and language.

2. Lenin and Stalin and the National Idea

We have presented here the basic "theoretical foundations" of Marx and Engels on the nationality problem—the right of "emancipation" of nationalities and liberation from oppression in the capitalistic era—and have confronted them with Russian realities on the one hand, and the long-range program of internationalism on the other, which Lenin found in the "scriptures of Socialism."

In the succeeding period of the Socialist movement, in which Lenin participated, the nationality problem became one of the most pressing and important topics of discussion. Virtually it never did disappear from the Socialist press, Socialist congresses, or party programs. This problem was closely associated with Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, and Turkey in European politics, and with the colonialism of the powers in Asia and Africa.

We must limit ourselves here to the bolshevik tenets elaborated in national matters by Lenin, because in reality he determined their practical application to the non-Russian nationalities after the breakdown of the Russian Tsarist regime. He did not work out his tenets in an abstract form, but always had in mind the practical background of real life and the struggle of the non-Russian nationalities inside Russia against the ruling Russians.

But first it is necessary to say a few words about the man Lenin, because the evaluation and appreciation of published principles depend on the political honesty and moral integrity of the responsible person. We must ascertain clearly whether this personality in real honesty believed in what he proclaimed. As the problem here involved is the nationality problem, with which every person is also personally confronted, the first question must be: Could Lenin approach the problem of the non-Russian nationalities objectively, i.e., as a man who stood as a real internationalist above the conflict of interests between the Russian and the non-Russian nationalities? Or was Lenin in this conflict only a party, the Russian party, a Russian "public prosecutor" of the non-Russian nationalism, and a Russian infallible judge in one person dressed in the toga of "internationalism"?

I refuse to follow the line of professional Lenin worshipers and fellow travelers, who have managed to make of Lenin a kind of a "superman"

of the future era of internationalism. On the contrary, Lenin is to me an ardent Russian patriot, the more so as his real knowledge of languages and cultures was in reality limited to Russian. He never mastered German, English, or French in such a way that we can say he was bilingual; Russian was the only language which he really spoke and thought. During his exile he was always surrounded by "Russia," his Russian wife, his Russian exiles, and he never attempted to assimilate the national cultures of the lands he lived in; for him they were "bourgeois cultures." A deep homesickness engrossed his national feelings, nostalgia intensified and beautified all the meanings and sentiments of the words of his native Russian. In reality, where he was Russia was.

In the memoirs of his wife Krupskaya there is a real mine of material for evaluating the real Lenin: "Exile in Cracow was only semi-exile. . . . Ilyich liked Cracow so much, it reminded him of Russia. . . . Each of us secretly thought about Russia, each had a strong desire to go. . . . We avoided speaking about it but all of us secretly thought about it. . . ." Krupskaya wrote to Lenin's mother that he was "starved for Russian novels," had "learned by heart the works of Nadson and Nekrasov," had "read and re-read a hundred times until it was in pieces, Anna Karenina." Then Krupskaya actually writes: "Volodya is a terrible nationalist.* He would not go to see the works of Polish painters for anything; but one day he got hold of a catalogue of the Tretyakov Galleries . . . and he frequently becomes absorbed in it. . . ."** Lenin's nationalism merged later with the old Russian messianism, which only deepened his national emotions, putting his nation on the very top of mankind, as a kind of "chosen people by the grace of Marx":

"Is the feeling of national pride strange to us, the Russian [Great-Russian] proletarians? Of course it is not strange. We love our language and our native country and we work, most of all, to raise her working masses (nine-tenths of the population) to the life of conscious democrats and socialists. We feel, most painfully, the oppression and torture of our country by the Tsarist myrmidons and capitalists. . . . We are overflowing with national pride that the Russian [Great Russian] nation has also created her revolutionary class and proved her ability to give to mankind great examples of her struggles for freedom and Socialism. . . ."[†]

These quotations may suffice to prove the assertion that Lenin was an ardent Russian nationalist, impatiently waiting for the bourgeois Russian inheritance in the firm conviction that he could advance the Russian nationalist interest far better than the bourgeoisie. What methods are to be employed? That is the second question with which any political leader is confronted in practical politics. Were his methods determined by moral principles?

Lenin as a politician is in this point characterized by the full acceptance

*In Russian Socialist terminology nationalist means chauvinist.

**Cf. B. D. Wolfe, Three Who Made a Revolution, pp. 566-567.

[†]N. Lenin, Collected Works, Moscow, 1925, Vol. XIX, p. 144.

of Marx's tenets. Consequently, he believed that "Law, morality, religion, are to him [the proletarian] so many bourgeois prejudices behind which lurk in ambush so many bourgeois interests" (Communist Manifesto). Lenin himself declared at the third all-Russian Congress of the Young Communist League: "For us morality is subordinated to the interests of the proletarian class struggle." To Lenin's closest friend, E. Proebrazhensky, we are indebted in the ABC of Communism for the following enlightening line:

"Whereas, in a society in which there are no classes, lying is a disadvantage in itself, because it compels the members of the society to use their energy in discovering the truth, the case is quite different in a society based on class. In the struggle of an exploited class against its enemies, lying and deceit are often very important weapons; all the subterranean work of revolutionary organizations actually depends on over-reaching the power of the state. The worker's state, surrounded as it is on all sides, by hostile capitalist countries, finds lying very necessary and useful in its foreign policy. Therefore, the attitude of the working class and the Communist party to the open recognition of the right to lie is quite different from that of the Western European Socialists, those God-fearing petit-bourgeois, who are systematically deceived and treated as fools by the representatives of capital."

These principles of Lenin and Lenin's pupils compel all conscientious scholars to keep these methods in mind, and to use all their "energy for discovering the truth." And in their search for scientific truth all scholars must also keep in mind Lenin's tactical methods, which supplement the foregoing tenets:

"The strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all necessary practical compromises, to tack, to make agreements, zigzags, retreats and so on, in order to accelerate the loss of political power of the Hendersons . . . to accelerate their inevitable bankruptcy by actions which will enlighten the masses in the spirit of our ideas, in the direction of Communism; to accelerate the inevitable friction, quarrels, conflicts and complete disintegration among the Hendersons, the Lloyd Georges and Churchills . . . and properly to select the moment when the disintegration among these pillars of the sacred right of private property is at its climax, in order by a determined attack of the proletariat, to defect them all and capture political power."*

Here Lenin speaks after having victoriously applied all these methods to the nationality problems of all the non-Russian nationalities of old Russia. Here must be sought his real aim, the "capture of political power by the Russian Communists," an aim which was hidden behind all his proclaimed theoretical tenets.

Besides Marx, Von Clausewitz also had a decisive influence on Lenin in matters of strategy and tactics, also through his classic work On War.

*N. Lenin, Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder, Moscow, 1940.

V. Sorin, in No. III of *Pravda* (1923) reported that Lenin made the following remark about Clausewitz: "Political tactics and military tactics are what is called in German Grenzgebiet [borderland, i.e., its tenets are valid for both spheres] and Party workers might profitably study the works of Clausewitz, the great German military theoretician."

Communist ethics and Leninist strategy with all their astuteness, ingenuity and trickery form one whole, and only in the light of both can we understand the real value and real purposes of all the "nationality principles and programs" formulated by Lenin. Beneath this type of ethics and strategy there is hidden, disguised by a "progressive-democratic-socialist" propaganda phraseology, a bottomless amorality, sanctioning as morally good every lie, falsehood, crime against any non-Communist person, especially against any non-Communist nationality or State. From this ideology later flowed the changes in the meanings of political terminology, this "upside-down language" with the famous "Soviet semantics" in which democracy means "dictatorship," dictatorship means "the real democracy," aggression means "defense," defense means "aggression" (cf. at present Greece, Korea), fascist means "every non-Communist," peace means "communist aggressive war," etc.—all used as ideological booby traps for gullible Western intellectuals.

Also in this semantic field Lenin as a pupil surpassed his teacher Marx, whose version of the revolution in 1848 in Paris is an unsurpassable masterpiece of misrepresentation and "upside-down language." The 40,000 rebels are termed by Marx "the people" of France, the 9,000,000 voters are called "the bourgeoisie." Thus, the defenders became in Marx's publication "aggressors," the rebelling aggressors became "defenders"; a rebellion aiming at the suppression of democracy Marx transformed into a movement for "preservation of democracy"; finally the worker's battalions of Paris, which liquidated the revolution, are termed by Marx "beggars, tramps, swindlers, street urchins, thieves, bribed vagabonds, hired to butcher their brothers for 30 sous a day." * Here we see also the origin of Lenin's conception of the word "nationality," which for him became synonymous with the "Communist Party" in every nationality. The Communist Party, in spite of its small minority, represents in every nation "the nation." Thus, we shall see how Lenin transformed the "nationality problems" from problems of the nationalities themselves into "internal problems of the Communist Party." Marx's and Engel's works are the beginning of this semantic anarchy. In this respect their contemptible pamphlet against Bakunin is especially significant. Otto Ruehle** calls it: "a malicious pamphlet, in which almost every line is a distortion, almost every allegation an injustice, almost every argument a falsification, and almost every word an untruth."

Together with the dialectical method, not only of thinking but of acting—all these ethics, strategies, and semantics were first used by Lenin

*Marx, Engels, *Gesamtausgabe, Erste Abtlg.*, Vol. 7, pp. 115-118.

**Karl Marx, p. 306.

for the "solution of nationality problems" in the discussions during the exile and they were practically applied in his current politics toward the non-Russian nationalities, the victims of Russian Tsarism.

From the very beginning Lenin thinks and acts as a Russian nationalist, demanding for his Russian nationality a messianistic leadership over all the nationalities in the coming Communist world revolution. His materialism is in reality Russian mysticism. Leninism is double-faced. Behind the "international" face is the climax of Russian chauvinism and messianism. With the following aspects of the nationality problem Lenin was faced during his exile:

(1) The non-Russian nationalities, constituting the majority of the population of old Russia, could bring about the disintegration of Russia into independent national democratic States. The Russian bourgeoisie would be unable to keep them inside "Russia" and to stop this tendency toward disintegration.

(2) Against this idea Lenin very strongly reacted, above all as a Russian nationalist, and also as a Socialist, believing in the future "one and indivisible republic" of the proletariat.

(3) Consequently, "one and indivisible Russia," of the Russian bourgeoisie as a vast economic unified territory, was for Lenin a step forward toward the future "one and indivisible proletarian republic."

(4) Lenin's Russian nationalism and internationalism were merged together and he deemed it necessary from both points of view to destroy, by all means, all the tendencies toward self-determination of the non-Russian nationalities.

(5) These non-Russian nationalities had only to be fully tactically used for the struggle against Tsarism and for the ascendance of the Russian proletariat to dominant power in a new Communist edition of Russia.

(6) After coming to power, the dictatorship of the Russian proletariat would have to "eliminate" the nationality problems in domestic politics, and use these peoples as a weapon in foreign politics against colonial empires for the final victory of the proletariat under Russian leadership the world over.

Pondering the nationality problem of Russia in exile Lenin had to take notice also of the solutions of the nationality problem proposed by the Socialists of Western European countries. Here two groups opposed each other: one, with Roza Luxemburg (Polish-Jewish), Gorter, Pannekoek (Dutch), held: (a) that the Socialist recognition of the right to self-determination would support the bourgeois nationalism; (b) that in the era of imperialism this problem could not be solved, as the development of the large capitalist powers made a solution impossible. But a second school of thought enjoyed large popularity and even gained the majority at the Second International. This group advanced the idea of "national-cultural autonomy." Especially in Austria (Bauer, Springer, Renner) this view was popular. It promised equal national-cultural and administrative rights for all nationalities, aiming at the democratization and federalization of Austria-Hungary. This idea of the transformation of Austria-Hungary into a monarchical Switzerland was supported

even by T. G. Masaryk. Of course, this conception of "national-cultural autonomy" included a limitation of the right of self-determination of nationalities, but the existence of Tsarist Russia and its imperialism made full self-determination practically impossible for the Socialist Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, etc. They preferred this idea of "national-cultural autonomy," which guaranteed them membership in the Western European cultural sphere. They looked for their full right of self-determination after the future revolution and dissolution of Russia, because at that time Russia, like the old Turkish Empire, would be on the way to full disintegration into its national components.

These ideas also confronted Lenin in exile, and the more urgently, because they soon found supporters among the non-Russian Socialists in Russia.

Let us now present the views of Lenin on the national problem in old Russia. We are interested not only in his purely theoretical propositions, but in their practical application to current nationality problems and in the results of his peculiar method: to put the final decisions in all national matters of the non-Russian nationalities always one-sidedly into the hands of the Russians. Any theoretical "concession" for the non-Russian nationalities is practically always annulled by a counter-measure, by the establishment of new forms of centralism with a new Russian dictatorship, not a Tsarist bourgeois, but a proletarian Russian one.

We can see Lenin in full action at the Second Congress at Brussels and London (1903) during which he practically managed to establish his personal dictatorship in the party by constituting the bolshevik faction and gaining by special tricks a two-vote majority.

The nationality problem in Russia was then represented by the Jewish Problem backed by the Jewish Socialist Bund Party during a full-dress debate. This Jewish Socialist Party, then numerically the largest and best organized party in Russia, refused to regard the Jewish proletariat in Russia merely as material for Russification-assimilation, and demanded "national-cultural autonomy for the Jews in Russia." Lenin immediately saw the danger of the motion for Russia: (a) such a "Jewish national-cultural autonomy" would have immediate practical consequences for all the non-Russian nationalities, since it placed the Jews in a position of leadership in a common political-revolutionary front of the non-Russian oppressed nationalities against the ruling Russian nationality; (b) such a "national-cultural autonomy" would also have practical consequences for the party program regarding the party structure. The Socialist Party of the Russian Empire would have to be constructed as a federation and not as a centralized party. The Russian Socialist Party would then be limited in its actions to the Russian ethnic territory and excluded from the non-Russian ethnic areas. A further consequence in the future (after a revolution) would be a federated and not a centralized State.

Lenin used all his strategical tricks in order, as his wife Krupskaya wrote, to bring the Jews "to their knees," who were provoked by

Lenin* to make the tactical mistake of walking out from the Congress, which enabled him later to create his "majority."

At this congress the national problem had as a background the discussion of the whole party program. The immediate program, "the bourgeois democratic revolution for democracy" was the overthrowing of Tsarism and the establishing of a democratic republic; the long-range program, "the proletarian Socialist revolution for Socialism," was the future organization of Socialism. The strategy of Lenin was to eliminate the Jewish leadership of the Bund in the nationality problem in Russia by granting simultaneously Russified Jewish Socialists opportunities (Martov a former Bundist) to become Russian Socialist leaders; (c) to kill the practical demand for a "national-cultural autonomy" by a purely theoretical recognition (included in §9 of the party program) of the right of self-determination for all nationalities which form part of the State, securing hereby for the Russian Socialists the confidence of the non-Russian nationalities and their help in the struggle against Tsarism; (d) to annul all the practical political value of this "recognition" by eliminating the nationality principle in the party structure and establishing a full centralized Socialist Party for all of Russia, with a dictatorship of his own Russian group. This openly demanded the subordination of democratic principles to the needs of the revolution. The national subdivisions of the non-Russian nationalities of the party had the function of mere "bureaus" for translating the slogans, programs, and decisions of the all-powerful Russian Central Committee into the respective non-Russian languages and of special agencies of the Russian center for fighting the "bourgeois nationalism" of all the non-Russian nationalities; (e) the strictly centralized party also guaranteed Lenin in the post-revolution period a strictly centralized State, dominated by the Russian "democracy" or his Russian proletariat.

The chief ideological weapon to fight the national ideas of the non-Russian nationalities was Lenin's tenet of the "non-national (supernational) unity of the oppressed proletarian class in their fight against capitalism." Lenin used this theoretically high-sounding principle to fight every possibility of practical action in favor of the oppressed non-Russian nationalities and their working classes, not only in Russia but also in Austria (because the practical solutions of the nationality problems in Austria could create a precedent for Russia). Consequently, Lenin condemned the separation of the Czech Socialists from the common

* Lenin, in his view of the Jews, was completely under the influence of Marx. About Marx's anti-Semitic attitude, cf. Zygmund Dobbs: "Karl Marx, Father of Modern Anti-Semitism, in Plain Talk, 1949, Vol. III, No. 20, pp. 35-38. After the Communists came to power Lenin pronounced Marx's article "On the Jewish Question" as one of his "most noteworthy" writings. This can be verified by a reference to Volume XVIII, p. 47, of Lenin's work issued by and for American Communists through International Publishers in the authorized edition (1926).

party with the Germans, and the creation of a separate Czech Socialist Party, as a negative fact.*

Lenin condemned also the "cultural autonomy" in Tsarist Russia, aiming at the organization of national-cultural polities of the non-Russian nationalities, independent of administrative borders. He strongly condemned the proposed separation and nationalization of the Jewish schools in the school district of Odessa:

"The most harmful project of the nationalization of Jewish schools is additional proof of how mistaken is the so-called cultural autonomy . . . we should not move in that direction but towards the unity of worker of all nationalities in the fight against nationalism."***

As we see, Lenin's Russian mentality could not grasp the point of the non-Russian nationalities about the language teaching in the schools; he could not grasp the idea of the "inalienable rights" of nationalities in this matter. Lenin proposed the theoretical "unity of workers of all nationalities in Russia in the fight against nationalism," but the practical results of it would be, for the non-Russian nationalities, the complete Russification of their younger generations. He had no respect for the national language rights of non-Russian nationalities, whatsoever, and he was only preoccupied with the problem of speeding up the construction of future Russian Socialism—even by Russification of the children of the non-Russian nationalities. Consequently, Lenin also supported the "uniformity of school education" in Russian territory. After a penetrating analysis of the national composition of schools in the St. Petersburg district, Lenin wrote:

"In the interest of democracy and mainly of the working class, it should be the aim to bring together the children of all nationalities in the uniform schools of the given localities. . . . We should not put national culture at the head of our programme, but should, in the name of international culture of the world labor movement, discredit the clerical and bourgeois character of the national motto."†

We see here again how a Russian Socialist with marvelous cleverness contrives to promote his own Russian national interest; the Russification of the children of the non-Russian nationalities he camouflaged as the "interest of democracy and the working class. . . ."

*N. Lenin, The Separatist in Russian and in Austria, pp. 25-26. (The term "separatist" used both by Lenin and the Russian Tsarist police is very characteristic.)

**N. Lenin, The Nationalization of Jewish Schools, p. 31.

†Ibid., p. 75. Since the London Congress the Russian bolsheviks hated the Jewish Bund as an element which had stimulated the demand for national freedom of all non-Russian peoples in the Russian Empire. This grudge led, during World War II, to the cold-blooded murder of the Bund leaders of Warsaw, H. Erlich and V. Adler (surely with the personal approval of Stalin) who asked for refuge in the Soviet Union from the invading Nazis.

Lenin's internationalism was, in my opinion, only a theoretical camouflage for his deep Russian national feelings, which welcomed the Russification of the non-Russian nationalities. Lenin regarded the Russification of non-Russian nationalities in Russia as part of a world-historical tendency "to assimilate nations" (Lenin, XIX, pp. 40, 245); he even calls "this process of assimilation of nations by capitalism the greatest historical process" and "one of the greatest propellers transforming capitalism into socialism"; therefore the proletariat "welcomes every assimilation of nations" (Lenin, XVII, pp. 140-146). He could not say it openly, but surely he believed the Russian bourgeoisie with its Russification program worked for Russian Socialism. Consequently, his attitude toward the national idea of the non-Russian nation was brutally hostile:

"Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism even if the latter is just, irreproachable and civilized. Marxism is moving forward ahead of every nationalism as an international idea of the amalgamation of all nations into a higher whole. . . . National culture is in general the culture of estate-owners, clergy and bourgeoisie. . . . He who defends the slogans of national culture should be placed among nationalist commoners and not among Marxists. . . . The idea of national culture is bourgeois and often a clerical imposture. Our slogan remains: the international culture of democracy and of the world-wide labor movement. Only by throwing away all wild and stupid national superstitions and by melting the workers of all nationalities into one union, will the laboring class be able to oppose the capitalists and force their way through to a really better existence."*

These "superstitions," the national idea, are for Lenin now the only main obstacles in the organization of the unity of the laboring class, for the realization of his ideal of internationalism on a world scale—but these "reactionary" ideas were also the main obstacles for the "organization of a Russified labor unity" under Russian command in old Russia.

That was really a dark period for all the non-Russian nationalities in the Tsarist Empire. The Tsarist bureaucracy imposed on them a brutal Russification and systematic persecution of their languages and cultures. And at the same time Lenin contributed to the Russian liberals and Socialists the finest "progressive and democratic" excuse for the Russification of non-Russian nationalities as in the interests of "progress" and even "proletarian unity." But what caused Lenin later to change his views, and during the beginning of the Bolshevik Revolution to proclaim his famous slogan "self-determination for all non-Russian nations, including the right of full separation and the creation of their own independent states"?

Behind this complete reversal of Lenin's attitude toward the national idea were the events of the period 1905-1914. On the one hand, as a matter of fact, the Socialist movement in Russia disintegrated along national lines. There were in the political field, besides the Russian

*N. Lenin, Critical Remarks on the National Question, pp. 39, 40, 48.

Social Revolutionaries, bolshevik and menshevik Social Democrats, the Polish Socialist Party, the Jewish Socialist Bund, the Armenian Social Democracy, the Armenian Revolutionary Federalists (Dashnakists), the Byelo-Ruthenian Socialist Hromada, the Latvian Social Democratic Labor Party, the Finnish Labor Party, the Finnish Activist-Resistance Party, the Georgian Socialist Federal Revolutionaries, the Ukrainian Socialist Party, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Party, the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party. On the other hand, the events in international politics influenced Lenin. By these Lenin was led to see the vital political importance of the national idea, not only in Russia but also in Central Europe and Asia, for the whole future "world revolution."

Only a blind man could fail to see that one of the chief factors of Russia's catastrophic defeat in the war with Japan (1905) was the "national underground" of the non-Russian nationalities, which then exploded in the Revolution of 1905. Finland, Poland, Ukraine, Byelo-Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Tatars—all revolted, and even the Buryats and Jakuts demanded national rights. At the same time, all over the world, the national problem started on its victorious march: Austria-Hungary became the battlefield of the oppressed nationalities against the ruling German-Hungarian-Polish nations; the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire drew nearer; national independence movements embraced China, Indonesia, India, Persia, and the Israelite diaspora (Zionism). These facts convinced Lenin; he says:

"In Eastern Europe and in Asia, the period of democratic revolutions of the bourgeoisie began in 1905. The revolution in Russia, Persia, Turkey and China, the Balkan Wars—form a chain of world events of our epoch, of our 'East.' In that chain of events only a blind man will fail to notice the number of democratic national movements and the tendency towards the creation of nationally independent and nationally uniform states."*

Very characteristic of his deeply "Russian way of thinking" is Lenin's reaction to these facts and his logical conclusion. First, he advises:

"The necessity for the proletariat of all countries to deal with special care with the obsolete national feelings in the countries longest oppressed."

Second, he demands:

"It is necessary to make some concessions, more quickly, to destroy national distrust and superstitions."**

As we see, the moral side of the question that the Russian bourgeoisie has committed a crime against the brother nationalities and neighbors by its policy of Russification, has no place in Lenin's mind; there is only one problem for him: "How can I by tactical concessions deceive

*N. Lenin, The Right of Nations to Self-Determination, p. 99.

**N. Lenin, The Original Sketch of a Thesis on National Questions, pp. 99, 222.

the non-Russian nationalities, until I establish my Russian Socialist dictatorship, of course in the interest of the 'world-proletariat'?" Lenin's plan of "caution and concession" toward the non-Russian nationalities did not pretend to recognize their national rights and honestly to promise no further interference in the internal and cultural affairs of the non-Russian nationalities. On the contrary, Lenin's plan was based on the confidence-man technique and conceived as the best possible way to undermine the foundations of these national rights and feelings as the driving force of the separatist movements of the non-Russian nationalities, and thus to open wider the doors for Russian interference. Consequently, Lenin's only purpose was to hasten the decline of national feelings of the non-Russian nationalities, which he considered a "disease," in order that this "disease" might not obstruct the victorious and unopposed spread of the Russian "disease," that is, of Russification and assimilation:

"Propaganda of the right to self-determination of nations is of great importance in the fight against the disease of nationalism in all its forms."*

They were in his opinion not only a disease but a danger, because, as we mentioned before, the Russians in Russia represented only a minority of 43 per cent of the total population:

"How can a minority rule a majority without bringing advantages to that majority, advantages in the shape of political freedom, national equality and local autonomy?"**

Only the immediate danger for the Russian State forced Lenin to all these far-reaching promises, which he of course never intended to keep:

"Mr. Kokoshkin is trying to convince us that recognition of the right of separation increases the danger of Russia's downfall. . . . From the viewpoint of democracy it is quite the opposite: the recognition of the right to separation lessens the danger of the downfall of the State. . . . The particularly strong reactionism of the Russian Purishkewichs [a Russian Duma-Deputy, leader of the most reactionary 'Black-Hundreders'] will increase and intensify . . . separatist tendencies among the oppressed peoples who sometimes enjoy more freedom in neighboring countries."†

(Lenin had in mind here the Poles and Ukrainians in Austria, the Lithuanians in Germany, the Azerbaijanians and Tatars in Turkey, the Roumanians in Roumania.) As we see, Lenin's second argument was again dictated not by moral principles, but solely by the interests of the Russian State. Some parts of its oppressed peoples (Poles, Ukrainians) had created, in the liberal neighbor States (which were liberal compared

*N. Lenin, The Cadets and the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination, p. 74.

**N. Lenin, Still About Nationalism, p. 87.

†N. Lenin, The Cadets and the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination, pp. 111, 128.

with the Tsarist regime), national Piedmonts outside Russia, which could be used by the neighbors against Russia as an attraction for the more liberal regimes of Central Europe. Thus, the preservation of the Russian State—according to Marx this gigantic swollen power—was for Lenin “in the interest of the masses and of progress.” There can be no doubt that Lenin’s change of policy toward the non-Russian nationalities was not dictated by political honesty and respect for the national rights of the non-Russian nationalities. His “self-determination” is only expediency term and a tactical propaganda trick to fool these nationalities and to bring about the “speedy extinction of their national feelings.” Like a cunning legal adviser of fake companies, who drafts contracts, which from the very beginning are not intended to be kept by the proposing party because of “special stipulations added,” Lenin immediately surrounded his “self-determination” propaganda trick with special “stipulations,” in which the right is reserved for the Russians arbitrarily to dictate the limits of the development of the idea of self-determination and of the right of separation. Lenin says:

“In the fight against oppression, Marxism has a negative programme, [in the sense that it defends peoples against oppressions], but cannot take a step further. It cannot go further, because there begins the positive activity of the bourgeoisie, which tends to strengthen nationalism.”*

An amazing statement. As we then lived in pre-World War I times in the capitalist era, as a matter of fact, nearly 99 per cent of all Russian writers who created Russian literature and developed the Russian literary language, which became the medium of Russification of the non-Russian languages, were, according to Lenin’s terminology, bourgeois. If the non-Russian nationalities would develop a national bourgeoisie which would, like the Russians, develop language, literature, culture, and fight the Russian bourgeoisie—that would not harm Russian interest but the “interest of democracy and progress.” Consequently, Lenin denies the non-Russian bourgeoisie the same privileges that he regards as normal for the Russian bourgeoisie. Therefore, in reality, Lenin by this position attempted only to weaken the resistance of the non-Russian nationalities against Russification, and what is more, he even contributed to the dirty Russification job of the Russian bourgeoisie by fighting the “nationalism” of the non-Russian nationalities from the Socialist side. Lenin’s position appears even more contemptible in the light of the fact that the Ukrainians, Byelo-Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Letts, Estonians, Azerbaijanians, Tatars, etc., had at that time no classes which could really be called bourgeoisie (only the Poles had such a class), and the “national idea” was fighting its way up from the very bottom of the masses of peasants and workers. Lenin virtually strengthened the nationalistic tendencies of the Russian bourgeoisie and its Russification of the non-Russian nationalities in progress, by systematically fighting the legitimate nationalism of the non-Russian peasant and the masses of workers then under Socialist leadership. Thus, Lenin wrote:

*N. Lenin, Critical Remarks on the National Question, p. 49.

"A nation's right to self-determination . . . should not be linked with the problem of whether such self-determination is in fact expedient. Such a matter should be decided independently in each individual case in conformity with the interests of the class-struggle of the proletarians for Socialism. . . ."*

Even more clearly Lenin formulated the real meaning of his "right to self-determination:

"Of course the right to self-determination is one thing, and the suitability of self-determination and of separation is quite another thing. . . ."*

Thus, the situation remained practically the same, the Russians (Socialists, but Russians), as the infallible leaders in progress and Socialism, reserved for themselves arbitrarily the right to decide whether "in each individual case self-determination or separation is expedient." An old Russian tale: the wolf magnanimously granted self-determination to the sheep in order to struggle for "progress," but reserved for itself the arbitrary right to decide in each case individually whether it is expedient and in the "proletarian interest" to let a sheep live and, let us say, not to "amalgamate or digest" it. That real aim of "amalgamation" Lenin states quite clearly and it cannot be disputed that his concession of "self-determination" to the non-Russian nationalities has as its real aim their national annihilation, their amalgamation, their Russification. The universal conception of the future amalgamation of nations and languages the Russian Lenin never tried, even theoretically, to apply to the English, German, French, or Italian languages; besides, we are sure that Lenin would denounce a similar formula for the languages and peoples of the British Empire as "brutal imperialism of the British bourgeoisie and of the crazy diehards." Lenin kept this conception especially for the "internal Russian market," and its "universal formulation" aimed only to prevent criticism of this Russian program by Western Socialists. No orthodox Marxist would have risked being accused by Lenin of putting critical obstacles before the "Russian internationalists" and sabotaging this "great advance towards internationalism inside Russia." Thus he attempted to shut the mouths of the English, French, German, and Italian Socialists in this matter. We can see in Lenin's articles all the "dialectical" acrobatics and upside-down semantics, in which "the right of self-determination of the non-Russian nations" is in the next sentence changed into the very opposite of this right, and it even imposes on them the duty of "amalgamation," i.e., of national suicide and practical Russification, of course in the interests of "progress and humanity." Compare the following quotation:

*N. Lenin, Resolutions on National Matters, p. 35

**N. Lenin, The Cadets and the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination, p. 73.

"The question of the unification of the proletarians, the question of their class solidarity requires the recognition of nations to separate. . . .

"Just as humanity may attain the ideal of the liquidation of classes after a transition period of dictatorship of the oppressed classes, so the ideal of the inevitable amalgamation of nations may be attained, but only after a transition period of full emancipation of all oppressed nations, i.e., by their gaining freedom of separation."**

Lenin's close and distinguished collaborator Tomsy revealed rather brutally Lenin's real views on the nationality problem at the Eighth Conference of the R.C.P. (B) in 1919:

"Spontaneous national confidence is a trump card of the bourgeoisie. That can only be beaten by promises of full national emancipation. . . . I think that in this hall there is not a single person, who would assert that the self-determination of nations is normal and desirable. We consider it an evil which cannot be avoided."**

But the application and recognition of this "evil" was stipulated by Lenin even with more "mental reservations" and "exceptions"; analyzing the character of the "national movements" the world over he divided them into two categories: national movements which are acting against imperialist powers (enemies of Russia) and could be used in suitable situations by "Socialist" Russia against these imperialist powers; and national movements opposed to "Revolutionary Countries" (i.e., Russia).

Only the first national movements deserve full support from "Socialism"; the second category has to be fought. Moreover, Lenin did not forget one more principle: practically both categories of national movements have always to be kept "under full control of the proletariat" (i.e., of Russia). Lenin solved this problem of "control" by means of the "Trojan horse": the conspiratorial introduction of Communist cells secretly directing the whole movement.

In the second category of national movements the Communist cells have the task of fighting the national movement and its final goal, a national, independent State. In opposition to the independent State they uphold the idea of the "unity of the world proletariat." Consequently, such cells and factions in the Polish Socialist Party had to combat the idea of a separated independent Poland, or in the Ukrainian or Georgian Socialist Parties to fight the ideas of a separated and independent Ukraine or Georgia which was virtually to fight for the "indivisibility of Russia."

But the first category of national movements, especially in Asia and Africa, which were directed against colonial powers, had to obtain full Communist support for complete self-determination by the establishment of their national, independent States. Because these movements are weakening the colonial powers that oppose Russia they are here

*N. Lenin, The Socialist Revolution and the Right of People to Self-Determination, p. 158.

**Minutes of the Eighth Conference of the R.C.P.(B).

destroying the remnants of feudalism and consequently creating the proletarian classes. The slogan of "the support for bourgeois democratic national movements" in Asia was later changed into the support of "national revolutionary movements":

"We as Communists must and will support the bourgeois emancipation movements in colonial countries, when these movements have a real Revolutionary character and when the representatives of those movements will not hinder us in educating and organizing the peasants and the exploited masses in the revolutionary spirit."*

Let us compare this basic hypocrisy and dishonesty of Lenin toward the national movements directed against Tsarist Russia until 1905-1906, which usually were not bourgeois but under Socialist leadership of the non-Russian nationalities, with the following statements in which Lenin sees the tremendous possibilities of the "national-movement weapon" for the use of the Communist Russian Party:

"We should be bad Revolutionists, if in the great war of emancipation of the proletariat for Socialism, we did not take advantage of every national movement directed against imperialism in order to intensify the crisis. . . ."

These views of Lenin were expressed before the revolution and, of course, acquired great importance after the downfall of Tsarism. Lenin's carefully planned tactics and ultimate aims concerning the nationality questions, backed by his Communist "ideological army," his party apparatus, and its systematic conspiracy and propaganda, had the following results:

a) They systematically misled the public opinion of the non-Russian nationalities about the real significance of his nationality program.

b) Those nationalities were by Lenin's slogans of "self-determination and emancipation" partly maneuvered into the Russian Federative Soviet Republic.

c) The opposing nationalities, which proclaimed their independence, were forced into the "Soviet Union by military aggression."

d) Russia's theoretical "federative principle" was only a propaganda

*N. Lenin, speech delivered at the Second Congress of the Comintern, p. 223.

**N. Lenin, Summing up the Discussion on Self-Determination, p. 197.

The Russian Communist Government on November 15, 1917, issued, under the signatures of Lenin and Stalin as Commissar of Nationalities "The Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia" proclaiming the following four basic principles: "The equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, the right of the peoples of Russia to free self-determination, even to the extent of separation and the formation of independent states: the abolition of all national and national-religious privileges and restrictions; and the free development of the nationalities and ethnic groups inhabiting Russia."

window dressing and was almost completely annulled by the monolithic organization of the Communist Party, in which the Russians dictated the whole policy behind this federative façade.

Lenin got a brutal and cunning executor of his national program in the person of the Commissar for Nationalities, J. Stalin. Even for the Russian Lenin all the measures of Stalin after coming to power were difficult to digest; but as a sick man, Lenin could only "write letters," which were completely ignored by this Caucasian abrek.*

Stalin sums up the contribution of Lenin to the study of the national problem in the following way, replying to the question of the first American Labor Delegation** to Soviet Moscow: "What new principles have Lenin and the Communist Party added to Marxism in practice?"

"In analyzing the events in Ireland, India, China and the central European countries like Poland and Hungary, in their time, Marx and Engels developed the basic ideas of the national and colonial question. In his work Lenin based himself on these ideas. Lenin's new contribution in this field was:

"(a) that he gathered these ideas into one symmetrical system of views on national and colonial revolutions in the epoch of imperialism;

"(b) that he connected the national and colonial question with the question of overthrowing imperialism; and

"(c) that he declared the national and colonial question to be a component part of the general question of international proletarian revolution."

Of course, everything considered in what we have presented on Lenin as a man and politician, our point of view differs from Stalin's opinion. Lenin's contribution is:

a) Lenin constructed from the ideas of Marx and Engels about the nationality problem a system for combating in the name of internationalism the legitimate national aspirations of the non-Russian nationalities in Tsarist Russia in the epoch of imperialism, taking them in a two-front Russian offensive from the right and left side;

b) Lenin, by deceitful promises, utilized the nationality problem for overthrowing the Russian Tsarist tyranny and for the establishment of the Russian Communist tyranny;

c) Lenin, by fraudulent interpretations of Marx and Engels connected with the plan of international proletarian revolution a justification of the new enslavement of non-Russian peoples and the re-establishment of the new Russian tyranny; at the same time he used the nationality problems outside the Soviet Union as a weapon against the imperialist rivals, and identified the further expansion of Russian imperialism with the victory of the proletarian revolution in the world.

Let us sum up Lenin's abuse of the nationality problem: Marx subordinated the national emancipation movements to the interests of

*Highway robber.

**Karl Marx, Selected Works, Vol. I (Moscow: Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the U.S.S.R., 1935), p. 78.

proletarian world revolution. Lenin, as a Russian nationalist (later Stalin—a creation of Lenin), identified the interests of proletarian world revolution with the interests of the Russian proletariat, claiming proudly for the Russians the leadership in the world revolution and thus subordinating the idea and interests of proletarian world revolution to the interests of the Russian Communist Party. Therefore, Lenin immediately fostered the “spread of the world revolution” from the territory of Russia proper into all non-Russian territories of the former empire, systematically rebuilding by aggression the old Russian Empire as a “Soviet Union,” dressed in “progressive” Socialist apparel and systematically re-establishing by force the former privileged and dictatorial position of the Russians as against the non-Russian nationalities. Consequently, Lenin’s “Russian Communism” is the new “progressive” term for “Russian Imperialism” enlarged and broadened on a world scale; “Russian Communism” in reality is the climax of the old messianistic Russian Pan-Slavism, in fact Pan-Russianism. Lenin’s dictatorship is the beginning of the Russian nationalist counterrevolution against the national anti-Russian revolution of the non-Russian nationalities of the former empire. It is a continuation of the old national struggle in Tsarist Russia on a new “proletarian” level, dressed with Socialist and Communist slogans, on which the Russians claim the right in the “interests of world revolution” to use genocide, terror, slave-labor camp against the non-Russian nationalities who continue their fight for liberty.

Lenin was the Russian Machiavelli and Machiavellianism was his method applied to all opponents especially to the non-Russian peoples. Here are some examples of this method (Lenin’s system of Machiavellianism is contained in Left-Wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder, 1920):

(a) “Lenin, learning about the rising of the ‘Whites’ at the rear of the Red Army, wrote in his note of 23.4.1919: ‘It is necessary to communicate with Dzherjinsky in order that he may delegate the most energetic men. . . . Besides, if the situation is grave, cunning is to be used.’

Lenin’s tendency to combine ruthlessness with compromise and subterfuge is shown also by his telegram forwarded to the Revolutionary Council of the 9th Army: ‘I am afraid that you are wrong in not applying severity. But if you are absolutely sure that there is not sufficient force for a cruel and pitiless suppression, let me know about it immediately. . . . cannot amnesty be promised and so completely delude the insurgents?’ Lenin Collection, Vol. XXXIV, Moscow 1942, pp. 121, 122.”*

(b) To the Chief Commander of the Russian forces invading the Ukraine Lenin issued the following orders: “You are to promise the

*Cf. W. Baczkowski, Towards An Understanding of Russia, Jerusalem, 1947, pp. 31-32.

Ukrainians virtually everything they may ask for. Once we are established we will proceed in our own way.**

(c) Here is a passage from the instructions for the agitators sent to the Ukraine:

"Comrades! The arguments discussed here in Russia with complete frankness, can be spoken of only in a whisper in the Ukraine, but better still, should not be mentioned at all. The art of silence is one of the forms of eloquence. You, comrades, are going now to the Ukraine. For the third time we send there strong cadres, always with new methods. . . . As a matter of fact, your work will consist in observing the following principles:

"1. Do not force Communism on the Ukrainian peasants until our power is stabilized there.

"2. Cautiously introduce Communism into former land estates under the cover of co-operative associations.

"3. Try to convince the people that there is no Communism in Russia.

"4. As a counter to the independence proclaimed by Petlura and others, one should affirm that Russia also recognizes the independence of the Ukraine, but on condition that the Soviet Government is established there, while Petlura in reality would sell the Ukraine to the bourgeois states. . . .

"5. Only an idiot or an agent provocateur without sense would state everywhere and on every occasion that we are fighting against Petlura. Sometimes, so long as Denikin is not wholly destroyed, it is better to spread rumours that the Soviet Government is in alliance with Petlura."**

Stalin formulated the practical application of Lenin's principles to current politics in the following way:

". . . when a life and death struggle is being waged, and is spreading, between proletarian Russia and the imperialist Entente, only two alternatives confront the border regions:

"Either they join forces with Russia. . . .

"Or they join forces with the Entente. . . .

"There is no third solution. So-called independence of a so-called independent . . . Poland, Finland, etc. is only an illusion. . . . (p. 79)

"Further, history has shown that when individual peoples succeed in emancipating themselves, both from their own national bourgeoisie and from the foreign bourgeoisie . . . they cannot . . . carry on a separate existence and successfully maintain themselves without the economic and military support of Soviet republics. . . . (p. 103)

"These, Comrades, are the premises . . . which prove that it is essential for our Party to take definite steps in order to solve the national problem within the framework of the R.S.F.S.R. [Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republics]. (p. 103)"†

*N. Prychodko, Communism in Reality, Toronto, 1951.

**A. Dotcenko, The Winter March, Warsaw, 1938.

†Joseph Stalin, Marxism and the Nationalist and Colonial Questions (in English), 1927, Moscow.

Stalin publicly stated also his personal opinions about the national rights and languages at the Sixteenth Congress:

"It appears perhaps strange that we Communists, the propagators of amalgamation of national cultures in the future into one culture with one common language, that we at the same time permit during this period of dictatorship of the proletariat the development of the national cultures. But that is not strange, because first we must give them a chance to develop and their development will establish the conditions for their fusion into one common culture and into one common language."

As we see, the plight of the non-Russian nationalities is similar to the turkeys in American turkey farms. They also are given the "chance to develop" until Thanksgiving Day. . . . The Russian Communists decide when the "development" of the non-Russian nationalities has reached the "Marxist Thankstaking Day."

But one question demands clarification and that is what language will be used in this future common culture?

The Communist national policy is summed up by an American scholar, James Robinson, from the Institute of Jewish Affairs in New York, in the Slavonic Encyclopedia (1949):

"It appears that ultimately not only classes have to die and the state to wither away but nationalities are to disappear and Communist society is to be a classless, monolingual and mononational Soviet nation."

He is right; the Communist program includes the mass murder of all non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. As the executors of this program are Russian Communists, the Soviet nation will be in reality the Russian nation, with the Russian culture, language, and literature as its "cultural inheritance." To camouflage this process by a semantic smoke screen, "Russification" is called "Sovietization." Thus, the non-Russian nationalities created by nature and history are doomed; old Tsarist Russia was a "prison of nationalities," new "Soviet Russia" is a "slaughterhouse of nationalities"; Russian "progress" goes full speed ahead.

This national program set up by Lenin lacked after 1920 only a "scientific, linguistic theory," based on Marxism-Leninism, for carrying out this program.

The Russian Communist Party soon found a linguist who furnished the party with a "Soviet Linguistic Theory"; he was N. Ya. Marr, a fanatical Communist neophyte since 1920. His "linguistic theory" became the "sharpest weapon of the Russian Communists against the non-Russian languages, cultures, and nationalities, giving to the brutal persecutions the appearance of a fight for the future "International" to satisfy the gullible public opinion outside the Soviet Union.

The old Muscovite mania for "State regimentation," "standardization," "unification," converting all human beings into kholops (serfs) of the Tsar now reached a climax in the Russian Communist Party on a scale embracing all spheres of life, and killing also all national individualities. From all the races of dogs must be created the superdog, the

Soviet-dog; from all the races of pigs there has already, according to the Soviet press, developed the superpig, the new Soviet-pig in the Ukraine; thus, the Soviet man and Soviet language became also an ideal of the Russian Communist Party. Gradually we will see in the next pages how the Russian Communists made the discovery that the new Soviet language need not be invented, because the new Soviet nation "inherited the language of Lenin and Stalin," which in due course will be elevated to be the "language of the World Revolution and of the International Proletariat." The old slogans were modernized a little: Workingmen of the world unite for learning Russian! You have nothing to lose but your brains—in which your mother languages are living!

We shall review in the next chapter Marr's linguistic theory. Just as the Russian Communist Party after coming to power, immediately subordinated to its strategy and aims, history and literature, political, economic, and social sciences, and revised them all, so Marr subordinated linguistics and philology to the Russian Communist Party.

3. National Renegadism as a Problem of the Russian Communist Party

Scientific research has not yet discovered the very important and interesting psychological problem of national renegadism of many leaders of the Russian bolsheviks (although this problem is no less important for an understanding of the Russian mensheviks).

The basic fact in this connection is that the three personalities who made the Russian Revolution were not of Russian descent; they were all neo-Russians as a direct result of the Tsarist cultural and political imperialism. Thus they were Russian "bastards" who among native Russians had constantly to justify their claims for the desired Russian national membership. That bastardism had far-reaching psychological consequences, which would offer a welcome subject to psychoanalysis and bring unexpected inside views into the mentality of men who know that their own nation despises them as traitors. Therefore Freud is in Soviet psychological publications regularly denounced as "idealistic." Russian Communism even developed a kind of fear of Freud which in our opinion is well founded, because psychoanalysis rejects the belief of Communism that our troubles spring from causes outside the human personality and can be remedied by corresponding socioeconomical changes. Freud centers his thought on finding the causes which have made human beings unhappy or unsuccessful within themselves and he shows the mechanism by which a human failure becomes a power-drunk conqueror, but one who is hunted constantly by his own interior underworld into which were banned, as into a KZ, all the voices rising from the antitheses to the Communist theses. The dialectical method provokes these voices; they can be barred, but never silenced. Let us from this point of view analyze the three leading men of the Russian Revolution.

The Russian Communist Party was not very eager to investigate the family tree of its founder. It is a remarkable achievement of

Bertram D. Wolfe* who brought this problem to general attention. Lenin is half Tatarian, as is proved by his original name Ulianov, and half of Germanic origin, according to the maiden name of his mother, Blank, apparently of German origin. In the administration of State schools his father attained the rather high rank of an "actual State Counselor" with the title of "Excellency" and the hereditary nobility which could be won only by absolute loyalty to the principles of Russian absolutism, Russian orthodoxy, and Russian chauvinism. This rank was a final bonus for the man who dedicated himself to Russification, renouncing all the recollections of his own people and their national aspirations.

The peculiarity of every renegade is the constant overstressing and overemphasizing of his "new" nationality in his personal life and his home, in order to disarm all suspicion on the part of the members of the host nationality as to his national laxity or apathy. To demonstrate constantly one's national "activity," ardent chauvinism and loyalty to "holy Russia" was an absolute necessity in Tsarist Russia for anyone who wished to make a career in the civil service. Tsarist Russia accepted with open arms renegades from the intelligentsia of all non-Russian peoples, but under one condition: that of demonstrative "worship of Russia"; thus, on the stage of Russian public life there were massed in the background renegades of all non-Russian nationalities who functioned like a Greek chorus in the theater, constantly eulogizing "Russia." The Tsarist regime "honored" the best sycophants by promotions, titles, and bonuses, thus creating a continual rivalry among the renegades in this "Russia worship." Even the Russian liberal intelligentsia were rather pleased by these performances of Russian nationalistic exhibitionism for they regarded them as homage not to the Tsarist regime but to the peculiar "genius of Russia and her mission," that is, to the Russian intelligentsia itself; they flattered their vanity, and the renegades were regarded as "witnesses" of Russian cultural superiority and as allies in promoting cultural Russian imperialism. These Russian intelligentsia were well aware that some 75 per cent of the "Russian" culture in literature, music, painting, liberal arts, and sciences, proudly claimed as "Russian" achievements, were in reality created by non-Russians; therefore they welcomed the talented non-Russian renegades as promoters of cultural imperialism.** Here we have seen why the Russian regime and the Russian intelligentsia were so eager to welcome the members of the non-Russian intelligentsia as renegades of their nationalities, which were by this policy systematically bled in order to speed up their Russification.

*Three Who Made a Revolution, (New York; The Dial Press, 1948), p. 39.

**Non-Russian or half non-Russian were: Derzhavin, Karamzin, Kheraskov, Fonvisin, Zhukovsky, Pushkin, Gogol, Bulgarin, Zolotov, Ogaryov, Fet, Griboyedov, Zagoskin, Lermonov, Mikhailov, Gerbel, Berg, Wainberg, Vostokov, Dal, Kantemir, Bortnyansky, Prokopovych, Grot, Turgeniev, Tolstoy, Nadson, Erenburg, Chirikov, Nekrasov, Korolenko, Dostoyewsky, Glinka, Rosen, Chaykovsky, Rubinstein, Antokolsky, etc.

But what are the reasons which motivated these men to become renegades, to join the persecutors and oppressors of their own downtrodden nationalities? The father of Lenin in his very heart was surely ashamed to be of Tatarian origin. Every renegade has an inferiority complex, created by his original descent. His nation is the loser in the fight for survival, having lost its independence, self-esteem, and becomes a pariah. There were two ways open for every non-Russian person: either to fight for the liberty of his nation—a hard and bitter way of self-sacrifice for the cause—or to join the oppressor, to get rid easily of the torturing inferiority complex by replacing it with the superiority feeling of the ruling Russian imperial intelligentsia, backed by the whole might and prestige of Russian Tsarism, and finally to be honored with the title of “Excellency” as a reward. Lenin’s father chose the second way, and as a consequence he had to join that choir of “Russian worshippers,” consisting of renegades, with the 150 per cent “Russian patriotism” as a defense against the suspicions of the Russian-born Russians. There is a curse on treason against one’s own nation; a renegade expects that the superiority complex of the ruling Russians will give him peace and refuge from his inferiority obsession; that is a mistake. Joining the ruling Russians he lives in constant fear of being suspected of “mental reservations”; and thus begins a real serfdom of the renegade among the Russians for he must continuously prove to real Russians by words and actions that he is a better, a more enthusiastic, a more “devoted-to-Russia” Russian than the native Russians themselves. The real Russians constantly demand from the renegades the proclamation that the Russian nation is morally and intellectually “better” than their own politically oppressed original nation and that they have joined the Russians as a “superior” and “great” nation because of these moral and intellectual reasons. Thus these renegades are used by the Russians for moral and intellectual justification of the oppression of all non-Russian nationalities, and for the fostering of further Russian imperialistic expansions. These renegades are the “witnesses of Holy Russia” and of her “mission.” The Russians were more cunning than the renegades; they were convinced that these amoral individuals had committed the most heinous of crimes, treason against the idea of liberty of their own peoples, and that such cowards can never be trusted; therefore they expected from them an everlasting adoration of the “Russian nation.” In the home of such a renegade Lenin grew up, surrounded by Russian chauvinism. Surely the sons of the Russian “Excellency” knew what origin they had and for what kind of “activities” their father had received his rank as a traitor to his oppressed people; these boys had a double inferiority complex, first as the sons of a Tatarian renegade and a German mother (the Germans were generally contemptuously called *Kolbasnik*, “sausage maker”), and second, against the background of the growing Socialistic movement, as the sons of a contemptible lackey of Russian absolutism. The Russian chauvinism of the home was then the source for the rise of the superiority complex of the younger Ulianov generation, of a Russian revolutionary messianistic superiority complex, in which the old Russian nationalistic fanaticism was

transplanted into the revolutionary Socialist sphere. Lenin's brother soon lost his life, and in Lenin himself this new Russian revolutionary messianism acquired a messianistic "international" significance and embraced all mankind.

Behind Lenin's "internationalism" is hidden the split personality of the son of a renegade and of a Tsarist servant, who found in the revolutionary Communism a superior goal of life as an offset against his contempt for his father. But his father's home formed Lenin subconsciously into a Russian nationalist, and later the nostalgia of emigration made him a deeply conscious, even intolerant Russian in whom Russian Pan-Slavic messianism evolved into Russian Communist messianism. Thus the originally overstressed Russian nationalist feelings and Russian culture are the chief factors that shaped Lenin's personality. A Russian chauvinist pride in the large number of Russians and the vast extent of their Empire was the basis of his conception of "Russia as the avant-garde of world revolution," endangered by the aspirations of the non-Russian nationalities. Consequently Lenin's "internationalism" was in reality a Russian revolutionary nationalism with which he fought the democratic non-Russian nationalities that attempted to dissolve his "Russian springboard of world revolution." Lenin thoroughly understood that a real "Russian democratic revolution" meant the dissolution of his "Russia," and that therefore the nationality problem in Russia had to be only tactically used for the overthrow of the Tsarist regime and the establishment of the dictatorship of his Russian proletariat; but Lenin understood that the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Russian Empire could be achieved only by a Russian revolutionary chauvinism against the non-Russian nationalities, parading, of course, under all the slogans of internationalism, socialism, progress, and humanity. Perhaps Lenin would not have acted as brutally as Stalin did later, but there can be no doubt that Lenin had a clear conception of the role of the Russian nation in his world revolution, and that this role was to become the leader of all the peoples of the world; "Workers of all countries, unite!" Meant for Lenin: "Unite under the command of the Russian proletariat!"

In our opinion, here lies also the secret of Communism's strong appeal to the real Russians; they all had a kind of inferiority complex toward Western Europe, and especially America. They felt themselves as citizens of a technically backward country with a barbarian Tsarist regime. And into this hopeless vacuum devoid of self-confidence entered Lenin's ideology, which lifted the Russians and their culture to the very top of all nations as the "leaders of progress and humanity."

Stalin offers another example of a renegade's blind alley; in the background of his youth were poverty and the inferiority complex of a malformed arm and foot. The numerically small Georgian nation with an excellent intelligentsia, with the best orators in the old Russian Empire, offered no opportunity for a political role to the power-hungry Caucasian *abrek*; among the intellectual elite of his own nation Stalin was a hopeless failure, several times publicly slapped in the face and thrown out as a hooligan. Therefore he developed in the senseless emptiness

of his life a deep hatred for the Georgian intelligentsia and a thirst for revenge against all the high-brows of his own nation. As a matter of fact, Stalin was practically an outcast of his nation before World War I.

So long as his hopes were still associated with the Georgian nation, Stalin used Georgian pseudonyms: Koba, Nizheradze, Besoshvili; then he began to use Russian pseudonyms: Chichikoff, Vasilyev, Ivanovich, which herald his "drifting away," and at last the pseudonym "Stalin" signals his final "renegadedom." The choice of the name "Stalin," i.e., "the man of steel," is excellent material for a psychoanalytic approach to an understanding of his "renegadedom." The national outcast and bodily misfit compensates for his inferiority complex by such a "great" name, which means that "nerves," as important among the high-brows as "conscience, responsibility, decency, honesty, etc.," will never stop him on the road to power.

Why did he join the Russian bolsheviks? Only the Russians could give him a chance to satisfy his lust for power; for him the vast Russian Empire represented the nucleus of "internationalism," and this term becomes the justification for his "renegadism"; he commanded a Russian "international" army against his own Socialist independent national republic, headed by the hated high-brow Socialist Noe Jordania, and took revenge for all his former humiliations: "You have slapped and despised me, but now I command the whole international revolution and also all of Georgia!"

But the renegade Stalin calculated falsely. The Russian host nation gives power to the renegades only under one condition: full subordination of their original peoples and of all their political aspirations to Russian imperialism. Russia tempts the candidates for "renegadism" like the devil: "Worship and adore me, and I give you all the power and riches of Russia, including your own country." Anyone who has paid this homage to Russia has sold his mother country to Russian imperialism. Thus Stalin thought he was using Soviet Moscow, but in reality Soviet Moscow used him, not only for the occupation of his mother country but for the pogrom of all the non-Russian nationalities in the name of "world revolution" and "internationalism." Thus Stalin is in a blind alley. As a renegade he was forced to restore to the Russian culture and language successively all the old privileges; he was forced to be more Russian than the Russians, worshipping them as the "Great Nation"; he was forced to subordinate all the non-Russian peoples to the new "Russia"—that is the price he had personally to pay for his power to the real Russians. The promotion of Russian imperialism as a Communist world revolution became the basis of the personal power of this renegade. There is no way out for Stalin. He must glorify Russian Tsars and generals, he must sycophantically flatter the insatiable desire for Byzantinic "Hallelujahs" of Soviet Moscow as the "avant-garde of humanity." As a Georgian he must direct the terror of Russian imperialism against the resistance of his own people and of all the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union; he must liquidate all the Communist leaders of the non-Russian nationalities and replace them with his trusted Russian Communist stronghand boys in order to dominate

the party everywhere; as a "Georgian witness," he must likewise repeat, parrotlike, that "Soviet Moscow solved the nationality problem," and that the nationalities "voluntarily form the confederation of equal nationalities with Russia." The Russian Communists, Stalin's low-brow terrorists, a gangster generation, is then used by Stalin to uphold his personal regime and rule the Russian nation itself, 80 per cent of which, as a matter of fact, are the beneficiaries of Stalin's regime. The overwhelming majority of Russians, therefore, sympathizes with Stalin's Russian political and cultural imperialism and readily extol his "genius" with all the sycophantic "Hallelujahs" for which this renegade is thirsty. He enjoys hearing the perpetual flatteries of Russian scholars, poets, writers; he enjoys playing the part of a Russian "father divine," and answers these flatteries with sycophantic flatteries for the "genius" of the Russian nation. A vicious circle, in which Stalin is well aware that the moment he should stop propagating Russian political and cultural world imperialism the support of Russian nationalism would disappear and with it all his "power." Russian Communism is the modern form of Russian imperialism and Stalin is its serf; this serfdom is the "greatness" of this "man of steel," covering by this "greatness" the inferiority feelings of his youth. The "man of steel"—Stalin! How modest, in comparison with this pseudonym, are the names of Lenin, Trotsky, Litvinov.

Very instructive is the fate of the third renegade, Trotsky, the Jew. This brilliant brain was far superior in the knowledge of the world to Lenin; he was really a European and an excellent linguist, at home in Germany and France. His own downtrodden and persecuted nation, like the Ukrainian nation in which he was born, was for him too "small," too "backward" for his life's ambitions; he joined the Russian Socialists; he later jumped on the Communist band wagon, and used the first opportunity proudly to renounce his nation before a Jewish delegation. His inferiority complex found a compensation in Russian Communism. Russia and its language became for a period his "international mother country" and the instrument of his "permanent revolution." But this permanent revolution was not in conformity with the interest of Russian imperialism; the Russian interest demanded first the actual establishment of colonialism over the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union and the restoration of Russian supremacy. Besides, Trotsky surely was unprepared to follow the way of Stalin, to become a high priest of Russian nationalism and to compete with Stalin in the glorification of Russia's Tsars and generals. Consequently Russian imperialism acquired in Stalin the marvelous instrument not only for introducing anti-Semitic tendencies in the fight against Trotsky, but also for exiling him and finally convincing him with an iron bar in Mexico that his opinions were deviations from the "Russian" Communist point of view. "Holy Soviet Russia" surely enjoyed the spectacle of how one Russian neophyte liquidated another, how one renegade murdered another in the interests of the Russification of his own respective people, the Jews and Georgians, and how later Stalin continued this job with respect to all non-Russian nationalities.

"Three who made a revolution"—to use the title of the excellent book of B. D. Wolfe—were actually three renegades who made the "Russian" revolution; therefore this phenomenon of "renegadism" cannot be disregarded;* it must be investigated, the more so as the examples of "renegadism" are rather numerous up to the present day among the non-Russian nationalities. From these renegades Soviet Moscow forms her present oprichnina for terrorizing the non-Russian nationalities.

And the question arises, what is the special role of the Russians in this planned revolution, once directed and organized by men originally non-Russians, renegades of their own nations? The peculiar genius of the Russian nation, in our opinion, is represented by men like Kalinin, Molotov, Zhdanov, Malenkov, Shvernik, Popov, Suslov, Khrushchov, and others, rather mediocre, even primitive, but with the acuteness, brutality, and shrewdness of the old Russian merchants. These Russians form the overwhelming majority of the Communist Party. They are aware that there is only one way to keep together the "Russian Empire," namely, to uphold the old absolutism in the new form of a dictatorship of the Russian proletariat and to use as a bureaucracy over the non-Russian nationalities the renegades of these peoples—exactly the same system which Russian Tsarism employed for the same purpose of Russification. Thus the leading Russian Communists systematically educate a corps of Russian Janizaries from the renegades of all the non-Russian peoples, offering to all power-hungry and trigger-happy non-Russians a marvelous career in the Soviet Union and giving them moral justification for their "renegadism" under the terms of "internationalism," "avant-garde of humanity," and "progress"; and all the fellow travelers outside the Soviet Union welcome these hirelings of Russian imperialism with corresponding glorifications. Thus "renegadism" is becoming "heroism" in the Soviet Union and the convincing proof of supreme loyalty to the Russian Communist Party.

What an abyss yawns between the U.S.A. and Soviet "Russia"! Here, the ideology of the American Declaration of Independence recognized and still recognizes all freedom-loving human beings' "inalienable rights" and full liberty, a badge of the American nation; there, the Russian Empire was and is based on the enslavement of the non-Russian nationalities and the non-Russians are compelled by the Russian rulers to use the only "liberty" available which is to join as renegades the Russians in the oppression of their own peoples, to fight the liberation movements of their own peoples against Russia, to "worship Russia," and to spurn all the ideas which made the West and America great. But the pride of a renegade passes all belief. I. Ehrenburg, at the "World Congress of Intellectuals," Wroclaw, 1948, declared:

"Russian culture is beyond the intellectual comprehension of western Europe."

*In fact, Moscow demands a "double" renegadism (a) of nationality and (b) of religion.

A. S. Toynbee traces in one of his works the origins of this remarkable "institution of making [ideological] soldiers and administrators out of slaves [renegades]" to nomad empires over sedentary peoples. This institution was used later by the Ottoman Caliphs, training Janizary renegades to assist them in keeping order among their "human cattle." We witness now the modern representative of this institution in the systematic training of renegades in the non-Russian sections of the Russian Communist Party.

Chapter IV

THE WEAPON OF THE RUSSIAN COMMUNISM AGAINST THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES

1. The Soviet Linguistic Theory

The Soviet linguistic theory was developed by the Academician N. Ya. Marr who was regarded before World War I in Tsarist Russia as an authority on questions of the Caucasian languages. In the years 1908-1920 he elaborated in several successive conceptions his so-called "Japhetic theory." He attempted to prove that the Japhetic languages (Kartvelian [including Georgian, Megrelo-Chan, Svanetian], the Highland Caucasian languages [Abkhasian, Adyghe, the Daghestanian languages], Basque in the Pyrenees, the extinct Etruscan of pre-Latin Italy, the extinct Pelasgic of pre-Greek Balkan Peninsula, the ancient Hittite, Urartic, Elamitic of Asia Minor) represent a special independent branch of languages related to the Semitic family of languages. These Japhetic languages were supposed to have been the third ethnic element in the creation of the Mediterranean culture.* In these researches Marr continued to apply the present Western European linguistic methods in trying to establish the common origin and genealogical kinship of these languages.

But soon after 1920, after the establishment of the Communist dictatorship in Russia proper, Marr became a fanatic Communist and under the immediate influence of the Communist ideology he gradually worked out his "Japhetic theory" into a general linguistic theory, also called usually "Japhetic theory." Marr proclaimed it as the "new teaching of language," founded on "the principles of dialectical and historical materialism," on Marxism-Leninism. The Communist dictatorship, confronted in the multinational Soviet Union with basic linguistic problems, was badly in need of a "linguistic theory" and readily accepted Marr's theory as the "official teaching." The Communist Party machine appreciated and glorified Marr as the author of the "progressive revolutionary doctrine, which upsets the racist principles of bourgeois linguistics" and declared him as "the founder of Soviet Materialist Linguistics." Especially outside Russia proper, in the non-Russian Republics of the Soviet Union, Marr's principles became party dogmas because they gave the Russian Communist Party the pretext and the necessary "scientific arguments and argumentation" for combating "nationalism in the languages" of all the non-Russian nationalities of the U.S.S.R.

Marr's Soviet linguistic theory is not an example of scientific clarity and precision; it is rather chaotic, without proof, often illogical, even

*N. Ya. Marr, The Japhetic Caucasus and the Third Ethnic Element in the Creation of the Mediterranean Culture, 1920.

fantastic, and in constant flux until his death in 1934. But nevertheless—like Lysenko's biological nonsense—it was made the "official" Communist Party doctrine and furthermore in July 21, 1949, the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, the highest scientific authority of the country, proclaimed in a special decree that Marr's theory is "the new materialist teaching of language, a general theory of linguistics, erected on a dialectical and historical materialist base" and that its principles constitute "the progressive revolutionary teaching."

Let us now look at the chief tenets of this "new and progressive" teaching of language, canonized by the Communist Party for exclusive teaching in universities, and scientific institutes.

Soon after 1920 Marr repudiated all the achievements and principles of European and American linguistics and of the Indo-European comparative philology. The classification of languages according to these principles, their division in separate language families, the conception of the Indo-European family of languages, their derivation from a proto-language, the historical-comparative methods developed for the establishing of sound laws, limited by time and space, the method of tracing etymologies, in a word, our whole linguistic heritage, beginning with the works of F. Bopp until the present time was declared by Marr as "bourgeois nonsense, deceit, or racism." Marr, imbued with Marxism-Leninism, now inaugurated the "new era" and endeavored to answer the cardinal questions of linguistic research: What are the origins of language and of the present languages? What is language and how are languages related? What are the tasks of linguistics?

There are, in my opinion, two starting points in Marr's new way of thought: (1) The languages of the whole world are the products of a single glottogonic (language-forming) process which is a reflexion of the singleness of the historic process. This singleness (unilinearity) of the language-forming process, due to both the process and the initial word elements (to be considered later), warrants comparison of all the languages of the world, one word with another: English with Chinese, Russian with Turkish, French with Semitic, Japanese with Latin or Greek, etc. (2) Language is a "superstructural category" always dependent on production and the productive relation base. Consequently, everything in a language is of a class nature and is created by "class struggle" and "dialectical processes." There is no language which is not of a class nature, there is no thinking which is not of a class nature.

The corollaries of these principles are:

I. (a) According to Marr the origin of language is conceived on the basis of the tenets of dialectical and historical materialism. The facts are as follows:

(1) Some one to one and a half million years ago, when the human race emerged from the animal world, there developed among our human ancestors a "manual language" of gestures. This kind of language is aboriginal and semantically connected with the "totemist stage of thought."

(2) Vocal speech arose much later, in general some 500,000 years or more ago. This vocal speech did not originate for purposes of communication (because people still "spoke" with their hands), but as a

"labor-magic" activity. Man's social-labor activity developed consciousness and language; thus, labor created man and also determined the origin of speech. There exists a unity of language and thought. Language and thought are dialectically united, the language being the superstructure over the historically developing consciousness. Language is real consciousness, the immediate reality of thought.

b) All vocal languages have a single starting point: all proceed from four primary words elements, connected semantically with the "cosmic stage of thought." These four words were in "possession" of the medicine men, who used them not as a means of communication with the people (perhaps they were only used for communication with other medicine men), but as "means for communication with a totem." These first four words are: Sal, Ber, Yon, Rosh, they were the archaic totemic magic, both in origin and function, created by the medicine men and serving them as magical technique. Technically Marr conceives these early elements of the work process and magical action as "yells" for addressing magic forces. These "yells" developed the vocal chords and the organs of speech through repetition. But why four elements? Marr could not logically justify the number; his last explanation is: "Some things do not have to be proved; they can be shown. Observation shows that there are only four elements. Why, I do not know."*

c) This vocal speech, the "property" of medicine men, originated in an already "class-differentiated" environment and served as an "instrument of class struggle." "Language (vocal) is a magical technique, an implement of production in the first stages of man's elaboration of collective production," says Marr.** When that vocal speech originated, this "class struggle" took place between the "ruling class," the "collective with the vocal speech" on the one hand, and the "collective without vocal speech" (only with the gesture language) on the other. This "class struggle" ended with the victory of the more "powerful group" with the vocal speech, over the "deaf-mutes" because the former had control over the implements of production of that epoch, including productive (agricultural and hunting) magic.

d) Immediately there begins (1) hybridization: from one-element words there arose two-element words, and (2) composition. Marr ascribes to the phenomenon of hybridization enormous importance for the whole language-forming process. Through hybridization and blending of various tribes there resulted an expansion of the oral language into wider areas, beyond the limits of the class that owned it. This phenomenon accompanied the language-formation process constantly until present times. Thus, Marr denies the existence of languages which are not basically hybridized. He says: "The Japhetic theory is based for its direct origin and source of developmental growth on the phenomenon of the hybridization of languages owing to increasingly close communication and the unification of the economy."†

*Contribution to the Baku Discussion (in Russian), 1932, p. 44.

**"Language and Thought," *Selected Works*, Vol. III, p. 116.

†Japhetology at the Leningrad State University, 1930.

e) Thus vocal speech originated and thus began the development of language, later semantically connected with the technological state of thought. This development of the glottogonic process in course of time created the present languages. Marr denies kinship of languages in terms of origin. The appearance of kinship (for instance of the present Romance, Germanic, or Slavic languages) is due (1) to "social convergence" (but lack of kinship is due to "social divergence" of the languages mentioned); (2) the similarities among these languages Marr explains by hybridization blending of converging social conditions, which develops common linguistic elements, and by contacts between languages. Denying kinship of languages, Marr advanced his classification by "stages." Through these "stages" went the glottogonic process; they created all the differences in the vocabulary, in word structure, in sentence structure and phonetic composition, and according to these "stages" the languages of the world have to be classified.

As there is only one single language-forming process on the whole globe, the various languages represent the various stages of that single process. These "stages" do not represent an "evolution" (the reactionary bourgeois linguistics work with evolution in linguistics), but they represent "revolution": the transition by leaps, the revolutionary supplanting of one stage in the development of language and thought by another stage, which is qualitatively different.

How many linguistic stages are represented in the presently existing languages the world over? Marr tentatively classified the languages according to the stages (periods of their origin) in the following chart:

- I. Language systems of the primary period:
 1. Chinese,
 2. Living Middle and Far African languages.
- II. Language systems of the secondary period:
 1. Finno-Ugric,
 2. Turkish,
 3. Mongolian.
- III. Language systems of the tertiary period:
 1. Surviving Japhetic languages,
 2. Hamitic languages (Near and Far African).
- IV. Language systems of the quaternary period:
 1. Semitic languages,
 2. Prometheidean or so-called Indo-European languages.

In this scheme each language makes up one of the links of the single language-forming process and its stages. All the languages are classified into four chronological strata according to the time when they originated and the "stage of development" that they represent.

What caused the various "stages"? They express major changes in language and thought resulting from major changes in productive technique. Thus, for instance, the last stage, the Indo-European languages, is according to Marr the result of a special stage of hybridization called forth apparently by the discovery of metals and their use in economic life.

But why have some languages not participated in the "revolutionary jumps" from the primary into the second period, from the second into the third, or from the third into the fourth period?

According to Marr, in the single language-forming process some languages did participate in the "revolutionary jump," because they took part in the "over-all economic world development"; but some languages have "fallen away from the over-all world development," they did not participate in the "economic world movement" nor, consequently, in the revolutionary language transformations. They "got stuck" at a given stage, economically, socially, and linguistically; they are "frozen" at the given stages. These language systems are "obsolete" and there is no hope of speeding up their development. Even if world economy and social organization would eventually involve them again in "the cycle of global life," the people concerned would continue to use their present languages of the "obsolete systems." Consequently the "stagnation" of these languages, which have fallen out of the "world movement" is final; apparently, the economic base influences the superstructure only in specific periods:

"Not only the so-called Indo-European and Semitic languages, but also Turkish, Mongolian, Ugro-Finnic, Chinese, African, Oceanian as well as Australian, and the native American languages, all turned out to be incontrovertibly related to one degree or another. The differences between them are due to the fact that the archaic language systems abandoned the language-creating center and their chief features were preserved almost in petrified fashion at given stages of the development of human voiced language. These stages had already been traversed by all [language systems] which had then moved ahead."*

Summing up, the glottogenic process the world over consists of systems of languages "frozen in their development and illustrating that single language-forming process"—but not developing themselves.

f) The development of language and the languages as superstructural categories is determined by the economic basis which, let us keep in mind, according to Marr was from the very beginning class-differentiated and under the tension of "class struggle." Thus, all languages were and are "class languages." The existence of nonclass languages or national languages is rejected by Marr and any other approach to language study than as class speech is for him unscientific.

The development of a given language, of its grammatical categories, its phonetics, morphology, syntax, or vocabulary and meanings reflects directly the development of productive and class relations. Consequently, Marr explains, for instance, such things as declension of nouns: cases are "active" or "passive"; the direct case (nominative) is usually "active," while the oblique cases (genitive, dative, accusative) are "passive," because the oblique cases are syntactically "dependent," "governed" by a verb or even by nouns, while the nominative is usually syntactically "independent." According to Marr, "active" and "passive"

*Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 411.

cases must be viewed as "socially evaluable quantities"; in them are reflected "two different categories of the collective." Thus, "social relations" are reflected in the "grammatical dependence" of words. The degrees of comparison are explained similarly:

"Degrees of comparison are of social origin. They are a superstructure of a class, estate, order. At that, the word utilized now to indicate a higher grade, be it comparative or superlative, once expressed not one or the other of the higher grades of that idea which is (now) expressed through an adjective with which it has coalesced, but it expressed membership in that higher stratum, be it an estate or a class, which was ruling, without any additional indicator (suffix or prefix) and its name, its totem, was socially evaluated as a high degree. The suffix, a word with the same function or forming a degree of comparison, actually indicated membership in the corresponding ruling stratum. Degrees of comparison, like adjectives generally, receive definite form only after clan society."*

Thus, everything in the language, declension, conjugation, or the syntactic relations of words Marr attempts to explain as "reflexes of the socioeconomical era" and its constant "class struggle." They are all dependent on "production and have social functions." All linguistic categories have "social significance."

Summing up: all elements of human speech are bearers of "definite social contents" and are socioeconomically determined. Every language reflects a "social ideology" and its "class contradictions."

g) Marr not only traced the origins, history, and present stage of the single glottogonic process but, as a linguist, also stated clearly the final goal of that single language-forming process. Bourgeois linguistics sketches the developmental scheme as an inverted pyramid with a single starting point from which evolved branches, causing a development from singleness of language to multiplicity of languages. Just the opposite is true, according to Marr; the single language process is "revolutionary jumping" from a multiplicity of present languages to a single world language. Mankind is progressing toward a single economic and social system, which will be realized after the victory of the Communist revolution, when the Communist dictatorship will establish a "single economic basis over the whole world." This revolutionary upheaval will have such a force on the language superstructures of mankind that they will make the final "revolutionary jump" into the fifth stage, in which all languages the world over will be "unified into one language." This "scientific linguistic prognostication," as we see, completely agrees with the basic tenet of the Communist Party ideology, with Marxism-Leninism.

II. This "new materialistic teaching on language," the Soviet linguistics, has according to Marr also different "scientific aims," as compared with the "old bourgeois linguistics."

a) It has to become a "scientific sword in the struggle of the Communist Party for world victory under the leadership of the beloved leader

**Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 278.

and father of the world proletariat, J. Stalin."

b) It is the "sharpest weapon against bourgeois linguistics, which propagates reactionary racist theories"; it has to "unveil, to reveal all the frauds and deceits of bourgeois linguistics, especially of the Indo-European Comparative Philology" and to "combat its hostile idealist theories."

c) How? By "victoriously applying to the research of all languages" Marr's "two techniques," established with absolute finality:

(1) The first is a special research chart, an analytic alphabet.

(2) The second is the method of "linguistic paleontology," the analysis of words of all languages according to the four linguistic elements. It will give access to the "history of thought" and will "enable us to discover hitherto unsuspected relationships between individual languages," scattered over all the continents of the globe. Here is Marr's own formulation:

"All words in all languages, inasmuch as they are the product of a single creative process, consist of only four elements--each word of one or two and, rarely more, of three elements; in the vocabulary of any language there is no word which contains anything beyond these same four elements. We indicate these four elements with the Latin capitals A, B, C, D; they are the same as those which we indicated earlier with the tribal words (Sal, Ber, Yon, Rosh). They constitute the foundation of the formal paleontologic analysis of every word; without first undertaking such an analysis, without analyzing the word into the number of elements in it--one, two or more--comparison is impossible."*

This "element analysis" is the "new revolutionary technique" of Soviet linguistics, the "new comparative technique of element comparison." It stands in "basic opposition to the bourgeois formal-comparative method" and enables us "to penetrate into the true history of human language by showing how language is formed in indissoluble unity with thought" and "illuminating the history of the word-creating development."

How has this "new technique of element analysis" to be carried out? Marr established for that "paleontologic analysis" a "table of regular variations of the four elements." According to it one can trace to the element Sal the following variants: Zal, Tsal, Tal, Dal, Gal, Tkal, Dgal, Tskal, Dzgal, etc. The other three elements have similarly numerous variants.

Are there some laws determining in what languages and at what time the "S" of Sal shifted to the sounds t, d, ts, k, d, etc.? No. According to Marr these changes are universal and unlimited by time or place. These "four elements and the tables of their regular variations" are a universal skeleton key: one can compare all words of all languages of all times: Russian with Arabic, Japanese with Hittite, Turkish with Sanskrit, Latin with Finnish, etc.

This "element analysis" has to be checked with "semantic analysis," according to the "laws of speech paleontology" and also with the data

**Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 16.

from the history of material culture. Where there should be semantic logical impossibilities Marr refers the case to the "era of prelogical thought."

d) All the other developments in the language superstructure have in Marr's theory two causes: (1) hybridization, (2) some changes in the economic bases and its class contradictions. On the one hand, the new linguistics has carefully to discover all hybridizations, their causes and techniques, and on the other it has to establish a proper relationship between the changes in the economic basis and in the language superstructure, taking into account the basic class nature of all languages.

e) However, the paramount task of the new linguistic teaching is not theoretical research but practical action and participation in the current "linguistic construction in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the genius Stalin and his Party." Because, according to Marr, it would be impossible to conduct the industrialization of the country without having regulated the problem of language. Consequently, the task of "new linguistics" is to be also the "scientific sword" of the Communist party in the fight against the "philological and linguistic opposition" inside the U.S.S.R.

This emphasis of Marr's on the "practical importance for immediate application of the new teaching to the language policy of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union herself" had as a background the violent discussion between the Stalin and Trotsky groups about basic Communist tactics, which had a decisive influence also on the further language policy of the Communist Party. The question was: What is the primary tactical aim? Has the Communist Party to consider as its first task the provoking of the "Communist revolution in the world," but as a second task the establishment of a "socialist economy" inside U.S.S.R. (because the organization of a "Socialist economy" in a State surrounded by the capitalists is impossible)? Or, on the contrary, must the "organization of the Socialist economy, as the arsenal of world revolution," despite capitalistic surroundings, be the first task of the Communist Party with the "organization of the world revolution" postponed and treated as number two? These few lines of background information are necessary for understanding the subsequent points of Marr's "tasks of the new Soviet linguistic theory."

As is well known, the battle between Trotsky and Stalin ended with the victory of Stalin, the termination of the NEP (New Economical Policy, a mixture of capitalism and State Socialism) and the organization of the "Socialist economy," starting with the first Five-Year Plan.

Marr taught along these lines: if it is possible to organize the "Socialist economic basis" inside the Soviet Union without waiting for the final victory of the Communist revolution over the world, then why wait until final victory for the "unification of languages"? Let us immediately, parallel with the "organization of Socialist economy inside U.S.S.R.," also organize the "unification of languages inside U.S.S.R." also under the leadership of the Communist Party and its "great" Stalin! Let us change the "language superstructure"; until now "the language-forming process" was, so to speak, unconscious; now the Communist Party will

direct it consciously and deliberately like the "Five-Year Plan." . . . Thus, the Soviet Union was conceived by Marr as a practical experimental laboratory for the "unification of languages" inside the U.S.S.R. in order to gather the necessary experience for the future linguistic worldunification after the establishment of Communist dictatorship over the world. For Marr, a Communist fanatic, the organization of the "Socialist economy" inside the Soviet Union created the assurance that "world revolution was around the corner." He thought: "Mankind, proceeding to unity of economy and classless community, cannot help but apply artificial means scientifically worked out, in order to hasten this worldprocess (of the unification of languages)."* To deliver these "artificial means" to the Communist Party scientifically worked out for speeding up the unification of languages, that is the chief task of Soviet linguistics.

To accomplish this inside the Soviet Union Marr systematically builds up the theoretical foundations:

(1) The "single language-forming process" the whole world over and its "stages" abolished all qualitative differences between the Russian and non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union. Russian became immediately related to Ugro-Finnic, Azerbaijanian, Mongolian, Armenian, etc.—to all the languages of the Soviet Union—but not only to those of the Soviet Union, but also to those of the whole world. All languages are related and all hybridized.

(2) In this "community of languages of the whole world" at large, and in the Soviet Union in a smaller area, Marr elaborated for the Russian language an "international position," so to speak, completely ignoring the fact that for centuries the conquered non-Russian peoples had been subjected to Tsarist Russification. Marr strongly emphasized the "international foundation" of the Russian language, its "primordial connection" with all other languages in the Soviet Union. He teaches that "there is historical community (oneness) between Russian and the languages of many other Union nationalities."** "Genetically they are interwoven among themselves in the preceding stage of development."† Completely passing over the persecutions and even prohibition of the non-Russian languages (Ukrainian, Polish, Lithuanian, Byelo-Ruthenian, Latvian), which had been going on for decades, Marr attributes to Russian a special "cultural role" in the history of these peoples.

(3) Against the background of the Communist revolution Marr even exalted the Russian language to a peculiarly unique position. It was the language of Lenin, of the October revolution, of the "attained Socialism," of the "avant-garde of the world proletariat and world revolution." Because the Russians carried out the Communist revolution and established

*"Concerning the Question of a Single Language," Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 398.

**F. Filin, "Genetic Mutual Relations of Russian with Languages of Other U.S.S.R. Peoples in the Works of N. Ya. Marr."

†Symposium of the "All-Soviet Central Committee on the New Alphabet," Moscow, 1936, p. 130.

the "Socialist economy", their language became the capstone of all systems of superstructures. Consequently, we can say that Marr made Russian a holy, venerated language in the Communist church, like Latin, Greek, or Old Church Slavic in the Christian Churches. Naturally this language must play a pivotal part in the "unification" of languages in the Soviet Union, for with this language the "unification" has to be practically put into effect.

f) In formulating the practical tasks of Soviet linguistics Marr follows closely the Communist Party line: "Comrade Stalin teaches us that in the era of reconstruction—technique does decide everything. This directive of our beloved leader (vozhd) of the world proletariat is an order also for the sphere of language-construction, in which the bolsheviks also must master the technique of language and of thinking." Consequently Marr says the paramount task of Communist linguistics is "to master the technique of language creation, in order to facilitate and to speed up the process of the language unification, which is now in progress and which, despite all the zig-zags, is steadily keeping pace with the process of the unification of the world economy."* Consequently the first task of all the Communist linguistics became the mastering of the techniques of language hybridizations for immediate practical use of the Communist Party, the ultimate aim being the "unification of languages" in the Soviet Union. Thus we see that the singleness of the language-forming glottogonic process the world over is not an abstract theoretical idea for Marr, but, on the contrary, it is opening to Soviet linguistics immense perspectives for immediate practical application of the techniques for the unification of languages inside the Soviet Union. It is an important instrument in the "language construction" work of the Russian Communist Party. Marr teaches that Communist linguistics cannot be divorced from practice, from life. It has to use its theoretical attainments in the "Socialist development of the peoples of U.S.S.R. and their culture on the path toward Communism."

All the problems which will face the Communist Party in the future, after a total victory on a world-wide scale for the language, are according to Marr already immediate practical problems in the Soviet Union, problems which have to be immediately solved. These tasks are: the unification of the technical and scientific terminology of all languages of U.S.S.R.; the unification of the graphic systems; the "regulation" (or better "hybridization") of the orthographies of the related Slavic nations (Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian); introducing of "unification principles" into grammar, vocabulary, terminological dictionaries; "annihilations of barriers between languages," and the establishment of general directives for the language construction, the final goal being the systematic hybridization with Russian, in order to accelerate unification. The whole unification process had to be speeded up in addition by the systematic imposition of bilingualism upon all inhabitants of U.S.S.R. giving preference to the Russian language.

Thus, the methods and the aims of Soviet linguistics are clearly

*On the Origin of Languages.

formulated by Marr and no scholar supporting Marr's work can claim that he did not know them. In his "Language and Society" Marr teaches:

"If each nation and each people represents a mixture of various ethnic ingredients, then its language, too, is similarly an historically blended phenomenon. Thus, the main task of Soviet linguistics becomes the tracing of a complex blending process resulting in qualitatively new languages and not the search for their single aboriginal source."

And finally, the main task of Soviet linguistics is, under the leadership of the Russian Communist Party and the "great Stalin," to realize their aim: the creation of the common Soviet language and the Soviet nation.

Thus, with Marr's linguistic theory the Russian Communist Party entered into linguistics and established, parallel with its economic blueprint, a blueprint for the "Communist language construction." The subconscious natural language-creating process was made by the Communist Party into a Communist-willed, conscious, planned language action. The language factory with production quotas for "unification" was established together with the Muscovite tyranny over the non-Russian languages.

How far the original ideas of the founding fathers of Socialism were transformed into a peculiar kind of Muscovite "Socialism," we can see from the following letter of Engels to J. Bloch (September 21, 1890):

"Without making one self ridiculous it would be difficult to succeed in explaining in terms of economics . . . the origin of the high German consonant mutations, which the geographical wall of partition formed by the mountains. . . . In the second place, however, history makes itself in such a way that the final result always arises from conflicts between many individual wills, of which each again has been made what it is by a host of particular conditions of life. Thus, there are innumerable intersecting forces, an infinite series of parallelogram forces which give rise to one resultant--the historical event. This again may itself be viewed as the product of a power which, taken as a whole, works unconsciously and without volition. For what each individual wills is obstructed by everyone else, and what emerges is something that no one willed. Thus, past history proceeds in the manner of a natural process and is also essentially subject to the same laws of movement."

2. Critical Evaluation of Marr's Theory

Marr really attempted, often in a purely mechanical way, to apply the basic doctrines of Marxism and its philosophical basis, the dialectical and historical materialism, to linguistics. In the following points the parallelism of Marxism and Marr's theory is striking:

a) Thought, mind, and reason are qualities of matter; consequently Marr included here also language as the expression of consciousness and thought.

b) There is a single historical process going on the world over; consequently Marr postulated a single glottogonic (language-forming) process the world over.

c) Marxism (cf. F. Engels, "Work as a Factor in the Development of Apes into Human Beings") put manual work into the basis of human origins, and Marr did the same, teaching the originality of the "manual language." The hand as an implement of labor originated the beginnings of language.

d) There are stages in the above-mentioned historical process. Consequently Marr attempted to establish such stages in the glottogonic process and similar stages in the semantic process.

e) Everything in society (political, juridical, philosophical, religious, literary, artistic developments) are superstructures of the economic basis; consequently Marr proclaimed language also a superstructure.

f) As dialectics is the universal law of movement in nature, society, and thinking, Marr regards it also as the universal law of language.

g) Class struggle is the essence of all history; Marr attempts to explain all phenomena in language as an expression of this class struggle.

h) As everything in society has a class characteristic, Marr declares that there do not exist national languages, but only class languages.

i) Reality is revolutionary; consequently Marr replaced the idea of evolution in language with the idea of "revolutionary jumps."

j) As the historical and economic process moves inevitably toward the establishment of the "one and indivisible proletarian republic" the world over after the victory of Communism, and Lenin postulated for this era the emerging of the "one Soviet nation, with one Soviet culture and one language," Marr as a linguist testifies that this tendency toward "one language" the world over really exists in the glottogonic process.

k) As the Communist Party regards it as its task to strive the world over for the victory of Marxism-Leninism, Marr proclaims it the task of Soviet linguistics to speed up the "unification process" by the application of "artificial means to language construction," and to act in the war of ideas against the democratic world as the "scientific sword of Communism under the leadership of the universal genius J. Stalin."

l) Since the Leninist doctrine teaches that after the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat the world over and the formation of the universal common economic basis, the revolutionary jumps of humanity will reach their goal and enter into the changeless paradise of the classless and nationless society. Thus Marr's idea of the future common Soviet language includes the end of the revolutionary jumps of languages and a final standstill of the dialectical, semantical, phonetical differentiation of the future changeless Soviet language. Apparently the dialectical processes in all of life will also come to a close. The changeless paradise, Moscow style, begins.

m) As the Program of the Communist International (adopted 1928, Chapter II, the ultimate aim of the Communist International-World Communism) demands "the application of the most perfect methods of statistical accounting and planned regulation of economy with the Five-Year Plan introduced later, so Marr attempts to subordinate all language formation to "planned regulation" by the Communist State.

As one notices, Marr tried by force to put linguistics into the Procrustean bed of Marxism-Leninism and to subject the free investigation

of language to Marxism, making linguistics a handmaid or henchman of militant Communism. He does not attempt to present scientific proofs for his assumptions—his “proofs” and “paleontologic analyses” are usually fantastic and rather resemble “word games”—but Marr simply extended the infallibility of the dogmas of Marxism-Leninism over linguistics.

His teaching immediately received sporadic criticism by the few specialists interested in Soviet matters outside the Soviet Union, and at the beginning also in the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union, Ushakov, Peterson, E. Polivanov (especially his “For a Marxist linguistic,” 1931) criticizes some points of Marr, also the “Yazyk-front” (language front) in 1930 attempted in a discussion to fight Marr’s “paleontology” and “class conception of languages.” The opposition of the non-Russian philologists, especially of the Ukrainians, was silenced immediately by the Communist Party because many Russian Communist scholars, among them M. N. Pokrowski and W. M. Friche, welcomed Marr’s theory as the “basis of Marxist linguistics.” Outside the Soviet Union, Dirr, Meillet, and Vendryes opposed Marr and the Swedish Communist, Ch. Sheld (Zur Verwandtschaftslehre: die Kaukasische Mode, 1929), called Marr’s theory even anti-Marxian and said it was based on an “idealistic foundation.” (Idealism is the worst sin a Marxist can be accused of.)

Generally speaking, if we put aside the pure Marxist ideas and critically investigate what Marr has contributed to the advancement of linguistics, comparing with his achievements the results of the separate schools of general linguistics and of the Indo-European comparative philology, with all its ramifications of special branches outside the Soviet Union, we are actually shocked by its crude and arbitrary character and the lack of logic in Marr’s views. If we find from time to time an applicable idea, it is an old acquaintance from the old “bourgeois” linguistics, here in “Marxist” disguise, presented by Marr or his pupils as a “Marxist achievement.” Long before Marr linguistics was aware of the importance of “social dialects” inside the languages of nations (Meillet, Schrijnen, Breal, Van Ginneken, etc.) and studied their importance for semantics. Marr’s semantic “discoveries,” like the “cases of contradictions in the meanings of a single stem,” trumpeted forth by Soviet linguists as “the great achievements,” are old stuff in Western Europe, even among Slavistic scholars (cf. Karl Abel, Ilchester Lectures on Comparative Lexicology, 1880; Karl Abel, Ueber den Gegensinn der Urworte, and Jahrbuch fuer Psychoanalytische und Psychopathologische Forschungen, Vol. II, 1910). Also Schuchardt and Meringer in their “Woerter und Sachen” long ago stressed the importance of culture-historical processes for every language in European linguistics.

What especially astonished any non-Communist is Marr’s utter incapacity to approach languages also as an object of art, for he looks on them only as mere material for the future “unified Communist Soviet language.”

On the whole the linguists outside the Soviet Union regarded Marr’s theory as a revolutionary “children disease” of Communism, using Marr’s etymologies for jokes and anecdotes at linguistic meetings in

Europe. His "paleontology" introduced a new branch into linguistic literature: the humoristic linguistics.

But there was a deeply tragic aspect in Marr's theory, which was almost completely unnoticed by European and American scholars: the practical application of Marr's principle to all non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union, especially to the Slavic languages, Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian.

Thus the terroristic police State has fathered, in the Soviet Union, a "police linguistics."

Chapter V

THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST POLICY WITH RESPECT TO THE LANGUAGES OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES 1920-1936

In the previous chapters we have pictured the historical background of the struggle of the non-Russian nationalities and their democratic governments against Russian Communism, the heir of the old Russian imperialism. The systematically planned aggression of Russian Communism against the non-Russian peoples after 1918 ended with their gradual occupation and the establishment of the second, improved edition of the old Russian "prison of nations," the Soviet Union.

We shall now trace the successive stages of the Russian Communist policy toward the non-Russian peoples, their cultures and languages. We shall present this policy and its stages in the Ukraine as an example.

I. The Fate of the Ukrainian Language in Soviet Ukraine

This nation as the second largest Slavic nation, with its Kievan traditions, represents from the oldest times to the present the antithesis of Moscow. Moscow stands for absolutism, tyranny, Asia-Kiev for democracy, republicanism, Europe. Besides, the Ukraine was and is in the Soviet Union the natural leader of the front of the non-Russian oppressed nationalities against Soviet Moscow. Therefore the Russian policy toward the Ukrainian nation and its language gives scholars an abundance of material illustrating what happened also to the cultures and languages of all non-Russian national groups, Slavic and non-Slavic, in their ostensibly "national republics" of the newly created Soviet Union after 1922.

We divide this Russian Communist policy into the following stages:

1. Program of Russification of the Ukraine, 1920-1922

The Ukrainian National Democratic Government was reconstituted, after the downfall of Germany and its puppet Skoropadsky, in the form of the Ukrainian Directory, headed by the Socialists, W. Wynnichenko; later S. Petlura. Bertram D. Wolfe* has brought to light a most valuable document, in which Trotsky proposed to Lenin "a variant" in January, 1919, "an agreement with the Petlurist" in order to concentrate all Red forces on the Don Front. But the alliance of Ukraine and Poland in 1920 is proof that Ukrainian leaders never had illusions about the very essence of Russian Communism and fought it without compromise. The

*B. D. Wolfe, "The Influence of Early Military Decisions Upon the National Structure of the Soviet Union," The American Slavic and East European Review, Vol. IX, p. 171.

Russian Communists in this attack on Ukrainian democracy tactically employed also the Ukrainian Communists, especially the so-called "Borotbists," a Ukrainian national pro-Communist group, later called "Communist Borotbists." All these Ukrainian Communists—Skrypnyk, Chubar, Kotsiubynsky, Shumsky, Manuisky, etc.—headed the Russian Red Army in its invasion of the Ukraine and they represented the "Ukrainian" bait for the gullible Ukrainian peasants and intelligentsia. To the peasants were promised farm property in an Ukrainian Rada Republic (Ukr. Rada—Russ. Soviet).

After the final occupation of the Ukraine and the retreat of the Ukrainian Democratic Government into exile in Western Europe (after the Treaty of Riga, March 18, 1921), these Ukrainian Communists, and the Ukrainian Communist Government of the still independent Ukrainian Rada Republic (but virtually Russian Communist stooges), were confronted with the problem of the further cultural and national development of the Ukrainian nation. There can be no doubt that these Ukrainian Communists such as Skrypnyk, Shumsky, etc., and their followers, were Ukrainians, even Communist Ukrainian patriots, for whom, as presently for Tito, their nation and her interest came first. They believed rather naïvely that real equality between the Russians and the non-Russian ethnic groups could and would be brought about in the national republics of the projected Soviet Union. They called "home," in 1920, W. Wynnychenko from exile.

After the "independent" Ukrainian Rada Republic was occupied by the Russian Red Army, though still functioning in the Riga Treaty as a completely free, independent State, the Russian Communists, having centralized the army and party, gave the Ukrainian Communists a great surprise, the so-called "Lyebyed theory on two cultures." Its main points were: during the Tsaristic times the towns in the Ukraine were partly Russified; consequently in the towns "Russian culture" predominated, but the villages are dominated completely by the Ukrainian culture. Thus the "proletariat" has the "Russian culture" and used the Russian language. Only "the peasants and intelligentsia" speak Ukrainian and represent Ukrainian culture. The future belongs to the "proletariat, the advance guard of the world revolution," the future belongs to the proletarian culture—that is, to the Russian culture and Russian language. The corollary of Lyebyed is: "Life itself" will bring it about that the Ukrainian culture will "flow into" the Russian culture, that the Ukrainian culture of the peasant class will "unite" itself with the "proletarian culture" into "one" culture, the Russian culture. Thus Lyebyed demanded that the Communist Party should direct all its work toward the "inevitable victory of Russian culture" in the Ukraine as the "proletarian culture." Soviet Moscow attempted to carry out this program by using the popularity of Wynnychenko. Wynnychenko was even appointed Vice-Prime Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Government. After a stay of half a year in the country, he succeeded in getting outside the Soviet Union, and immediately published a public protest against the occupation of Ukraine by Russia in the socialist journal Nova Doba on October 23, 1920:

"The policy of Russia toward the non-Russian nationalities of the former Tsarist Empire, especially in regard to the Ukraine, is the policy of the old 'one and indivisible Russia.' Never has a government in a more cynical manner fooled public opinion by lies than has the government of Soviet Russia. In words are proclaimed 'self-determination rights for the nationalities,' the solemn proclamation outside the frontiers of the Ukraine of 'the independent Ukrainian Rada Republic,' etc., but in deeds another policy is pursued, namely the re-enslavement of all the non-Russian countries, the rebuilding of the 'one and indivisible' by a brutal Muscovite centralization, exploitation and plundering of all borderlands by the center, etc. And that is done under the slogan of Communism."

In the manifesto of the Ukrainian Communist Party Group "The Revolution Is in Danger," written by Wynnychenko and sent to all European Socialist Parties, the Ukrainian proto-Titoists summed up the nationality policy of Soviet Moscow as follows:

"The nationality policy of the Russian Communist Party in the Ukraine can by no means be regarded as a question of tactics, not even for a single moment. There is the deep traditional goal of that policy, apparently inherited by the Russian Communists from the political history of Muscovy and Russian history, a history bespattered with blood and filth. That is the traditional policy for the preservation by the Russians of the 'one indivisible Russia' at any price. We repeat it: at any price and by any means. It is clear that the Ukraine in the old Russian Empire was of greater importance than India in the British. . . . Therefore the very idea of the existence of the Ukrainian language always caused sleepless nights for the Russians. Any expression of national self-consciousness and activity in the Ukraine was regarded as a crime against the 'Russian Statehood.' . . . We must point out that also for the Russian socialists (mensheviks) and communists (bolsheviks) the 'unity and indivisibility of the territory of the old Russian Empire' was and is the same holy dogma that it was for the Tsarist generals, Russian estate owners, factory-owners, bureaucrats, scholars and journalists.

"In spite of all the chatter of the Russian communists, in spite of all their denials of our contention in their programmatic declarations, solemn proclamations and various fine declamations, the fact remains that the nationality-policy of the Russian Communist Party in the Ukraine is the policy of the 'one and indivisible Russia,' in which they only put another (Russian Communist) content than their predecessors did.

"Officially and ostensibly there exists a Government of the 'Ukrainian Socialist Rada Republic.' But it is not elected, it is not even formed by the Communist Party of the bolsheviks of Ukraine; it is appointed by the Polit-bureau of the Russian Communist Party. It is a bureaucratic apparatus of the Muscovite center, which must execute the orders given to it. . . ."

In a later article ("For A Common Revolutionary Front") Wynnychenko explained why Soviet Moscow deemed it necessary to preserve the Statehood of Ukraine:

"It was necessary! On the Russian bolsheviks rests a peculiar curse their demogogy often becomes a boomerang and hits themselves. That happened also in this case. In order to 'get the support of the Ukrainian peasantry and to control it'--as Ch. Radovsky (then Prime Minister of Soviet Ukraine) with the cynicism of a pickpocket caught in action, recently said--it was necessary to proclaim (and to declare) the independence of Ukraine. In order to fool the European capitalists and workers there was even organized an 'independent Ukrainian Commissariat of Foreign Affairs.' "

Not only Wynnychenko, but all the Socialist leaders of the non-Russian nationalities since 1920 warned the free world against Russian Communism as the new form of Russian imperialism.

We see in the Lyebied program a good example of Russian mentality, with complete absence of any conception and understanding of the elementary human rights of non-Russian peoples or individuals, of justice or even simple decency. The Russian Tsar Russified Ukrainian towns for decades with the most brutal and inhuman terror. After his downfall overnight, the achievements of this Tsaristic Russification were for the Russian Communists a "Russian proletarian ownership" and they considered it their "international proletarian duty" to prolong the work of the Russian Tsar to its complete consummation. In the Russian mind there is no notion that a wrong act must be righted, repaired, compensated for. Such considerations are in the Russian view only bourgeois scruples.

Not before the Twelfth Communist Party Congress (1923) was this theory partly overcome thanks to the influence of Lenin. We still have an audible echo of the discussion about the Lyebied theory in the pamphlet of M. Skrypnyk, "On the Theory About the Struggle of Two Cultures," 1926. Skrypnyk, then Ukrainian Commissar of Education, compares the Russian-Ukrainian relations with the conflict between the Czech workers against the German workers in Bohemia in the old Socialist movement long before World War I. The leaders of the German proletariat in Bohemia also recognized the necessity of a "brotherly union of peoples"; they refused to accept only one principle: the right of the Czech nation to her own cultural and national development.

2. Program of the so-called "Ukrainization," 1923-1929

After the Twelfth Communist Party Congress the "Ukrainization started." What does this word mean? The Russian Communists from Soviet Moscow graciously granted to the Ukrainian nation the right "to speak and to write and to think in Ukrainian" and to develop her own national culture in her own Ukrainian Rada Republic, on her own Ukrainian soil. To use the mother tongue--that was this "great achievement" of the Ukrainian nation of which the Ukrainian Communists and the Russian Communist Party so vociferously boasted as the "solution of the national problem." Thus on August 1, 1923, the party issued a decree ordering the "Ukrainization":

"The workers' and peasants' government considers it necessary at the present time to focus the attention of the state on the spreading of

the knowledge of the Ukrainian language. The formal equality of the two languages most widespread in Ukraine, the Ukrainian and the Russian, is inadequate. As a result of the not great development of Ukrainian culture in general, as a result of the lack of necessary textbooks, the absence of sufficiently trained personnel, life, as experience has shown, brings about the factual dominance of the Russian language. In order to remove this inequality, the workers' and peasants' government makes use of a series of practical steps, which although maintaining the equality of the languages of all nationalities in the Ukrainian territory, must guarantee the Ukrainian language a place which corresponds to the number and proper importance of the Ukrainian people in the territory of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic."

What were the real reasons for this "concession" of Moscow? Surely it was not because of respect for national or human rights, or because of moral considerations, which have no place in Communist politics. In our opinion Moscow's aim to destroy the independence of the Ukrainian Rada Republic, the Ukrainian Communist "brother" State, does not change. But under the pressure of necessities of domestic and foreign politics Moscow changed its tactics.

(1) Thus the "Ukrainization" was granted to the Ukrainians in order to concentrate the whole attention of the Ukrainian intelligentsia on the cultural field. Soviet Moscow permitted the Ukrainians "to play" with language, literature, art, philological and historical research, while using this very time for the legal formulation and formation of the Soviet Union, i.e., for the "constitutional unification" of the Ukraine (and the other non-Russian nationalities) with Soviet Russia into the Soviet Union. Thus on July 7, 1922, the independent Rada Ukraine joined the Soviet Union "voluntarily," as an "equal member" of the Soviet Union; on May 10, 1925, the Soviet Union constitution was finally ratified; on May 25, 1927, the financial autonomy of the Ukraine was abolished; on July 15, 1928, the new Russian agrarian codex was introduced into the Ukraine. This was soon followed by the full centralization with Moscow of the Ukrainian economic trusts, banks, statistical offices, etc. Literally everything was subjected to Soviet Moscow.

In this way Soviet Moscow, apparently granting to the Ukrainians in their "Ukrainian State" cultural self-determination, in reality gradually abolished all distinctive legal and constitutional features of a free Ukrainian State. Thus were systematically laid the constitutional and legal foundations for the program of Russification of the next period. But there were also urgent motives of internal and foreign politics for granting the concession of "Ukrainization":

(2) Throughout the whole Ukrainian territory occupied by the Russians numerous Ukrainian partisan groups were actively engaged in fighting the Communists and confining them to the large cities.

(3) The Russian Communist Government was still opposed by France and her allies and at any moment they could use the revolutionary movement in the Ukraine to bring the national problem also of all non-Russian nationalities of the former Tsarist Empire to the fore.

(4) This danger was the more serious inasmuch as the Ukrainian Democratic exile government still had an army of 50,000 men at its disposal, which could be easily increased by volunteers from the Western Ukrainian countries under Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Roumania. This danger was even aggravated by the return into exile of Wynnychenko.

(5) Consequently the possibility of a common front of all Ukrainians outside the Soviet Union had to be excluded, the Ukrainian exile government had to be weakened by splitting its followers in two camps, one of which would return "home"; finally a Sovietophile movement had to be created in all Western Ukraine countries under foreign rule (East Galicia, Wolynia, Bukovina, Carpathian Ukraine).

Thus, the "Ukrainization"* is a purely tactical trick of the Russian Communists for the appeasement of the Ukrainian peasantry and intelligentsia inside the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and on the other it was a tactical maneuver to weaken the exile government by "calling home" the emigrated intelligentsia for the "construction of the Ukrainian national culture," and creating in the Western Ukrainian provinces under Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Roumania a sympathetic attitude toward the "Ukrainian workers' and peasants' state." And soon the intelligentsia and the left-wing parties began to believe that in that State there were real possibilities for the development of Ukrainian culture.

All the information from inside the Rada Ukraine soon seemed to support such expectations. The newly introduced NEP policy brought a speedy recovery of the Ukrainian economy, even a kind of prosperity. The Russified towns soon were filled with the Ukrainian peasantry and by the new Ukrainian working class from the surrounding villages, and became completely Ukrainized. The process of the de-Russification of the towns was speeded up by a natural development of Ukrainian schools, theaters, movies, and the press, 85 per cent of which was Ukrainized. The Ukrainian towns soon became the leading centers of Ukrainian culture and economic life, which was entirely in the hands of the Ukrainian co-operatives. As the Russian red terror of the Cheka weakened, the "Ukrainian Socialist State" seemed a reality. Above all this impression was brought about by the really vast publishing activity of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev and the astonishing development of Ukrainian theater, art, and music. All government employees were required

*Every non-Russian nationality had such a short period of "Ukrainization," that means of respect for the language of the native population. Thus, Dr. M. H. Erturk (Miliy Turkestan, 70/71) says: "During the period 1920-1926 Moscow was not able to proceed openly against Turki culture and the Turki language, as the task of sovietising Turkestan was the primary consideration. A complete sovietising of Turkestan would further Russia's future plans. During this period Russia was not in a position to force the Turkestanians to learn Russian. On the contrary, the Russians living in Turkestan were prevailed upon to learn the language of the indigenous population, in order to effect a rapprochement between the Russians and the Turkestanians and to bring the people under Soviet influence."

fully to master Ukrainian and in all government offices special courses were organized for that purpose. Also the Russians began to Ukrainize the army, in which the Ukrainians formed 42 per cent.

Consequently, leading scholars, writers, and party leaders decided to "return home," such as M. Hrushevsky, Nikowsky, Chechil, Khrystiuk, Shrah, etc.; from the Western Ukraine St. Rudnitsky, Krushelnytsky, Lozynsky, Chaykiwsky, Lossak, etc., "went home." The Commissar for Education Skrypnyk even considered a plan to invite 6000 teachers from Western Ukraine into the Rada Ukraine.

The magnificent development of Ukrainian literature in the Soviet Ukraine decisively influenced the political emigration and all Ukrainians outside the Soviet Union. There soon were formed various literary groups: Grono, Pluh, Hart, Lanka, and the very active neo-classicists of Vaplite. From 1925 to 1928 there was conducted among the leading writers and groups a "literary discussion" embracing all basic problems of Ukrainian culture. During this discussion the distinguished writer Khvylovy and his literary theory held the attention of the whole country. The relative freedom of literary production (the censorship was still exercised by Ukrainian Communists not by Russians) soon revealed the basic consciousness of the Ukrainians that the Ukrainian nation with all its traditions belongs to Europe, that it considers Europe as its cultural and spiritual mother country, and deeply opposes Moscow's Asiatic world outlook and tyranny as completely foreign and contemptible to the Ukrainian mentality. The play "Narodnyj Malakhij" of M. Kulish appeared in which he criticized with unexcelled irony the Russian Communist regime, comparing it to an asylum and a brothel. The works of H. Kosynka, Holowa Khodi, of W. Gzychi, Chorne Ozero, followed the national line, and especially the novel, Waldshnepy, by M. Khvylovy, clearly formulated the cultural orientation of this Communist Ukraine: away from Moscow and Asia! Turn your face to Western Europe! The publication of historians revived all the old European traditions, when the Ukraine joined Lithuania and later the Polish Commonwealth. The economist, Wolobuyiw, analyzed the economic status of the Soviet Ukraine in the Soviet Union and proved its exploitation as a colony. He accused Soviet Moscow of sabotaging the realization of the ideals of the October Revolution and of not liberating the former oppressed nationalities of Tsarist Russia. Gradually the whole Ukraine was embraced by this anticolonial ideology, which regarded as Ukrainian Communist postulates the political, economic, and cultural independence of Ukraine from Moscow. This ideology was supported by the whole Ukrainian intelligentsia, peasantry, the youth, the Ukrainian Komsomol (Communist Youth Union), and all the leading Ukrainian Communists.

We should like now to sum up the principles which crystallized during the short time of the relative freedom of Ukrainian culture, as expressed in Ukrainian literature and philology by the so-called "Western school":

a) It defended the basic principle of the full equality and independence of the Ukrainian nation, culture, and language among all Slavic languages, as a separate unit.

b) In history it accepted the basic theory of Hrushewsky, about the three original centers of Eastern Slavdom, which denied to Moscow all historical rights to the Kiev Rus' Empire.

c) In economy it fought against "colonialism," the economic exploitation of Ukraine by Moscow.

d) In linguistics all research and publication were based on the principles of Indo-European comparative philology and comparative Slavistics; especially the ideas of Humboldt, Wundt, and Vossler continued to influence the scholars. They demanded the change of the Old Bulgarian Church-Slavic script to the Latin letters of Western Europe.

e) The scholars demanded the right of "language self-determination and self-determination and self-government for the Ukrainian and for any non-Russian nation" in the Soviet Union. This meant that the Russian Communists had no right to interfere in the problems of the non-Russian languages and to dictate. It was the task of the scholars of the separate non-Russian nations to establish the orthographic, grammatical, and terminological norms of the separate languages and to conduct free objective research in the field of linguistics and philology; at least one field, "language," the Western school attempted to free from Russian Communist dictatorship.

f) All languages in the Soviet Union have equal rights with the Russian language; it is the privilege and duty of the writers, poets, and scholars of every individual non-Russian nation to develop and to cultivate their languages according to the needs and wishes of the speaking community, in order to make the language an instrument of perfect understanding among the individuals using it, and of educating the masses toward democracy and humanism. Full liberty of languages as realized in Switzerland, the U.S.A., and the British Empire was the ideal of these demands.

g) This "linguistic" opposition against the Russian Communist dictatorship was supported by the "literary opposition" of the Khvylovy group, advocating the cultural orientation toward Western Europe, which with its world outlook is significant for the period. M. Khvylovy in his pamphlet "Thoughts Against the Current" (1926) spoke out clearly:

"Today when Ukrainian poetry travels an entirely independent path, it cannot be delivered to Moscow by any Russian gifts whatsoever. In our literature we have imbedded the theory of Communist independence. Is Russia an independent state? Of course! And we too are independent! We face the question: From which world literature should our literature take its cue? By no means and never from Moscow! That is definite and without reservation. From Russian literature, from its styles, Ukrainian poetry must flee as fast as it can!"

In his novel Walshnepy (1927), Khvylovy prophetically warned the Ukrainians about the true nature of Russian Communism; he declared the national policy of the Russian Communists a deception, and said that in reality they were "gatherers of the Russian lands," imperialists, who were preparing the restitution of the old "one and indivisible" empire of the Tsars in a new form. Communist Russia, he said, was systematically

flooding Ukraine with Russian workers, but Ukrainian interests demand the development of the Ukrainian proletariat. Ukraine must create it, must develop her own intelligentsia in all spheres of life, speaking also Western European languages, and representing Ukraine before the world. Ukraine does not wish to remain a province of Russia, but wants to be a member of the European civilized nations. The only thought which animates the masses is the national renaissance of the Ukrainian nation.

h) This whole "linguistic and literary" opposition against Moscow was fully backed by the leading Ukrainian Communists, such as Skrypnyk, Shumsky, Maksymovich, Wasylkiv, Turyansky, and others. It is true, they were Communists but they championed Western European Socialism and held the cynicism and brutality of the Russian brand of Socialism in absolute contempt as an expression of the old Muscovite despotism.

If we analyze all these tenets it is self-evident that this "linguistic and literary" opposition was the last line of defense against the Russian Communist dictatorship. Their ideological roots were the principles of the right of self-determination of nations, proclaimed by Wilson. It stands to reason that this ideology was fully supported in its fight for the freedom of thought and research by the Ukrainian political emigration outside the Soviet Union. This anti-Russian emigration (in the majority social-democrats, social revolutionaries, and radical democrats), numbering half a million people, found in part a refuge in Czechoslovakia. In that free country President Masaryk and the then foreign minister, Benesh, helped by grants to organize the Ukrainian University, the Ukrainian Teachers College, The Ukrainian Podebrady Academy, The Ukrainian Publishing House, the Ukrainian Art School, etc. Czechoslovakia, with its capital Praha, became the capital of the free Slavic thought, for here also the Russian emigration had its Russian Faculty and Kondakov-Art Institute, and the Byelo-Ruthenians had their center. This Praha center, despite all Communist censorship and the Iron Curtain along the frontiers, penetrated into the Soviet Union by the underground route and conspiracy, and stimulated the opposition of the Western school.

Thus, around "language, linguistics, philology, literature," around this "fight for the freedom of the Ukrainian language" in the Soviet Ukraine the ideological democratic opposition concentrated against the Russian Communist dictatorship, because the "freedom of language" includes the abolition of the Communist dictatorship at least in the language sphere and hence implicitly the "self-determination and self-government of nations and individuals in this sphere." Therefore, this fight was essentially a struggle for the restitution of human rights and abolition of the Russian Communist dictatorship. And this fight was going on not only in the Ukraine but in all the non-Russian Republics of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Communist Party was well aware of the paramount importance of these apparently purely "linguistic and philological" problems. It felt that in reality a political fight for the freedom of thought was in progress. This "linguistic and philological" struggle threatened to pull down the whole Communist ideology about the year 1928. The

Russian Communists controlling the Ukraine immediately warned party headquarters in Moscow and Stalin about these developments. Stalin's letter to Kaganovich, the elimination of the literary group Vaplite because of "nationalist deviations" in 1928, the creation of the V.U.S.P.P. (All-Ukrainian Association of Proletarian Writers, linked strictly to the party line), and the recognition of Marr's linguistic theory as party line were the first reactions of Moscow.

The uncovering of the "Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine" (S.V.U.), (1929-1930) closes this period. This Union S.V.U. is the climax of all the above-mentioned developments inside the Ukrainian Communist Party, in Ukrainian linguistics, literature, and liberal arts. In all Ukrainian towns many hundreds of Ukrainian intellectuals were rounded up by the G.P.U. and either shot or deported to slave camps without trial. The leaders of this conspiracy, with the Academician S. Yefremov at the head, were the object of a mock trial in Kharkiv. Among the defendants was also a prominent Jewish journalist, Z. Margulis, who represented in the S.V.U. the Jewish nation. On February 7, 1930, all defendants were given prison terms, mostly the then maximum penalty of 10 years, which later, when a new penal law went into effect, were doubled.* What did the trial of the S.V.U. prove? The G.P.U. with its well-known methods uncovered:

a) The existence of a widely ramified conspiratorial organization, based on the cell system of small groups of five persons, penetrating all Ukraine, all classes, offices, and Communist organizations—called "Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine." Subordinated to S.V.U. was the S.U.M. (Soyuz Ukr. Molodi = Union of Ukrainian Youth) which embraced the youth of schools, colleges, and universities (more than 6000 members were sent into slave labor camps after the trial of S.V.U.). S.V.U. had its branches in Kharkiv, Odessa, Yekaterynoslav, Chernyhiy, Poltava, Nykolaiw, Kherson, Wynnytsya.

b) Inside it there existed an ideological general staff, the B.U.D.,

*Here is their list: S. Yefremov, academician; Prof. V. Sadovsky; Prof. V. Durdukiy; Prof. A. Nikowsky; L. Starytska-Cherniakhivska, writer; Prof. J. Hermaize; M. Pavlushkov, student; B. Matushevsky, student; A. Hrebenetsky, teacher; M. Kudrytsky, M.D.; Prof. V. Hantsov; Prof. A. Cherniakhivsky; Prof. H. Holoskevych; A. Barbar, M.D.; V. Udovenko, M.D.; V. Pidhayestsky, M.D.; Professor of Astronomy H. Kholodny; M. Kryveniuk, economist; Prof. V. Strashkevych; V. Sharko, mathematician; Prof. V. Dubrovsky; Professor of Chemistry K. Turkal; Prof. A. Bolozovych; Most Rev. M. Chekhivsky, of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church; Prof. M. Botvynovsky; M. Ivchenko, writer; Z. Margulis, journalist; N. Tokarevsky, teacher; Prof. Andrew Zalisky; Y. Trezvynsky, teacher; Prof. H. Ivanytsia; Prof. V. Doha; Prof. K. Shylo; Professor of Jurisprudence K. Tovkach; Prof. V. Shepotiev; P. Blyzniuk, teacher; M. Lahuta, teacher; M. Slabchenko, academician; T. Slabchenko (son), student; K. Panchenko-Chalenko, cooperative expert; Prof. P. Yefremov (brother of the academician); L. Bidnova, teacher; M. Bily, teacher; J. Karpovych, teacher; and V. Atamovsky, economist.

the "Brotherhood of the Ukrainian Statehood." This organization directed from Kiev the Ukrainian exile government in Paris through special couriers.

c) The Ukrainian Autocephal Orthodox Church and her bishop, Chekhivsky, played a prominent part in the S.V.U. Twice a year the Church organized its general meetings of priests and laymen. The bishop's brother W. Chekhivsky openly declared, replying during the trial to the question why he had entered the priesthood: "I entered the priesthood to serve the Ukrainian people, to foster its national consciousness, in order that, if not we, our children and grandchildren might see Ukraine free and independent."

d) The members of S.V.U. had everywhere to foster the four following points: to stress actively the national problem and to propagate democracy; to criticize the so-called "Socialist construction" and to bring into relief its negative aspects; to fight demoralization in the life of communities and families, provoked by Communism; to emphasize everywhere the importance of the creative individuality in cultural and national life against the dictatorship of the proletariat. Thus the cultural program was dedicated to a constant struggle for the really national content of Ukrainian culture and language.

e) The S.V.U. had as its political program to conduct everywhere the Ukrainian resistance and liberation movement and also to keep contact with similar movements among all other non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union. The common front among them especially with Byeloruthenia, with the Caucasian and Turkestanian nations was regarded as a condition for the future revolutionary liberation of the country. This ideology of S.V.U. made a tremendous impression on Soviet Moscow, because in 1930 there was discovered also a "national opposition" in the All-Ukrainian Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Kiev under the leadership of its director, Prof. Yaworsky.

As a reaction against this state of affairs Marr's linguistic theory was to be fully applied by the Russian Communist Party to the Ukrainian language and all the non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union. Soviet Moscow was, of course, well aware that the "freedom of languages" of the non-Russian nationalities represented a very grave danger to Russian dictatorship. The idea of freedom is indivisible. Freedom is an integral whole, and hence the freedom of language leads in a chain reaction to full political and cultural freedom. The idea of totalitarian dictatorship is also an indivisible whole; it must consequently destroy all freedoms of all spheres of life, else the freedom even of the smallest cultural field will sooner or later explode the tyranny.

3. Program of the Russification of the Ukrainian language by the application of Marr's linguistic theory in order to strengthen the constitutional "unification" by cultural and linguistic Russification, 1929-1936.

a) Historical background

The arrival of Lazar Kaganovich in Kiev in a special mission from Stalin, and the trial of the S.V.U. are the turning points in the Russian policy toward the Ukraine. Kaganovich attempted to use the Ukrainian

Communists for the "liquidation of Ukrainian nationalism," that is, for the Russification of the Ukraine. But the Ukrainian Communists, like Tito later, had the support of the whole Communist and non-Communist intelligentsia and regarded Kaganovich's mission as an interference in the internal affairs of the Ukraine and as a new manifestation of the old well-known Russian chauvinistic intolerance and imperialism. Stalin soon decided that the very foundation of the rebellious Ukrainian nation must be broken—the peasant class—in order to restore Russian domination, and he was sure that for this purpose he would have the most loyal collaboration of all Russian "patriots."

A suitable opportunity presented itself with the liquidation of the N.E.P. and the introduction of the first Five-Year Plan. Soviet Moscow anticipated the serious opposition of the Ukrainian peasantry against collectivization. A whole army of the Russian G.P.U. forces occupied the Ukraine and on Stalin's order had to use the opposition of the Ukrainian farmer class for the destruction of "Ukrainian separatism and nationalism." With the old Muscovite brutality—now impersonated in Stalin—the opposition of the peasantry was quickly broken by systematic genocide, mass murder, mass deportations of the intelligentsia into the slave labor camps, and by enforced mass evacuation of whole districts of peasants and their transportation to the Siberian Tundra. By this means Soviet Moscow deliberately produced in the Ukraine the great famine of 1930-1931 in which—according to Russian Soviet statistics—five million people died in the "granary of Europe," the Ukraine.* Cannibalism among the victims was a result of this savage inhumanity to man.

The period 1928-1932 was the period of the application of Russian genocide to the Ukrainian peasant class as to the very foundations of the Ukrainian nation. The next period, 1933-1936, is the period of Russian genocide applied to the Ukrainian Communists and intelligentsia. By terror, exile, and wholesale murder the bearers of Ukrainian culture had to be liquidated.

After this physical weakening of the Ukrainian nation and the complete ruin of the former economic prosperity the whole Ukraine was again under the bloody Russian Communist terror, and the systematic pogrom against the Ukrainian language, literature, and culture was carried out with such severity that all previous Russian Tsarist persecutions pale into insignificance by comparison. Two new Ukrainian conspiracies were discovered which continued the work of S.V.U. against Soviet Moscow. In 1931 the "Ukrainian National Center" (Chechel, Holubóvych, Mazurenko, Lyzaniwsky, Khrystyak) was liquidated, in 1933 the U.V.O. (Ukrainian Military Organization). This time Moscow did not risk a public trial in order not to publicize the Ukrainian resistance. The N.K.W.D. shot the leaders and again hundreds were sent into the slave labor camps.

*Cf. Michael Mishchenko, M.D., "My Testimony on the Genocide in Ukraine," *Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 3. Dr. Mishchenko is presently in the U.S.A., a living witness of that time.

Gradually Soviet Moscow and the Russian political police prepared the whole plan of action and the necessary hangmen and henchmen were found for this Russian Communist pogrom against the Ukrainian language, culture, and its Western European traditions.

In the Ukraine Stalin, on January 24, 1933, delegated P. Postyshev, of half-Russian and half-Tunguz origin, as his personal plenipotentiary for the destruction of "Ukrainian nationalism." To Postyshev, who soon earned the same notoriety as Muravyow in Wilna, and is usually called the hangman of Ukraine, were subordinated all the Russian N.K.W.D. forces, which were especially sent into the Ukraine. He ordered:

(1) The purge of the Ukrainian Communist government. Ulas Chubar, its head, was fired and another Ukrainian Communist P. Liubchenko became the chief of the government; the commissar for education, decisive for all educational and cultural affairs, M. Skrypnyk, an old friend of Lenin, was replaced by the renegade W. Zatonsky.

(2) The mass purge of the Communist Party in the Ukraine; 28,000 persons out of 120,000 members and candidates of the party were expelled by October 15 as enemies of the people. From the 390 administrative districts of the Ukraine 237 secretaries of the party centers were expelled, 249 directors of the executive district committees, 158 district chairmen.

(3) The mass purges of Ukrainian Communists and Ukrainian non-party intelligentsia of the Commissariat of Education. By this measure there perished 4000, 300 of other Commissariats, several thousands of the Cooperatives, 300 scholars of the high institutions of education.

(4) The liquidation of the leading Ukrainian theaters "Berezil" and the exile of its head, L. Kurbas, into a slave labor camp; the purge of the Ukrainian film industry and of the radio personnel.

(5) The shooting of the Ukrainian writers Wlyzko, Kosynka, Burewij, A. Krushelnytsky and two sons, etc., and the exile into slave labor camps of some hundreds of intelligentsia, among them the writers Pidmohylny, Kulish, Wrazhlywy, and Iwchenko; Kirov's murder in Leningrad served as a justification of these crimes.

(6) A complete pogrom of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev; the autonomy of the Academy was annulled. Nearly all the Ukrainian linguists were purged, and the special institutes for Ukrainian philology abolished; new academicians of non-Ukrainian descent were appointed; M. Hrushewsky was exiled to Moscow; the famous scholar, A. Krymsky, the Academy secretary of the Academy, was fired and a Russian Communist, A. Palladin, who does not speak Ukrainian, appointed as secretary—in reality as a Russian censor; finally the Ukrainian Academy was converted into a simple branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, called officially Academy of the U.S.S.R. Virtually it was a Russification of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

(7) The full application of Marr's linguistic theory to the Ukrainian language. To this matter we dedicate our next chapter.

As a background for these actions, Postyshev transferred the capital of the Soviet Ukraine from Kharkiv to Kiev. The Russian Communists preferred until then to have the capital "nearer" to the Russian border

for eventual retreats; they disliked the Ukrainized Kiev, with all the traditions and architectural witnesses of Ukrainian culture. Now Soviet Moscow put its boot on the very heart of the Ukraine, making Kiev the center of all the Russian Army apparatus. In order to "appease" the Ukrainians and to give the fellow travelers outside the Soviet Union material for propaganda Postyshev erected in Kiev a large monument to the Ukrainian national poet, Taras Shevchenko; to the same man who cursed Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky for his union with the Russian Tsars, who glorified Hetman Iwan Mazepa for his struggle for the freedom of Ukraine, who in his testament imposed on Ukrainians the duty to free the country from foreign oppressors and held up to the Ukrainian nation George Washington as an ideal, with "the new and just law," the American Declaration of Independence. At the same time Postyshev introduced the official cult in the Soviet Ukraine of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, etc. And finally the Russian Communist Party organized, under the slogan "Congress of the victors," the Congress of the Communist Party in 1934. These facts are a good illustration of the Russian Communist methods: behind the monument of T. Shevchenko, Soviet Moscow applies genocide to the Ukrainian nation and initiates a pogrom against Ukrainian culture; behind "peace movements" wars are prepared, behind "internationalism" the climax of Russian black-hundred chauvinism is reached. To deceive the class enemy is the purpose of Leninist-Stalinist strategy.

b) Russification of the Ukrainian language

We have to keep in mind, in order to understand what is now to be described, Stalin's statement at the Sixteenth Conference of the All-Union Party, 1930. He formulated the ultimate aim of Russian Communism regarding non-Russian nationalities as follows:

"The flourishing of national culture and languages during the period of the dictatorship in a single country is permitted, but with the purpose of preparing conditions for the dying out and amalgamation of these cultures and languages into a single socialistic culture and common language, when socialism achieves a victory in the whole world."

There is also a second condition for these "flourishing cultures" advanced by Stalin, namely that in the non-Russian languages everything has to be of Socialist content and must be expressed only in "national language forms." Soon we shall see that "Socialist content" is best expressed by introducing Russian words and phrases into the non-Russian languages.

As we have mentioned, the Russian terror against Ukrainian academicians and scholars was started by L. Kaganovich in 1929-1930. But not until 1933 had the Communist Russian Party finished preparing all the plans according to Marr's linguistic theory for the Russification of the non-Russian languages, and had the necessary stooges for the "linguistic discussion" been found. This "linguistic discussion" had to be a "public trial" of Ukrainian linguistics and philology, and had to serve as a background for Postyshev's pogrom.

Postyshev's right-hand man for this purpose was A. Khvylya (a Ukrainian pseudonym of a man named Tulumbas). He directed a systematical

smear, denunciation, and accusation campaign, with the well-known Russian specialty, "the reading in the hearts" of the victims. From the rather vast literature in Ukrainian, with which the Russians then flooded the Ukraine, we limit ourselves to mentioning the following pamphlets and articles:

A. Khvylya: "Let us fight nationalism on the language-front" (Journal for Marxist-Leninist Critic, November 7, 1933).

N. Kaganovych: "The linguistic theory of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" (Journal for Marxist-Leninist Critic, November 10, 1933).

A. Khvylya: "Weed out, exterminate nationalist roots at the language front!" (The Bolshevik of the Ukraine, party edition, 1933.)

A special journal was started in 1934 for the fight against Ukrainian "Nationalism" by the Russified Academy of Sciences: *Movoznavstvo* (Linguistics). It is sufficient to give only the titles of the articles of the two first copies in order to imagine this Communist kind of linguistics.

No. 1 includes:

A. Khvylya: "For the bolshevik diligence on the front of the construction of Ukrainian Soviet Culture," and "The nationalist danger on the language front and the fight against it."

St. Vasilevsky: "Let us finally kill the enemy."

P. Horecky: "Nationalist distortions in the question of Ukrainian word formations."

H. O. Sabaldyr: "Against the bourgeois nationalism and falsification."

No. 2 includes:

P. Horecky and I. Kirichenko: "Nationalist sabotage in the syntax of the contemporary Ukrainian literary language."

O. M. Finkel: "Terminological sabotage and its theoretical roots."

H. Liperovska: "Nationalism in etymology."

H. O. Sabaldyr: "History of forms in nationalist explanations."

Similar are the titles of the articles of all the subsequent copies of this Communist Russian journal, edited in Ukrainian, and they illustrate the scientific level, content, and methods of this "part-agit" (party-agitation) literature. All these articles had the task *ex post facto*, in the year 1934, of justifying "scientifically" all the acts of repression by Soviet Moscow as early as the end of the year 1929-1930. The party linguists in Kiev needed nearly three years to learn Marr's linguistic fantasies, and to apply them to the Ukrainian language. Here we can only give an abbreviated summary of this linguistic discussion.* In

*We have presented the whole material of this "linguistic discussion" with all the necessary linguistic explanation in our book in Ukrainian: "The Ukrainian language in the Soviet Ukraine," Studies of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute, edited by Roman Smal-Stocki, Vol. XXXIV, Warsaw, 272 pp. To this material we refer all American specialists who wish to have a detailed presentation of all problems involved in the discussion.

reality it was a "one-sided" discussion, for the other side was deprived of the right to answer, and is constantly bombarded with the "big lie" method, constantly accused of all possible and impossible "deviations" and crimes, and has in this kind of "scientific discussion" only one right: to revoke, to recant, to incriminate itself, and to promise to keep the party line according to Marr's linguistic theory. That is the only way whereby a Soviet scholar can save his life; at best he can be sent for a few years for re-education into a slave labor camp. A good comparison is the similar "scientific discussion" about biology in 1939, in which Lysenko's nonsense played* the role of Marr's linguistic theory.

We can sum up the accusation of the Russian Communist Party against the Ukrainian linguists in the following points:

- (1) Nationalist sabotage in Ukrainian terminology,
- (2) Nationalist sabotage in Ukrainian syntax and phraseology,
- (3) Nationalist sabotage in Ukrainian orthography,
- (4) The turning of the whole development of the Ukrainian language and culture into a "national way" of development,
- (5) Russian Communist methods applied in the linguistic discussion.

We shall present every Communist accusation, including all the linguistic or ideological aspects of the problems involved in it.

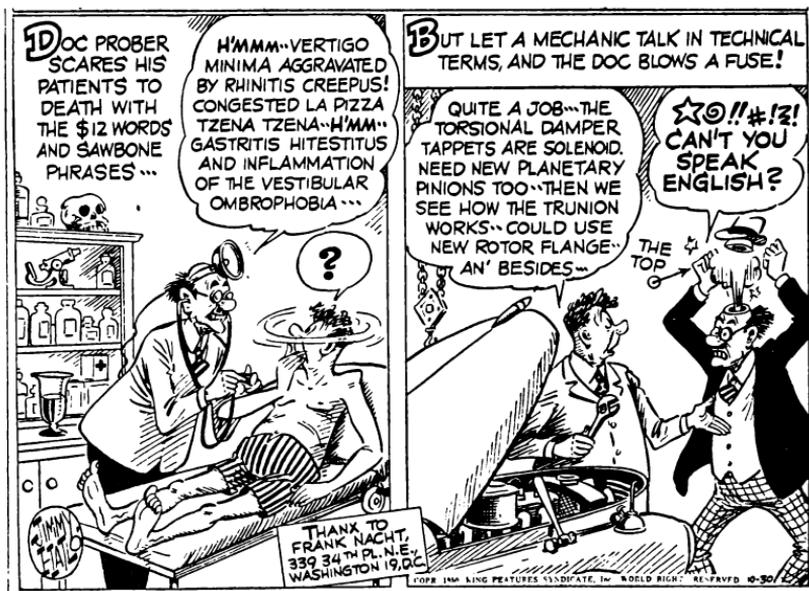
(1) Ukrainian nationalist sabotage in terminology.

In order that our readers may understand the whole accusation and evaluate it, we must give some background information. The problem of terminology was in every European language the object of profound research. It could be solved in two ways: either by using the special scientific terminology invented by scholars, usually consisting of classic Latin-Greek words, also in the colloquial language of a nation, or to limit the use of this scientific terminology to the scientific literature, where it is understood by scholars as the vocabulary of their special professional speech, and to construct the necessary terminology for the colloquial everyday use of the common man out of the vocabulary of his mother language.

English-American terminology took the first course, with results presented in this cartoon.

The majority of European languages solved this problem the other way, that is, by following the opinions of so-called "purism." Purism is a linguistic movement, demanding that the linguists of every language construct the terminology of any cultural sphere, in modern everyday life, not from foreign (Greek, Latin, or other) material, but from native material. This position is not the result of any tendency to "isolationism" or "national chauvinism," but has arisen as a necessity from the experience of modern nations in dealing with the language problem. It seeks an answer to the modern linguistic question: What is language and its purpose in the community? Here are some arguments in favor of purism:

*Robert C. Cook, "Lysenko's Marxist Genetics: Science or Religion," *The Journal of Heredity*, July, 1949.



Cartoon by J. Hatlo, Copr. 1950, King Features Syndicate, Inc.

a) Language has the function in society of creating mutual “understanding,” not “misunderstanding.” As there is in every nation only a small upper stratum with a good knowledge of the classic languages, a terminology derived from foreign or classic material is by the vast majority of a nation either not sufficiently understood or entirely misunderstood. Consequently, we stress the point again, the purely scientific classical terminology may be used in all branches of scientific research and literature as a scientific vocabulary of professional speech, but common sense demands the creation for everyday use (of course only of the terms which practical modern life requires) of a national terminology from native material. Why?

b) We stress again the basic statement: language must serve the “reciprocal exchange of ideas” and not become a “comedy of mutual errors.”

c) A homespun terminology gives a clue to the meaning even of the most difficult terms to the common man, who knows only his mother tongue.

d) Such a purist terminology demands also the principles of mnemonic technique, because native word material gives not only a semantic hint as to the meaning of any particular term, but also an excellent logical association. Thus are created in the memory of the common man whole semantical “clusters,” facilitating the recollection of the terms, enriching his vocabulary and his thinking, and widening his intellectual horizon.

e) Such a home-grown terminology clearly and urgently demands also

the phenomenon of "folk etymology." It attempts to analyze and explain the foreign term by the word material of the mother language by connecting it semantically with native words and native semantic spheres. Common people want to understand the words used by the high-brows and bitterly resent this intellectual discrimination by the educated classes.

f) Such a national terminology demands for the masses also modern democracy, which requires the participation of the masses in the political and cultural life of the whole nation. A real understanding of modern terminology by the common man is a condition of his education as a responsible citizen. Consequently, we are confronted with the dilemma: whether to give compulsory education in classic languages to everyone, or to create a purist terminology in all spheres where practical everyday life requires it.

The only argument for the use of the scientific terminology, based on the classic languages is that it is "European or international" and stimulates "international understanding." For everyone who has studied this problem in practical life this argument is nonsense. "International understanding" can never be stimulated among the masses, by promoting "misunderstanding of their own mother language," by the stultification of the common men. International understanding, which is also a deep concern for us, can only be created by a "change of heart" in men; it is above all a moral, not a linguistic, problem. These "internationalists," who support the "international terminology" (which they usually themselves do not understand), believe that with such superficial linguistic methods they can achieve something for the noble cause. They naïvely think that if Hitler had not supported purism, the Nazi movement would have served "international understanding" and they forget that Bismarck used to formulate his "blood and iron" philosophy in the most international political terminology of his epoch.

Consequently, all arguments of linguistics and of practical life call for the application of purism (from Lat. purus, "pure"—home grown) in forming a terminology. All things considered, as a Ukrainian peasant told me once: "Snuff is for the nose, and not the nose for the snuff"; language is for the people and not the people for the unintelligible terminology of the professors. The best cogent argument against the use of the "terminology" derived from the old classic languages is evident to every European linguist in the present state of affairs in American and English. A Frenchman, an Italian, a German, a Czech, a Hungarian, etc., does not constantly need encyclopedias or dictionaries in order to understand his journals and newspapers printed in his mother language, but almost all American papers or magazines are forced by the semantical anarchy and chaos in their terminology constantly to explain to their native American readers by special columns (often illustrated) the meanings of words of their own mother tongue: "it pays to increase your word power," "build up your vocabulary," "word-a-day," etc., etc. And what torture for the children to learn the meanings . . . and to the teachers to teach them!

In our opinion, there exists in the U.S.A. also a very strong significant

opposition on the part of the "American man in the street" against this state of the American language. We have a rather strong undercurrent of purism in the U.S.A., and we learn it from the current press. Thus, Time, September 20, 1948, page 76, prints a peculiar article "Two Minute Lesson" about Manhattan's tabloid News which, according to Time, "educates more people than any college in the country."

Why? "For one thing, its single editorial column is written in a hoarse, impudent lingo that everyone of its readers (2,275,000 on weekdays and 4,375,000 on Sundays) can understand. One day this week the News editorial headline bazooed: IT AIN'T THE LENGTH, IT'S THE OBSCURITY. The News was barking in sidewalk scholars for a two-minute lesson on the use of the English language.

"Some reader, it seemed, had yapped that the News which loves to scoff at 'big \$7 words,' had itself been guilty lately of such windy words as 'intolerable,' 'incompatibility,' 'vulnerable,' and 'genocide.' Asked the reader: 'Ain't going high hat on us, be ye?' 'Nope,' the News swore 'we ain't.' Then it pointed out that a four-letter word isn't necessarily simpler than a twelve-letter word. For illustration, here are some shorties which we'd call real \$7 words, and wouldn't use here at this time without explanation: adit, erg, ergo, ohm, gloze, cozen, griff, modal, mure, snash, viable.' Since the subject had come up, it seemed a good time to list a few of the 'big, fat blimps of words' the News was really against: puffballs like 'quadripartite,' 'unilateral' and 'directive.' 'Why the boys can't just say "four-party," "onesided" and "order" is beyond us. . . .'

"The real object of the kind of language the News believes in, said the editorial, is to say things so the public can understand them at a glance, 'without having to go grubbing into a dictionary to find out what in the blue blazes you are trying to say.'"

We infer from this report that on Sunday in the largest city of the world three fourths of the population buys a puristic American newspaper, that "it pays to write intelligible American for the common man"; that this common man really wishes to understand his own mother language, that, apparently, not the scholars and professional linguists are supporting this demand in the U.S.A., but the journalists—who, poor orphans, do not yet know that they are committing the crime "of sabotage in American terminology" and that they will in due time be tried as traitors and—enemies of the people by the American Communist Party before a court of Harvard and Columbia pundits.

Can an average educated American understand the word 'polyphiloprogenitive "created" by Eliot in one of his early poems? From Time, March 6, 1950, page 26, we see that the editors of Time themselves, surely not illiterate popcorn-munching peasants, are not sure what it means; but they inform the readers "that Eliot refuses to say what he meant by it." Then, who can tell? Are American words losing their original function to communicate ideas and becoming "puzzles"?*

*For a similar trend in poetry Max Eastman (Anthology for Enjoyment of Poetry) coined an excellent expression, "cult of unintelligibility."

Another example is from Newsweek. In the issue of December 11, 1950 (p. 12), a reader asks the editors in a letter to explain the word "ailoruphile" because he is "unable to find the definition of the word"! And proudly the editors explain that an ailoruphile is a person who loves cats . . . ("ailouros is Greek for cat; philos—loving). We fear really the age of "polyphilononsense" (our own contribution to English) is beginning, with all respect due to the great writer Eliot.

Thus the American literary language is in danger of becoming completely overcrowded with Latin and Greek words which exclude the old Anglo-Saxon; the poor children must learn to say simple things in the most complicated "polyphilononsensical" ways. We regard American slang as a virtual purist opposition against this "high-brow" snobbish jargon. This "high-brow" kind of language is the greatest of all social injustices, because they exclude the Anglo-American-speaking masses from understanding and thinking, they create a real Chinese Wall inside the speaking community and the worst kind of proletariat: the real intellectual proletariat, excluded from the participation of the intellectual and spiritual wealth of the nation.

Here we give two more public protests of recent months. New Herald Tribune, January 1, 1951, published a letter charging that the teachers are greatly overpaid. Why? "They are paid to teach."

"How well have they done? Well, have you ever listened to an audience participation broadcast. What are the literary tastes of our draftees who are fresh out of school? Any one who reads anything beyond comic books is considered queer. The other day, on a man-on-the-street TV show the word 'syntax' came up. The first man said he didn't know what the word meant. Next was a girl with school books under her arm. She looked like a high school or college student. She knew that 'syntax' was something they took up in biology, but she couldn't remember exactly what it was.

"DAVID GREENE

"New York, Dec. 28, 1950."

In the January issue of Science Digest (p. 31) there is a quotation published from an article of Dr. Alfred Plaut in The Scientific Monthly:

"Why do we have so much jargon in medicine or 'gobbledygook' in science? One of the mainsprings of scientific jargon is self-aggrandizement, self-assertion, or megalomania. Our forefathers in medicine and science spoke Latin, the vernacular was below their dignity. Many of us still seem to feel that plain English is below our dignity.

"Why does a man write 'both upper maxillae are edentulous' when he means 'the upper teeth are missing'? What is the advantage of 'hemorrhaging' over bleeding?

"When we read 'the carotid artery is seen to be considerably reduced in size,' nothing more is conveyed to us but that 'the carotid artery is thin'; and, similarly, 'there is no evidence of gastric distention' means 'the stomach is of normal width.'"

"The misuse of abstract words has become ludicrous. 'There is slight wetness of the skin' instead of 'the skin is moist' strikes us as funny, but we are accustomed to 'the serology is negative' or 'there is no pathology in the brain.' Soon we shall read, 'There is no psychiatry in the patient.'

"In scientific writing, as elsewhere, such signs of self-assertion, of hidden arrogance, are mingled with symptoms of insecurity. Many redundant, meaningless words point to insecurity. A physician describes something as being situated on the upper surface of the liver, but he writes 'in the region of the upper surface, etc.,' and instead of 'there is' we read 'there seems to be.'

"True inner freedom, freedom from the desire to be more than one is, and freedom from unjustified doubt in one's competency will show itself in clear, concise writing, in calling things by their names, without hedging."

Thus, in our opinion, it is a sign of intellectual health and vigor that the American masses systematically struggle for the "understanding" of their mother language, because this "human right" is the first of all "inalienable rights." They fought and are fighting the classic terminology in American with puristic terminology; here are some examples of this "reactionary sabotage": probability—likelihood; missal—prayer book; aseptic—germfree; antiseptic—germ destroying; laudable—praiseworthy; dexterity—skill; manual—handbook; spectator—onlooker; journalist—newspaperman; profession—white-collar job; consanguinity—blood relationship; matrimony—marriage; suicide—self-killing; automatic—self-operating; amorphous—shapeless; myopia—nearsightedness; presbiopia—farsightedness; hyphen—dash; examination—quiz; loquacious—talkative; petroleum—rockoil; quintuple—fivefold; triple—threefold; linguiform—tongue-shaped; semiannually—half yearly; odontalgia—toothache; odontology—tooth science; edentate—toothless; narcotic—pain-killing; soporific—sleep-producing; submarine—underwater boat; optimum—the best; carnivorous—flesh-eating; magnanimous—great-hearted; malefaction—misdeed; malformation—misshaping; horripilation—goose flesh; viridescent—greenish; pseudonym—pen name; perambulator—baby buggy.

May this selection from the many hundreds of purist terms bring the American nearer the whole problem of terminology in the Soviet Union. May the American objectively decide for himself, which words he more easily understands, which words can the "man in the street" easily understand.

The problem of purism in the English-speaking world is part of the general demand of the modern masses "to understand language" and to participate by understanding in the intellectual and above all in the religious life. Compare this quotation of January 30, 1950, the Sun Herald, Kansas City, Mo.:

"BRITISH EDITOR WANTS PRAYERS IN VERNACULAR

"LONDON—(NC)—The popular parts of the Mass, the personal parts of the administration of the sacraments and all prayers at non liturgical

devotions should be said in the mother tongue, according to the editor of the Catholic Herald, British Catholic newspaper.

"The editor, summing up a correspondence on the liturgy in English, writes:

"I believe that a very great imaginative effort must be made to try to put ourselves into the position of those to whom Latin is Chinese—and indeed of the Chinese and other faithful of the distant parts of the earth to whom Latin is, well, Latin.

"Why should we recite or even sing the Creed in Latin before a meeting or demonstration, especially when non Catholics are likely to be present?" he asks. 'The fact is that the vast majority of Catholics today just do not understand Latin. . . .

"How many who go to confession understand as they hear the words of the absolution and the subsequent beautiful prayer? Is it of no value to understand as you hear those all important words which the priest speaks in the name of Christ--and for which you have come?'

"As regards the Mass itself, much is said in secret and the sung parts of the Canon are so short and so well known that any break from Latin to English 'would be undignified and unnecessary. But the Proper of the Mass at least is clearly meant for the people, with the special prayer to the saint of the day, the readings from the Bible and especially the Epistles and Gospels, and the appropriate invocations in the Introit and Gradual.'"

This is clear evidence of the paramount importance of language in religion and of the religious origins of any genuine nationalism.*

Last, even American university professors joined the puristic campaign. Time, May 21, 1951, published under the title "Fog Cutter":

"The professor of journalism finally wore down the Boston Herald. As a onetime reporter, editor and news analyst, Boston University's Dr. David Manning White is allergic to newspaper clichés and 'fog words' (i.e., seldom-used words), has been needling Boston papers about their use of them. Last week the Herald waved the white flag, editorialized: 'In view of the Professor's unfortunate exposé of Boston newspaper punditing, we have little alternative but to follow his advice . . .' Henceforth, the Herald would strive for simple phrasing.

"Three days later it backslid, ran the headline: HEARINGS STRESS ACHESON UBIQUITY. Professor White, 33, spotted 'ubiquity' as one of the thickest fog words, made a bet with John Crider, the Herald's chief editorial writer, that few readers knew what it meant. To prove it, White stood in front of the Boston Public Library and polled 72 passers-by. His findings: only 19.4% correctly thought that 'ubiquity' meant 'everywhere-at-the-same-time'; most thought (by association with the name 'Acheson') that it referred to 'errors.'

*Cf. also the illuminating article, "The Vernacular in Our Liturgy," by Rev. H. A. Reinhold, in The Priest, February, 1949, reprinted in The Catholic Mind, April, 1949.

"Confusion. White began making his collection of fog words last spring, by picking 25 sentences from New York and Boston newspapers. Sample sentence: 'He has marshaled his oft-reiterated and unproved allegations to obfuscate and postpone decisions.' White asked some 200 students and parents whether obfuscate meant reverse, change, confuse or rearrange. Only 23 knew it meant confuse. Results were similar for such stand-bys as plebiscite, inculcate, anomaly, shibboleth, indigenous, cataclysms, aggrandizement, tantamount, statutory, encroachment, implementation and peripheral.

"Such words, said White, are not used often enough in ordinary conversation for the average newspaper reader to know what they mean. For example, obfuscate is not likely to show up once in 4,000,000 words of ordinary speaking and writing (according to the Lorge-Thorndike Teacher's Word Book of 3,000 Words). If newspapers would forget the elegant variation, and use the simple word 'confuse' (which appears 25 times per million), readers would understand them better.

"Dereliction of Duty. White also clipped 20 examples of newspaper clichés and standard phrases out of six Boston papers, sent his journalism students through a night bakery, a waiting room, a steel mill and a railroad station, to see how well the phrases were understood. Samples: bipartisan foreign policy, act of overt aggression, fusillade of shots, dereliction of duty, titular head of the party, diplomat without portfolio, deficit spending, eschewing presidential ambitions, policy of containment. The average reader got nearly half the phrases wrong. Even 'bipartisan foreign policy' had hard going; some of those questioned thought it meant that both Roman Catholics and Protestants should be employed in the State Department.

"But the habit of foggy writing is hard to correct, as White himself showed in a wordy summation in Editor & Publisher recently. Wrote he: a newspaper should 'strive continually for the simplest and most logical phrasing for the presentation of communication . . . The press should make its strongest impression on the youngsters in secondary schools, an impression that inculcates [one of his own fog words] the habits that will lead eventually to an enlightened citizenry.'"

Against the masses of foreign-word constructions the English and American "common man" also opposed by folk etymologies. This phenomenon is treated rather historically in American linguistic literature and the masses of folk etymologies in current American are disregarded as a "sign of a partial illiteracy" of the speaker. A great mistake. They are the proof that the common man has a "speech feeling," that he wishes to "understand" the foreign term and that he attempts to associate it with his vocabulary. Thus he often establishes erroneous relationships between the foreign terms and his native vocabulary in order to Englishize or Americanize them. Here are some examples (the original is given in parentheses): Rotten Row (Route de Roi), crayfish (ecrevisse), woodchuck (otchok), sirloin (surloin), coldslaw (coleslaw), pickax (pikois), saltcellar (saliere), sparrow grass (asparagus), wormwood (wermod), belfry (berfrei), hangnail (agnail), humble pie (umble pie), pantry (panis).

standard (estendart), mandrake (mandragoras), Rosemary (Rosmarine), primrose (primerole), penthouse (appentis), lute string (listrine), lan-yard (Laniere), cutlash (cutlass), etc., etc.*

We hope that in illustrating the root of the terminological question by this material from the American language we have made possible for our readers unacquainted with Slavic languages to understand the "linguistic discussion" in the Soviet Ukraine, to grasp the viewpoints of the Ukrainian linguists and their reasons, very active also, as we have seen in American, as a natural desire of every thinking human being: to understand his mother tongue. Consequently, we hope our readers also see the fundamental basis of the purist point of view of European linguistics in this matter: the terminology in a language has to be the servant of the speaking masses and not the speaking masses the servants of a "classic terminology," which for the modern masses is really Chinese, because they neither guess nor understand it. Also in language "cleanliness" is next to godliness.

This tendency of purism in Slavic languages is rather old and begins as early as the Czech Jan Hus (1369-1415). He demanded that the language of the sermons in the churches be the pure Czech vernacular of the masses, not mixed with Latin and German terms, which the common men did not understand. Very strong puristic influences developed in Bohemia in the sixteenth century, especially under the influence of Renaissance Humanism. Later Dobrovsky and Jungman brought about a virtual puristic revolution in the Czech language, and in recent decades the journal "Naša Reč," edited by the late distinguished linguist, J. Zubaty, was dedicated to purism. We are of the opinion that the high cultural level of the Czech worker and peasant masses must be partly explained by the fact that almost the whole Czech terminology is drawn

*This phenomenon of folk etymology in Slavic vernaculars is tremendous, especially also in the Ukrainian language. Some folk etymologies are excellent, some are creations of the healthy humor of the peasantry; they all attempt to "digest" the foreign term. Here are some interesting examples: orloplan ("aeroplane" associated with orel, orla, "the eagle"); hrymofon ("gramophone" associated with hrymaty, "to make noise"), livorutsia ("revolution" associated with livo, "left"), kambrat ("comrade" associated with brat, "brother"), horlator ("orator" associated with horlata, "to cry"), mefikhvostel' ("Mephistophel" associated with khvist, khvosta, "the tail," which is absolutely necessary for the popular picture of the devil), hrajmonia (harmonia, "accordion", associated with hraj, "play"), nalyvator ("elevator" associated with nalywaty "to pour in"), kopytal ("capital" associated with kopyty, "to collect"); horoskop ("periscope" associated with horo, "hill," "upward"), Harbuzova Hora (from Habsburg associated with harbuz, "pumpkin"), Holi Nohy Siryj Khvist (from the name "Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst" associated with holyj, "naked," nohy, "feet," siryj, "gray," khvist, "tail"), etc. There exist hundreds of such folk etymologies in Ukrainian which serve the best proof of the essential demand of the masses to understand their language.

from native Czech word material. Purism in Polish is also very old; it began about 1790 also as a reaction against German, Latin, French word intruders into the colloquial language of the upper classes, which made the Polish of these educated classes unintelligible to the common man. A leader in the fight for purism in Polish was the writer Niemcewicz, who in his satires mercilessly ridiculed the various kinds of snobs, who by using high-sounding foreign terms only attempted to disguise their own lack of real culture and education, and to give themselves a halo of "belonging to the great world."

Thus in Czech and Polish were created many hundreds of puristic terms; here are only a few examples:

syntax—in Czech:	<u>skladba</u>	Polish:	<u>skladnia</u>
subject	<u>podmet</u>		<u>podmiot</u>
horizon	<u>obzor</u>		<u>widnokrąg</u>
description	<u>popis</u>		<u>opis</u>

Thus the original Greek and Latin terms were "translated" into the language of the common man by Czech and Polish scholars. Of course in their scientific discussions the scholars use their classic terms also because they understand them, but it is evident that for the common man these terms represent no language but an abracadabra.

The same puristic tendency also developed later in the German language; Luther was already treating the German language in a puristic manner in his Bible translation. This tendency was also very strong in pre-World War I times among the Austrian Germans, not only in Germany proper, and surely contributed to the development of a standard language, which is understood by the common man without dictionaries. There even existed in German a "Verdeutschungswörterbuch" which attempted to Germanize the whole terminology, here are a few examples: amnesty in German: Straferlass; astrolog—Sterndeuter; velocipede—Fahrrad; gratulation—Glueckwunsch; ginekolog—Frauenarzt; kontrakt—Vertrag; control—Aufsicht; pension—Ruhegehalt; protest—Einspruch; telefon—Fernsprecher; radio—Rundfunk; ideal—Wunschziel. There are some scholars, we repeat, unacquainted with all the ramifications of the terminology problem, who complain that purism undermines "international" links. This charge is in our opinion completely unwarranted. Only the college and university educated classes of all nationalities, who remember their Latin and Greek, may perhaps be aware by this terminology of our common classic heritage of European civilization, but they represent only an average 3-5 per cent of the whole. What about the 95 per cent of the nationalities? And what about those college and university educated people who have no knowledge of the classic languages, a class whose number is increasing in the U.S.A.? They are becoming a tragic American intelligentsia, the "happy illiterates," without respect for intellectual activity, without the ability to enjoy reading through an understanding of the mother language and with a strong tendency "to get rid of books." This trend to illiteracy is a result of the strong influx of foreign terminology in the American language. Hence we deem it a sin against simple common sense, because of the

very questionable symbol of an "international terminology" (practically limited to the university professors, and also among them only to their special fields) to sentence to semantic ignorance of vast spheres of their mother language the overwhelming majorities of the nationalities. "International understanding" can never be built on the foundations of semantic illiteracy.

It is obvious to everyone who has some experience with practical life that real culture and education can be created only by giving the masses clear meanings in their own native tongue, unmixed with high-sounding Latin and Greek terms, artificially invented, which they do not understand.

Ukrainian purism also is rather old. In the first half of the nineteenth century it was practiced by Ukrainian scholars who were faced with the problem of terminology, especially in the second half of the same period. The philologists Partytsky, Maksymovych, Levchenko, Verkhtsky have created many puristic terms. In his German-Ukrainian dictionary, published in 1867, we see many hundreds of them; here are some examples: auditorium—slukhalnia, associated with slukhaty, "to listen"—literally: "the room for hearing lectures"; autonomy—samou-prava, associated with sam, "self," and upravliaty, "to administer"—"self-administration"; agony—skin, associated with konaty, "to die"; anarchy—bezlad, associated with bez "without," and lad, "order"—"without order"; bibliothek—"library"—knyhozbirnia associated with knyha, "book," and zbirnia, "collection"—"book collection"; amalgam—mishanka, associated with mishaty, "to mix"—"mixture"; ignorant—neuk, associated with ne, "no," and na-uka, "learning"—"no learning"; genealogy—rodopys, associated with rod, "clan," and pysaty, "to write," "to describe"—"clan description"; infantry—pichota, associated with pich, "foot," and collective suffix, ota—"footmen"; concession—ustupka, associated with ustupytyisia "to make place for somebody," "to retreat in one direction"; munition—strilyvo, associated with striliaty, "to shoot," and material suffix, yvo—"shooting material"; pension—platnia, associated with platyty, "to be paid," "the sum received as payment"; principle—zasada, associated with sadyty, "to put in," "to plant"—"the foundations"; faculty—viddil, associated with vid, "of," and dil, "part"—"one of the parts"; symbol—znamenno, associated with znamya - znamenno, "sign flag"; tendency—nakhyl, associated with nakhyliatyisia "to incline," "inclination"; per cent—vidsotok, associated with vid, "of," and sotka, "hundred"—"what is taken from every hundred"; copy—vidpys, associated with vid, "of," and pysaty, "to write," vidpysaty "to copy."

These examples may suffice. We stress again that Ukrainian intelligentsia, university and college professors, lawyers, doctors, priests in their professional dialects often use all the international terms, either in oral speech or in writing in scientific journals, but already in pre-World War I times there was a clear tendency to keep out of the newspapers, the popular literature, lectures, sermons all foreign terms and to use puristic terms. Thus before World War I the Ukrainian language had like the other Slavic and European languages, a rather large vocabulary of such puristic terminology, which was partly created on the analogy of the Czech and Polish terminology.

When in the year 1876 the Tsaristic Russian government completely forbade the printing of Ukrainian books in the East Ukraine, the Ukrainians transferred book printing to Western Ukraine, especially to Czernowitz, Prague, and Lemberg, then under Austrian rule—partly even to Geneva. There in Austria the Ukrainians since 1848 had some opportunity to develop Ukrainian culture, and soon established under the liberal rule in Western Ukraine (East Galicia and Bukovina) some thousands of Ukrainian grammar school classes and high schools, while in the Universities of Lemberg and Czernowitz there were some 40 Ukrainian chairs for Ukrainian Liberal Arts disciplines. These universities, also the Universities of Vienna, Leipzig, and Munich, as also the Universities of Cracow and Prague, educated thousands of high school teachers, who together with the Ukrainian university professors prepared the necessary terminology for all cultural spheres of public life. This purist terminology was in public use for at least half a century in Western Ukraine and was generally used after the revolution of 1905 also in East Ukraine.

After 1917 the Ukrainian scholars introduced this terminology into the public life of the short-lived Ukrainian Democratic Republic, which included the whole Ukrainian ethnographic territory. Naturally the Ukrainian scholars continued to use it also after the establishment of the Soviet Ukraine, and, after the return of a relative peace in the country, they proceeded to enrich this terminology by new puristic terms, which were demanded by practical life and education. Thus this traditional terminology was augmented by many necessary terms until 1928. It was in general use in the schools, the press, the dictionaries, and in research for ten years during which the Ukrainians could enjoy a measure of self-government in the field of language.

After 1928 the new Russian persecutions began, this time organized by the Russian Soviet regime and carried on by its Communist stooges under the leadership of Khvylya-Tulumbas. What were the charges of the Russian Communist Party against the Ukrainian terminology, which until 1928 was fully approved even by the Ukrainian Communists?

We shall sum up from the propaganda articles of Khvylya, Finkel, Kaganovich, etc., the main points of the Communist accusers:

a) The Ukrainian terminology has a "bourgeois-nationalistic character," it is "Ukrainian national rabble, dirt, mob," etc. (that is, it differs from the Russian).

b) This terminology "puts the Ukraine back into the times when the Ukrainian language reflected the period of feudalism in the Ukraine, the period of the Ukrainian Cossack State" (a clear reflection of Marr's superstructure theory).

c) This terminology often uses "the archaic word material" of the Ukrainian peasantry; it is therefore an "archaization" and a "provincialization" of Ukrainian culture (again a clear reflection of Marr's theories).

d) This terminology "tears off" the Ukrainian language from the Russian "brother" language (that is, hinders Marr's and the Russian Communist Party's unification program of the languages).

e) Consequently the Russian Communists accuse the Ukrainian linguists and the Ukrainian Communists who defended them of forming and using a terminology that is a "linguistic counter-revolution," an "open fascist-ization of language," a "nationalist offensive of the reactionary classes," a "deep raid of the class enemy," a "fascist offensive of nationalism," a "work of bourgeois, nationalist, reactionary wreckers," etc., etc.

f) The Russian Communists accuse the Ukrainian linguists of having "slandered" the Russian terminology in their publications, in that they have advanced the thesis that Russian terminology is not at all "international," that it only partly uses the international terms in the proper corresponding international meanings; that the meanings are often changed in Russian and do not correspond to the international; that partly the Russian terminology is not international but consists of "European" terms and German loan-words. (The Ukrainian linguists proved their thesis by many examples.)

g) These Ukrainian wreckers were abetted by Skrypnyk, who voiced the following sentiments:

"There exist hundreds of millions of Chinese, Indian and other working men, who have different terms, different sounds, and I doubt that we can demand from the Chinese, Indian and other Communist Parties that they have (in the European manner) to use our terms Revolution or the Russian 'Sovetskaya vlast'; for us Communists, this is not important, but it is important that they (the Chinese, Indians, etc.) may conduct the revolution in the bolshevik-Communist manner, and not quarrel over what to call it."

Thus Khvylya concludes, Skrypnyk instructed the Ukrainian linguists in questions of international terminology

"to wait until the proletarian revolution will be realized in India, China . . . until the Indian, the Chinese and other languages will approach the European languages, until there will be created really international terms, understood by all peoples of the world"; these ideas are erroneous, they are nationalist, they supported our enemies and encouraged them in their wrecking activities.

h) Finally, Finkel declares, the

"Ukrainian terminology is an expression of bourgeois class-ideology, it sharply contradicts the language-policy of the proletariat; even more, it is actively directed against this policy, it is a product of Ukrainian fascism, the poisoned instrument of ideas inimical to the proletariat; it is a very harmful instrument, because it is invested with scientific phraseology, with democratic terms, and sounds academic."

What do the Russian Communists demand through their mouthpiece Khvylya and his henchmen? The order is brief:

"All the Ukrainian terminology, built on bourgeois-nationalist principles must be eliminated. All the Ukrainian dictionaries must be

corrected"--How? Through "unification with the Russian terminology" ! In all the dictionaries the Russian "Soviet vocabulary must be introduced, which reflects the mighty development of the communist construction."

Now the program is clear. Behind all these Russian accusations, with their Soviet weasel words and the Russian "upside-down" language, is hidden the old Russian chauvinism and intolerant imperialism, which dresses its Russification now in "the proletarian-socialist-progressive" phraseology, denying the simple wish of the Ukrainians to understand their mother tongue and terminology as "nationalistic," etc. The Russification of the Ukrainian "brother" language was initiated according to all the principles elaborated by Marr.

This Russification of the terminology was also enforced by the Russian Communist Party with the same methods of accusation, accompanied by mass terror, in all other non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union.

The fellow travelers and Communists of all other countries try systematically to Russify at least the terminology dealing with the Soviet Union. Even the richest language of the world, English, has proved itself "unable" to express the meanings of Russian Soviet terms, and the college and university students are bombarded by their teachers and by their writings with Pyatiletka, Uravnilovka, Soviet, Kulak, Seredniak, Bedniak, Batrak, Peredyshka, Kolkhoz, Sovkhoz, Otrabotki, Prosloika, Vozhd, Kosovorotka, Bezprizornye, Lishenec, Oktyabrata, Katusha, Obshchina, Chystka, Pyeredyshka, Smychka, Yacheyka, Poputchik, Chvostism, etc. Poor American youths, who must memorize it.

Let us now compare the Russian war against Ukrainian purism with what the Russians practice concurrently in their own language. It is the law in Soviet Russia to regard Lenin's opinions as party dogmas in all spheres of life. What did Lenin teach in reference to purism? The surprising fact is that Lenin stimulated and propagated purism. Here is an illuminating quotation from Lenin's article "about the purification of the Russian language" (ob ochistke russkogoazyka)—some notes taken during the speeches at meetings:

"We have harmed the Russian language. We use foreign words without necessity. We use them wrongly (with wrong meanings). Why say defekty if you can say nedochoty, or nedostatky or probely? [pure Russian words]. Of course, somebody who has just recently learned to read at all, especially to read newspapers, unconsciously learns the phraseology of the newspapers. Above all the language of newspapers also has begun to deteriorate.

"It is pardonable for anyone, who has recently learned to read, to use foreign words, as a novelty—but it cannot be forgiven if done by writers. Is it not time for us to declare war against the use of foreign words without necessity?

"I confess that the use of foreign words without necessity makes me only angry (because it hampers our influence on the masses); some mistakes of persons writing in newspapers can make me furious. Is it not time to declare war against the disfiguring (koverkanye) of the Russian language?"

There is another very interesting opinion of Lenin on this question in his Collected Works, Volume X, page 143. He says that the main task of a speaker is "to speak simply and clearly, in a language intelligible to the masses, categorically throwing out the heavy artillery of highly sophisticated terms and foreign words."

The title of the above-mentioned article, "On the purification (or cleaning) of the Russian language" contains an excellent Russian term of "purism": Ochistka, and there can be no doubt about Lenin's opinion in this matter.

Lenin was not alone in his opinions. The leading Soviet writer, M. Gorky (now deceased), in his pamphlet, "Articles on Literature and Literary Technique" (Leningrad-Moscow, 1931, p. 46) openly advocates purism:

"It would be more useful, if we would write more simply, more matter-of-fact . . . and not for instance: my dolzny otvergnut' tendenciu k apolitacii diskusii . . . [Gorky protests here against the foreign terms' tendency towards a politization of the discussion]. It is possible to say it in a less 'all wise, sophisticated' manner: My otvergaem namirenne ustranyat' politiku iz nashykh sporov. There is nothing which could not be expressed by simple words. W. I. Lenin has irrefutably proven it. But our critics care little about the simplicity and clearness (of the language) so necessary in pedagogics."

Also the leading Soviet journalist of that time, M. Present, in his book: Notes of an Editor (Leningrad, 1933) sharply criticized the abuse of foreign terminology.

In the year 1928 Lenin's opinions represented Communist progress only in Russia proper—but in Ukraine "nationalist-bourgeois-reactionary-fascist counterrevolution." Russian chauvinist double bookkeeping.

(2) Nationalist sabotage in Ukrainian syntax and phraseology.

What are the crimes of the Ukrainian linguists and philologists in this field? Again: purism. Every speaking community develops the so-called "speech feeling" for its own mother language, a phenomenon also of art and beauty. This feeling usually is very pronounced among writers and journalists, who are often the creative and standard-forming forces in matters of language. Consequently these writers and the philologists opposed the introduction and use of typically Russian forms, vocabulary, syntactical constructions, and phraseology which are completely foreign to the Ukrainian language and which, therefore, would only render more difficult the understanding of the Ukrainian language by the common man.

In no intellectual group is this "feeling" for "what is right and what is wrong" in the language better developed than among the Russian "proletarian" writers, who proclaimed themselves as high priests of the "Russian great language heritage," created by the Russian bourgeoisie. They highly esteem the classical beauty of the Russian literary language and are very intolerant of the slightest change in the tradition.

An article by the Soviet writer M. Gorky (Pravda, March 18, 1934, No. 76), entitled "On Language," furnishes excellent evidence for our

thesis. In this article Gorky fights against all foreign, even some Church Slavic, words, and protests against the "Odessa language" of the Zionist Jabotinsky, who soiled the Russian language by introducing some Ukrainian forms: tudoiu, siudoiu. Gorky considers the most important task of the Communist Revolution "the organization of the Russian language, its cleaning from the parasitic rubbish." The Russian language was built up by the Russian classic writers, beginning with Pushkin; they have created that "great beautiful language," Turgenev implored Tolstoy to promote its further development. Gorky regards, therefore, as absolutely necessary "the struggle for the purification of (Russian) books of wrongly formed phraseology"; he even bans from the literary language slang words of the Russian proletariat: mura, buza, shamat, etc., and finishes the article with such a programmatic statement as "The fight for purity, for semantic accuracy, for preciseness of language—is the fight for the implement of culture. . . ."

This purism, applied to the Russian language, is not "bourgeois nationalist"; it is the completely legitimate right of writers to cultivate their mother language, and even the duty of Russian linguists to be the watchmen of the "purity of the Russian heritage—the classic Russian language."

If applied to the Ukrainian language, and the other non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union, Gorky's principles suddenly change into "counterrevolution" and "bourgeois nationalism." Thus Khvylya and the other Russian Communists accuse the Ukrainian linguists, above all Mrs. O. Kurylo, of Jewish extraction, Smerychynsky, the author of an Ukrainian Syntax, of the following crimes:

a) They conducted a fight against Russian words and phraseology in the Ukrainian language—that is, they placed impediments in the way of Marr's unification program.

b) They regarded the language of the Ukrainian peasantry and its folklore as the pure Ukrainian language and advised Ukrainians to take it as a model for the literary stand. That again opposes Marr's unification action (and besides the peasantry as a class must be liquidated).

c) They advised the study of the older Ukrainian writers whose literary language was based on the language of the peasantry such as Kotlyarevsky, Kulish, Kvitka-Osnowyanenko, etc., especially they advised the study of ethnographic materials.

d) They put into effect a program designed to keep the Ukrainian literary language always close to the vernacular of the Ukrainian peasantry—as the Ukrainian writers of the earlier decades had done—and propagated the bourgeois-lessness of the Ukrainian nation and its language.

All the above were called "nationalist ideas"; with these "linguistic weapons" the Ukrainian linguists supported the fight of the "Ukrainian bourgeoisie" against "the proletarian revolution," attempting "to drive in a wedge between the Russian and Ukrainian languages."

What program did the Russian Communist Party put forward through its mouthpiece, Khvylya, as to these fields of the vocabulary, forms, and phraseology?

a) The Ukrainian linguists must stop immediately any opposition against "Russian influence" in the grammatical forms, vocabulary, and phraseology.

b) They must not only stop the opposition, but stimulate the Russian influence systematically in all these fields.

(3) Nationalist sabotage in Ukrainian orthography.

One has to bear in mind as a background for this problem the fact that until the end of the World War I there was a basic difference between the Russian and Ukrainian orthographies. The Russian was traditional, etymological, but the Ukrainian orthography was modern, phonetical, and at that time far in advance from the linguistic and practical point of view, as compared with the Russian. The first application of the phonetical principles was made in Ukrainian by M. Shashkevych (1837), Kulish (1856), Drahomaniv (1877).

Zhelekhivsky (1885) further developed the phonetical orthography. Later, in 1893, it was introduced into the public schools and Ukrainian public life in Austria by St. Smal-Stocky and the distinguished scholar of Romance languages, Th. Gartner. Thus the difference in basic principle between the orthographies of Ukrainian and Russian has a long tradition, as does the difference between Russian and the other Slavic languages which use similar Cyrillic letters, Bulgarian, and Serbian. A characteristic technique was the manner in which Tsaristic Russia attempted to hinder the official introduction of the phonetic Ukrainian orthography into the Austrian schools in 1893. There was not only an official intervention against it by the Russian ambassador before the Austrian Government, but Prof. V. Jagic, of Vienna University, an academician of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, intervened personally in a letter to Prof. St. Smal-Stocky, advising and demanding that the etymological principle be kept in the Ukrainian orthography. St. Smal-Stocky replied to Jagic that he served as a scholar only linguistics and the Ukrainian people, and no "other" powers; this reply provoked a lifelong estrangement between the two scholars. As we see, Tsaristic Russia was already very sensitive as to changes in the letters and orthographies of her Slavic neighbors. It appears that the essential nature of Pan-Slavism, its messianism and its opposition against Western Europe was somehow expressed by the Cyrillic letters, different from the Latin letters, and the Russian etymological orthography as a sign of the uncompromising Russian reaction and conservatism.

There was still another difference between Ukrainian and Russian. The Cyrillic letters, which part of the Slavic nations inherited from the (Old Bulgarian) Church Slavic were not regarded by the Ukrainians as a "national peculiarity," as they were by the Russian Pan-Slavists. In Ukrainian there existed from quite early times a tendency to accept the Western European Latin letters for the Ukrainian alphabet. Thus in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Latin letters were used for Ukrainian in some notes; in the nineteenth century J. Lozynsky (1834) printed Ukrainian books with Latin letters; the master of Comparative Slavic Philology, F. Miklosich, elaborated in 1852 a Latin system for Ukrainian; and later in 1876 J. Jirechek did the same. As a matter of

fact Latin letters were used also in private correspondence by many persons and also for printing books in the next decades (Sofron Witwicky). Only the fear of the Ukrainians that the Latin letters would facilitate Polish penetration, even Polonization had prevented the Ukrainians at that time from introducing the Latin alphabet and from joining the Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, and Croats in using it.

After the downfall of Tsarism in 1917 the former Imperial Academy of Sciences, still not Communized, soon made a reform in Russian orthography, changing to the phonetical principle, and there was even formed a commission to study a later introduction of Latin letters.

The Ukraine, after the short period of independence, was soon occupied again by the Russian Red Army, and the Ukrainian Communists were faced with the problem of authorizing for instruction in schools and for printing purposes the use of a Ukrainian orthography. We must admit that the then Commissar of Education, Skrypnyk, acted in a correct, scientific manner. In May, 1927, he convoked to Kharkiv an Orthographical Conference, to which were invited the linguists not only of the Soviet Ukraine but also of the Western Ukraine, then under Polish rule.

During the discussion a group of linguists from the Soviet and Western Ukraine (M. Yohansen, B. Tkachenko, M. Nakonechny, A. Pylypenko, W. Simovych) demanded the Latinization of the Ukrainian alphabet. Soviet Moscow immediately intervened in a "friendly" way, with the appeal that this would establish a great difference in the letters of the Russian and Ukrainian working masses. The argument of the Ukrainian scholars that even the Communist linguist, N. Ya. Marr, in his lectures regarded "the Latin alphabet as a mighty implement for the realization of Lenin's national policy," did not convince the Russian Communists, and the Cyrillic letters remained. Skrypnyk then demanded for the sounds dz and dž the introduction of special letters, as in Serbo-Croatian, and proposed the Latin letters z and s. Again Soviet Moscow interfered and stopped the motion. Finally a commission headed by Skrypnyk, in close collaboration with the two distinguished Ukrainian scholars, Synyawsky and Krymsky, elaborated a project of Ukrainian orthography, which was accepted by the Conference. On the whole, we can say, it was satisfactory, the phonetical principle was retained, the phonetical peculiarities of the Ukrainian language in most cases were well expressed. Thus this Ukrainian Orthography treated the Ukrainian language as a separate Slavic language and was a good expression of the basic differences existing between the Ukrainian and Russian languages. This orthography was accepted also by the scientific institutions of the Western Ukraine and of the emigration, and the objectivity of the Orthographical Conference was an increase of prestige for the Ukrainian Communists.

But in this orthography Khvylya also discovered "sabotage of the Ukrainian nationalists." What are the accusations of Khvylya and the Russian Communists? They said:

a) The Ukrainian linguists with the support of the Commissar of Education Skrypnyk demanded the Latinization of the Ukrainian alphabet (thus making a counterrevolutionary attempt to oppose Marr's unification program).

b) Skrypnyk tried to introduce for dz and dž special letters from the Latin alphabet, s - z, and to establish a difference between the Ukrainian and Russian alphabets. That would mean again an obstacle for unification.

c) The nationalists retained in the Ukrainian alphabet a letter not existing in the Russian alphabet: ʀ = g. For the reader not acquainted with the problem we explain that a difference between Ukrainian and Russian is the pronunciation of Prim. Slavic g as h (as in Byelo-Ruthenian, Czech, and Slovak); consequently the same letter ʀ is in Russian pronounced g in Ukrainian h (since the eleventh century). Since there are in Ukrainian a number of foreign words with the g sound, and since the writing of foreign names requires also a letter for this sound, for decades in the Ukrainian orthography a special letter ʀ was just put in for g since the seventeenth century. Furthermore, this letter, used for decades in the Ukrainian orthography and phonetically fully justified, now became a counterrevolutionary letter.

d) The writing of foreign words "orientated" and "approximated" the Ukrainian language to Czech and Polish. That means, it again opposed unification.

e) Thus the Ukrainian orthography introduced in 1927 is "harmful," "nationalist," "counterrevolutionary," attempting to "drive in a wedge" between the Ukrainian and Russian languages.

What do the Russian Communists demand?

a) The Ukrainian orthography has to be revised and all "barriers" between Ukrainian and Russian removed.

b) All "politically harmful chapters" which stress the difference between Ukrainian and Russian must be eliminated.

c) The reform is to be carried out in the direction of the "unification" program of Marr—that is, toward a maximum of Russification. In particular, the Russian orthographical rules for the writing of foreign words must be obligatory for Ukrainian orthography.

(4) The directing of the whole development of the Ukrainian language and culture into "nationalist" channels.

In these articles Khvylya and all the other Russian Communists also continually bring some general accusation against the Ukrainian scholars, which reveal to us the very foundations of all their afore-mentioned charges:

a) The development of the Ukrainian language was directed by the "Ukrainian nationalists" toward the language of the peasantry, the property-owning farmer class. For them the peasants are the "Ukrainian nation." They insisted on the study of the Ukrainian peasant vernacular and ethnographic materials.

Thus the Academician Krymsky in his Outlines of the History of the Ukrainian Language (1924, p. 115) wrote:

"From Shevchenko [a century ago] the Ukrainian literature with inflexible, determination realized the most democratic principles: you have to write precisely as the common people speak in the Ukraine, disregarding no peculiarities of its speech and making no sacrifices for a

Pan-Slavic mutual understanding. This tenet that the Ukrainian literary languages has to be completely the Ukrainian is hallowed in Ukrainian literature to the present day."

b) The Ukrainian linguists do not recognize the fact that with the Communist October revolution there began in the languages of all peoples of the Soviet Union a "new historic epoch." "The old bourgeois traditions in orthography, vocabulary, terminology must die as their class-bearer must." The Communist revolution changed the economic basis. Consequently the language superstructure must be changed also. (Marr's superstructure here proves to be an improved edition of the Lyebyed theory which demanded that after the liquidation of the Ukrainian farm-owning peasantry the Ukrainian people must accept the language of the Russian proletariat, as the promoter of the world revolution. This in order to comply with the "unification" program of the party.)

c) The Ukrainian linguists understand by "culture of language" the artistic beauty of Ukrainian belles-lettres; but for Communists these works are reactionary "class culture," because in the Communist view there does not exist in any one literature a higher culture of language than the classics of Marxism-Leninism, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin. Consequently, the Ukrainian linguists sabotage Stalin's dogma, "Socialist in content, national in form."*

d) In such a way the "Ukrainian nationalists" attempted to put into effect Vossler's "idealistic theory," by developing a "Ukrainian speech feeling," etc. Thus they attempted to educate the Ukrainian masses into contempt and hatred of the "Socialist Fatherland" (that means, against the then introduced cult in Soviet Moscow of Tsar Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, etc.). They dreamt of Ukrainian Romanticism and the restoration of a "bourgeois, peasant, yellow-blue (national Ukrainian colors), nationalist Ukraine."

*This slogan of Stalin is based on the method of Lenin to "separate" form and content one from the other. Thus the non-Russian republics were declared as national and separate States--in form, but in content they were Russian colonies. The Communist system of socialization of the means of production was hailed as the climax of economic democracy--in form, but in content this economy was based on the exploitation of all non-Russian nationalities by Russia. Communism-Bolshevism was given the appearance of internationalism--in form, but in content it was Russian nationalist imperialism. Thus Stalin coined a similar slogan for the cultural Russification of the non-Russian peoples through their own languages: "National in form, Socialist in content." Socialist in content means "Russian in content." The non-Russian peoples are permitted by the Russians the use of their languages for the glorification of Ivan the Terrible and Peter I, for the glorification of their enslavement and exploitation by Russia as the paragon of democracy, for the glorification of the Russians as the master race and for the defense of the "unity and indivisibility of the holy Soviet Union," the new Russian Empire, and for denouncing all their national traditions and aspirations to freedom as reaction and fascism.

e) Therefore they introduced into the dictionaries as "explanatory material" for the vocabulary, quotations from documents of the old Lithuano-Ruthenian (Ukrainian) State, from the Ukrainian Cossack Sich, from the Ukrainian translations of the Gospels, from old books like The Lives of Saints, etc., giving the dictionaries a "bourgeois, nationalist, religious" appearance with many "Aesopian quotations" criticizing the Soviet regime. Khvylyya cites the following quotations from the Russian-Ukrainian dictionary; "The Moscovite protection cost the Ukrainians dearly"; "the world is in chaos, and a blind man is the leader"; "the complete destruction of economy"; "they deceive the people, giving it nothing"; "the good shepherd gave his life for his flock"; "Christ is sitting on the holy clouds"; "God is the supreme being, the creator of the World and of everything in it," etc.

f) "The Ukrainian fascists"—charges Khvylyya—"always elaborated theories to the effect that the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainian culture are European; therefore they can and must orientate toward bourgeois Europe. In questions of language they maintained and are maintaining the point of view that the Ukrainian language, Ukrainian culture must avoid Russian influences, brotherly cooperation with the Russian culture, because, they say, it is an Asiatic language and culture."

g) Khvylyya's henchmen accuse the Ukrainian linguists of having developed the theory that Ukrainian is the language of the exploited and oppressed masses. The Ukrainian feudal and aristocratic classes deserted the nation, were Russified and Polonized, and only the peasant masses remained Ukrainian. As a "proletarian language" they put Ukrainian in opposition to Russian, as the product of bourgeoisie.

h) "Therefore"—continues Khvylyya—"they direct the development of the Ukrainian language in such a way as to establish a Chinese Wall between the Ukrainian and Russian languages"—and again, "to drive in a wedge between Ukrainian and Russian," "to rend Ukrainian from Russian," etc., not only from Russian, asserts Khvylyya, but from "world culture, from international culture, which is the achievement of all mankind."

i) Next Khvylyya reveals the fundamental cause of all the accusations: The Ukrainian linguists teach that the Ukrainian language is a Slavic language "separate from Russian" like the other Slavic languages; they attempt to "break away from the common Russian language." Thus Russian Communism using Marr's "unification" program has abolished a separate Slavic Ukrainian language (this same theory the Communists apply also to the Byelo-Ruthenian language), they enforce the conception of the "The Great Russian Language," in comparison with which all other Slavic languages are treated as mere second-class languages and objects for "unification" with Russian.

Thus Khvylyya, Finkel, Kaganovich, etc., contrived to prefer charges against all distinguished Ukrainian linguists: Tymchenko, Synyavsky, Krymsky, Kovaliv, Kurylo, Smerechynsky, Myronenko, Osypiv, Sulyma, and many others; Khvylyya's right-hand man, a half-illiterate journalist, Wasylewsky, finished his article with this linguistic and scientific appeal:

"The fight is not finished, the struggle is going on. The 'tails' of the enemy are bitterly fighting. But no matter how hard the enemy may defend himself, we shall defeat him unconditionally. We are armed with the teaching of Marx-Lenin-Stalin. Finally, we shall kill the enemies and build up the bolshevik Ukrainian linguistics, worthy of the age of Socialism!"

Let us now divest all the accusations of the Russian Communists against Ukrainian linguists of all the Communist double talk and international phraseology, and reduce to simple terms the linguistic program of the Russian Communist Party, now forced on the Ukrainian linguists and philologists:

a) The Ukrainian scholars have, according to Khvylya, one basic task: "To develop the Ukrainian language into a powerful weapon of Communism"—read "Russian Communism."

b) The Ukrainian scholars are to assist, as specialists, in the execution of the Marr's "unification program," they are to help systematically to Russify Ukrainian by fostering Russian influences in terminology, vocabulary, phraseology, and to exterminate every Ukrainian speech feeling as fostering a nationalist counterrevolution.

c) The Ukrainian linguists themselves have virtually to bring about a gradual "self-liquidation" of the Ukrainian language, to bring about a gradual linguocide of their own language.

d) They are to resign "voluntarily" from any "self-government" in linguistics and philology, and "voluntarily" to collaborate for the preservation of Russian political and cultural supremacy in the Ukraine.

e) They are to accept unconditionally the dictatorship of the Russian Communist Party over Ukrainian linguistics and philology.

(5) Russian Communist methods applied in the linguistic discussion.

Khvylya, Finkel, Kaganovich, Wasilewsky, Sabaldyr, etc., were the tormentors of Ukrainian linguistics and with well-known "Stalinist" speed they executed the orders of the Russian Communist Party. The following peculiarities characterize all the articles:

a) These Russian Communists were at once the accusers, the judges, and the executors of their own sentences—in reality everything was prepared by Soviet Moscow.

b) All accusations are associated with political charges of counter-revolution and accompanied by an indescribable barrage of smear, character assassination, vituperation, and terror.

c) Any free discussion was made impossible for the Ukrainian linguists and they could choose only between "confession of errors, recantation, declaration of loyalty to the infallible genius Stalin," and slave camps and physical extermination.

All the tormentors use in their articles one and the same technique. These technical tricks make a study of their articles rather dull, because the reader can anticipate the thoughts of the next chapter with mathematical accuracy. At the beginning of the article the author in the most indignant words strongly condemns the persecution of the Ukrainian language in Tsaristic Russia by the Russian bourgeoisie.

This vociferous statement is only a hypocritical trick in order to be fully entitled, as a "true friend of the freedom of language," to deny in the next paragraph to the Ukrainian language all legitimate rights of self-administration by Ukrainian writers and linguists, and branding the demand for freedom as "nationalism, fascism, reaction."

The next technical trick was called by Skrypnyk, in the discussion with Russian Communist "double accounting"; everything that is good for the Russian language is bad for the non-Russian languages. The Russian folklore is exalted; the Ukrainian folklore, despite the fact that it is regarded by specialists as one of the finest among Slavic nations, is archaic, provincial, a product of illiterate grandmas and grandpas. Russian classic literature is exalted as the most precious heritage, its cultivation is a proletarian duty; Ukrainian classic literature is abused, ridiculed condemned as bourgeois, reactionary, its cultivation or study is counterrevolutionary. Purism in the Russian language is good, in Ukrainian, bad; in Russian, Gorky advises studying the Russian language from the works of the Protopop Avakum (1620-1682); in Ukrainian to give a quotation in a dictionary from the magnificent Ukrainian apocryphal literature is purely counterrevolutionary; in Russian the poem of the Old Ukrainian literature, "The Tale of the Host of Ihor," is proudly incorporated into the Russian literature; in Ukrainian Khvylya accuses the Ukrainian linguists because of a quotation from the same poem of trying to put back the language to "feudal times," etc.

Surely the Russian tormentors reached the nadir in the Russian method of "reading in the heart," once a speciality of the Tsarist secret police, the *Okhranka*. The Ukrainian linguists are often accused on the basis of completely arbitrary "interpretations" of an absolutely apolitical research publications.

The Russian tormentors use as a special method for accusations, downright falsifications. I have proven in my book cited on page 102 that Khvylya falsified the statement of the Academician S. Yefremov during the S.V.U. trial, on pages 112-113, that Kaganovich falsified a quotation of Lenin, that Finkel did the same, on page 125, etc. The Russians constantly used against the Ukrainian linguists, philologists, writers, and journalists the policy advised by Stalin (Voprosy Leninisma, pp. 459-460) of "destroying the active wreckers, dividing the neutral ones, and attracting those who were loyal."

Whoever has been involved in a discussion or polemic with Communists knows all the techniques of "The Big Lies," but this is the first time (and here the Russian Communists can rightly demand full priority) that such methods were introduced and used in linguistic discussions.

d) From the Russian instigations to the pogrom of the Ukrainian language, literature, and linguistics.

Parallel with this witch hunt and agitation Khvylya published, on behalf of the Russian Communist Party, a special program in his pamphlet Weed out, Exterminate Nationalist Roots on the Language Front, with personal attacks on the Ukrainian Communist leader Skrypnyk, who is accused, as the responsible commissar of education of having sympathized with the "nationalist sabotage on the language front"; Khvylya demands:

- (a) An immediate end of the publication of all dictionaries;
- (b) The revision of all published dictionaries and of the whole terminology;
- (c) The unification of the technical terminology with the Russian;
- (d) The purging of personnel of the language front and expulsion of all bourgeois nationalist elements;
- (e) Revision of Ukrainian orthography;
- (f) Alteration of the linguistic directives for the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia;
- (g) The elaboration of a special document, which would embrace all these problems and safeguard the whole further development of the Ukrainian Soviet culture on the language front along the really bolshevik way, as was taught by Lenin, and is now taught by Stalin.

The next step of Khvylya was a paper read before the personnel of the Commissariat of Education, The Nationalist Danger on the Language Front and the Fight Against It, which was followed by special resolutions. After he repeated all his accusations, the conference accepted the following program:

- (a) Organize a vast action for the final uncovering and uprooting of the nationalist deviations on the language front;
- (b) Revise all dictionaries and correct all mistakes, accommodate the terminology to the interest of the socialist, economic, and cultural development and international education of the masses;
- (c) Revise all scientific and schoolbook literature (texts) and uncover in it all nationalist features, ordering for the future explanation of language questions according to Marxist-Leninist "methodological positions";
- (d) Revise in the official orthography all points where application led to politically harmful consequences [we draw the attention of the reader to this formulation; the points may be scientifically justified and right, but as opposing "unification" they are "politically" wrong and must be eliminated];
- (e) Strengthen the party leadership over the linguistic institutes, revise all plans of scientific research, dedicating them maximally to practical problems (edition of dictionaries, scientific literature for the academic and high schools). This on the basis of a deep study and clear perception of the principles of Marxist-Leninist ideology. Purge the personnel of institutes, Ukrainization courses, translators, literary editors, and all the rest of the linguistic-literature personnel of publications and cleanse them of nationalistic class-enemy elements. Strengthen the political education of the linguistic workers and stop the practice of the separating the general-political editorship from the language editorship. Introduce as a law the personal responsibility of an author and editor for the content and form of his literary product. [We stress the importance of this regulation.]

Soon the Commissariat of Education published special instructions in reference to the Ukrainian terminology. All the fifteen terminological

dictionaries (mathematical, zoological, botanic, general-technical, natural science, electrotechnical, pedagogical, psychological, manufacturing, mechanical, business, geological, communal, economical, building construction, musical) are banned "because they are directed toward the independence of the Ukrainian language" and "transfer into the present language terms of the age of feudalism in the Ukraine." The Communists are warned "that this nationalist terminology is generally used in the Ukraine, that it has penetrated into the books, literature, newspapers without opposition." Consequently the situation is "dangerous!" Also the production of the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, especially the edition of the Historical Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language is "incompatible with the views of the proletariat. . . ." It is "directed against the interest of the proletarian revolution. . . ." "In order to knock this weapon from the hands of the class enemy, in order to eliminate at the very roots his nationalist influence, in order to expel this nationalist terminology from any use in newspapers, books, etc., the conference of the Commissariat deems it necessary:

(a) to organize a campaign of sharp criticism by the Communistic society against all dictionaries edited by the liquidated Ukrainian Institute of Linguistics;

(b) immediately to revise all terminological dictionaries which are in print (concerning meteorology, forestry, physics, theater, ceramics, glass, zoology, leather), immediately to revise all terminological dictionaries ready for print (socioeconomy, chemistry, veterinary, medicine, geography), including Volume II of the Historical Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language, in order fully and completely to strangle the nationalist ideology in the matter of terminology;

(c) to organize a special ideological commission for this purpose;

(d) to publish its critical materials;

(e) to base all further work in the field of Ukrainian terminology and of the whole dictionary-publishing activity on Marxist-Leninist methodology and on Leninist national policy;

(f) to make all terminology correspond to the general language policy of the Soviet government. . . . [Thus its Russification is euphemistically described.]

Khvylya finished with these ideological instructions for the "linguistic work":

"Our struggle on the fronts of the civil war, our work on the front of the socialist construction was carried out in close unity with the workers and working masses of Soviet Russia. Ukrainian culture we have always built and are building in a close brotherly unity with the Russian Soviet culture. Red Soviet Moscow, Soviet Russia, is for us a model of that work, which bolsheviks have to accomplish; Red Moscow is the symbol of the world revolution, the symbol of Communism. And futile are the endeavors of the Ukrainian nationalists . . . to tear Soviet Ukraine from the Soviet Union and to transform her into a bourgeois Ukraine. . . . As we were victorious through brotherly union with the Russian working masses

in the proletarian revolution, in the civil war so we will also gain victory by this brotherly union under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, headed by the leader (vozhd = fuehrer) of the world revolution, comrade Stalin, also on the front of socialist construction.

"The nationalist elements attempt to explain our activity on the language fronts as the annihilation of Ukrainian culture. We annihilate not Ukrainian culture but Ukrainian bourgeois culture.

"Under the genial leadership of Comrade Stalin we have attained in all fields of socialist construction colossal victories. Under the leadership of Comrade Stalin we will, on the front of the construction of Ukrainian proletarian culture, in the merciless fight against the Ukrainian nationalists achieve universal historical results."

[We kindly ask our readers to read this program carefully, as the same Khvylya will be later presented, by the present Harvard professor of Slavic, R. Jacobson, former Columbia University seeker of truth, and educator of American youth, as a "leader of Ukrainian public life."]

This program was upheld with similar lofty oratory by Stalin's dictator in the Ukraine, Postyshev. During the November plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine in 1934, he declared:

"The imperialistic interventionists and their nationalist hirelings outside and inside the Soviet Union attempt to hide their mean betrayal of the interests of the Ukrainian nation behind the lamentation about the oppression of the Ukraine by Moscow, about the Muscovite yoke.

"Moscow no longer exists, the old, pre-revolutionary prison of peoples--Tsaristic Russia. That Moscow was pulled down by the great October Revolution which annihilated the government of the landlord, of the manufacturer, farmer, general, the government of the whip and chain for the workers and peasants.

"There exists the new Moscow--the center of the Soviet Union, the capital of the fatherland of the international proletariat and of the oppressed working masses of the whole world. There exists the new Moscow--the center of attraction of all progressive humanity. There exists the new Moscow--the symbol of the fight against the final annihilation of oppression and exploitation in the whole world.

"With love and hope the proletarians and workers of the whole world are looking toward the new Moscow. With hate and anger do the capitalists, landlords, bankers, all present slave-owners observe it."

[We again suggest a careful reading of this statement of Postyshev, who will later be put forward by R. Jacobson as a "leader of Ukrainian public life."]

We do not wish to discuss here this expression of Communist messianistic frenzy of Postyshev. Any student of Soviet affairs knows that in the Ukraine, more than five million human beings died during a famine, organized by the Russian Communist Party; anyone knows that the slave labor camps were then crowded with some fifteen millions of

human beings; anyone knows who was and is the greatest slaveowner in the new improved copy of the old Tsarist prison of nationalities.

Here we wish only to describe the separate phases of the pogrom.

Since 1934 there appeared special "Terminological Bulletins" published by the now Russified Ukrainian Academy of Sciences with long lists of "liquidated nationalist terminology." Ukrainian terms, used for decades in Western Ukraine and later by the whole population of the Ukraine, became overnight the mark of a "counterrevolution." For the public use of such a term the speaker was immediately sent into slave labor camps. Here are only a few examples of words that were "abolished": rheumatism—lomec' from lomyty, "to have breaking pains in the bones"; element—perven' from pervyj, "first"; filter—cidylo from cidyty, "to filter," an old original vernacular term; narcosis—znechulennia from ne chuty, "not to hear," "not to feel"; sector—vyrizok from vyrizaty, "to cut out"; telescope—dalekozir from daleko, "far," and zir, "sight"; exposition—vystava from vystavyty, "to put out for a show"; grade—stupin', a "step." If there is a Russian puristic form for a term which differs from the Ukrainian in construction, the Ukrainian form is also discarded, for instance: forgetfulness—Ukr. zabutlyvist'; Russ. bezpamyatnost'; cloudiness—Ukr. mryakovyna: Russ. tumannost'; etc.

All Russianisms in the Ukrainian vocabulary and phraseology were declared venerable Leninism-Stalinisms, and criticism of them was forbidden. Thus the Ukrainian Communist writers began to write a pidgin-Ukrainian, full of Russian words, and this was applauded by the party as the new "Ukrainian literary language." Since that time we have in Soviet Ukrainian: rebiata (Ukr. dity); staryk (Ukr. did); mal'chik (Ukr. khlopec'); skazka (Ukr. kazka); neprijatno (Ukr. nepryjymno); vir'ovka (Ukr. motuzok); kon'ky (Ukr. sovhunci); djevushki (Ukr. divchata); kanyeshno (Ukr. zvychaino); izvynyayus' (Ukr. vybachte); nashchot (Ukr. shchodo); karaul'ni (Ukr. vartovi); staratel'nyi (Ukr. dbailyyj); znychtozhyty (Ukr. znychchyty); etc. The same Russian phrases, forms, and syntactical constructions were declared as welcome guests of "international unification" in Ukrainian.

The "unification" of the Ukrainian orthography with the Russian is also far advanced. The principle here was to establish an artificial identity in graphic forms in many cases between Ukrainian and Russian by liquidating in the Ukrainian orthography the phonetical principle and virtually making the Ukrainian orthography an auxiliary of the Russian. Without a knowledge of Russian orthography the present Ukrainian orthography cannot be understood. The regulations of the Russian orthography in the writing of foreign words were made obligatory in the Ukrainian orthography.

Thus these "reforms" are from the scientific point of view a long step backward, and a real tragedy in pedagogy. Here are some examples:

a) The separate letter г, for Ukr. g, is dropped;

b) Thus one letter g now expresses two different sounds: h and g;

c) The letter e once expressed one sound—and now it expresses three. For instance: e = e, Ukr. nebo, "heaven"; e = y, Ukr. Lenin; e = yo, Ukr. Orel (name of the Russian town);

d) The letter y also acquired a double meaning, y and i; cf. dyl'ye-tant-dilyetant: vyce - prezident-vice-prezident;

e) Some sounds such as j are not expressed at all in order not to differ in the writing from Russian; cf. the spelling of пенальніч, соціальніч, etc.

f) The Ukrainians pronounce: Arytmyka, Katedra but are forced to write as in Russian: Aryfmyka, Kafedra, etc.

Thus, we can say that Soviet Moscow established a full linguistic and orthographical dictatorship of Russian over the Ukrainian language, which lost the freedom to express its peculiarities in orthography, terminology, vocabulary, phraseology, and syntactical constructions. We witness here a systematical "linguocide" which is the parallel method of Communist genocide practiced by the Russians among all non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union.

A good picture of how the pogrom of Ukrainian culture gradually progressed is given to us in the reports of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

In 1931 the Communist Party reformed the Academy of Sciences; the historical-philological division, the chair of Ukrainian History of Prof. M. Hrushevsky was set aside, a special chair for Marxism-Leninism, and a special commission for the study of religions (that is, for the fight against religion) created. Prof. M. Hrushevsky was expelled from Ukraine to Moscow, the Academician Yefremov was imprisoned, as were Professors Hancov, Kurylo, Hermaize, Holoskevych, Slabchenko, Melnyk-Antonovych, and others. In 1934 the remaining two divisions of the Academy were closed; the natural science-technical and social-economic, and twenty-one institutes were organized, all of which were subject to the board of the Academy, consisting of Communists, and Communist sympathizers. Again the members were purged: the academician, W. Yurynets, "the open propagator of bourgeois idealistic philosophy"; S. Rudnicky, "the propagandist of fascism in geography"; M. Vozniak, F. Kolessa, C. Studynsky, W. Shchurat, all distinguished philologists, as "enemies of the working masses of the Ukraine." Finally in 1934 the Communist Party organizations elected nine new academicians and seventeen member correspondents, who were prepared to give to the Soviet government the following pledge: "To defeat all expressions of Ukrainian nationalism, which constitutes at the present time the chief danger in Ukraine." The pledge closes with enthusiastic greetings to Postyshev and the exclamation, "Long live the great beloved leader of all progressive humanity, comrade Stalin!"

This new staff of the Academy, in the majority not of Ukrainian descent and mostly not speaking Ukrainian at all, began to act according to the Khvylya-Postyshev-Marr program. Then the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was unique among the Academies of the whole world. It had no special division for the study of the native language of the nation whose liberal arts it represented. The Ukrainian language was "deported" in the Institute of General Linguistics, headed by Kaganovich, the specialist of "unification of Ukrainian and Russian."

Thus ended the publishing activities of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.* In the year 1930 there appeared a whole series of publications of the Academy regarding the Ukrainian language and literature which made it a rival of the Russian Academy; in 1931, a single copy of the "Ukraine"; in 1933 nothing; in 1935 nothing. . . .

The books of the following writers were condemned as "nationalist and fascist": Holovko, Kosynka, Polishchuk, Pidmohylny, Sliusarenko, Davydovych, Sosiura, Usenko, Pylypenko, Wyshnya, Doroshkevych, Falkiwszy, Holota, and many others.

From that time on no complete editions were published of the pre-World War I Ukrainian classical literature, but only "purged" editions of "selected works" (the classics of Russian literature are published in Soviet Moscow unpurged). Thus there appeared "Selected Works" of Nechuy-Levytsky, Myrny, Franko, Kotlyarevsky, Marko-Vovchok, Kotsiubynsky. To the "Selected Works" of Kotsiubynsky, Marko Vovchok, and Shevchenko the well-known Khvylya wrote prefaces full of vilification of everything Ukrainian, with pathetic cries that Ukrainian literature must be geared to Soviet Moscow, "the symbol of the liberation of all peoples of the world from the social and national yoke!" etc.

Soviet-Moscow imposed on Ukrainian literature a clearly formulated plan, and the writers faced the dilemma of either executing it or being sent to slave labor camps and physical liquidation. These chief principles included "Socialistic realism" as a literary tendency; as a model of the language, the language of the collective and State farms, with the more Russianisms, the better; as subjects: Soviet construction and the history of the factories; as an "idea": the glorification of the Communist Party and the universal genius J. Stalin. The Ukrainian literature is to be regarded only as a segment of the "unified-single Soviet literature."

Soon "nationalist deviations" were disclosed also in the Ukrainian film industry, because the Ukrainian films were also factors of Ukrainian culture. The Russian journal, Soviet Kino, No. 3, 1934, published an article by the Communists Korneichuk and Yurchenko, "Destroy Nationalism in Cinematography!" The Ukrainian films Taras Tryasylo, Karmeliuk, and others were declared "nationalist," and accused of idealizing "national heroes," propagating the "counterrevolutionary idea of the 'bourgeois-lessness' of the Ukrainian nation," etc. Consequently the authors conclude the article with: "Let us cover with a merciless artillery barrage all nationalism in cinematography!"

Together with these actions the destruction of the Ukrainian school system was carried out. Postyshev (Izvestia, January 17, 1934) reported:

"In the last eleven months 4000 teachers were purged and expelled from schools as nationalists; the whole staff of the Ukrainian Pedagogical

*A list of all printed publications of the Ukrainian Academy and of manuscripts destroyed by the Russian Communists is published by Prof. N. Polonska-Wasylenko in Ukrains'ki Bibliologichni Visti, No. 1, UVAN, 1948.

Institute was expelled; in 11 teachers colleges out of 29 the administration was changed, etc."

Special instructions were issued for the revision of all libraries and archives in the Ukraine; in them everything "non-Communist or anti-Communist" was destroyed. In the schools special subjects such as History of Ukraine, Geography of Ukraine were abolished. From the school texts everything was thrown out which recalled that the Ukraine, her language or culture, constituted a separate Slavic nation. The Ukrainian literature for children in the year 1928 reached 6.4 millions of books, in 1931 only 1.6 millions, and in 1932—only some hundred thousands.

The severest blow to Ukrainian literature was the abolition of the Office of State Publication of the Ukraine in 1934. It was virtually the pogrom of the whole Ukrainian publishing activity. Thereby Soviet Moscow attempted to reach its goal: the flooding of the Ukraine with Russian books.

The Russian Communists and political police persecuted everything Ukrainian; the broad peasant trousers, the gray fur cap, the "cossack" moustache, blue-yellow colors in embroideries, etc., were declared to be the marks of a "nationalist counterrevolution." The Russian Komso-mol insists on the "com-fashion," the "proletarian workmen's blouse," the Russian *kosovorotka*. Soviet Moscow persecutes and destroys all expression of Ukrainian culture: ornament, style, the Ukrainian architecture; even to ornament the room traditionally with embroidered towels is declared "nationalism."

We have presented an account of the activities of Khvylya, backed by the whole force of the Russian Communist Party in the Ukraine, which was filled with Russian Red Army troops and the special detachments of the Political Police, to carry on their work of destruction among a people already decimated by the starvation of at least five million peasants.

The Ukrainian Communists and the whole population were stirred with deep resentment. Even the Ukrainian Communists now understood that the Russian Communists had begun the systematic destruction of the Ukrainian language, literature, and culture. The mood of the Ukrainians is well described by Khvylya himself in his reports about his achievements in the article, Let Us Fight With Nationalism on the Language-Front, says:

"Among the Ukrainians various rumors are abroad about the destruction of the Ukrainian language and culture. . . . 'You see,' the Ukrainian fascists and nationalists are saying, 'We told you, the bolsheviks only fooled you with the Ukrainization. Neither the Ukrainian language, nor the Ukrainian culture, nor literature will prosper until bourgeoisie Ukrainian state is established. As long as the bolsheviks exist, its tactical game; you see, now they are changing our orthography and later they will say, change to the use of the Russian language, and after a few days they will say that there never existed a Ukraine at all. If you wish to fight for the Ukraine, join in [the Ukrainian opposition], we will show you the way!'"

Khvylyya attacks Prof. Polonsky personally for saying to his students in the Industrial Academy:

"You know, the Ukrainian language is being murdered; at present a Russification is going on in the Ukraine and the basic slogan of all who wish to stay on the right side must be: merciless opposition to Russian imperialistic chauvinism, to all measures which are applied on the language front."

Khvylyya says:

"With indignation he opposes the changes introduced into Ukrainian orthography. The fascists outside [Soviet Ukraine], and our local nationalists, violently oppose the work being done on the language front, on the front of the construction of the Ukrainian Soviet culture. They attempt to prove that the Ukrainian culture is being destroyed, that a Russification is going on, but to any Soviet worker it must be clear that at present the pogrom against the remnants of Ukrainian nationalists is going on in Ukraine, the pogrom against the remnants of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie culture."

The Ukrainian writers, some of whom appealed at the beginning of this pogrom to the Russian writer M. Gorky, got from him an answer which throws light on his "humanism." He says: "The enemy who does not surrender must be killed." That is an example of the attitude of the Russian Soviet upper class concerning the Ukrainian nation and culture.

These events constitute the background of the suicide of the writer Khvylovy and of the old Communist and friend of Lenin, Skrypnyk, the Commissar of Education of the Soviet Ukraine. The Ukrainian Communists smuggled out from the Soviet Union all documents pertaining to the national policy against the Soviet Ukraine and edited them in the pamphlet: Down With the Mask! The nationality policy in Soviet Ukraine in the Light of Documents, 1934, Praha, edited by M. Haliy-H. Novicky. The best illustration of that pogrom of Ukrainian culture is the farewell letter to the Ukrainian Communists of M. Stronsky, a well-known Ukrainian Communist, who also committed suicide in despair. The letter was smuggled out of the Soviet Ukraine and published in the daily Dilo, No. 204, 1935, in Lemberg. The letter reads:

"Comrades: I have reasons to assume that I am under suspicion. I do not know, however, whether I am accused of national opposition, or just in a general way. The latter assumption is possible. That is my impression. Consequently with great grief, but with quiet assurance I declare that my party-conscience is clear.

"Regarding the national opposition, I do not conceal it at all. I could not, and it was my duty not to conceal before comrades the fact that I cannot understand how Lenin's party could permit the Russification in the Soviet Ukraine [the Russification], which is a denial of the national liberation policy.

"Facts: (1) the Commissar of Education Zatonsky at the funeral of comrade Skrypnyk said in his funeral sermon ['Komunist' (official paper) July 9, 1933], the following:

"We need, of course, not national consciousness, we need class consciousness, and it demands the rise of the socialist culture, not national in content, but in form."

"It is evident, and every party member knows it, that in the social revolution the social problem plays the first and paramount role. But I thought that the social revolution solves, and solves completely, also the second problem: the national problem.

"As without class consciousness there can be no social revolution, so without national consciousness there is no solution of the national problem.

"Therefore I ask you: how to understand what the commissar of education said? Is it some kind of national nihilism, or simply a Russification--[program]?"

"(2) The deputy of the Commissar of Education A. Khvylya writes (in 'Komsomolets Ukrainy,' 15, 1933):

"As to orthography, comrade Skrypnyk . . . took the position of the separateness of the Ukrainian language from the Russian. . . ."

"It is said clearly and unequivocally. The corollary of this is that a fundamental change took place in the policy regarding the Ukrainian national problem. There is being conducted a struggle (by the Communist Party) for the use of the educational apparatus for Russification.

"Can one now remain silent?"

"I came to the conviction that the imperialistic deviation, Russian chauvinism and the Russification-tendency in the party are so powerful that one must have very strong nerves for the fight against them.

"I do not have them. Good-bye, M. Stronski, July 1933."

The Ukrainian Communists certainly intended by their courageous suicides to demonstrate before the whole world what is going on in the Ukraine. They intended publicly to accuse Stalin, Postyshev, Khvylya, and the Russian Communists of deliberate genocide and linguicide. They certainly intended to warn the free democratic world, the writers, the scholars, the university professors, the academies, the academic youth—to appeal to everybody who believes in the freedom of thought and free creative writing. They surely intended to draw to the attention of the universities, of the scholars of the free world—that even academical freedom in linguistics cannot be preserved under Russian dictatorship.

A tragic mistake. The Red decade in American history was just beginning. The chairs for Slavic studies in the American universities remained silent during the great tragedy of the Ukraine and of all non-Russian nationalities to the Soviet Union.

Let us now survey the losses of the Ukrainian culture during this terrible time. We give here a list only of the more prominent writers of this Stalin-Postyshev-Khvylya era, who became the victims of Russian Communism:

Liquidated (murdered): W. Chumak, H. Mykhailychenko, L. Mohyl-yanska, H. Chuprynka (1920), H. Kosynka, K. Burevij, O. Vlyzko, D. Falkivsky, I. Krushelnytsky, T. Krushelnytsky, M. Lebedynets, R. Shevchenko—and many other writers and journalists of lesser importance. Committed suicide: M. Khvylovy, I. Hirnyak.

Imprisoned in slave labor camps of the Far North (some probably died, many are forbidden to return to the Ukraine): M. Zerov(†), P. Fylypovych(†), E. Pluzhnyk (died 1936 at Solovki), M. Dray-Khmara(†), B. Teneta, Y. Vuknal, L. Kurbas(†), (the leader of the Ukrainian theater) M. Kulish(†), O. Slisarenko, K. Polishchuk(†), V. Polishchuk, G. Shkuru-piy, T. Hermayze(†), M. Vorony (son), H. Epik, N. Irchan(†), A. Krushelnytsky (father)(†), W. Mysyk, W. Babynsky, H. Kolyada, W. Wrazhlywy, W. Yardshenko, M. Filyansky(†), Y. Sawchenko, V. Pidmohylny(†), M. Semenکو, D. Zahul(†), M. Yohansen(†), M. Ivchenko(†), O. Doswitny, A. Panin, I. Dniprovsky, V. Gzhycky, A. Antonenko-Davydovych, H. Khotkevych(†), M. Novycky, H. Kotsiuba(†), Z. Tulub, V. Chyhyryn, S. Pylypenko, D. Chepurny, H. Siry.

Re-educated at the slave labor camps and returned from them as glorifiers of Soviet Moscow and Stalin: O. Vyshnya and M. Tereshchenko.

The following distinguished writers joined the Russian Communist Party line and became Communist collaborators, beneficiaries, and glorifiers of the Stalin regime: P. Tychyna, M. Rylsky, M. Bazhan, Y. Yanovsky, V. Sosyura, A. Malyshko, I. Senchenko. They are "executing" the literary orders of Soviet Moscow.

All the leading Ukrainian scholars of linguistics and philology were put to death, exiled, imprisoned, or silenced. At present there does not exist, with the exception of Bulakhovych (now under "cosmopolitan" suspicion, being of Jewish origin), even a single distinguished scholar in these fields; Krymsky, Syniawsky, Hantsov, Nimchynov, Holoskevych, Nakonechny, Kurylo, Smerechynsky, Krymsky, Tymchenko, Hrushevsky, Sulyma, and their pupils "disappeared."*

Besides, according to L. Forostivsky,** a witness of this period, now in U.S.A., in the center Kiev alone during the Postyshev regime there were executed by the N.K.W.D. some twenty-five to thirty thousand of Ukrainian intelligentsia and peasant leaders.

Let me give, finally, some opinions of the leading Ukrainian scholars about this period. The Most Rev. Metropolitan Ilarion (Prof. I. Ohienko) in his book History of the Ukrainian Language, Winnipeg, Canada (p. 384), sums up the Khvylya reform as follows:

"The Ukrainian language was the first and the most important to be subordinated to the norms of Marxist philology and Russian acculturation. The forced Russification of language and literature followed. Many Ukrainian language peculiarities were declared "Polonisms" and eliminated. Ukrainian nouns were classified according to Russian categories and those which did not fit were either eliminated or given a new form. The Russian past passive participle was introduced in Ukrainian. In 1933 a new Ukrainian grammar, compiled by Khvylya, appeared, in which Ukrainian usages not found in Russian were eliminated and Russian forms substituted. . . . In 1937 a 'Russian-Ukrainian dictionary'

*Cf. also: Pidhainy, Semen, The Ukrainian Intelligentsia on the Solowki-Islands 1933-1941 (in Ukrainian), 1947.

**Svoboda, No. 179, 1950, Slidamy Muchenyttstva Ukrainy.

was published, which again was marked by imported Russianisms and the absence of peculiarities foreign to Russian."

This whole period of the new forcible Russification of the Ukrainian language was accompanied by a new order to learn Russian in Ukraine, and a great "cultural propaganda" was inaugurated similar to the present actions in the satellite countries. The party ordered a large increase of the compulsory study of Russian in primary and secondary schools. The Ukrainian universities were forced to adopt Russian for the majority of courses as the language of instruction. In all large Ukrainian towns the Communist Party edits its newspaper in Russian. In Kharkiv, Kiev, Odessa Russian theaters were organized.

2. The Russification of All Non-Russian Languages in the Soviet Union by Application of Marr's Linguistic Theory

We have illustrated the application of Marr's linguistic theory to the Ukrainian language. The Ukraine was the center, but only a part of the whole Russification area covered by the Russian Communist Party throughout the whole Soviet Union. The Russian Communist Party employed for this purpose everywhere the remnants of the old Tsarist bureaucracy and "black hundreds," hooligans, who now got the opportunity to continue their old practice, as under Tsaristic rule, hiding the Russification and pogrom against the non-Russian nationalities behind a new Communistic-international smoke screen of slogans and phrases. We give here only a short survey of what was happening at the same time to the remaining non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union.

(1) Non-Russian Slavic languages

Byelo-Ruthenian (Byelo-Russian). The Byelo-Ruthenians proclaimed after the downfall of the Russian Tsarist regime their Byelo-Ruthenian Democratic Republic. The fate of this State was similar to that of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic. But soon there developed a strong democratic opposition which from 1924 to 1932 acted as a conspiracy and found its expression in a well-organized linguistic opposition. In 1933 it was discovered and suppressed, and the Byelo-Ruthenian language became the object of Marr's linguistic policy. A Russification offensive just as violent as against the Ukrainians was directed against the Byelo-Ruthenians, their language and culture. A good survey of it is given in a book by the academician S. Ya. Volfson, edited by the "Byelo-Russian" Academy of Sciences: Science [Liberal Arts] in the Service of National-Democratic Counter-Revolution, Minsk, 1931.

All fields of culture were thus systematically attacked according to the same plan as in the Ukraine, with the same methods, techniques, arguments. The same program of "unification" with the Russian culture, language, and orthography was carried through by the same type of vilification and slander, the Russification being constantly proclaimed as "internationalization."

Volfson and his henchman Greenblat attempted to prove in their articles that the whole Byelo-Ruthenian linguistic opposition was connected with the organization, "Union for the Liberation of the Ukraine"

and directed by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, especially by the academician, S. Yefremov. The Byelo-Ruthenian linguists, above all their leader, Lyosik, are accused, first, of having changed the translation of the national term Byelarus' into foreign languages from the French: Russie Blanche into Ruthenie Blanche, from German: Weiss-Russland into Weiss-Ruthenien. Behind this accusation is the "unification mania of Moscow, which attempts, by the establishment of identical terms: Russland-Russie, to disguise from foreigners the fact that it is the name of a separate Slavic nation, different from the Russian. The Byelo-Ruthenian linguists objected to this trick, demanding a semantically true and unequivocal translation, and introduced the historical medieval term for the country into the present translation. They were fully authorized to do this as the representatives of the Byelo-Ruthenian Academy of Sciences. The old word Rus' cannot be translated into foreign languages as Russia, Russie, Russland, because the meanings of these terms are entirely different. Thus even such a conscientious Soviet-Russian scholar as the academician, Grecov, uses in his book (published in an English translation in Moscow) Kievan Rus'—not "Russia," as is done in the U.S.A. by Prof. George Vernadsky, who even introduced into American terminology the completely baseless term, "Ancient Russia"—which as "Russia" never existed.* This semantically well-founded desire of the Byelo-Ruthenian linguists for an unequivocal term for their country, nation, and language was declared a "counter-revolution." The Russian "unifiers" aim by their terminology to create in the minds of foreigners the impression that "Byelo-Russia" is a simple "country" of "mother Russia."

The Byelo-Ruthenian linguists were also accused of teaching the "separateness" and "independence" of Byelo-Ruthenian as a separate Slavic language inside the Slavic family of languages; of having developed the theory that Byelo-Ruthenian is the language of the oppressed and exploited masses, a proletarian class language, in opposition to the Russian language, a product of the Russian bourgeoisie; of stressing the similarity of some speech sounds with the Polish (which is a linguistic fact). Consequently this point is also suspected as an "orientation toward the West"; of creating and using a puristic Byelo-Ruthenian terminology; of having opposed the use of "Russisms" in vocabulary, forms and phrases; of having created a "counterrevolutionary" orthography for the Byelo-Ruthenian language; of having introduced into the Byelo-Ruthenian dictionaries "archaisms, vulgarisms" of the peasantry and of having given quotations from old Byelo-Ruthenian chronicles and Gospels of "feudal times"; and by all these crimes of "building a barrier between the Byelo-Ruthenian and Russian nations.

*The Byelo-Ruthenian struggle against the Russian Communist semantical tricks produced a movement among the emigration, to use for Byelo-Rus' the unmistakable term of the leading Byelo-Ruthenian tribe of the Krivichs, and to call their country Krivia. Naturally, this question will be decided after the downfall of Russian Communism in the free Byelarus.

Volfson's methods in the discussion rival the methods of Khvylya, Finkel, and Kaganovich. Here are some examples from the "Byelo-Ruthenian linguistic discussion." In "reading in the heart" he is unequalled: Prof. Lyosik is accused of having introduced in the examples of his grammar from Byelo-Ruthenian vernacular counterrevolutionary propaganda. Volfson writes:

"The moods of the author (Lyosik), regarding the victorious construction of socialism are expressed as follows (we give the Byelo-Ruthenian proverbs and sentences from folksongs in translations): 'I am going around in a circle like the sun, where I go, what I do, the heart is in sorrow' (page 40); 'May my sobbing resound in a song' (pages 32, 129, 155); 'grief is embracing my heart' (page 137); 'The horizon is full of silent sadness' (page 140). Why did such a sadness and sobbing embrace the national democrat? Here is the answer: 'The thoughts are weeping because of the (passed) spring, they long for a better lot (destiny)' (page 129). Deploring the passing of capitalism, Lyosik attempts by special selected examples to prove that we have no achievements and do not help the poor people. Naturally, for him the farm-owner is the chief person in the village. Here a characteristic example: 'Save a penny every day and you can spend them, where you wish' (page 107). Also the difficulties of our social development found expression in the grammar: 'All around only destruction--no snuff, no tobacco' (page 32, 192); 'Life is joyful--but nothing to eat' (page 56); 'There is not even a single penny' (page 89); 'Seldom has it been worse' (page 44). And Lyosik encourages his readers (by quotations): 'Brothers, may none of you hesitate to think the same, to do the same!' (page 77, 147). Lyosik persuades his readers that 'The devils will not always rule over the holy place,' that better times will come for the national democrats: 'The sun will also look in our window' (pages 65, 98). 'There will be a festival also in our street' (page 107). In the hope for that national-democratic 'festival' Lyosik gives the reader advice which, we must acknowledge, was fully applied by him and his friends in the political activity: 'Be sad in the soul, but the less you speak [the better]' (page 45)."

So we see, Volfson arbitrarily puts together all the examples into an accusation made by the Communist Party—and the defendant is defenseless against this kind of logic. Finally in 1933 the Byelo-Ruthenian Soviet Government published the order for the Russification of the Byelo-Ruthenian language and orthography, according to Marr's linguistic principles, applied likewise to the Ukrainian. Volfson in his article states some points more clearly than his comrades in Ukraine: "Regarding the Russian proletariat, its position is clear. The hegemony of the proletariat in the linguistic sphere will be realized according to the demands of the working class for hegemony over the whole cultural and ideological spheres." Anything purely Byelo-Ruthenian is declared bourgeois "vulgarism" or medieval "archaism" which only hinders the "unification" with the "brother-language" of the Russian proletariat.

The Byelo-Ruthenian Scientific Society in Vilna closely analyzed all the new regulations of the Russian reforms. The extraordinary plenum

of this society summed up the reforms in the following points,* formulated by the leading linguist Prof. Jan Stankiewicz:

(a) The reforms forbid the expression in Byelo-Ruthenian orthography (writing and printing) of all the most characteristic peculiarities of the Byelo-Ruthenian language.

(b) The regulations of the orthography introduced instead of the Byelo-Ruthenian endings in the declensions, which corresponded to the general tendencies of the Byelo-Ruthenian phonetics, Russian endings, alien to Byelo-Ruthenian phonetics.

(c) The order to write foreign loan-words according to the Russian pronunciation offends the age-old Byelo-Ruthenian tradition of preserving the original pronunciation which the Byelo-Ruthenians have organically assimilated with the tendencies of their phonetics.

(d) The reform is very harmful from the pedagogical point of view, because practically it not only does not facilitate, but quite to the contrary, it renders more difficult teaching in schools, forcing on the Byelo-Ruthenian children a foreign, Russian phonetics instead of their own Byelo-Ruthenian.

(e) The young people who now are learning to read according to the new regulations will encounter difficulties in using the books of the older editions, and those who are accustomed to the presently forbidden orthography will find it difficult to read and write according to the new orthography, which radically changed the traditional phonetics of the Byelo-Ruthenian vernacular.

(f) The reform was executed by the administration without the consent of the Byelo-Ruthenian scientific institutions, which alone are competent to judge in these matters, and in direct contradiction to the opinion of the Byelo-Ruthenian Scientific Society in Vilna and the Academic Orthography Conference, which met in Minsk in the year 1926. Participating in the latter were some of the most distinguished students of linguistics and comparative Slavic philology from the Soviet Union and outside the Soviet Union, such as the academician E. Karskij, the academician B. Tarashkevych, and others.

Therefore, taking all this into consideration, the extraordinary plenum of the Byelo-Ruthenian Scientific Society in Vilna regard this reform as a purely political move, which disregarded the requirements of linguistics, the Byelo-Russian grammar, and the living Byelo-Ruthenian language.

The goal of this move is the amalgamation of Byelo-Ruthenian with Russian and a systematically planned Russification of the Byelo-Ruthenian nation.

The plenum categorically protests against this act of the Soviet government beginning of August 28, 1933, and against the renewal on the territories of East Byelo-Ruthenian of the sad traditions of the Russification policy of the Tsaristic government.

*Cf. Dr. Jan Stankiewicz, "Reforma gramatyki języka białoruskiego B.S.R.R."; "Dr. Jan Stankiewicz, Walka o język w B.S.R.R.," *Sprawy Narodowosciowe*, Nr. 1., 1934.

On behalf of those who work in Byelo-Ruthenian liberal arts, organized in the Byelo-Ruthenian Scientific Society, the plenum states that all its members will fight this rape perpetrated on the Byelo-Ruthenian language and philology with uncompromising severity in their scientific research.

This meeting appeals to all who took part in the academic orthographical conference in Minsk, 1926, to join in this protest if they are free to do so.

Polish. The Poles remained a numerous minority in the Soviet Ukraine, especially on the right bank of the Dnieper; partly they belonged to the industrial proletariat of the towns, partly they were peasants. With respect to the Polish language the Russian Communist policy was the same as toward the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian. The Poles were, however, in a better situation, and Soviet Moscow temporarily granted them some concessions in order that the Polish language of the Communist Polish papers, printed in the Soviet Union and smuggled into Poland, might be understood in Poland, and that the Polish linguists and writers in Poland might not begin a protest action against the Russification of the Polish language in the Soviet Union.

But in reality the Russification of the Polish language was steadily carried out, and the writer B. Jasienski in the Mysl Bolszewicka (1928), in a special article, "For the Revolution in Language," warned the Polish Communists that the (Polish) language of the Polish workers is completely infiltrated with Russian words and phrases. He warned Soviet Moscow that if such a Russification would be intensified "the Polish masses in the Soviet land would be unable to communicate in a common language with the proletarian masses of fascist Poland." Very characteristic is Jasienski's statement that the Polish language of the peasantry remained pure, and only the active Polish Communists, through collaboration with Russian Communists in the everyday party work, lost the purity of their mother language. Therefore another Polish Communist writer demands "that any Polish propagandist must above all master fully the pure Polish language, because the Polish peasants demand that the speaker has to know the Polish language as the priest does. . . ." In the Polish Communist papers Mysl Bolszewicka (Nos. 4-5, 1929) and Orka (No. 54, 1929) were published hundreds of Russian words and phrases which Russified the Polish language of the Communist publication to such a degree that without a knowledge of Russian a Pole could not understand this "Polish."

Consequently in the years 1929-1930 there developed among the Polish Communists in the Soviet Union a very energetic puristic tendency against Russian and foreign words. The Polish Communist papers, like Kultura Mas (The Culture of the Masses), had a regular "language corner" under the title: "Tworzmy Polskie Slownictwo Radzieckie" ("Let Us Create a Polish Communist Vocabulary") in which puristic terms were created for the "Polonization" of the Russian Soviet terminology.

But in 1934 a new Russification started; such publications as K. Sliwinski, Na Front, Charkow, Kijow, 1934, are already written in a Polish-Russian jargon. The "unification-amalgamation-fusion" according

to Marr's principle started in full strength. In 1936 Soviet Moscow liquidated in Kiev the "Polish Teachers Institute," which educated personnel for the grammar schools, and liquidated also the "Institute of the Proletarian Polish Culture" of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, in which the Polish linguists and writers had their small center for the cultivation of their mother language.

(2) The other non-Russian languages. All the remaining non-Russian languages are non-Slavic. Some of them belong to the Indo-European family of languages, like the Moldavian, Armenian, and Iranian languages, but the rest belong to completely separate language families.

Concerning these non-Russian nationalities the Russian Communist Party was faced with a threefold problem:

- a) The problem of the alphabet,
- b) The application of Marr's views for their Russification, and
- c) The political background of the "linguistic oppositions."

The problem of the alphabet may be briefly stated in the question: Have the old traditional alphabets of these nationalities to be respected? If not, what kind of alphabet has to be introduced, the Russian-Cyrillic or the Latin? Thus the question of the alphabet developed into a paramount problem of Soviet cultural policy and its many zigzags in this field are good material for the study of the Russification of the non-Russian nationalities, conducted by the Russian Communist Party. We have already seen what a great role this problem played in the Ukrainian linguistic discussion.

As a background and excellent example of the "double-accounting" principle, we should first mention how the question was presented in the Russian ethnographical territory about 1930. Not only was the idea of the Latinization of the alphabet advocated in some works by Marr himself (Pismennost' i Revolucya, Vol. I): "A mighty implement for the realization of Lenin's national policy, the true revolutionary alphabet of the masses, not only in the Soviet Union, but also outside the Soviet borders is the Latin alphabet." Also in 1932 there appeared in Moscow, published by the Communist Party, the pamphlet by Khansurov: Latinization, the Implement of Lenin's National Policy. Here is written:

"Gutenberg in 1450 invented the printing of books. . . . In the libraries are preserved copies of European newspapers from the year 1588, but the first Turkish newspaper appeared 1888, that is after 262 years. Why? Because of social order of exploitation. The introduction of the new alphabet was and is being carried out amid embittered class battles. All the forces of the old world, all the forces of the exploiting classes in the countries of the Soviet East, supported by the international imperialism, did not wish such a tremendous bright [achievement] as literacy, enlightenment, to be conceded to the proletariat and working peasantry without battle. This eminence they could preserve [for themselves], partly by the use of the Arabian alphabet, not accessible to the masses. The Latinizers were beaten by the Moslems, as traitors of religion and nations, were beaten by the [Russian] gendarmes as a harmful element. The first vilified them and incited them [against the Latinizers], the

second isolated them from the working masses. The Latin alphabet is the only alphabet which has the right to exist. Every other alphabet, also the Russian, is a remainder of the bourgeoisie of the Middle Ages."

In order not to offend the Soviet Muslims the Russian Communist ordered Khvylya as a "Ukrainian" and later his henchman, Rovinsky (Pravda, No. 47, 1934), to attack Khansurov. About Khansurov's statement he writes:

"That is an injurious nonsense, not without a counterrevolutionary basis. It is well known that in the questions of culture, especially in the problems of language and literature, the nationalist counterrevolution, for instance the Ukrainian, has advanced the demand of an orientation to the West at any price. . . . The war against the Russian alphabet, proclaimed in the book of comrade Khansurov, although under the banner of Latinization, is essentially a national-democratic conception in literature; it does not differ basically from the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian national-democratic conceptions regarding language and literature."

Soon the Russian Communists, at the Seventeenth Party Congress put Khansurov under heavy artillery bombardment. The Russian Communist Razumov directly asked:

"Who needs the Latin alphabet? Is it not simpler to introduce the Russian alphabet into the literature of these peoples, in order to make it easier for the workers . . . to master the literature of both languages, that of the mother language and of the Russian? (An interruption from the audience: Why easier?) I do not understand why in the book the preservation of the common Russian alphabet, which already exists for Yakutian, are called 'nationalist,' but those who are fighting for the approach with the alphabet of the French and Italian are regarded as internationalists. But in the book of Khansurov, an official Party edition, are also other 'pearls.' The great cultural and political importance of the exchange of Arabian letters for the Latinized alphabet is well known. But we regret that they used an alphabet unlike the Russian one. . . . Khansurov finished his book with such sentences: The struggle of the proletariat of the working and oppressed masses in the other parts of the world, for the victory of the October-(Revolution) grows and spreads the whole world over. The final victory will be achieved by the revolution, and together with the proletarian revolution will the Latin alphabet be victorious also and it will become the international alphabet. I ask: for whom and for what is this necessary? In what does the superiority of the Latin alphabet over the Russian consist, in which the gigantic cultural values of the Soviet land are created?" (Pravda, February 3, 1934, No. 33.)

As we see, the Russian Communist Party was well aware that the Latin alphabet includes also a "cultural orientation toward the West," and that the Latinization of the alphabet would be tantamount to a recognition of the "superiority of the West." Consequently Soviet Moscow

permitted until 1934 the Latin script to be extolled even as the "October script," but after realizing the implication the decision was made to Russify all alphabets, with the exception of the Armenian and Gruzian (Georgian). Apparently here the party decided to respect Stalin's Caucasian mother countries (the Georgians say his ancestry was partly Armenian) and here the alphabets are treated according to Stalin's formula "Socialist in content, national in form" as a part of the national form. But all the other languages were mercilessly Russified. The Russian alphabet and language was on the way to being proclaimed the alphabet and language of the international proletariat.

A scandalous case is the Russification of the Roumanian alphabet in the Moldavian Republic. There can be no doubt that the Moldavian is a Roumanian dialect and constitutes, with Roumanian, one language. In order to stop any Roumanian influences, Moscow Russified the Moldavian alphabet, and thus one nation and one language was artificially divided. Thus a Romance language is separated by the alphabet from the Romance group of languages, the Roumanian language is split in two and a Russianized-Moldavian jargon was created.

The Russian script was also imposed on the Iranian languages, and the existing Latin scripts were abolished (about 1938-1950). The Russian script was also introduced into the Finno-Ugric languages, with the exception of Karelo-Finnish. Here in 1940 the Russian script was abolished and the Latin accepted so that Communist propaganda might be conducted in Finland proper.

The Turco-Tatar scripts of the Soviet Union were modifications of the original Arabic script: then the Latin script was introduced, but about 1938 the Russian script was made compulsory. Thus all Turcic literary languages were Russianized despite the fact that whole generations were used to the Latin script, for instance Yakut used Latin script 1930-1937, Crimean Tatar 1928-1937, Karachai Balkar 1924-1937, Kumyk 1931-1937, Kazan Tatar 1928-1939, Azerbaijan 1928-1940, Kazak 1928-1940, Kirghiz 1927-1940, Turkmen 1927-1940, Uzbek 1927-1940. Thus these Turco-Tatar nations were separated from every cultural influence of modern Turkey and her Latin script.

The languages of the Caucasus were also Russianized about 1937; for whole generations these had used the Latin script: Abazir 1932-1937, Adyghe 1926-37, Avar 1928-1937, Darghin 1928-37, Ingush 1922-1937, Kabardin 1923-1937, Chechen 1925-1937, etc.

The Mongolian traditional writing met the same fate. Thus Kalmuk had from 1648-1922 a script on the traditional Mongolian basis, but in 1922 it was Russianized, and in 1930 Latin was introduced and in 1938 again it was Russified; Buryat up to 1931 Mongolian, 1931 Latin, 1938 Russified; etc.

(3) The application of Marr's linguistic technique, aiming at the amalgamation of the non-Slavic languages with Russian

Roumanian. The "Moldavian" language is forced to accept the whole Russian terminology, which is proclaimed to be the "international terminology"; piatiletca, udarnik, colhoz, sovhoz, culacul, comsomolul, etc., etc. The language is crowded with Russian phrases, even Russian

constructions. Any purism is declared "fascism," "sabotage," "nationalism." For the Russification of Roumanian the Russians applied the technique of "parceling out" a language, which was developed also on all other languages to unrivaled mastery. Thus the Roumanian language in the Moldavian Soviet Republic is proclaimed as "Moldavian," with a different Russian script from the excellent Latin script of the Roumanian. At the same time all of Roumania was forced to learn Russian and to use it as an intermediary language, the former use of French and German having been banned. By this "parceling out" of the Roumanian language the Russians broke the "linguistic resistance" of this Romance language, which as a united whole would have presented a strong obstacle to Russification, and reserved for the Communist Party also the possibility of the "Moldavianization" of all of Roumania and her "voluntary" entrance into the Soviet Union and Soviet culture, by accepting the Russian script and the Moldavian-Russian jargon as the "proletarian Roumanian literary language."

This technique of "parceling out," dividing languages which have an old historic-national terminology, into dialects, then declaring these dialects must be raised to the status of literary languages, but meanwhile banning from them the previous terminology as "nationalist, bourgeois, fascist," introducing the whole Russian terminology as obligatory, and declaring its use even as a symbol of loyalty to Communist Moscow—such measures crushed many languages which had victoriously withstood all the attempts of Tsaristic Russification.

Turkestanian problems. The Turkestanian scholar, Dr. M. H. Erturk, summed up the Russian language policy in the following article,* The Tragedy of the Turkestanian Turki Language:

The Russians:

"1. Destroyed the language unity of the Turki living under the yoke of Russia. By splitting up the Turkestanian Turki nation into several 'nations' they had the opportunity of giving each nation its own 'alphabet'.

"2. Turkish unity in Turkestan with its historical, cultural and geographical basis formed a repellent force to Bolshevik Russia. The Russians knew that this state of affairs was a bulwark against the russification policy. For this reason the Russians, by splitting up the nation into 'many nations' made several languages out of one language.

"3. Under the pretext of latinising the Turkestanian alphabet, they introduced for the letters which were non-existent in the Latin alphabet, letters taken from the Russian alphabet.

"4. By raising the Turkestanian Turki dialects to the status of independent languages they tried to complicate the languages spoken among the Turki tribes and to make inter-communication between them more difficult.

"5. In the case of allegedly missing words from the 'language' of the Turki tribes, they introduced Russian words, instead of borrowing the required words from the language of another Turki tribe.

*Miliy Turkestan, Nr. 70/71, March, 1951.

"6. They introduced slowly into the Turkestanian language the Russian proletarian language. On reading the local newspapers in the language of the Kazakh tribes, one notices that the following words have been introduced:

"Instead of 'Rais' (President) the Russian word 'Predsedatel'; instead of 'qanun' (law) the Russian word 'zakon', instead of 'Majlis' (Parliament) the Russian word 'Sobranje', instead of 'Farman' (order) the Russian word 'ukaz', instead of 'Deramed' (income) the Russian word 'dokhod' instead of 'haqiqat' (truth) the Russian word 'Pravda'.

"Through the yearly introduction of language and orthographical 'reforms', the law of sounds, the so-called harmony of vowels of the Turki language was falsified. For instance through the suppression of the 'clear' vowels the differentiation of the vowel system into 'clear' and 'dark' sounds was abolished. Basing itself on the Bolshevik theory that grammar has no value in a language the grammatical principles of the Turkestanian language were falsified. The children were given inadequate lessons in their mother tongue in the Soviet schools. . . .

"The Bolsheviks who tried to put the hegemony of the Russian language over the Turki language, regarded the latter as a 'conquered' language. For this reason they demanded that the Turki language should be written with the Russian alphabet. The introduction of the Russian alphabet in 1940 was, as Stalin said, the victory of one language over another.

"The Bolsheviks did not content themselves with introducing the Russian alphabet into the Turki language, they introduced compulsory Russian language tuition (for further details see the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the People's Commissariat of March 1938). The tuition in their mother tongue was given second place for the children. The pupil who did not master the Russian language was not allowed to matriculate. The Bolsheviks were not even satisfied with this. Although in the years 1925/26 the Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirgiz, Turkmen and Tadjik languages were considered to be state languages, they later on introduced Russian as the official state language in the Turkestanian Soviet Republic. . . .

"A complete sovietising of Turkestan was carried out in the period from 1926 to 1933, when Communist ideology was propagated in Turkestan by the Russians. During this period the following slogans were used: 'The creation of a culture which was to be national in form and socialist in essence', 'Domination of the language of the Proletarian revolution', 'The creation of a Proletarian-Soviet literature', 'The Bringing into being of an Ideology on the principles of Communism', 'Internationalising the language', 'Hegemony of Western-Russian culture, in place of the Oriental-Turk-Islam culture', 'The creation of Socialist-realistic literature', 'Incorporation of newly formed Socialist nations into Russia.' "

Turco-Tatar. These methods were applied effectively to the Turco-Tatar languages. To deal with these languages the Russian Communists organized the "Central Committee of New Alphabets." In the beginning this committee had to elaborate Latin scripts for them, but on August

17, 1935, its real tasks were revealed: (a) to control the development of culture and language, so that they ran parallel with the "Sovietization" of the countries; (b) to correct all "mistakes." By the "parceling out" there were created some 70 Turco-Tatar "languages," the development of common literary languages for the separate groups was prevented, and for all the languages thus artificially created the Russian script and the whole Russian terminology were introduced. The chief works of Lenin and Stalin were immediately translated into this Russified Turco-Tatarian jargons. These successes were achieved after a bitter fight, as we see from the reports of the committee, because "the whole culture and literature was under the influence of the nationalists."

Especially difficult was the fight against the "nationalism" of the Kazan Tatars. In 1920-1921 they organized their Language Institute, which created a puristic terminology, collecting all the terms of the vernacular, which had existed for a long time. The Russians constantly fought against this terminology until in 1933, when the Communist Party barred this terminology as counterrevolutionary and forced the introduction of the Russian. In the Tatarian paper Culture and Enlightenment (No. 158, 1935) the Commissar of Education finally ordered: (1) all have to learn the new Russian terminology and to use it; the old purist one is to be eliminated; (2) the socialist-international terminology is to be taken from Russian without any changes; (3) the whole scientific terminology is to be taken from Russian without any changes. Thus in every 200 "Tatarian" terms, 179 are Russian.

The Crimean Tatars also violently opposed the Russification of their language; this nationality is at present "liquidated" completely—a rather interesting result of Lenin's national policy. Only in 1934-1935 did Soviet Moscow break the linguistic opposition among the Tatars, by sending to Crimea a special commissar for that purpose, Aleksandrovich. He enforced his program: (1) fight against nationalism "in defense of the development of the Tatarian literary language"; (2) the creation of "favorable conditions" for this development. He attacked all Tatarian linguists and writers as "nationalists," saying they had dominated the linguistic conferences in 1927 and 1929 and "tried to develop the literary language under the influence of the Turkish language. Because of their great hatred for Russians, they checked the entrance of Russian terms and raised obstacles against Communist influences." Aleksandrovich insisted not only that the whole Russian terminology be introduced into Tatarian, but also that original Russian pronunciations of words be most carefully preserved in Tatarian, including even the accents. He subjected all literary and philological institutions of the Tatars to the corresponding Russian institutions in Leningrad and Moscow.

The same policy of Russification was applied also to Azerbaijanian. Immediately after the occupation by the Russian Red Army, the Azerbaijanian language, a Turkish dialect, was especially persecuted. The teaching of Russian was reintroduced in all schools. Soon there developed against it an opposition in which also many Azerbaijanian Communists participated under the leadership of the general secretary of

the party, Khanbudagov. Later, the Russian dictator of Azerbaijan, Kirov, expanded the teaching of Russian in all schools, on the ground that this was necessary because the teaching language in the academical schools would be Russian. . . . At the same time the Russian Communists banned the use of the Azerbaijanian literary language, which has a tradition of nearly a millennium. The country was "parceled out" in dialects and of course the whole Russian terminology had to be accepted. The old historical-national terminology of the Azerbaijanian language was barred. This was carried out under the well-known slogan, "Culture must be Socialist in content, national in form."

But, as in the Ukraine, the Russian Communists there developed also a kind of a Lyebyed theory. They argued that "the content determines the form." The form of the Socialist content must be Socialist. The language of the Socialist culture is Russian, consequently there should be no other national forms, that is, no other languages. The paper Bakinskii Rabochyi, February 8-16, 1927, reports this discussion. The Russian propagandists of this "theory" were quieted with the assurance that the "national form" is only a temporary expedient, leading to the "common language" of the future. . . .

In the Russification of the next years we can establish the following stages: (a) The Russian Communist Party proclaimed all traditional-national Azerbaijanian terminology as expressions of the Mahometan feudal and capitalistic culture. As Azerbaijan entered into the phase of "socialist culture," and the language of Socialism is Russian, the whole Russian terminology was obligatory for the newly created literary jargons. (b) At the twelfth meeting of the Azerbaijanian Communist Party and the seventh meeting of the Communist Party of the Caucasus the motion that the Russian language, the language of Lenin-Stalin, be recognized as the unifying language of all fifteen nationalities of Azerbaijan and the whole Caucasus was carried. For the strengthening of this international solidarity the teaching of Russian in Azerbaijan had to be intensified. (c) With all the forces of the State and party apparatus, and by the introduction of the Russian script the Azerbaijanian nation, her language and culture, were systematically and artificially estranged from her next kin, Turkey.

But in spite of all the pressure, the Russian chairman of the Soviet of Commissars Rakhmanov had to confess in 1935 that the teaching of Russian in Azerbaijan was in a "pitiable state," and called upon the party to conduct a merciless fight against the nationalists, who sabotaged the teaching of Russian. Finally a special decree was issued on August 4, 1935, signed by Stalin and Molotov, demanding the intensification of the teaching of Russian.

North Caucasian problems. The language problem in the Northern Caucasus, among the so-called highlanders, the Gortsy, is very complicated. This country is populated by a number of small peoples, who look upon themselves as a cultural whole, in spite of the differences in their languages. Here the Russian policy was to eliminate their tendency to establish the Turkish language as an intermediary language of the country, and to enforce the use of Russian for this role. Thus in

Dagestan in 1923 and 1928 the Turkish language was recognized as the "official State language." But in 1930 the Russian Communist Party forced the revocation of this decree "as an expression of the farm-owning upper class and the bourgeois-nationalist intelligentsia" and by "parceling out" Dagestan created 28 languages, at the same time introducing Russian as the obligatory "common and intermediary language." Introduction of the Russian terminology into all native languages was compulsory, and Russian specialists immediately prepared and published the respective dictionaries. Even the Caucasian Communists protested against this Russification carried out by the Russian Communists. Akhmed Tlyukhnyayev* criticized these dictionaries thus:

"These dictionaries had to be dictionaries of social-political terminology. But in reality they are nationalist-Russian. . . . This deviation toward the Russian imperialistic chauvinism in questions of national terminology expresses itself in the attempt to introduce into a given national language Russian terms in unlimited number and in unchanged form. In the national territories the partisans of this transplantation of foreign terms into the national languages regard as the only source for the creation of terminology the Russian language, completely forgetting the international terminology. Practicing it they carry over into the national language Russian words, not changing their form, not even changing the case, gender, and other endings, and the international terminology is transplanted in the forms of Russian pronunciation without any adaptation to the grammatical and other peculiarities of the national language."

The Russian Communists especially "purged" the languages of all Arabic loan-words, which centuries ago had become fully naturalized in them. But about 1933 the Russian Communist bureaucracy suppressed by terrorism the linguistic opposition, and the commissar for the Russification of Dagestan, Cekher, could appeal to the teachers for a full application of the new terminology. He said: "You must at last understand that Russian is no more the language of Nicholas II and his missionaries, but the language of the great Lenin." He got a loud interesting interruption: "Nu, i kakaia zhe raznica?" "Well, what's the difference?"

Finno-Ugric. Now, some information about the Finno-Ugric languages. The example of the fate of the Finnish language in Finnish-Karelia and Ingria may be sufficient. It is interesting that here even the name of the Ukrainian Skrypnyk had to serve as a justification of the Russification. After many zigzags in 1935 Soviet Moscow started a full offensive in order to deprive the Finns of Ingria and Karelia of their national rights, which once were guaranteed to them in the Dorpat treaty. Already in 1922-1923 Soviet Moscow was accused by Finland in the League of Nations of not keeping its promises; but without result,

*A. Tlyukhnyayev, "The creation of national terminology--a most important part of the cultural revolution in national territories," in Revolucia i Gorec, August, 1931.

because Soviet Moscow was not then a member of the League. After 1925 Soviet Moscow began to exterminate them; thus the Finns in Ingria "disappeared" completely, by systematic genocide and expulsion to Siberia. In Karelia the Russian Communists initiated a witch hunt for "Karelian national communists." The Central Committee dismissed the Secretary of the Communist Party of Karelia, the Finn K. Rovio, and nominated to this post a Russified Latvian from Riga, P. Irklis. Soon Inklis and the Russian Chudov prepared the material for the accusation against Rovio and the chairman of the administration of Karelia Gilling, who "have committed deviations toward local nationalism," "who have distorted Lenin-Stalinist national policy," "neglected to educate the people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and Soviet patriotism," and even "encouraged fascism, as their Ukrainian colleague Skrypnyk has done."

The administration was accused of neglecting the teaching of Russian in schools and ignoring the order that all active Karelian Communists must fully master Russian. The Finnish Communists who emigrated from Finland into Karelia were accused of stimulating Karelian "nationalism," opposing the Russian "Lenin-Stalinist language," thus also opposing the interests of the "Soviet fatherland." There were even cases in which the Karelian Communists refused to accept official documents in Russian, Irklis points out.

Of course, officially, the whole action of Russification started under the slogan, "Socialist in content, and national in form." But in order to insure the "Socialist content," the Russian Communist Party forbade the organization of Karelian Clubs, party sections, propaganda meetings separate from the Russians; all school textbooks were to be revised, all Finnish Communists who had emigrated from Finland had to be purged, and all measures had to be taken for the fight against "local nationalism" and for "the effective diffusion throughout the country of the language of Lenin and Stalin, of the language of the great Soviet fatherland and the world revolution." All Communist Youth Clubs were purged, also all staffs of publications. All Finnish Communists who returned to Karelia from Finland, the U.S.A., and Canada were fired from all key positions and replaced by Russian Communists. Also hundreds of Karelian technical specialists were moved from the country into Siberia.

Finally, Dr. E. Gilling, chairman of the board of commissars of the Karelian Republic, was expelled, and replaced by the Russian P. I. Bushuyev; Gilling was put to death.

Yiddish. In connection with all these language reforms the fate of the Jewish language in the Ukraine is interesting. The Jews used as their literary language the Yiddish, an old medieval dialect from the Rhine. The Bulletin of the All Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Nr. 2, 1934 (Visti Vuan), published the results of the Linguistic Jewish Conference, organized by the Institute of Jewish Proletarian Culture of the Academy, which lasted four days. In this discussion the editors of the Jewish newspaper Szternand, of course, the indefatigable Khvylya, participated. Khvylya delivered a paper, Analysis of the Problems of

Class Struggle on the Jewish (partly also on the Ukrainian) Language Front.

The attitude of the Russian Communists toward the Yiddish language interests every student of Soviet linguistic policy. The Jews as a nation are lacking in their constituent elements of a Yiddish-speaking peasantry as a basis of their nation. They are scattered in islands over the whole Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia and other Soviet countries; they have to live under the continuous, powerful influence of their environments; therefore they are "bilingual" or often multilingual, and their language has been penetrated by many Polish and Russian words.

The Jewish linguist, Shtef, said, "It would be ridiculous for anybody to demand of us a proletarian culture. The Jewish culture is in itself most proletarian." Also the other Jewish Communists and scholars declared that the Yiddish language was always the language of the oppressed masses, and was never spoken by the Jewish bourgeoisie.

But Khvylya found a "right deviation" and also a "left-liquidatory deviation":

"The meeting also made a categorical rejection regarding the left-liquidatory deviation, which expressed itself in the Jewish language formation. The essence of this deviation expressed itself in the proclamation of war against words of German origin in the Yiddish language, in their replacement by Russian words, in a reckless uprooting from Yiddish of all words of Hebrew origin. In proving this theory and practice its supporters committed immense political mistakes. . . ."

At first glance anyone would be astonished to hear that Khvylya opposes Russianisms in Yiddish. But the point is that after 18 years of complete destruction of the Jewish religious life in the Soviet Union, there was going on a complete Russification of the Jewish workers. They were speaking a Yiddish-Russian mixture. At the meeting it was stressed that the backward part of the Jewish workers, having no constant link with the Yiddish press and books, does not understand sufficiently their literary language. Well, the "Jewish nationalists" were attempting to save this backward part of the Jewish workers—and this part is the overwhelming majority—for the Jewish nation, by accepting all their "Russianisms" instead of the "Germanisms" and "Hebraisms" in the literary Yiddish language.

But the Russian Communists already considered these half-Russified Jewish workers as Russians who had only to take the last step to full Russification. Consequently, the Russian Communists and Khvylya could not be fooled by the "Jewish nationalists" with their "demand to exclude Germanisms and legalize the Russisms"; the hidden "nationalist" aim was revealed and anathematized as "deviation." On page 44 of the Bulletin it is directly stated:

"The outwardly left-wing phrases of these deviators help to camouflage these essentially right-wing opportunistic tendencies of the camouflaged Jewish nationalists against the healthy assimilation which is going on among a part of the Jewish workers. This left-wing deviation

sympathizes with the nationalist desire to 'save' these workers for the Yiddish language, even by jargonizing it (with Russian words)."

This is the new Russian Communist term for this policy: "healthy assimilation." The old Russian Tsaristic regime was more honest; it called the spade a spade, with the term "Russification."

(4) The political background of all "linguistic oppositions." As happened in the Ukraine behind all the "nationalist opposition" in the above-mentioned languages there were political conspiracies aiming at the self-determination of the oppressed nationalities. They were the reactions against Russification.

A Tatar member of the "Commissariat of Nationalities," Sultan-Galiev, was the leader of a conspiratory organization in Tataria and Bashkiria, which included the prominent politicians Mukhtarov, Mansurov, Sabirov, Deren-Ayerly, Firdevs, Enbaev, and many others. He was accused in 1923-1924 of collaborating with Persia and Turkey for the liberation of the Mussulmans oppressed by Soviet Moscow.

In Turkestan and Bokhara the resistance was led by the Basmachi partisans under the leadership of Validov. The nationalities of Central Asia created a whole series of conspiracies and oppositions under the leadership of Maksum, Abrakhmanov, and Khodzhibaev.

The Georgians also opposed this policy under the leadership of Mdivani, Makharadze, Tsintadze, etc.

The Karelian-Finnish background we have already mentioned. The fate of the Ingrians was tragic. This highly civilized Protestant nationality occupying the hinterland of Leningrad was virtually annihilated. Many thousands of intelligentsia and priests were exiled in 1929-1930 to far-off regions, to Siberia, the Alma Ata regions around Lake Aral. Very extensive deportations started in 1927, in 1935 they began again, and were particularly violent in 1936, when all northern Ingria was emptied of Ingrians and colonized by Russians.

All the non-Russian nationalities mentioned lost many thousands of the intelligentsia, of writers and scholars, by systematic killing and liquidation in the slave labor camps. Their losses were no less than those of the Ukrainians.

Let us close this chapter (1929-1936) with the remark that on September 18, 1934, the Soviet Union was admitted to the League of Nations in Geneva, and that the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Litvinov, delivered a speech, a quotation from which may serve as the "Big Lie" background for this epoch:

"I should almost venture to say that never have so many nationalities been seen living together so peacefully within one single State, that never have so many peoples had an opportunity inside one single State, to develop themselves culturally to the same extent, maintaining the advantages of their national civilization and particularly of their own language."

The representative of Switzerland, Motta, former President of Switzerland, was the only man who had the courage to oppose the admittance

of the Soviet Union to the League, describing the fate of Ukraine and Georgia, and warning the League of Nations in vain.

The Soviet Union, a State which fought the democratic opposition of the non-Russian peoples inside the Soviet Union with the law of collective responsibility was admitted to the League of Nations by civilized, democratic, Christian nations:

The law of collective responsibility, published in Izvestia of June 9, 1934, provided that all dependents of a man who dodges military service are condemned to deportation for five years to remote regions, even if they were not aware of the fact, and for ten years if they were.

This law of collective responsibility of the family applies also to all forms of crime designated as high treason, counterrevolutionary activity, political dissent, and absence from work.

This law, in force until today, is the weapon of the Russian avant-garde of "humanity" against the non-Russian nationalities. It became, as genocide, Soviet Moscow's favorite method for the "solution" of nationality problems.

Chapter VI

THE FIGHT AGAINST RUSSIAN COMMUNIST IMPERIALISM OUTSIDE THE SOVIET UNION

1. The Promethean Movement

The successive occupation of all democratic national Republics of the non-Russian nationalities (with the exception of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) about 1920-1922 by Communist Russia, carried out by the Russian Red Army, forced all the legal governments into exile. In the first years after this defeat the embassies, legations, and consulates of the exiled legal governments continued to function in various States of Europe which had recognized their independence. The governments continued their political tasks and were everywhere the directing center of the political and cultural activities of the émigrés. In a short time these nationalities developed a flourishing cultural life in Paris, Warsaw, Prague, Rome, and Berlin, and in spite of the Iron Curtain this had its influence on the mother countries, occupied by the Red Army, and stimulated the non-Russian nationalities there to new opposition against the Soviet dictatorship, to constant uprising and unrest. This gave the legal governments the basis for repeated diplomatic appeals to the various governments, parliaments, and the League of Nations, and these were supported by the public opinion of Europe which was becoming more and more conscious of the true nature of the Soviets.

Quite naturally in all these centers of political life in Europe the leaders of the exiled governments began to form a close family, bound together by their common fate and the common struggle. Quite naturally also there began in all political circles of the emigrations discussions and debates about the reasons for the common defeat. These resulted in the clear knowledge and conviction that not only the ignorance of the foreign powers about the national problems of old imperial Russia had caused the common catastrophe in the defensive war against Russian Communist aggression—but that there has also been a fundamental mistake in the political and military outlook of all nationalities. The political and military analysis of the lost war showed convincingly that the chief reason for the defeat of every nation was the lack of a common front of all non-Russian nationalities against Soviet Moscow.

Moscow had the strategical advantage of the interior lines and with an unthreatened rear it could always concentrate its military forces on one single nation, while it induced all the others to maintain neutrality by solemn promises of respect for their independence. Thus during the Communist aggression against Ukraine-Caucasia, the Baltic States and Finland were neutral: they had no idea that the defense of Ukraine could also decide their fate. When the moment for decision came after the

alliance of Ukraine with Poland in 1920 and the dramatic common war against Communist aggression—the Baltic States with Finland, Roumania, Caucasia, and Turkestan waited! Then came Caucasia's turn, especially Georgia's, and again all other nationalities maintained neutrality, waiting for some action by the League of Nations. In this way one democratic republic after another was eliminated by aggressive Russian Communism which systematically broadened and consolidated its base for the future world revolution and the proletarian world dictatorship.

This analysis not only clarified for the leading statesmen of the exiled governments and national committees the basic reason for the common defeat but also led them to the very important conclusion that the future victory of any nation against Russian Communism depended upon one fundamental condition, namely, the establishment of this common front of all subjugated nationalities against Soviet Moscow.

This was the birth of the Promethean Movement.

The conviction as to the urgent need for an immediate realization of this idea was especially deeply felt among the Ukrainian leaders, for it followed the lines of the Congress of the Nationalities of former Russia in Kiev (1917, at which Prof. T. G. Masaryk, later President of Czechoslovakia, participated as guest). It also recalled the previous common front of all these nationalities in the Duma, formed by the Parliamentary Club of the Autonomists, and initiated by the distinguished Polish leader, A. Lednicki, and by the common front of the revolutionaries in 1905-1906. In fact, this idea goes back to the policy of Hetman I. Mazepa in his alliance with Charles XII of Sweden. More than that, all the other nationalities began to look to the Ukrainians because of their number (they are the second largest Slavic nation) as the natural leader of all the non-Russian peoples. Therefore as the next step the author of this study was charged by general consent with the negotiations for the realization of this common front.

Every government in exile and national committees delegated a few personalities of long political experience and high authority to represent the public opinion of his own nation in an organization which was to be a symbol of the common front of the said nationalities and which could publicly speak with authority on behalf of the free public opinions of these peoples. Thus was formed a common front of the subjugated peoples which was unofficially supported by all the legal governments in exile and by the national committees. This organization chose the name "Promethean League of the Nations Subjugated by Moscow," and this was abbreviated to "Promethean League. In 1925 it began to function underground after long negotiations in Paris, Bucharest, Istanbul, Helsinki, and Prague.

The aims of the Promethean League were:

a) To represent the common front of all nations subjugated by Moscow in their struggle for liberty and independence and in the defense of their rights to self-determination;

b) To continue this common struggle by a systematically planned common action before the League of Nations, the governments of the individual States, international congresses, through speeches and

writing, declarations and publications, and through special Promethean Congresses.

c) To educate the political parties, especially the youth of all subjugated nationalities in the history of all these peoples and their special problems in order to develop solidarity and the conviction of the necessity of a common front in war and peace among all these nations and emigrations;

d) To introduce this idea of a necessary defensive alliance among the occupied mother countries within the Soviet Union;

e) To prepare a common front for the future of the national revolutions for the common liberation of all peoples concerned, this to be under the leadership of national armies, prepared by the legal governments and national committees after securing adequate support from the great Powers;

f) To uphold the ideals of Democracy, the real basis of the modern national idea in Europe, and of the League of Nations;

g) To settle all questions in dispute, especially all conflicts as to boundaries, by accepting voluntarily the principle of arbitration;

h) To fight everywhere Communistic propaganda, to expose the true aims of the Soviet dictatorship and to warn the world against World War II which was being prepared by Soviet Moscow in order to hasten the world revolution;

i) And always and everywhere to act on the principle: one subdued nationality for all and all subdued nationalities for everyone, even the smallest!

The following subjugated nations formed the Promethean League (beginning with the North): Karelians, Komi which represented also the interests of the Udmurt (called by the Russian "Votiaks"), Mordva and Mari, Ingrians, Ukrainians, Don Cossacks, Kuban Cossacks, Georgians, North Caucasians (Mountaineers), Azerbaijanians, Idel-Ural Tatars, Crimean Tatars, Turkestanians including the Turkmens, Tadjiks, Kasakhs, Uzbeks, and Kirghiz, Buriats. This was the last nation which joined the Promethean League and was represented by delegates who escaped to Finland from the Solovki Island's concentration camp. (Any handbook of the Soviet Union will furnish data about the area and population of each nationality. The total number of the population included in the Promethean League was about 80 million.)

There were two nations which did not formally join the Promethean Movement: the Byelo-Ruthenians (Byelo-Russians) and the Armenians. Intimate contact was established with both. The Byelo-Ruthenians even sent their delegate to the Promethean Congress, but they were not formally represented because of their complicated inner situation. Nevertheless, the Prometheans always considered the Byelo-Ruthenians full members of the common front and defended everywhere their right of self-determination. More complicated was the question of the Armenians, an ancient, highly cultural, but unhappy nation for which so much sympathy had been expressed in the whole world. Their national aspirations were primarily directed against Turkey, and this anti-Turkish tendency could not be accepted as a basis for a constructive policy by the other Promethean members.

The idea of the defensive common front against Soviet aggression and of united political action quickly took root in all centers of the political refugees. The aims of the Promethean League began to be realized by the activities of the Council and its sections (ideological, educational, women, youth, and press sections). The constant protests, declarations, and explanations of every Russian Communist step forced the Soviet press to react violently and thus by its slanders made the principles of the Promethean League well known in the whole Soviet Union. Thus from 1925 on the Promethean League protected and represented the rights of the subjugated nationalities to self-determination before world public opinion and constantly informed the League of Nations about the horror of the totalitarian Soviet regime, about the tortures in the Soviet concentration camps, etc.

The political action culminated in the motions in the American Senate to recognize the exile governments of Ukraine and Georgia and to appoint diplomatic representatives to the Ukrainian and Georgian democratic republics, to voice its disapproval of the occupation of these countries by the Russian Government and its sympathy with the peoples of these republics. We present the motion of Senator Copeland, October 30, 1929, regarding the Ukraine, in a photostat (in the Appendix). These facts found a tremendous response in the whole resistance movement within the Soviet Union, and the Russian Communists soon mobilized outside the Soviet Union all their "direct and indirect" forces for a smear campaign of all the national resistance movements in the U.S.S.R.

2. The Promethean Linguistic Congress, 1935

Of course all the Promethean centers very attentively followed developments in their occupied mother countries inside the Soviet Union, and the revocation of the N.E.P. alarmed them all. It was clear that the collectivization of the farm land had not only an economic purpose, but was above all aimed at the annihilation of the very basis of the anti-Russian national oppositions of the subdued nationalities and at the liquidation of the non-Russian peasant classes themselves. The simultaneous introduction of Marr's linguistic theory started the Russian cultural aggression against all non-Russian cultures and languages. In all centers of the Promethean exiles, especially in Paris, Prague, Warsaw, Istanbul, Bucharest, and Sofia, these matters were a constant topic at all meetings.

In reality nothing happened that had not been anticipated from the very beginning of the establishment of the Russian Communist dictatorship. The democratic leaders of the non-Russian peoples had already after 1920 immediately identified Russian Communism as the newest form of the old Russian imperialism. But the question before the democratic leaders about 1929-1930 was how to mobilize the free scientific public opinion against Marr's linguistic theory and the public opinion of the world for a defense of the subdued non-Russian nationalities against the new Russification—in the very era of the League of Nations in Geneva. . . .

Thus in 1933 the Promethean League decided to awaken the conscience of scholars of linguistics outside the Soviet Union and to mobilize the public opinion of the free world by a special Promethean Linguistic Congress. This Congress had the special task of raising the free voice of the subjugated nationalities against the systematic Russification of their languages by Soviet Moscow. In discussing the place of the Congress there the wish was expressed that the Congress might take place in a country immediately contiguous to the Soviet Union, in order that the voice of freedom might the more easily penetrate the Soviet frontiers. After the negotiations Poland unofficially permitted the meeting of the Congress in Warsaw May 31 - June, 1935, at the Y.M.C.A. building, presented by the Americans to the Polish branch of this society.

Leon Wasilewski was elected as honorary protector. He was the leader of the Polish Socialist Party, who for many decades during the Tsarist regime was an energetic champion of the cause of self-determination of all nationalities enslaved in Russia. Wasilewski, for a time himself an exile in England during the Tsarist period, later the first Minister of Foreign Affairs of Free Poland, but then in opposition to the Polish Government, opened the Congress with a historic speech which linked the struggle of the oppressed non-Russian nations against Soviet Moscow with the former struggle against Russian Tsarism for liberty and democracy. Over 200 delegates of all the non-Russian peoples participated in the congress, many of them well-known philologists, historians, specialists in nationality questions, and ethnologists. The delegates of every nationality gave a survey of the application of Marr's linguistic theory to their mother tongue. All the papers read at the Congress furnished indisputable proof that a gigantic campaign of gradual denationalization was already well under way in the whole U.S.S.R. Mass deportations to distant parts of the Union were the supplementary means of changing the linguistic and national structure of the territories forcibly held within the Union under the very thin mask of "independence" or "autonomy" and "voluntary union."

The Congress passed a resolution addressed to the whole civilized world, in particular to the League of Nations and the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation at Geneva, stating the actual conditions in which these non-Russian languages and cultures then existed, and appealing to the League to summon the Soviet government to restore full rights and freedom of language to the non-Russian nationalities within the Soviet Union.

To mobilize Asia's public opinion against the new Russification the Promethean League sent on a special mission to the Mongol and Tatar exiles in China and Manchuria its special envoy, Mr. Ayaz Ishaki, a leading writer of the Idel-Ural Tatars.

This Linguistic Congress represented the supreme protest action against the application of Marr's linguistic theory to the non-Russian languages, giving the new Russification a pseudo-Marxist "scientific" motivation. This protest action was conducted after 1930 in all centers of the Promethean Movement under the leadership of R. Smal-Stocki, who delivered a series of lectures about Marr's linguistic theory and

its consequences. A special work was published for the Congress, presenting its application to the Ukrainian language and all other non-Russian languages (R. Smal-Stocki, The Ukrainian Language in Soviet Ukraine, Ukrainian Scientific Institute, Vol. XXXIV., Warsaw, 1936). This protest action was closely followed by Soviet Moscow and its secret service, which had established in Warsaw a special resident agent for spying on the Promethean activity, in the person of W. Nedaykasha, who shortly afterward was discovered and then escaped to France, where he received a farm from the NKVD to continue his shady business. But soon we were greatly astonished to hear in the free world outside the Soviet Union two voices raised in defense of Stalin's linguistic and nationality policy. For the historical record these two voices deserve to be immortalized; they attempted by their hallelujahs outside the Soviet Union to silence the protests of the enslaved nationalities, who were tortured in the Soviet Union. These voices even now have their influence. . . .

3. Roman Jacobson, Now at Harvard, the Glorifier of Stalin's Linguistic Policy

"Enslavement of intellect is one of the worst features of Soviet Russia. The subjection of philosophers, scientists, economists to the authority of uneducated politicians is utterly intolerable and fatal to all mental progress. Russia is reverting to medieval darkness and is intellectually retrograde. What happened to biologists is about to happen to physicists. Philosophers have long since been confined to a strict and arid orthodoxy. The success of Communism means death of free thought" (Bertrand Russell).

At the very time the Prometheans began their protest action against Stalin's linguistic policy, a Russian scholar in Czechoslovakia began a defense and glorification of Stalin's linguistic wisdom. In the Czech country, with the old puristic traditions of Hus, with the humanistic world outlook of T. G. Masaryk, academic freedom was abused by a teacher of Russian for the "scientific" justification of the "language reforms" of the Russian Communist regime, which had long ago killed all academic freedom in the Soviet Union.

This teacher was Roman Jacobson, formerly of Columbia, now of Harvard. Soon after the twenties, when it was clear that Prague developed into the leading intellectual Slavic center of all the anti-Communist exiles, from the Soviet Union, there appeared in this city this Soviet scholar. He arrived in that center of free Slavic thought not as an anti-Communist refugee, but as a member of a Russian Soviet mission, with a legal Soviet passport, and began at once to establish personal contacts among Czechs and émigré scholars. Did real anti-Communist and nonparty members get passports in the time of the Red terror? Since his brother, Sergey, later initiated similar actions in Berlin, the other large center of the anti-Communist refugees, there were many interpretations about this activity among the émigré scholars.

R. Jacobson first joined the Eurasiatic movement of the Russian émigrés, which was viewed at that time very sympathetically by the Russian Communist Party. This "patriotic" section of Russian émigrés, united in the Eurasiatic movement, recognized with a deep bow to Soviet Moscow that Bolshevism signified the "national liberation of Russia from the domination of foreign Imperialism." D. S. Mirsky* characterizes the Eurasians thus: "This movement was outspokenly xenophobe and anti-West. It was a nationalism of the type that forms in subject races, for it was clear that a non-Bolshevist Russia could only be a colony of western Imperialism, and that the Communists have saved Russian from colonial Slavery." One of the best students of Soviet affairs in Europe, R. Wraga,** recently gave a characterization of the Eurasian "pseudo-scientific trend with Prince Trubetzkoy, Prof. Alexeyev, Prof. Savitsky as its leaders":

"The Eurasian theories were more perfidious; for instance, their followers asserted that it was Bolshevism which created ideal conditions for the perfect merging of two elements within the Russian State, European and Asiatic, and eliminating the Western influence. They violently opposed any struggle against Bolshevism either by military force or by revolution."

Of course, the Russian Communists highly appreciated these Eurasian "witnesses of holy, indivisible Russia" as allies against all tendencies of the non-Russian nationalities to continue their fight for liberty. The Eurasian movement is partly an offshoot of the German Geopolitik of that time. The old Russian Empire was proclaimed according to "natural laws of geopolitik" a natural unity, and the Russian chauvinistic émigré scholars utilized this doctrine for defending the "unity and indivisibility of the Soviet Union" which was for them tantamount to old "Russia." As Haushofer and his school got busy to rewrite German history and to give a new interpretation of the past and present and to prepare a plan for future action, so the Russian émigré scholars zealously labored to propagate their "Eurasian thesis of Russia as a separate historical and geographical world." In Paris a special publication was founded for this anti-West propaganda in Western Europe and it is a sorry achievement of linguistics that in 1931 R. Jacobson† attempted to establish also a "Eurasian Union of Languages," which embraces the Slavic, Ugro-Finnic, Turk, and Mongolian languages. There is no

*"Histoire d'une Emancipation," in the Nouvelle Revue Francaise, September 1, 1931.

**"Russian Emigration After Thirty Years Exile," The Eastern Quarterly, Vol. IV, No. 1, London, 1951.

†K. Kharakteristike Evraziisogo Yazykovogo Soiuz, Izdanie Evraziicev, 1931; on the last page is given: "Imp. de Navarre, 5, Rue de Gobelins, Paris." On the first page my copy has a red stamp "Printed in the Soviet Union." R. Jacobson's ideas have to be separated from Koppelmann, H., Die Eurasische Sprachfamilie, Indogermanisch, Koreanisch und Verwandtes, 1933.

need now to criticize this "conception," which was propagated by the Eurasians "as a confirmation of the Eurasian thesis by modern linguistics." But the fight of R. Jacobson against the Latin script in Byelo-Ruthenian and his advocacy of the Russian script for the whole "Eurasian Union" is characteristic.

R. Jacobson's studies for the creation of "Eurasian Linguistics" were soon interrupted by the "linguistic war in the Soviet Union between the Russian Communist Party and the non-Russian nationalities." R. Jacobson immediately started action by lectures and articles in Czechoslovakia, introducing the "dialectical method" of thinking into philology, publicly defending the Communist "reforms" and sympathizing with them. I published in my book (p. 250) the report of the "Ukrainian Weekly," No. 51, 1934, then appearing in Prague, about Jacobson's lecture in Bratislava, November 29, 1934, on "The Language Problems in the Soviet Union." R. Jacobson publicly sympathized with the reforms of the bolsheviks, aimed at the destruction of the lingual "separatism" and at the "approach" of the separate national cultures. He expressed his joy that the Communists managed to defeat the tendency of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenians to establish "artificial dams" between them and the Russians by establishing for all nationalities of the Soviet Union an obligatory common scientific and technical terminology. Of course, R. Jacobson did not waste a single word on the whole background of the struggle. . . .

I called R. Jacobson in my book a former bolshevik collaborator. This man of Jewish extraction is so Russified and assimilated that he disregarded what was happening simultaneously to the Yiddish and the Jewish culture in the Soviet Union. I then advised him to proclaim also a "war against the linguistic wreckers" in Czechoslovakia, against Czech purism and to "convince" also the Czechoslovak philology of the need to "unify" the Czech and Slovak terminology with the Communist Russian terminology.

Soon Jacobson began to defend the Russian Communist linguistic policy also in print. In 1934 he published in the Slavische Rundschau (edited in German by subsidies of the then foreign minister, E. Benesh) an article entitled "Slavische Sprachfragen in der Sovjet - Union" (pp. 324-343). I do not wish to be accused by Jacobson of quoting him only in part disregarding the whole line of thought in the article. Therefore we offer this article in full, photostated, in the Appendix and offer here the following remarks concerning it;

a) The whole article is written in a Russian Communist lingo, translated into German, in which he also excels in applying the "dialectical" method.*

*Unfortunately, he has disregarded Arthur Schopenhauer's denunciation of Hegel's method and also uses it for "saving the classical Russian language from vulgarisation." Here are the words of Schopenhauer: "Hegel's philosophy is a crystallized syllogism: it is an abracadabra, a puff of bombast and wish-wash of phrases, which in its monstrous construction compels the mind to form impossible contradictions and in

[Footnote continued]

All words in the photostats underlined by me with a wave form are examples of the Russian Communist jargon; those underscored with a simple line are connected with my current remarks:

b) In this article Jacobson shows himself a master in omitting essential facts, and his style fits his purpose. Ignoring the whole background of the linguistic problems in the Soviet Union, the final subordination of linguistics to the dictatorship of the Russian Communist Party, the transformation by Marr of linguistics into a weapon of the "world revolution," the fight of the non-Russian nationalities for democracy and liberty, the abolition of academic freedom of the universities and academies of sciences, the persecution of linguists, writers, and poets, their execution and imprisonment in slave labor camps—R. Jacobson begins his article with philological objectivity: Russian Slavistics until 1933 produced only one remarkable work, Kravtsov's Serbian Epos, but "the actual and basic tasks of research of the Eastern Slavic languages remain unaccomplished" (p. 324). Why? Perhaps it is due to the abolition of human and academic rights? Jacobson is silent, but he comfortingly instructs the reader that to Slavistic studies belong "not only the past and present of Slavic languages, but also the questions of the immediate future" (p. 324). Yes—"linguistics is not only the reconstruction of the existing material, but also language-construction" (p. 325) proudly asserts Jacobson, fully conscious that this "language-construction" is based on the new Marxist-Leninist linguistic theory of Marr and is effected by the dictatorship of the Russian Communist Party. But for Jacobson, the worshiper of this totalitarian Communist State, it is quite "natural" that "as the social construction takes a more and more planned and purposeful shape, as in the range of the planned economy are included gradually a larger number of social value systems, it is natural that also in the life of the language-system the production anarchy is forced [in the original: 'sentenced'] step by step to retreat before the plan and the regulation." Of course, Jacobson knows it—before the plan and regulations of the Russian Communists under the leadership of the universal genius Stalin. (What about the application of this principle now at Harvard, to English and American for abolishing the "production anarchy" in these languages of the "capitalists"?) Thus for Jacobson the liberty of language and the creative work of language, which flourish outside the Soviet Union is "production anarchy" which "naturally" will "retreat" everywhere with the spread of the Communist world revolution and its "planned language construction."

c) The remaining pages of Jacobson's Communist propaganda article are his full and enthusiastic support of all the "reforms" in the language field forced by the Russian Communist dictatorship on the non-Russian nationalities. He uses the usual Communist "double-accounting method," "what is good for Russian is bad for any non-Russian language in the Soviet Union"; he uses an uncritical parrotlike repetition

[Footnote continued]

itself is enough to cause an entire atrophy of the intellect. It is made up of three-fourths of nonsense and one fourth error; it contains words not thoughts 'such stuff as madmen speak without brain.'

and approval of all Communist propoganda tricks, of half-truths and falsifications, which mask the Russification process under the guise of "international co-operation"; often he flouts logic, but inflexibly keeps to the "party line."

It is not true (p. 325) that "the ruling strata of the [Russian] Empire had a monopoly of the Russian Hochkultur": "The chief instrument of this culture, the Russian literary language was their exclusive property." Was not this chief instrument also, for instance, the property of M. Gorky and A. Tolstoy? Or of V. Lenin and comrades? And what about the Narodniki (mentioned by Jacobson in a quotation of Gorky on pages 326 and 330)? Did they not share in the "social control" over the life of their mother language by their literary production together with the ruling strata? Lenin's articles about the Russian language prove Jacobson's statement to be a falsehood. The leaders of the Russian proletariat were coproprietors, cocreators, cocontrollers of this chief instrument. But we are grateful to Jacobson for establishing the fact (p. 326) that the "liberalism" practiced in the Russian language during the time of the Tsarist regime did not endanger the "stability of the norms of the [Russian] literary language."

Why, asks the reader has the old "liberalism in the Russian language" to be abolished during the present Russian Communist regime? And this question is important not only for the Russian language but also for all non-Russian languages under the Russian Communists' dictatorship. This question is also important even today for many American linguists,* especially for Robert A. Hall, Jr., Cornell University, the author of the excellent "key to linguistic freedom": Leave Your Language Alone! who do not yet know that in the event of the establishment of the "Soviet United States," the Communist Party has prepared for them all the necessary honorary ropes.

Therefore we repeat the question: Why did the era of liberalism in the Russian language under Russian Communism have to pass away? Jacobson anticipated this question (of the reader) and instructs the reader that the Communist Party has a "language-construction" plan, which will end "production anarchy"; of course, the "language-construction" plan is conceived not in the interest of Russian cultural imperialism—God forbid!—but only to serve "international co-operation" and the

*They still think that linguistics are outside the present great war between the ideas of intellectual liberty and intellectual slavery, that they can, regardless of the basic aims of Marxism-Leninism, apply the methods of free modern linguistics to the American language, which they view as a social phenomenon whose nature and development cannot be governed by the Communist Party. Yet these American liberals dare to address the American society with "messages of liberty and tolerance of linguistic liberalism," encouraging their readers to think for themselves, to reach their own conclusions, not to rely on self-constituted "party" authorities and they, I fear, even yet doubt "that Stalin and his party know best," in linguistics and also in the American language.

progress of humanity, of which the Russians, modestly, are the "avant-garde." But our readers will remember the real reasons for the liquidation of liberalism in language by the Russian Communist Party: liberalism would disintegrate the Russian literary language on the one hand; on the other hand liberalism in the non-Russian languages would immediately disintegrate the Soviet Union linguistically, culturally, and politically. Liberalism, even when granted only in the language sphere, would bring the immediate end of the dominant role of Russian in the Soviet Union, where it is hated as the chief instrument of Communist dictatorship (the non-Russian nationalities in real liberty surely would prefer the English as an intermediary language among themselves. This would link them also in Europe and Asia with the language of intellectual freedom and of the free world). Consequently Russian Communist propaganda and Russian imperialistic chauvinism both demanded the abolition of liberalism in language and the establishment of the dictatorship of the Russian language as the chief instrument of Communism over the whole Soviet Union. And anyone who opposes this and demands liberalism is in the Communist jargon a "chauvinist," "fascist," "reactionary," etc.

d) Jacobson, without any critical remarks but with his own full approval, presents in his article the "linguistic discussion" initiated by the Communist Party member M. Gorky. This was the beginning of the "marriage" of Russian Communism and Russian cultural chauvinism. In the course of the discussion there developed the theory that "the Russian proletariat is the heir of the Russian classic language and literature" (p. 329). The Russian literary language is regarded as "classless"—all-national (p. 329). The "cultural inheritance" includes also the pre-Peter literature, the biography of Avakum, and the old Russian legends about the saints (p. 330). In the cultural inheritance Russian folklore occupies a "place of honor" (p. 330), and there is established an "indivisible connection" between Russian literature and the folklore from the "Tale of Ithor's Host" (annexed from the old Ukrainian literature!), including the Soviet "lyrics." This "heritage of the Russian proletariat" is its "own property" now, which "has to be recognized, cultivated and enriched" (p. 320).

What "endangers" this heritage? Gorky complained: "The Russian language is being disfigured, vulgarized. . . by using words from the vocabularies of the [non-Russian]—national minorities" (p. 327); Serafimovich and Panferov propagate "the clumsy, healthy, rustic force" of the peasants (p. 328). Gorky, shocked, proclaimed this rustic force (of the language of the majority of the Russians) as a "socially unhealthy force," with full agreement of Jacobson (despite the fact that the peasant writers in all other Slavic literatures using this "unhealthy force" contributed the most valuable and original works), and Jacobson endorses this opinion with a "quotation" from a letter of a worker of the Stalingrad Tractor Factory demanding "purity of the Russian language" on behalf of the Russian workers. Jacobson overestimated the naïveté of the Western linguists, supposing that they did not know how such letters in the Soviet Union are manufactured by the Communist bosses themselves

according to party lines (p. 328). But the problem is how to harmonize the thesis of the "place of honor of the folklore" created by the same peasantry with the thesis that the peculiarity of its language is an "unhealthy," even "anarchical" force (p. 328). Jacobson compliments Gorky for his solution of the contradiction by declaring folklore as an "interdialectical, collective and interclass production"; thus the "reactionary" peasantry as "vulgus" was deprived of its whole contribution as a class to the Russian folklore (p. 332). This explanation, that Slavic folklore is "an interdialectical and interclass creation" is simple nonsense; "wandering themes" exist the Slavic world over, but according to dialect and social surroundings any piece of folklore is connected with special regions and social strata. But thus was eliminated the "unhealthy, and anarchic force" of the Russian peasant dialects, which threatened the "preservation of the heritage."

But why must the Russian literary language, so to say, be "mummified"? Why is the Russian proletariat interested only in the preservation of the "consistent, stringent uniformity of the literary language" (p. 327)? Why is "any renewal of it by dialectical words detrimental: Kraehwinkelwoertchen—reactionary" (p. 327)? Why is the Russian proletariat interested only in such "uniform language and not in the split peasant dialects" (p. 327)? Jacobson informs us by showing that his "Sprachfragen" are in reality purely political questions of militant Communism: (a) this "stringent uniformity of the literary language" is "the security for its broadest and deepest expansion and for its propaganda possibilities" (p. 327) and (b) "the Russian language must become a world language, and the time is not far off when it will be taught under all the degrees of latitude," according to the modest vision of the Communist writer A. Tolstoy (p. 329).

Thus, as we see, both interests, the Communist and the Russian, were merged and Jacobson knows well how to formulate the decision of the Communist Party in the "language of dialectics" (p. 337), as is absolutely necessary for a "progressive" linguist. The old norms of the Russian literary language were replaced by their negation, and now followed, "the negation of the negation"! How right Schopenhauer is in the appraisal of this method. . . . The whole language discussion is enlivened by Jacobson not only by uncritical use of Communist propaganda slogans (struggle for quality, selections in the language), but with lyrical descriptions as a general background of the progress in the sphere of language:

"Before our eyes there comes to view a most interesting cultural-historical phenomenon: the first ranks of the Russian town and village proletariat consciously dissolve the bonds of their dialectical mother tongue, which territorially and functionally is very limited, and are struggling with an elementary force to secure full possession in the quickest way and fully of the heritage which they received from the ruling classes of the near past," etc. (pp. 328-329).

We shall devote a special chapter to the program of A. Tolstoy; here we offer only some critical remarks on Jacobson's enthusiasm for the

way in which the Russian proletariat is "struggling with elementary force" to possess themselves of the old Russian literary language. The best example of this is seen in the general situation at that time of the Soviet Russian school system. Let us compare Jacobson's fiction with the following facts: the leading journal Za Komunisticheskoie Prosvishchenie, February 16, 1935, reports on the intensification of the fight against the illiteracy of the teachers. In one school of Leningrad a quiz was held on Russian orthography; the majority "failed, many made 80 mistakes in the dictation." A commission established the fact that in one single district of Leningrad 400 teachers are illiterate in orthography. In the same journal, November 22, 1935, Supervisor of Schools Volin said at the meeting of the school directors of Moscow, "the teachers have no adequate education, they themselves are illiterate. The students of the higher classes in the high schools and the students of the colleges cannot write the simplest dictation without mistakes." All the material about the condition (about 1935) of the teaching of Russian in the Soviet Union may be found in my book, The Ukrainian Language in the Soviet Ukraine (pp. 89-91). The "possession of the heritage" had a rather queer influence on the youth of the proletariat, even in the capital Moscow: Komunisticheskaiia Pravda, No. 49, 1935, informs us that for the fight against banditry in grammar schools the following means were introduced: expulsion of bandits from schools, trial of their parents by the courts, the division of Moscow into special districts for the fight against pupil-bandits, the formation of special squads of the militia for this purpose. . . ." Brawls, murders, sexual demoralization, alcoholism became so common in the Soviet schools, the government had no way out except to issue on April 5, 1935, a decree, signed by Kalinin, Molotov, and Akulov, which was unique in the history of education, by demanding the death penalty for children over 12 years old:

"1. Minors, beginning at the age of 12 if convicted of theft, hooliganism, murder or the intention of murder, are to be punished by the courts with all the penalties of the criminal law. 2. Persons, of whom it is proven that they have instigated minors to participate in crimes, speculations, prostitution and begging, will be punished by a jail sentence less than 5 years."

That was the situation about 1935, after nearly two decades of Soviet education and Communist cultivation and protection of the "glorious heritage" (p. 330) and of the "great and mighty language" (p. 333). No article was written without such chauvinistic ornamental epithets for the Russian language in Soviet Moscow at that time, just as at the same time in Nazi Germany the German language was similarly glorified.

e) Jacobson next instructs the reader that "the importance of this language discussion goes beyond the limits of the Russian language. It has also found an echo in the literary circles of the farthest Soviet republics. It's methodological importance extends to the cultural life of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian languages. . . ." In this part of the article Jacobson's fiction, "double-accounting," falsification and

"omission" tricks reach a climax. Completely passing over the fact that Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia had before separated themselves from Russia and established democratic republics and were later, after prolonged struggle, occupied by the Red Russian Army, Jacobson opposed only the "dark Russian Tsaristic regime" to the Russian Communist—of course, "progressive." "The Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian literary languages managed to live within the borders of Tsaristic Russia under miserable and difficult conditions, almost illegally. The Revolution has with one stroke removed all artificial barriers and enforced measures, which checked the development of the two southwestern branches of the Eastern Slavic world. More than that, it has failed a short time ago, or at least it has subjected them to a fierce censorship . . . put them in a special favorable, privileged position." Thus writes Jacobson about the blessings of the Russian Communist revolution for the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian languages. Confronted with the facts presented in the previous chapters, only a propagandist, not an unbiased scholar, could write such distortions of truth and downright falsifications. It is a lie that the Russian Communist Revolution, having annexed the Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia, has "with one stroke abolished all artificial barriers and enforced measures which checked the development of the languages in these countries" and "put these languages in a special favorable, privileged position." The truth is that Russian Tsaristic censorship was exchanged for Russian Communist censorship. Jacobson's opinion concerning the Russian Communist censorship over these languages as "the abolishment of all artificial barriers and enforced measures," which once hindered the development of these languages, is only a proof of his fidelity to the party line, as is his arrogant and cynical statement that this Russian Communist censorship over Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian put these languages in a "special favorable, privileged position." Jacobson's statement that the books published by the Byelo-Ruthenian State publishing office are more than ten times the number published before the revolution conceals the fact that the increase is created by the publication of Communist propaganda literature . . . for obvious reasons.

Page 334 again expresses Jacobson's full support of the party line conceptions. There do not exist separate Russian and separate Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian cultures (that could weaken the "cultural uniformity" of the Russian arsenal of the world revolution) "but there exists for them all one culture, the Russian culture," one and indivisible. Three nationalities of course "equal"—but one Russian culture. (What progress in self-determination! Russian Tsarism insisted on one single nationality, one single language, one single culture, but Russian Communism only insists on one single culture; and wishes to make the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians the "junior partners" and henchmen in forcing this "culture" on all the non-Slavic nationalities of the Soviet Union.) Anyone of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians who opposes this "conception of the Russian cultural unity," anyone from these nationalities who regards the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian cultures as Western European, democratic and liberal in world outlook, and as an

antithesis to the Russian culture, is branded by Jacobson as a "chauvinist and separatist." Jacobson does not even bother to mention that after the year 1917 both nationalities separated themselves from Russia; he does not even, for sake of objectivity, demand a democratic plebiscite in both countries for that purpose; he simply declares:

"For any unbiased observer of the Soviet construction it was clear that these centrifugal currents [in the Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia] were completely foreign to its sentiment and consequently must run aground, because the national borders were established in the Soviet Union not for the purpose of separating one nationality from another, but on the contrary, in order to bring them closer together and to speed up their cultural growth."

Consequently for the master of dialectics, Jacobson, the situation presents itself thus: "The mighty Russian chauvinism found its dialectical antithesis in the local chauvinism, especially in the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian cultural separatism."

Let us analyze this thesis of the "unbiased observer," Jacobson. The Russian chauvinism, which negated the very existence of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian nations, cultures, and languages and erased their names from the map of Europe, is put on one level with the demand of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians of their legitimate national rights! The very demand of legitimate national self-government by the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians is "cultural separatism and local chauvinism," created as an "antithesis" by Russian chauvinism! The dialectical logic of Jacobson is unrivaled. He reasons: Russian Tsarist chauvinism created the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian "cultural separatism"; before, they simply did not exist. Consequently, as the result of Russian chauvinism the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian "cultural separatism" has to be liquidated because the thesis of the Russian Tsarist chauvinism that there existed and exists only "one Russian culture also for the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians" is now also the Russian Communist thesis. This thesis apparently is also a part of the "precious heritage" of the Russian proletariat from "old Tsarist times." Thus, finally, in order to use the dialectical method of Jacobson, old Russian chauvinism becomes dialectically legitimate Russian nationalism in Russian Communist times, but Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian legitimate nationalism are branded as "chauvinism and separatism," even as "results" of old Russian chauvinism. By such dialectical hocus-pocus Jacobson informs us that to deny the separate cultural entity of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians (who from the earliest times until the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1772-1795 belonged to the Western European cultural sphere), is not Russian chauvinism but Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian separatism and chauvinism!

With true Russian Communist pathos the "unbiased" Jacobson falsifies the whole "language discussion," then in process in the Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia, calling the Communist Russification: the "bringing closer together" of the "Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian languages with Russian," in order "to speed up their cultural growth," and pathetically preaches:

"In the broadest society circles of Byelo-Ruthenia and the Ukraine began a violent fight, against the damage done by the Byelo-Ruthenian, Ukrainian and Russian chauvinists, who wished to establish between these nationalities of the Sovietland artificial barriers [think for one moment the Russian chauvinists wished to separate the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians from the Russians!]. That fight found universal approval and gave the initiative to a series of newly planned measures in the sphere of language-culture. Determinedly all steps were condemned which led to the provincialization and separation of the Byelo-Ruthenian and Ukrainian language-culture and to their separation from the Russian culture. Logically the demonstration of these theoreticians was unmasked which wished to establish Chinese walls around the separate Slavic languages of the Soviet Union. For the mutual approach of the national cultures of these three closely-related peoples it was decided to revise the questions of orthography, of the scientific and technical terminology, of the dictionaries and of the grammatical text books."

What a marvelous example of the Communist Aesopian language and upside-down semantics: the Russian Communist stooges in the Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia are represented by Jacobson as "the broadest society circles" (*Breitestete Gesellschaftskreise!*), the fight for the preservation of the peculiarities of these languages from Russian by the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian linguists and Communists is "the wish to establish artificial barriers ('Chinese walls') between these nationalities and the Russians in Sovietland," the Russification of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian language by the Russians is described as a "vehement" fight against the damaging work of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenians themselves; the enforced fusion, unification, merger of these languages with Russian is depicted as "reciprocal approach," the terror of the Russian Communists in the Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia and their enforced Russification is represented as meeting the "universal approval" of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians themselves, who also took "the initiative in a series of newly planned measures in the sphere of language-culture," and finally they themselves "condemned determinedly their separation from the Russian culture"! The Russian Communist Party is not once mentioned; only the "Ukrainians" and "Byelo-Ruthenians" themselves are "acting"—"demanding"—"fighting." . . . How delicately and diplomatically Jacobson manages finally to draw up the formula that: "For the mutual approach of the national cultures of these three closely related peoples it was decided . . ." etc., etc. By whom decided? we ask the unbiased pundit Jacobson. By the Ukrainian or Byelo-Ruthenian "broadest circles of society"? Why not state the simple truth; the Russian Communist Party ordered it and enforced it by terror? And a final remark on these semantic acrobatics. Only one of two possibilities can be true: either there does exist one Russian culture, common to Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelo-Ruthenians—in that case why is "bringing them closer together" and their "mutual approach" necessary? Or: there do exist three different cultures; a Russian, Byelo-Ruthenian, Ukrainian, with no artificial but historical barriers, which make it necessary for the Russians to "bring

them closer together" and bring about their "mutual approach" in order by artificial means to Russify the different cultures of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians. This second possibility must surely be accepted by Jacobson himself, who forgets what he preached about the common Russian culture at the beginning of his article, and suddenly writes: "for the mutual approach of the national cultures. . . ." Consequently, the different Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian cultures do exist, when Jacobson for a moment loses the party line and regains his objectivity. Jacobson compliments the Russian Communist Party, in whose objective position and logic he firmly believes, for having "logically unmasked the demonstration of all the (Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian) theoreticians, who endeavored to build around the separate Slavic languages in the Soviet Union "Chinese walls." But after we have taken the mask off Jacobson's face anyone can see that they demanded simply the same rights that all languages enjoy as in Switzerland or in the British Commonwealth: to be cultivated in liberty, in a free society by free linguists and writers, without "planned language construction" of a Communist dictatorship. And may I assure Jacobson that his lip service against Russian chauvinism is well understood by anyone as the rather worn out "double-accounting" trick to justify the Russian Communist persecutions of the liberty of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian languages and of their legitimate rights to independent and free development. His statement that Soviet Moscow is acting in order "to speed their cultural growth" is the height of falsification and A. Tolstoy's quotation about the plan to make Russian a "world language" is a good background for understanding these actions of the old Russian chauvinism and cultural imperialism, as well as their missionaries in professional togas.

This upside-down language of Jacobson contains in every case a Communist lie and falsification, for which this "unbiased observer" is responsible in the free world of scholars.

With the same methods Jacobson continues to describe the Communist "reforms" in Byelo-Ruthenian and Ukrainian. "The unification of the writing of foreign words in the orthography of all three languages" is his way of describing the subordination in this matter of Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian to Russian, contrary to Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian phonetic peculiarities and traditions, and, of course, it is praised by Jacobson as "essential success." For whom? All this Russification Jacobson justifies by the "healthy precedence of the functional point of view before the genetic one" and with this principle he justifies also the Russification of the Ukrainians of the North Caucasus, whose demand for the introduction of Ukrainian schools is condemned by Jacobson, according to the party line, as "chauvinistic deviation" (pp. 334-335).

Jacobson in the usual party-lingo terms as "extraordinarily instructive. . . the unmasking of the motives of their precedents" by the Byelo-Ruthenian, A. Aleksandrovich, and Ukrainian, A. Khvylya (p. 325), introducing them as "Byelo-Ruthenian" and "Ukrainian" scholars and withholding the fact that they are leading members of the Russian

Communist Party. That the "predecessors" consisted of the elite of the Byelo-Ruthenian and Ukrainian linguists and philologists who attempted, according to scientific truth, to express orthographically the peculiarities of both languages, Jacobson does not even mention, but accuses them, following the party line, of attempting "to bring about the greatest dissimilarity with the Russian writing."

f) Jacobson is carried away into a real linguistic frenzy by the project of the introduction of Latin characters into Byelo-Ruthenian and Ukrainian. The unbiased Jacobson writes:

"Aleksandrovich is right in perceiving in the plans of the Latinization of the Byelo-Ruthenian writing the highest level of the counter-revolutionary activity, because (a) such a reform would transfer the Byelo-Ruthenian masses for a long time into the plight of a complete or partial illiteracy and (b) it would have created a fatal abyss between the Byelo-Ruthenian and Russian culture."

Thus we see, how Jacobson, the linguist, and Aleksandrovich, the Russian Communist, are joining in the accusation that the Latinization of the Byelo-Ruthenian writing is the "highest level of counter-revolutionary activity." May I ask, is that statement of Jacobson linguistics? Why is the linguist Jacobson so eager to defend Russian Communism against Byelo-Ruthenian counterrevolution? How could the linguist Jacobson agree with both reasons given by the Russian Communist Aleksandrovich? The first is nonsense, and the second unmasks the very reason: Russian Communist Party interests. What have Russian Communist Party interests to do with linguistic questions?

To this "Latinization" problem Jacobson devoted his next pages; and again he follows the party line, uncritically giving quotations from Communist official papers as the last achievements of linguistic wisdom and internationalism: the Com-Party always knows best! He welcomes the statement that "Generally, we notice in the question of the Latinization a remarkable change of sentiment in the Soviet public." "Soviet public" is euphemistically substituted for "Russian Communist Party." A *Pravda* article has proven also to Jacobson that the demand for Russian letters in non-Russian languages is not Russian nationalism and chauvinism but internationalism; but it is an expression of nationalism and chauvinism, of anti-internationalism to demand the introduction of Latin letters in these languages. The article says: "the blabbing about the missionary character [for Russification] of the Russian alphabet under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship is non-sensical, idle gossip. . . . Who regards it necessary that the Latin writing become an international writing and for what purpose? What advantages has the Latin alphabet in comparison with the Russian, in which are created the great cultural values of the Sovietland (p. 336)?" And the linguist Jacobson agrees also with this "linguistic" argument of the powerful cultural values of Russian Communism, and he supports this Communist Party line with yet another quotation: "As a matter of fact, is the Latin alphabet principally more international than the Russian, which is used by a large part of the workers of the Soviet Union, of the

avantgarde of the International Socialist Revolution?" For the unbiased linguist, Jacobson, the Russian Communists are the avant-garde of the international socialist Revolution, and consequently their alphabet is "international"—but for all socialist and democrats they were and are the avant-garde of the blackest reaction the world has ever known; but (leaving policy out of the discussion), can such quotations be used in a linguistic discussion for the combating of the arguments for Latinization of the non-Communist scholars in the Soviet Union? Is that fair play? Summing up, Jacobson writes:

"The war against the Russian alphabet was here directly proclaimed as 'most injurious nonsense which does not lack an objective counter-revolutionary basis,' because it represents one of the peculiar slogans of the chauvinistic reaction, which in cultural questions, especially in the questions of the language and literature, established the demand [program] to orientate themselves at any price to the West. The question is clearly pointed and in view of the principles rightly presented."

The politician Jacobson is here absolutely right: the question is clearly presented. But may I ask how a linguist enjoying liberty outside the Soviet Union can lower himself to such a degree as to denounce the linguists inside the Soviet Union who at the very time are persecuted by the Communists? Their fight for Latinization "did not lack an objective counterrevolutionary basis"? Is the "orientation to the West"—"chauvinistic reaction" or fight for democracy and liberty? But Jacobson presents the problem correctly, and every reader has to decide: Is an objective linguist speaking here, or a partisan of Russian Communism, of its "powerful achievements" and of the avant-garde of the International Communist world revolution.

g) I do not wish to waste space by analyzing Jacobson's misrepresentations of the Byelo-Russian orthographical reforms forced by Russian Communists, especially since the leading Byelo-Ruthenian linguist, I. Stankiewich, is now in the U.S.A. and he shall have a word to say in defense of the Byelo-Ruthenian language. We limit ourselves here to the statement that Jacobson's opinion (p. 339), "the reforms. . . do not harm the phonological peculiarity of the Byelo-Ruthenian language, not even to the smallest degree," is Communist propaganda.

Completely misrepresented according to party-line, in the article is the problem of loan-words and of purism, which we have explained in a previous chapter. Uncritically Jacobson repeats all the Russian Communist accusations against the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian linguists, and he gives them with special malice full support "as a linguist" (hausbackene Woerter, Machwerk, duftige Woertchen, schwerfaellige, nichtsnutzige, wenig verstaendliche Neologismen) and he says: "Thus for example in Byelo-Ruthenian the designations of the village-implements were used likewise as terms in the factories." This was denounced as a crime. What is wrong if the Byelo-Ruthenian workers understood them; why must such terms be obligatory Russian in spite of the fact that they were misunderstood by them? Thus, strictly according to the party line, "the decision regarding the unification of the

scientific and technical terminology of all nationalities of the Soviet Union," is presented as "a way out of a blind alley." Who's decision? of the Byelo-Ruthenians?

Again, the fact is always passed over that the decision was enforced by the Russian Communist Party against the opinion of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian linguists and even of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian Communists; but Jacobson, the politician, knows very well what is going on in the Soviet Union and what is the whole background of the language discussion: "The fierce duel between two *Weltanschauungen* did not limit itself to the sphere of terminology, it embraced the whole vocabulary." May I ask a clear, pointed question: With which one of the two *Weltanschauungen* fighting the fierce duel does R. Jacobson stand in this article: with Russian Communism under Stalin's leadership or with anti-Communism under the leadership of the West?

There can be no doubt, since Jacobson condemns and attempts to ridicule the thesis of the Ukrainian Western school that "the Ukrainian culture are European, consequently they can and must orientate themselves in their development towards Europe" (p. 339). Concealed, of course, are the true reasons for it, namely that the Ukrainians consider the Russian Communist despotism as an Asiatic phenomenon.

Jacobson unreservedly welcomes any Russian Communist reform in Byelo-Ruthenian and Ukrainian, repeating the Communist accusation against the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian linguists and their terminology that they conducted a "fatal estrangement work" between their languages and Russian (p. 339), completely ignoring the fact that the Ukrainian terminology was used for many decades in Western Ukraine (Galicia and Bukovina during Austrian times) and that all Ukrainian terminology was created only on the principle of easy and full intelligibility for the Ukrainian masses.

Now follows the application of the double-accounting method to the Ukrainian literary language. Any principle Jacobson applied to the Russian literary language and considered good, he applied to the Ukrainian language, and called it bad and counterrevolutionary. If Gorky fights the infiltration of Ukrainian words into Russian it's good, if Ukrainians antagonize the infiltration of Russian words into Ukrainian it's bad. If Russian writers defend the norms of classical Russian it is good, if Ukrainian writers defend the norms of classical Ukrainian, it is bad; Russian folklore has a "place of honor" and is glorified, while the Ukrainian does not exist for Jacobson. The vocabulary of the Russian "Narodniki" is good (p. 326), the vocabulary of the Ukrainian "Narodniki" does not exist at all; respect for Russian traditions in literature is good, for Ukrainian traditions bad; planned selection in the Russian vocabulary by Russians is good, in Ukrainian by Ukrainians it is bad; the theory of the general importance and validity of the classic literature is good in Russian—bad in Ukrainian; Jacobson terms the application of these principles to Ukrainian according to Russian Communist terminology as "archaization attempts on the language front" (p. 340), which of course, "are condemned to failure" ("condemned to failure" = the linguists and writers are condemned to slave labor camps). And

gloriously defeating Ukrainian counterrevolutionaries on the "language front," Jacobson proudly asks: "With what can they oppose the mighty pressure of the present?" omitting of course to mention that his "mighty pressure" is Russian imperialistic Communism and ironically and disdainfully asks: "With the archaic supplies of the old Ukrainian, or by the old Byelo-Ruthenian, literature? Or with the literary beginnings of the last century, which may have been even extraordinarily splendid, for example, the poetry of Shevchenko—but which in spite of all never got beyond the beginnings?" (p. 340). The teacher of Russian, Jacobson exhibits here his complete ignorance of Ukrainian literature; he maliciously reduces the compass or, more exactly, denies the very existence of Ukrainian literature, with the mental reservation, therefore, of considering, for the "Ukrainian proletariat," the "possession of the Russian classic heritage" as obligatory. The truth is that in spite of all Russian persecutions, the Ukrainian literature surpassed in volume before World War I the Bulgarian, Croatian, Serbian, Slovene, and Slovakian literatures, equaling the Polish and Czech literatures. Here are some names of Ukrainian writers and poets of the modern period until World War I: Kotlyarewsky, Hrebinka, Kwitka, Shashkevych, Kulish, Marko Vovchok, Konysky, Rudansky, Fedkovych, Nechuy-Liwycy, Panas Myrny, Samiylenko, Starycky, Kropywnycky, Karpenko-Kary, Krymsky, Franko, Kobylanska, Wynnychenko, Kotsiubynsky, Makowey, Stefanyk, Martowych, Lesya Ukrainka, Lepky, Pachovsky, Oles, Fylansky, Chuprynka, Rylsky. On page 341 Jacobson accuses the Ukrainian writers and linguists in the true manner of Communist hooligans: "Some of the archaists have directly neglected by sleeping the cultural development of present times, the other part purposely attempted to turn the development backwards. They were ready to prefer the extinct cultural influences of the nobility of the past centuries to the present democratic influences. . . ." Jacobson's statement unequivocally proves what this unbiased linguist conceives as "democracy," which for this objective seeker of truth is "the dictatorship of Russian Communism." His statements concerning the tendencies of the "sleeping" or "reactionary" Ukrainian writers and linguists are Communist calumnies. The overwhelming majority of Ukrainian writers represented a deep democratic, often socialistic, deeply Christian ideology, expressed in the literary language, closely connected with the pure vernacular of the Ukrainian peasants, who created a uniquely beautiful folklore, folk art, and folk music.

With "Ukrainian humorous sketches," from Communist newspapers, edited under Russian Communist censorship, Jacobson attempts to ridicule this language as a *volapuek*; "the language, which is thought out by archaists, is a patch work of Museum rarities, new word-formations according to old patterns, dialectical rarities and constant Polonisms," the Bohemisms Jacobson has now artfully forgotten, although he previously mentioned them (on p. 339), as a teacher of Russian in a Czechoslovak university.

But life itself created a more "humorous sketch." The same unbiased observer Jacobson is now at Harvard, "professor of Slavic,"

and he himself has regarded it necessary to introduce Ukrainian into the curriculum and a course of lectures on "Ukrainian Literature," delivered, of course, in Russian! What kind of literature is taught at Harvard, if in 1934 there existed only the beginnings of Ukrainian literature? Either Jacobson lied in 1934 in saying that there does not exist a Ukrainian literature but only the beginnings, or he has introduced now a course of a nonexistent literature. Yes, the line has changed a little, the Soviet Ukraine is a member of the UN—and these changes demand an acrobatic linguistic and philological leap, especially if the Communists themselves, by way of appeasement, published in 1949-1950 an anthology of old Ukrainian literature of the eleventh to the eighteenth centuries, edited by O. I. Bilecky and numbering 555 pages, and are now preparing an anthology of modern Ukrainian literature.

For students of linguistics to whom "humorous sketches" from newspapers edited under Russian Communist censorship do not represent arguments in a linguistic discussion, Jacobson introduced two "Ukrainian" authorities, in order finally to convince the reader. The first is A. Khvylya (p. 335), but Jacobson conceals the fact that he was a leading Communist in Ukraine following the Russian party line, and the chief of the propaganda division of Central Committee of the Communist Party in Ukraine. The other witness is Postyshev* himself, a name also well known to our readers from the previous chapters; Jacobson writes:

"The present leaders of the Ukrainian public life reply to that useless fight of the archaists against the ghost of the 'Muscovitisms': The old Moscow no longer exists, [there exists] no longer the old pre-revolution prison of nationalities of Tsarist Russia! There exists a new Moscow, a center of the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics, a center of attraction of progressive humanity, a symbol of the struggle for the final extirpation of slavery" (from a speech of Postyshev given in December, 1933).

I disagree with Jacobson also regarding the term "leader" for Postyshev. To introduce Stalin's hangman into the Ukraine as a leader of "present Ukrainian public life" in a linguistic discussion is a unique achievement of Jacobson. Also Postyshev's slogans, which Jacobson fully endorses, provokes my antagonism (as a "chauvinist, reactionary and archaist"). For me the Soviet Union is an improved copy of the old Tsarist prison of nationalities. I modestly doubt that Moscow is "the center of attraction of progressive humanity," and I am sure Moscow

*Some publications of Jacobson's "leader of present Ukrainian public life":

Stalin, Kaganovich, Postyshev, Questions Concerning the History of Bolshevism, Moscow, 1932.

Postyshev P., & Kossior, S., Soviet Ukraine Today, 116 pp., New York, 1933.

Postyshev, P., Marxistisch-Leninistische Erziehung, 112 pp., Moscow-Leningrad, 1933.

is "a symbol" for the reintroduction of slavery. But did not Jacobson, the unbiased observer, here leave the sphere of pure linguistics and enter the field of pure Communist propaganda, misusing for it a Slavic philological journal? Jacobson supports this propaganda with the "Kulturpolitischen Standpunkt" (cultural viewpoint) of the poet, Mayakowsky, again concealing the fact that it is the "cultural-political" program of the Russian Communist Party; and summing up, Jacobson formulates his support of this as follows: "Instead of the language policy of the archaists, the policy of discord between brother nations, there is proclaimed [in the Soviet Union] a close linguistic approach and reciprocity which by no means infringes on the peculiarity of the national form." As we read at the beginning of Jacobson's article, Gorky and the Russian Communists are strong purists respecting the norms of the classical Russian language. Consequently Jacobson's picture is a falsification of facts. There was no mutual "linguistic approach" between the brother nations, but only a one-sided approach of Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian to Russian, forced by the "reforms" of the Russian Communist Party, which "approach" means virtually a Russification. Whether the national form was or was not touched, only Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian non-Communist linguists can judge, not Russian Communists or their stooges in the Ukraine.

The Russification of the Ukrainian vocabulary Jacobson again defends with the same slogans of the Communists as an "elimination of provincial words which the Ukrainian literary language separated artificially from Russian." In one word the principle for Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian is Gleichschaltung with Russian.

The final evaluation and appreciation of Stalin's linguistic policy toward the non-Russian languages Jacobson gives, as an linguist, at the end of his article (pp. 342-343):

"The revolutionary epoch, which originally shattered the norms of the Russian literary language, had finally advanced the demand for a uniform and generally valid language-canon; it has done it with an inflexible resoluteness and perseverance, to which the former stages of development, distinguished by liberal extensibility and fluidity, were completely foreign. The same epoch, which at the beginning unchained the centrifugal forces of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian languages, has afterwards found completely new methods for bringing into conformity of the three eastern Slavic literary languages. The methods correspond on the one hand with the scientific requirements of modern linguistics, on the other with the interests of the national cultural rise and with the tasks of the genuine international cooperation."

Jacobson stresses an "analogical dialectical" process also in the French Revolution in the French language, forgetting that France was, generally speaking, a national homogeneous State, and that the Russian Communist Party enforces by terror this "process of the most close unification," with Russian on the multilingual Soviet Union against the will of the non-Russian nationalities concerned.

Jacobson, as we see, ends his article by declaring the Soviet methods to be "requirements of modern linguistics," and of "the national cultural rise" and "genuine international cooperation. . . ." Could an enemy of Russian Communism write a similar statement, could an unprejudiced scholar write it who believes in academic freedom and in the dignity of free scholarship? Jacobson's article is a pure Communist propaganda article, an uncritical glorification of Stalin's linguistic policy. Jacobson was well aware of the "fierce duel between ideologies," between democracy and Communist dictatorship, between the principles which were embodied in the American Declaration of Independence and the tenets of Leninism-Stalinism.

Jacobson was well aware of the fundamental ideological problems behind the whole "linguistic fight" of the non-Russian nationalities against the Russian Communist dictatorship. Either the State is subordinated to the free will of citizens, and the free citizens and nationalities then have also inalienable rights regarding their mother languages and their cultivation according to their own will expressed in a democratic way (Western style), or the citizens and nationalities are subject to the Russian Communist State, deprived of all human and national rights by the totalitarian dictatorship. In this case, all the spheres of human activities, literature, music, liberal arts, painting, science, press, theater, film, radio, religion—everything is included in the "planned economy" of the totalitarian State, especially the languages.

Jacobson has known that the Russian Communist dictatorship developed its own "Soviet linguistic theory" of Marr as a "weapon of the arsenal of the world revolution" for the "fusion, merger, unification of all languages and cultures into one Soviet nation," that all the "reforms" enforced by the Russian Communist Party were an application of this theory of Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian.

And he made a clear choice between these two camps, of which one demands human liberty with self-government, and the other proclaims Russian totalitarian dictatorship over body and mind of individuals and nationalities—their languages included.

I will most vigorously defend Jacobson's right to express his own political and linguistic convictions, but he must concede the free linguists of the non-Russian nationalities the right to defend themselves and their languages against Russian militant Communism and its distortions, lies, and falsifications about these nationalities, their literatures, and traditions. Communist imperialism has also made falsehood in linguistics a dangerous weapon, but Jacobson has underestimated the power of the will to liberty of the non-Russian nationalities, their enthusiasm for the free democratic life, for free institutions, and for the respect of the individual. . . . Even today they have refused to capitulate and have created at this very moment the greatest political mass emigration, known in history, from Stalin's linguistic and cultural paradise.

But there is a grave moral question involved in Prof. Jacobson's attitude. All scholars are united in the common search for truth. And I doubt that he has really looked for truth in that article. Among

scholars there is also feeling of solidarity; as members of a teaching profession, they are defending everywhere the very basis of scholarship: academic freedom. How could Prof. Jacobson write this "scientific" defense of Stalin's linguistic policy, knowing that thousands of Ukrainian, Byelo-Ruthenian colleagues, philologists, and teachers have been "liquidated" and sent by Stalin into slave labor camps? How could a university professor, enjoying in free Western Europe, in Masaryk's state, full academic freedom of teaching and research, in such a way glorify Stalin's complete liquidation of all freedom of teaching and research of his colleagues within the Soviet Union, even in the sphere of languages? How could he support from the outside the establishment of the final intellectual blackout also in linguistics inside the Soviet Union, in which scholars dare not think but may only quote Marx, Lenin, and Stalin? The Russian Communist thought control is presented by Jacobson as progress toward humanity.

Against the background of the pogrom of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian languages, literatures, linguists, and writers, then in full swing, with its terror, and the exile to slave labor camps of all opponents, the article of Jacobson is the basest piece of linguistics ever written. Jacobson's proslavery propaganda in linguistics opened a new branch of Soviet linguistics.

But life itself ironically writes the most tragic "humorous sketches." Jacobson's and Postyshev's "center of attraction of the progressive humanity," "the symbol of the struggle for the final extirpation of slavery," "the avant-garde of the International Socialist Revolution"—the Soviet Union—is, for a year now, killing American soldiers in Asia. But Jacobson himself reached, on his missionary expedition to the West with its Latin script, Harvard; he teaches American youth not only Russian but "Slavic" and by a grant of \$50,000 from the Rockefeller foundation he will surely now establish the right foundation for Slavic research in the U.S.A. . . . Life is stranger than fiction.

4. Hans Kohn, Nationalism in the Soviet Union,
London, 1933, George Routledge & Sons, Ltd.

(First published in Germany in 1932 under the title
Der Nationalismus in der Sowjetunion.)

(A belated book review.)

Some books do not become antiquated, they remain monuments of a period.

At the very time when the struggle for independence on the part of the non-Russian nationalities and the non-Russian Communist Parties against Russian imperialistic Communism reached its highest tension, there appeared in London this pamphlet, which was the hardest blow for all the non-Russian nationalities fighting for liberty. The reporter of the Frankfurter Zeitung* in Moscow, Hans Kohn, first in this "liberal" German newspaper itself, later in the above-mentioned special pamphlet

*The Frankfurter Zeitung had about the thirties a noteworthy staff of reporters; according to G. E. Sokolsky (Milwaukee Sentinel, Sept. 1, 1951). This German paper was represented in Shanghai by Mrs. Agnes Smedley, connected with the Sorge spy ring.

for the English-speaking world, engaged in a smear attack against the non-Russian peoples who then through their democratic and socialist parties appealed to the liberal and socialist opinion in Western Europe for moral defense against Russian Communism-Stalinism. Everywhere in "intellectual" and liberal spheres, especially in England, the aspirations of the non-Russian nations were fought by misled journalists, politicians, even scholars, by means of quotations from Kohn's book. Not only I, but all my friends, suspected that the real origin of this "ideological attack" on the non-Russian nationalities from Western Europe, the establishment of this "second front" against the non-Russian peoples, could be only in Soviet Moscow. It was the artillery barrage of Jacobson's linguistic frontal attack.

This pamphlet was the kind of "liberal" defense Stalin badly needed. The "progress" in the solution of the national problem was evident: from the pogroms of the Jews in old Russia to the universal pogrom of all non-Russian peoples in the new Russia, the Soviet Union; from the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," to Leninism-Stalinism, that ideological foundation for the "new approach" to the non-Russian groups. At the very time when millions were sent to slave labor camps of the non-Russian intelligentsia (which camps played the same role as Hitler's crematories), the mouth of H. Kohn, as a "liberal witness from Soviet Moscow," was full of liberal phrases, international vistas, even Messianism. With glittering sophistry, so effective for all the left-wing babbits and snobs, Kohn attempted to present the unenlightened despotism of Stalin over body and mind of individuals and nationalities in the Soviet Union as "progress" in comparison with the program of the non-Russian peoples who struggled for liberty and membership in the League of Nations. The program of totalitarian Communist dictatorship, with its suppression of all free institutions of society, was here supported by a representative of the "free German press"—a program which would sound reactionary and barbarian even for African tribes. The pamphlet is characterized by a complete absence of any emotional and moral condemnation of Communist inhumanities; on the contrary, Kohn always justifies them by splendid comparisons or pictures. It is a monument of the absence of any moral and political responsibility toward the free democratic world and of a complete indifference toward the victims of Stalin—individuals and nations. Stalin's policy is dressed up in the German "liberal" phraseology of the Frankfurter Zeitung, which once so warmly welcomed Rapallo, not anticipating that it was helping Hitler to power in Germany for the second Rapallo of 1939. . . .

Kohn's pamphlet is still today a popular book amongst all fellow travelers in American universities, and continues its work for the glorification of Russian Communism. Consequently this belated book review is necessary, the more so in that H. Kohn is at present a reviewer for the New York Times "Book Section," a teacher of American Youth, and a member of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom.

Kohn was fully aware of what is going on in Europe and the Soviet Union, and of the dilemma with which anyone in the free world is faced. "Communism and Western civilization stand face to face as irreconcilable

conceptions of the meaning of life and human values." He assumes that since the dissolution of the medieval religious order, nationalism became the main pillar of the faith of men of the new age, creating the nationalities as units of history. Whereas in the old religious order there existed a universal order or the elements of the oecumene in the conceptions of God, the creator of all things and father of all men, in the new age nationalism represents the dissolution of the oecumene. The fact that the leading non-Russian peoples were fighting for the ideals of the League of Nations in Eastern Europe and that all the national movements regarded Wilson's League as the new world order, Kohn silently disregards. What is good and constructive for the free nationalities in Western Europe is, of course, bad for the non-Russian nationalities in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union.

Consequently Kohn condemns nationalism as a "negative" movement of present times. As in the present technological century of advanced traffic development and world trade, the economic existence of the individual and its needs can be satisfied only by the new oecumene, H. Kohn preaches (at the very moment when five million died of hunger in the Ukraine and cannibalism was a deep stain on this Stalinist era): "Communism, which seeks to anchor the spiritual existence of man in a new faith, to liberate him from fear and insecurity in a new shelteredness, is turning back to oecumene" (p. 21); not mentioning with a single word the slave labor camps and the abolition of all rights of the working class, Kohn teaches: "In the world of [the] proletariat labor is elevated to the creative principle" (p. 14); "In Communism the dignity of labor comes once more into its own, and the social estimation of the individual is made entirely independent of his income" contrary to the American attitude (p. 15); H. Kohn assures us enthusiastically: "With the worker as the highest in the land, labor gains a new ennoblement. Over Moscow there floats the flaming device: 'We shall point a new way for the world; labor shall become lord of the world'" (p. 15). The human brain is a useful instrument if it can discern what is behind the slogans. . . . H. Kohn, completely disregarding the historical background of the Ukrainians, Byelo-Ruthenians, the Baltic nations, and Finland, of the Caucasian and Asiatic peoples, disregarding the problems involved: Europe—Russia, Russia—Asia, assumes that their present nationalism is a consequence of

"the very process of dragging the peoples of the Soviet Union out of the period of religious mediaevalism through its [Communism's] work of enlightenment, and leading them to a new trust in themselves and to modern production, it awakens in them also the will to self-expression and to cohesion of the nation and there grows in them, not through the traditional religious but through nationalism, the opposing force with which Communism has to contend not only in the Russian people but in the other peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union."

H. Kohn repeats the comparison between the Catholic Church and the Russian Communist Party, first given by Coudenhove-Kalergi, as both aim in their systems at a single all-embracing society and both

claim a monopoly of validity of their roads to salvation, and he actually writes, "oecumenical religion and Communism point the way through their fulfilment to an age of universalism and peace" (p. 23)! Young Americans are even today shocked after reading this book, at what crimes were done in New York by the American Courts by having stopped the "peace actions" of the American Communist Party and Hiss & Co., but older readers will confront the words of Kohn with the facts of the last decades and understand that the Russian Communist meaning of "universalism and peace" must, for an honest interpretation, be translated into English by "Russian Communist Neanderthalism." Consequently the statement is untrue that the Church and Russian Communism move toward a common goal.

Kohn is right in saying that "the Communist intellectual system is by the conviction that the world is controlled and ordered through the growth of the rationalist spirit, a growth imminent in the world. . . . Anyone who has assimilated and accepts this system possesses the key to the explanation of all things and the assured knowledge of the path to be pursued in the future". . . and the claim to absoluteness of this system. On page 26, H. Kohn presents very clearly the European outlook against this Communist "absoluteness," which does permit liberty of thought and opinion (practicing tolerance)—of course, with the criticism that "what Europe has won thus by breadth and freedom, it has lost in certainty. . . ." But Kohn has lost nothing in "certainty" that the fight of the non-Russian nationalities for the practice of these European values "of liberty of thought and opinion, and tolerance," and against the Russian claim to absoluteness of their Communist system—is a "negative" movement. Consequently H. Kohn belittles their accusations and gives to Communist despotism a "pious" explanation, even justification: "the lack of freedom, the 'intolerance' and 'inhumanity' of Communism similarly find their explanation in its medieval type of faith"—putting the words "intolerance" and "inhumanity" in quotation marks (p. 29). Thus for everything in Communism H. Kohn has a high-brow interpretation:

"Similarly the position of art and science under Communism is medieval. They are not their own justification, they are not legitimate expressions of the creative passion of the individual, they serve the building up of Socialism, the glorification of the faith and its justification through works. . . . Art strives, too, in the Soviet Union after the anonymity which characterized the Gothic cathedrals and medieval sculpture. The craftsman and the creator retire behind their work; and their work takes its place as one stone in the building which is to be the foundation of the new human race that is to come. Artist and experts are brethren in a builder's hut, united in building up through faith and the spirit of service" (p. 29).

What a marvelous "justification" of Communist intellectual slavery and thought control! But what cynical chatter if we confront this explanation with facts. H. Kohn well understands that "the Communists' certainty of victory is not based on ethical superiority but on a confidence

free from all moral context," because of their idea "of progress," with a definite, planned goal and the course to it. . . . "Thus in the idea of progress, Communism outbids the XIX century" (p. 33), according to H. Kohn:

"The welding together of the peoples of the earth in one great society, which Capitalism began, has been continued by Communism in a much more deliberate way and in the radically different spirit of an equal partnership of all peoples, advanced and backward, white and colored, in all of which, irrespective of all national divisions, there are up-holders and forerunners of the new order, and their enemies. In the picture which Communism paints of the approaching realm of peace it adopts once more an old religious conception; and it does so also in the fact that it expects no individual salvation but only a universal one, since the life of all men and all peoples, in appearance isolated and subject to interests of their own, is in reality only a part of the unity of the history of society" (p. 34).

Kohn does not bother to confront this Communist propaganda of "progress," "spirit of equal partnership of all peoples," "new order," "approaching realm of peace" with the facts from the life of the non-Russian nationalities, he uncritically repeats the Messianism of Russian Communism under the aspect of "the unity of the history of society," declaring all the non-Russian peoples "enemies" of this progress, of this new order and peace, which Leninism-Stalinism is realizing. Kohn is convinced that:

"Thus, for Communism all that counts is the horizontal link in humanity, the class, spread over the whole world, which is not bound up with the formative forces of historical tradition, or fed with the nourishing juices of a property of its own, deeply rooted in the soil of a definite parcel of the earth's surface. In this attitude it is irreconcilably opposed to the nationalism for which it is the vertical link that determines the course of history—the society that embraces all classes, that raises itself on a definitely delimited territorial area and, carrying with it the memory of past generations, takes deep root in its soil. . . . Nationalism such as it is in its early stages, is capable of being democratic. . . of assuming solidarity with the interests of the masses; but the ultimate political value, the association that decides destinies, lies for it in the nation. In this it takes up its position entirely in the historic period that extended from the XVII century to the world war. The latest manifestations of nationalism, Fascism and National Socialism . . . have much that has a superficial resemblance to Communism and much that is a perversion of it, but have nothing whatever in common with it. They belong to the nationalist century that still lives on; Communism belongs to a new stage of history. . . . Communism no longer sees in the nation and the national state the life-giving force, the determinant of the course of history; for Communism it is membership of a class that provides the formative force, that makes history. . ." (pp. 34-35).

Such are the interpretations of H. Kohn of Russian Communism, Fascism, and National Socialism, and of the democratic nationalism of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union who refused to be butchered "horizontally" by the Russians for the "progress," "new order," and "peace." That these nationalities were fighting for the European ideals of liberty and put their national individualities under the protection of the League of Nations—all these values belong to the "old stage of history"; they are, of course, "obsolete and reactionary" as compared with the Russian Communist "progress." Lenin and Stalin are then elevated by Kohn in the chapter: "Bolshevism and Nationalism," as the apostles of the rights of the non-Russian nationalities, which were shortly before "horizontally" prepared by the collectivization. First, of course, according to the double-accounting method, comes the condemnation of the Russian nationality policy before 1917 and of all the persecutions; then is presented Lenin, with his "supranational outlook," proclaiming for all non-Russian peoples complete self-determination, even to secession from the empire. But Kohn forgets that the non-Russian nationalities via facti realized this right, as a Wilsonian principle, themselves, before Lenin could "practice" it and the Russian realm virtually had ceased to exist. But Kohn is silent about the methods with which the Soviet Union was built up by the Russian Communists, about the conflict between the conceptions of Moscow and Geneva, and he presents us with a glamorous picture of Lenin and Stalin as nationality specialists. Of course, the Austrian Socialists were bunglers proposing only "cultural autonomy"; "Lenin went far beyond the Austrian Marxists. . . ." Stalin at the Tenth and Twelfth Congresses is credited with having realized, in the "Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia," "equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia, their right to full self-determination, including secession from Russia and setting up as independent states; the abrogation of all privileges and disabilities of nationalities and national religions, freedom of development of national minorities and ethnical groups in Russian territory." Of course, what is the French Revolution according to Kohn in comparison with the Russian Communist one? "The French Revolution, which has been the herald of national awakening and individualization in Europe, had contented itself with the individual's right to freedom. The Russian Revolution, setting the seal on the historic progress of the hundred and twenty years passed since then, had added to the rights of the individual citizen the right of peoples. . ." (p. 50). Heil Lenin! Heil Stalin! Gloria, Hallelujah! The ignorant Americans are under a delusion when they assume that the American Declaration of Independence has contributed something to it; poor ignorant bard Taras Shevchenko, the Robert Burns of Ukraine, who hailed George Washington with the "new and just law." Also, Wilson's principles had apparently no influence on the world development.—H. Kohn is silent about how the Soviet Union emerged under the Russian Communist dictatorship, and only says, "The dynamic energy of the oppressed nations, especially of colonial peoples, had now been harnessed to the service of the Revolution. The slogan: Proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples

of all the world, unite!" Of course, about the slogan of the Promethean League—"Oppressed peoples by Soviet Moscow unite!"—H. Kohn did nothing here in the 30's. And he seriously declares: "The example furnished by the solution of the problem of nationality in the Soviet Union is also to have effect upon the peoples beyond its borders." "Solution"—that is a good term. . . ! Upon which "peoples beyond the border" could this "solution" have effect? And Kohn seriously writes that "the freedom and equality of rights accorded to the Ukrainians and White Russians in the Soviet Union are contrasted with the persecution and deprivation of rights to which they are exposed in Poland." I do not wish to defend the Polish oppressions, but to publish in 1933 such a statement about "the freedom and equality of rights" accorded to Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians in the Soviet Union in the year 1933 is a downright falsification of facts. The organization of springboards for aggression and imperialism against free democratic States by Russian Communism Kohn calls "the desire [of the Soviet Union] to apply the Leninist nationality policy in foreign affairs," and so he explains the organization of the Karelian Republic opposite Finland, of the Moldavian Republic opposite Roumania, of the Mongolian and Tannu-Tuva Republics opposite China!

It is unbelievable how the chapter "Language and Culture," with all its misinformation could be written by H. Kohn, who at that time (1932-1933) certainly knew what was going on in the non-Russian republics in the Soviet Union. All the Communist propaganda slogans are there piously repeated, one Big Lie after another: "The Soviet State rests on the class of the proletariat; the State serves the will of the proletariat to persist and progress; it is becoming the expression and the protector of the creative efforts of the proletariat." (Yes, but Kohn forgets to say "only of the Russian proletariat. . .") "Hence the Soviet Union is free from every attempt at cultural or lingual oppression or subordination of the smaller peoples or minorities in its territory. A definite common body of culture is being bestowed on the masses, but not through the Russian language but through the languages of the various peoples; and the culture is not a national, a Russian culture but a supra-national, proletarian, Communist one"—H. Kohn preaches his Communist propaganda wisdom at a time when just the opposite of all his statements is true. Nor is Kohn troubled by the fact that the Tsars Ivan the Terrible and Peter I were already included in the "supra-national, proletarian, Communist culture." And how ardently "the father of all peoples" protects the non-Russian nationalities according to Kohn (here he mentions all the organizations formed before 1928 by the national oppositions as the achievements of the Soviet government, of the same Russian Soviet government which about 1930-1932 had liquidated them):

"Under the Soviet Government there came into existence scientific associations for research into the national culture of the indigenous populations and their past history; libraries and museums were founded, and the national traditions of the masses in artistic expression, in theatre, dance, and music, were cultivated. The aim was to produce a

culture national in form above all in language, but supra-national, Socialist or proletarian, in essence."

"Above all in language," says H. Kohn, and he does not mention with a single word Marr's existence and his theory. And constantly revels in a pious glorification of magnanimous Russian Communism and its "work" for all "humanity":

"The national form was approved not for the sake of its intrinsic value but as the medium of a new culture embracing all humanity. As in the past Christianity and Islam, and later Capitalism had wrested the national cultures from their isolation, had approximated them to one another and subjected them to new general standards, so Communism proposes now to do in still more effective ways."

Thus Russian Communism, according to Kohn, virtually continues the work of Christianity and capitalism; how stupid of the Western democracies not to open the gates for this "progress" and its "still more effective ways"!

Kohn's description of the plight of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union includes pictures which surpass the vision of paradise in the Koran:

"The lingual and cultural autonomy of the peoples of the Soviet Union was to produce out of the slogan of the right of national self-determination, a solution of the nationality problem in accordance with the principles of Communism."

According to Kohn only Czechoslovakia and Poland by their laws

"depress the minority peoples, through the subordinate position given to their languages, to citizens of an inferior class, deprive them of many otherwise natural rights, and hit them in the most sensitive place" — "In the Soviet Union there is no talk of an official language but only of languages in general use, all of which have equal rights"—"Now that the Russian language is no longer privileged or imposed, it is developing by free consent into a lingua franca for the multi-lingual Union. . ."

as "by free consent" it also now happens in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Roumania. . . . At the very time when all self-government also as to the languages of all non-Russian nationalities was liquidated, Kohn writes:

"The populations of the Soviet Union not only enjoy the right to use their own mother tongue; the government has from the first done everything to promote the development of these popular tongues, hampered as it had been by the authority of the Tsarist state, to encourage their literature, and to educate the masses of the people in their language and literature. In view of the heritage which the Revolution took over from Tsarist times, that had to be done at the expense of the Russian language and its past privileged position. . . ."

Thus Kohn sees only "development," "education," "encouragement"; therefore only fascist and chauvinists can sabotage this humanitarian progress under the leadership of Stalin. . . . H. Kohn informs us:

"The same attention has been devoted to educational work among all the national republics. In the capitals of the national republics and territories scholars and academics provide for the issue of dictionaries, publishing institutions and libraries for the spread of books, theaters and museums, historical and other scientific societies for the various aspects of national culture. Film and wireless play their part in the service of building up of this culture."

This H. Kohn published in 1933! The Russian Soviet government which from 1928 had been liquidating all these cultural agencies of the democratic national and national Communists' opposition against Russian Communism is here credited as fostering and encouraging them. Kohn informs the reader about the attitude of Russian Communism as to "national culture" in the following way:

"The state sets out accordingly to develop and assist every tongue; all are equal in its view, as in its view all men, whatever their endowment, are equal. It cannot, however, recognize the elements of national culture that belong to the feudal and theocratic epoch or the bourgeois capitalist epoch, and have established themselves in philosophy, poetry and art, and often in habits of life. The characteristic and distinguishing elements in existing national cultures, their specific values anchored in the past and drawn, in the course of the life of generations, from the inspiration of a particular territory and a history that cannot repeat itself, values represented always by the upper classes, remain alien to it. Its purpose is to set the cultural life of all peoples on a new basis. Accordingly it destroys the bonds that unite the life of the people with the past. That means death to the national cultures, especially among peoples with a culture that is particularly strongly rooted in history and gives vivid expression to the consciousness of that history, a culture that is not merely the possession of a small class but has inspired the whole life of the people with its intellectual content, has intellectually formed the people. The Soviet Government has no desire at all for the assimilation or the extinction of the Jewish people, it envisages in the future a Jewish, Yiddish-speaking people as vigorous and as thoroughly imbued with the Communist idea as Russians or Tatars or Buryats. But the Jewish people of the Union must be entirely dissociated from Judaism: instruction in the Hebrew language and the perpetuation of Jewish religious culture as it has been developed through more than three thousand years, forming and giving outward expression to the characteristic spirit of the Jewish people, are forbidden. The Jewish people is thus cut off entirely from the sources of its culture. The same experience has fallen to the lot of Mohammedan peoples of the Soviet Union, whose culture rested on Islam, on the Koran, and on the knowledge of the Arabic language and culture. . . .

"Only the popular elements of the existing national cultures, unassociated with traditional religion and close to the life of the masses, are to be retained and interwoven with the new uniform Socialist culture, the attainment of which is the purpose of all education in the Soviet Union. In the new state, culture and art are enrolled in the service of the creation of the new Socialist order, and with them the national cultures, which are to be national cultures, in form but proletarian in content."

Kohn's report is misleading and false. The readers are made to believe by Kohn that Russian Communism practices this attitude toward all "national culture," thus also toward the Russian national culture. Accordingly, the "internationalist" Kohn, blinded by the Communist oecumene, does not shed a single tear over the fact that the Jewish nation is being "horizontalized" also from their cultural heritage of Judaism; he believes that "death to the national cultures" includes also the Russian national heritage. This statement of Kohn the reader can put face to face with R. Jacobson's informational remarks in the previous article about the "Russian cultural heritage." Kohn conceived that "death to national cultures" means in the Russian Communist lingo only "death to all non-Russian cultures"; the Russian cultural heritage of the classic literature and language, from the feudal and theocratic until the bourgeois capitalistic epochs became the "proletarian Russian heritage," which is to be cultivated and enriched by "inspirations" from Ivan the Terrible and Peter I. All the bonds of the non-Russian nations which unite the life of the peoples with the past are to be dissolved—but not the bonds of the Russian nationality. Consequently Kohn's statement that "all [languages] are equal" is not true. Kohn does not bother to analyze critically the Communist propaganda formula "national in form but proletarian in content." How can there be a Jewish culture "national in form, proletarian in content," when the millenniums of Judaism are replaced by the cult of Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, the orthodox Protopop Avakum, etc.? This Stalinist formula, repeated parrotlike by the high priests of the Communist oecumene, is the greatest propaganda hoax of Soviet semantics. The adjective expresses the quality of the noun from which it is derived; thus from "wood" comes "wooden"; the adjective "national" is derived from "nation" and in that case has a meaning only if the existence of a "nationality" in the Western European sense is recognized as a cultural national individuality and entity. But Kohn himself sees clearly that Russian Communism does not recognize that Western meaning of the word "nationality" as applying to the non-Russian nationalities; hence the adjective "national" in the Communist lingo has a new meaning, entirely different from the Western European; it virtually means "the local native language, purified of all national content." Language means here simply a "vocal instrument of communication purged of all national elements." How can a national form exist without a national content? The cassock is the "form of Christian priesthood." If the devil puts on a cassock, does this form remain "Christian"? The Russian Communists have changed the meaning of

the adjective "national" into its very opposite, "antinational," and use the word "national" only to deceive the national opposition and the gullible Western democracy. The Russian Communist term "national" has just as much in common with the Western European term, as the Russian Communist terms "democracy," "freedom of the press," "aggression," "imperialism," with the meanings of the Western European terms. Thus the term "national in form, Socialist in content" must be honestly translated, "antinational in form, antinational in content," because only the Western European national content makes the "national form." To use the Ukrainian language for the glorification of the hangman of Ukraine, Peter I, is to give a "Socialist" content to the "national" form in the present-day Soviet Ukraine. The national form can only be the expression of the national content, as the Russian national form only of the Russian national cultural heritage. What would remain of the "American national form" if one would cut it off from the American cultural heritage and the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence? We repeat once again: the "national" form (of language) is "national" only insofar as it is the expression of the very complex phenomenon of a nationality. When this spirit is killed, the form ceases to exist. Soviet Moscow is executing behind this slogan the most contemptible kind of denationalization of the non-Russian peoples, killing their very spirit and cutting their cultural roots, which unite them with European culture.

Instead of saying honestly that the non-Russian nations are in the Soviet Union enslaved and oppressed, deprived of all human and national rights, H. Kohn performs a masterpiece of Communist propaganda about "the direct and democratic participation of the masses," the "training of the masses and the Russian Communist Party" as a "supra-national organization":

"But free in their political form and in their development they [the nationalities] are not. They are free only within the narrow limits permitted by a Socialist Soviet Republic. . . . But even the constitutions, with their direct and democratic participation of the masses are not a reality but a programme, a goal which the ruling party has set for the training of the masses. . . . Amid all the autonomy and 'independence' given to the national republics and territories, there remains always the unity of the Communist Party as a supra-national organization. And it is the Party that really makes the decision in every question, not the organs of the various national republics. . . ."

In plain English: in the Soviet Constitution, with all independence and autonomous republics, democratic participation of the masses is a hoax and a fraud. There is no freedom and no participation of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, but everything is under Russian Communist dictatorship, the "supra-national" organization of which is also mockery. Kohn's opinion follows the partyline and he faithfully sums up: "Thus nationalism is to be brought down from its supremacy and absoluteness to be the servant of a supra-national idea." Russian Communism is for Kohn a "supra-national idea" and the non-Russian

peoples must be its "servants"—a fine classless terminology of the pious adorer of the Communist oecumene. Kohn is so fascinated by the Communist program that he does not stop to analyze objectively the roots of "local nationalisms" and what they are really fighting for: "Local nationalism is preached and promoted by all the elements which for economic or social reasons oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and aspire to secede from the Union and form 'bourgeois' national States of their own." That is partly falsification. The Georgian Republic was Socialist, the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian governments conducting the fight against the Soviet Moscow had also Socialist governments and the struggle was going on not for "bourgeois" national States, but for social democratic national States, which would co-operate with the League of Nations as the supra-national organization. H. Kohn also sees clearly that "among the Ukrainians and the White Russians there are westernizing tendencies that object to a cultural dependence on Moscow and on the semi-Asiatic Soviet Union, and desire to follow the culture models of the West, the latest currents of bourgeois literature and art." Had not the West also a Socialist literature and a "non-bourgeois" art, Mr. Kohn? Has Soviet Moscow a monopoly on them?

Kohn sees also among the Turco-Tatar peoples Pan-Turk and Pan-Islamic movements; he even knows that "right down to recent times the Soviet authorities have been kept busy by a series of armed risings in central Asia." . . . Are these movements not also "super-national ideas"? Is it not therefore an oversimplification and falsification to present the fight of the non-Russian nationalities of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and Asia against Russian Communism as a fight of "local nationalisms" against the "supra-national idea of Soviet Moscow"?

Thus, in Kohn's opinion there is not going in the Soviet Union a struggle for democracy and liberty against a Russian Communist tyranny, but, to use his own words, "So the struggle continues between the forward looking nationalism of Communism and the ebullitions of nationalism under the influences of the past." And he is quite on the side of Soviet Moscow in this struggle:

"But if the class struggle that replaces the national struggle is carried on with the same belief in force and terrorism with which national struggles are carried on in Europe, it has nevertheless another aspect: it aims at preparing the way for a classless society, a warless age of peace, while nationalism holds out no hope, even in theory, of being able to produce a peaceful human society through the dissolution of other nations and their merging into one all-embracing nation in the course of the historic process. Socialism is characterized by a universal human aim of which nationalism by its very nature is incapable, for all that the ill-defined thinking of a liberal epoch sought to hold it up as a vague hope. . . ."

Thus for Kohn, Russian Communism "is preparing the way for a classless society, a warless age of peace"—and we are grateful to Kohn finally at least for having discovered the real mission of Russian Communism: "Through the dissolution of other nations" to force "their

merging into one all-embracing nation in the course of the historic process"; in plain English: "Through the dissolution of the non-Russian nations to force their merging into one Russian all-embracing Soviet nation." And that, of course, is for Kohn the universal human aim of "Socialism," represented by the Russian Communist dictatorship. But, Mr. Kohn, if a person is "dissolved" against his own will, it is called in the West "murder"; is not a "dissolution" of a nation against its will nation-killing? Whence has a gangster or a gangster party the authority for the "dissolution" of individuals or nations? Might is right? Kohn had ample opportunity, since 1933, to compare his Communist lyrics about "the warless age of peace" and "the classless society" with facts of recent history. (What a crime that the "ill-defined thinking of a liberal epoch" has delayed for free Ireland and Israel the realization of Kohn's "progressive" ideology!—What a victory for "humanity" that Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, China, Tibet finally "joined" the Russian Communist oecumene! What a shame that Titoist Yugoslavia broke away and that the U.S.A. "hindered" Greece and Turkey from "joining" the "new world order of peace"!—American students inferred this from Kohn's book. . . .)

At the very time when all the political refugees of the non-Russian nationalities appealed to the conscience of the Western free nations to raise their voices in defense of liberty—H. Kohn is preaching:

"Will Communism succeed in filling the peoples of the great Eurasian sub-continent, from the eastern slopes of the Carpathians to the Pacific Ocean and from the Arctic Ocean to the Hindukush, with a common will, a new way of living, a single economic doctrine? But Communism aspires yet to more. In the words of the declaration which accompanied its creation, the Soviet Union is intended to be a new and decisive step along the road to the union of the workers of all countries in the Socialist World Soviet Republic! The banner of the Union dispensed with all national emblems. The beasts of prey of the state, lions, eagles, bears, are of no more concern to it than their noble and world-shaking counterpart, the paradox of the lamb. It shows as symbols of the new evangel of world-wide labor a sickle and hammer on a sunlit globe framed in ears of corn. Interwoven with the ears are ribbons bearing in various languages the device, 'Proletarian of all countries unite!' In this urge towards a united and peaceful humanity, towards removal of all the dissensions and differences of races and nations and classes, there appears once more an old spiritual heritage of humanity, which in the last resort is just as irrational in origin and as deeply rooted in men's bones as the substance had consciousness of race and the historical traditionalism of nations. It has come into the clear vision of men's intelligence and has been the goal of their efforts at turning-points of history; in the passions of the struggle for power between groupings determined by blood-relationship and fate, men have again and again been able to forsake it, but always they have come back to it. Marx too was inspired by this ancient evangel, born of man's intelligence and his instinctive aspirations. He preached it as a disciple of the age of

rationalism and its humanism. In doing so he took up his position in an age-long procession—the witness to their faith of the prophets and the early Christians, the hopes of the ancient world of which the last echoes were heard in the Stoa, and those of Young Europe as it awoke in rationalism to full consciousness. And with this message yet another ancient dream and evangel has united in the Russian soul, that of Slavophile Messianism, in which Russia appears as the protagonist and apostle, the suffering demonstrator and interpreter of the meaning of human history.”

The “Red Dean of Canterbury” is a piker: Marx, prophets, Christians, Stoa, Young Europe, Slavophile Messianism—and suddenly appears “Russia—the protagonist and apostle, the suffering demonstrator and interpreter of the meaning of human history”—modestly aspiring to the “World Soviet Republic,” this “urge toward a united and peaceful humanity”! Let us briefly remark: Marx would surely have been executed by Lenin and Stalin in 1920 for his anti-Russian writings. Young Europe reached and fertilized with its ideas Poland, Lithuania, the Ukraine, and penetrated into the Caucasus as an anti-Russian, democratic, and revolutionary ideology, which later embraced, together with Socialism, all the oppressed non-Russian nations. Kohn does not even see these oppressed and suffering nationalities, but their Pan-Slavic, or rather Pan-Muscovite, oppressor is decked out in the role of the “suffering demonstrator and interpreter of the meaning of human history,” because of the Russian Slavophile Messianism of the same Katkov who got the money for his publications from the hangman, Muravyov. . . .

And with reverent and deep bows before Lenin and Stalin, the Frankfurter Zeitung democrat states:

“The Soviet Government realized from the first the importance of the question of nationality to the economic organization of its territories. The great Eurasian plains and steps demanded a vast economic synthesis. To allow these territories to be split up into independent national states would have been fatal in more than merely economic respects.”

O holy Gernangeopolitik! But the non-Russian nationalities are deeply indebted to H. Kohn as a witness to the fact that the Soviet government did not “allow” the independent national States to organize. Thus the question is elucidated whether the Russian Communists infringed on their rights of self-determination or not, whether they joined the “Soviet Union” voluntarily or not, and whether they are at present oppressed or not. Perhaps now the free world understands that the destruction of the free democratic republics of the non-Russians by Russian Communists “was fatal in more than merely economic respects”? Besides being a political crime still awaiting its Nuernberg for its perpetrators and their abettors.

And Kohn ends his propaganda with a real orgy of Communist soap-box oratory systematically repeating all the “Big Lies” about the plight of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union:

"Such were the basic principles underlying the nationality policy of the Soviet Union. It established full equality of rights between all its peoples. It brought them freedom to develop their own language, and self-government in a measure unknown before. It was careful to avoid hurting their national susceptibilities or by any sort of oppression awakening nationalist reaction. . . . The Soviet Government is not Russian but proletarian, it does not seek to Russify the peoples of the Union but to train them as Communists like the Russian people itself, partners in the building up of Socialism. This training is undertaken with all the resources of the state, and in it lies the means of ending the conflict between Communism and nationalism. For in the last resort there can be no compromise. Two conceptions of the meaning of history are here face to face, the myth of nationalism, dating from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and a new myth, the roots of which go down deep into the past, but which is being propagated by means of a new social message. Will the new myth of Universalism be able to transform the type of humanity that evolved in the last two centuries?"

What Stakhanovite, nearly Stalinist, pathos! But H. Kohn is right. There can be no compromise between Russian Communist imperialism, which he calls "universalism," and the free world of nationalities, which aspire to the ideal to organize a free humanity.

We accepted this challenge in 1918; we fought then, we fight now, and therefore we are presenting Jacobson and Kohn fully against the background of the tragedy of the non-Russian nations and their fight for liberty in the Soviet Union.

By the way: This "beast of prey," the American eagle, is rather a "liberal" beast, yet from the "liberal century" it takes under its wings all the enemies of the very ideas of the American Declaration of Independence, grants them "inalienable rights" for the poisoning of the American youth with such ideologies and pays for it in American dollars. It's a nice birdy! This eagle represents for the non-Russian peoples the ideology for which they are fighting for more than a quarter of a century, and therefore the Russian "hammer and sickle" attempts to chop off this eagle's head in order to achieve the "dissolution" of the American nation. . . .

"Dissolution of nationalities!" Has genocide ever had a better apologist than this, H. Kohn? His book is to this day the vade mecum in the U.S.A. for the nationality problem in the Soviet Union. And nobody suspects that, in the 1949 catalogue (distributed - 1951) of the well-known center of Communist literature, Universal Distributors Company, 38 Union Square, New York, it was still listed among all the Communist propaganda literature about the Communist Doctrine and the Soviet Union. The same book furnished material for information of the American Congress (House Document 754) about the plight of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union after World War II.

Chapter VII

RUSSIAN COMMUNISM AND THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES, 1936-1950

Even after the pogrom of the non-Russian nationalities and their cultures and languages, Russian Communism could not achieve full control over the oppressed peoples, and the fight continued "underground" in the party itself and in the respective countries. Here we list briefly the most important events of the continuation of this struggle.

1. The Stalin Constitution, hailed by the Communist as the "most democratic" of the world, represented in reality a tactical move for the "appeasement" of the non-Russian nationalities. Some years ago, during the persecutions of all non-Russian nationalities, when these nationalities anticipated even the formal abolition of their "national States" and the final restoration of an "indivisible Communist Russia" as a logical consequence of this policy, Stalin began the discussions about the new Constitution, which should reconfirm the "rights of the non-Russian nationalities."

Of course this step was a tactical maneuver in order to divide the common front of all the non-Russian nations against the Russian Communists and to provoke again, on the one hand, some hope for the eventual possibility of national life, and, on the other, to provoke all the remnants of the national opposition in the Communist Party "to show their heads from the window" for a clear survey of the oppositional forces by the political police.

Above all, the Stalin Constitution was aimed at the rehabilitation of Stalin and the Russian Communist Party outside the Soviet Union. The proclamations of the centers and exile governments of the non-Russian nations outside the Soviet Union, their appeals, lectures, publications before the League of Nations and all international organization, the accusations of the escaped non-Russian Communists themselves against Stalin, lowered the prestige of the Soviet Union to its nadir. The coming of Hitler to power, the entrance into the League of Nations in Geneva, demanded a repainting of the façade of the Soviet Union as a "federal State, formed on the basis of a voluntary union of equal Socialist Republics." The same was urgently demanded also by the new tactic of the Comintern, the formation of the "people's fronts." The new Constitution means in fact full Russian centralization and exclusion of all non-Russian national initiative by the monolithic Communist Party, in reality a Russian Party. Gradually the earlier constitutional right of national groups to organize themselves into autonomous republics in the Russian S.F.S.R. was abolished. During the discussions about the Constitution Stalin opposed the suggestion that the autonomous

republics should have the right to transform themselves into federal republics, making the enslavement of the numerous non-Russian nationalities in the Russian S.F.S.R. final.

Paragraph 17 of the Stalin Constitution is still echoing the declaration of rights of the peoples of Russia (of November, 1917) by the Council of People's Commissars, which recognized the right of the non-Russian peoples to self-determination "including the right of separation and the creation of an independent State": "The right freely to secede from the U.S.S.R. is reserved to every Union Republic"; but bluntly contradicting this right is Article 21: "uniform citizenship is established for citizens of the U.S.S.R. Every citizen of a Union Republic is a citizen of the U.S.S.R.," and the basic duties of every citizen are formulated in Article 133: "to defend the fatherland is the sacred duty of every citizen of the U.S.S.R. Treason to the fatherland—violation of the oath of allegiance, desertion to the enemy, impairing the military power of the state, espionage—is punishable with all the severity of the law as the most heinous of crimes." Thus as we see the Soviet idea of a "fatherland" is in the law formulated as the whole, "one and indivisible Soviet Union." This "one and indivisible fatherland" has "one and indivisible military power." Anyone who would start an agitation for the application of Article 17 to his national republic automatically commits treason against the "fatherland"; there do not exist legal prescriptions for the application of Article 17. Consequently the whole Stalin Constitution is Russian Communist tyranny over the non-Russian peoples, wearing the mask of freedom. This *Gleichschaltung* was characterized by Stalin thus: "The international importance of this constitution cannot be overestimated. . . . It will mean real support for those who fight against fascist barbarism. . . . It has strengthened our forces and is mobilizing them for new Communist victories."

Summing up: the Stalin Constitution is the "Biggest Lie" among the Communist Big Lies and constituted a deceptive bait for the gullible elements inside and outside the Soviet Union, who still played with the idea of "evolution" in the Russian despotism. The Constitution adopted on December 5, 1936, with all the apparent safeguards of the rights of the non-Russian peoples, was only the transition to the climax of the political pogrom of the non-Russians as a rounding of the cultural pogrom.

2. Yezhovshchyna, 1937-1938, thus is called in Ukrainian the immediate post-Stalin-Constitution period, according to Yezhov, the head of Stalin's secret police. This period means full Russification. Again we limit ourselves to the Ukraine, but the same policy was employed in all non-Russian territories.

The Ukrainian Communists were the center of the anti-Stalin opposition, who in the Soviet Union formed an inner "Promethean front" of all the non-Russian peoples. Stalin nominated Yezhov for the "application of his constitution" to the Ukraine.

In January, 1937, a new purge in the Communist Party was begun in the Ukraine; on January 20, Stalin's Lazar Kaganovich arrived in Kiev as a special delegate, participated in the meeting of the Central

Committee, and demanded the elimination of a number of leaders. For the complete economic ruin Postyshev was made responsible; he was recalled, and was replaced by a specialist for economic questions from Moscow, the Russian Kudryavtsev. Finally the Russian N. Khrushchov became Stalin's deputy in the Ukraine. From February, 1937, new purges and arrests among the Communists in the Ukraine; in June, 1937, arrests among the red officers in the Ukraine: Yakir, Prymakiv, Kryworuchko, the commanders of the Red Cossacks of the Ukraine (which used Ukrainian as the language of command), etc.; in July-August mass arrests were made in the provincial Ukrainian towns; on June 30, suicide of the chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Government, Panas Lyubchenko. Michael Bondarenko now was appointed as the head of the government. He was arrested in August, 1937; in November the Commissar of Education, Wolodymyr Zatonsky, was arrested as a nationalist, an old Ukrainian Bolshevik and cofounder of the Soviet Union, who had replaced Skrypnyk. In 1938 a Russian was appointed of Ukrainian extraction, Demian Korotchenkov, who after arriving in Kiev gave his name a Ukrainian ending, Korotchenko.

A whole series of political trials accompanied the mass arrests. According to the official paper, Kommunist, in three months, July to September, there were conducted in the Ukraine 65 political trials* which ended with 260 death sentences for the defendants, condemned as "saboteurs and bourgeois nationalists." The tension in the interior was also characterized by the replacement of the Ukrainian Commissar of Interior Affairs and Chief of the G.P.U., Wsewolod Balycky. He was replaced by Israel Leplewsky, soon dismissed by a pure Russian, Uspyensky. According to Kommunist, February 10, 1937, two vice-chairman of the Kievan Communist Committee, Kushnir and Kotlyarevsky, and its secretary, Dudkivska, were fired as "counterrevolutionaries and nationalists"; on February 13, the chief of the cultural-propaganda division of the party, Samutyn, and the chief of the economic division, Baran, were fired, both as "nationalists"; on February 28 the vice-chairman of the Charkiv-Party Committee, Bochucky, was fired "as an incorrigible counterrevolutionist and nationalist"; in March the chief of the industrial board in Dnipropetrowsk, Lehky, was arrested as a "nationalist," and a "Ukrainian terroristic center" was discovered, under the leadership of Holubenko; on March 20, according to the Kommunist, new "enemies of the people" were discovered and arrested in the presidency of the "Union of Ukrainian Writers"; Senchenko, Kovalenko, and Prots, the first of them being the chairman of the "Association of the Writers of the Soviet-Ukraine"; the accusation of "Ukrainian counter-revolution" was extended also to the writers in Kharkiv, especially Mykytenko. Parallel with this, new purges were going on in the Ukrainian radio stations in Kiev and Kharkiv, accused of "nationalism," and arrests among the railway workers in the Ukraine.

*There can be no doubt that torture of some kind was used to obtain "confessions" of membership in counterrevolutionary organizations.

In view of all these facts, and taking into account the shooting of the Ukrainian Red Cossacks commander, Prymakiv, we can understand the national opposition against the rising tide of Russian chauvinistic Communism.* This Ukrainian opposition closely collaborated with the Crimean Tatarian opposition which also became a victim of Yezhov; "liquidated" because of bourgeois nationalism were the President of the Republic, Ilias Tarkhan; the chairman of Council of the Commissars of Crimean Republic, Ibrahim Samedin; many commissars; most of the "Soviet" poets, writers, and professors. The best illustration of what happened in all other non-Russian republics is the fate of all these gullible leaders of non-Russian Communists, who in 1935 were invited to represent the non-Russian republics on the special committee appointed for the drafting of the Stalin Constitution. They were: Petrovsky, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Ukraine; Cheryakov, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Byelo-Russia; Aytakov, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Turkmenistan; Musabekov, chairman of the Council of Commissars of the Trans-Caucasian Federation; Rakhimbayev, chairman of the Council of Commissars of Tadzikstan; Khodzhayev, chairman of the Council of Commissars of Uzbekistan; Goloded, chairman of the Council of Commissars of Byelo-Russia; Lubchenko, chairman of the Council of Commissars of the Ukraine; Ikramov, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan; Erbanov, the first secretary of the Communist Party of Buryat-Mongolia. All these leaders were at the very height of their power when the Constitution was accepted at the end of 1936, but in the course of 1937 all of them, without a single exception, either committed suicide in order to escape liquidation, or were proclaimed "enemies of the people" and "disappeared" from political life. All of them were replaced by a new set of "stronghand boys" trained by the Russian Communist Party in Moscow, unconditionally faithful to the orders of Stalin. Thus, almost all leading non-Russian statesmen and leaders in the non-Russian Soviet republics who were so naïve as not yet to grasp the real nature of Russian Communism were liquidated.

An objective evaluation of the importance of this non-Russian national opposition against Russian Communist imperialism, especially in the Ukraine, is still wanting in the literature dealing with Soviet matters outside the Soviet Union. That is the special achievement of the Jacobsons and Kohns on the one hand, and on the other these internal events were overshadowed by the much discussed trials of the Trotskyites: Kamieniew, Zinoviev, Pyatakov, etc., of the leaders of the military opposition, Marshal Tukhachevsky and colleagues, and later by the trial of Bukharin, Rykov, and their comrades.

It is surely a mistake to regard the events in the Ukraine as only a provincial part of the general opposition in the Russian R.S.F.S.R. against Stalin, or as a part of the ideological quarrels between Trotsky

*A good survey is to be found in Dr. Mikolaj Kowalewski, Polityka Narodowosciowa Na Ukrainie Sowieckiej, Instytut Badan Spraw Narodowosciowych, Warszawa, 1938.

and Stalin over the right interpretation of the Communist doctrines and Communist tactics. Against such an interpretation we have the following arguments: (a) the continuity and stability of the Ukrainian opposition over nearly two decades against Soviet Moscow; no other nationality has a similar record of constant rebellion against Russian Communism; (b) the ideological reasons for this permanent Ukrainian rebellion against Moscow have nothing to do with the Moscow quarrels; this Ukrainian opposition was based on the demand for cultural and political independence from Moscow, as only the fulfillment of these demands could guarantee to the Ukraine a normal economic development by the liberation of the country from the exhausting exploitation of the Ukrainian raw materials by the Muscovite industry; (c) the Ukrainian opposition was clearly directed against the arbitrary appointments by the Russian Politburo of Russians to leading positions in the Ukraine, such as Postyshev, Khatayewich, Kudryavtsev, etc., and the Thirteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Ukraine still had the courage to carry through the motion: "The congress states that in the work of many organizations of the C.P.U. (K.P.B.U.) at the last time [during the last persecutions] is expressed a lessening of attention towards the questions of the nationality policy of the party, also an underestimation of these problems. It was expressed especially in the insufficient Ukrainization of the party, state, professional and Komsomol organizations, in the insufficient appointments of Ukrainian bolshevik cadres to leading positions in the party, state, economic, and professional work."

Thus, we see, this is a clear protest against the Russification of the Ukraine, and the demand for a complete "Ukrainization" of the party and State apparatus remained despite all the Russian terrorism a basic principle of the opposition in Ukraine. Therefore Moscow never trusted Ukrainian Communists, and never was a Ukrainian appointed secretary of the Communist Party in the Ukraine.

But since the Ukrainian opposition was the leader of the opposition of all the non-Russian nationalities the whole nationality, especially the Ukrainian, problem exploded in the trials because of the tactics of the Ukrainian, H. Hrynko, then Soviet Commissar of Finance, who attempted to use the internal Russian quarrels for Ukrainian interests.

3. The Bukharin, Rykov, Hrynko, trial 1938.* It was clearly shown in this mock trial that the Promethean ideology, by its publications, declarations, and congresses, had penetrated also the Soviet Union in the course of its ideological war against Russian Communo-chauvinism. The opposition was charged with

"having at the instruction of the Intelligence services of foreign States hostile to the Soviet Union formed a conspiratorial group named 'the block of Rights and Trotskyites' with the object of espionage on behalf of foreign states, wrecking, diversionist and terrorist activities, undermining the military power of the U.S.S.R., dismembering the

*"Report of Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti-Soviet of Rights and Trotskyites" (Moscow, 1938).

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U.S.S.R. and severing from it the Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, the Central Asiatic Republics, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Maritime Region of the Far East for the benefit of the aforementioned foreign states, and lastly with the object of overthrowing the Socialist social and state system existing in the U.S.S.R. and of restoring capitalism, of restoring the power of the bourgeoisie."

This trial came to an end finally with the fall of Stalin's hangman, Yezhov, and a subsequent purge in the N.K.V.D. itself.

The desire for self-determination and democracy of the non-Russian nationalities was mixed up during the trial with German, Japanese, and English "imperialism and espionage" for Communist propaganda purposes. In reality the Promethean Movement was organized by the exiled democratic leaders of all non-Russian peoples; it was an expression of their uncompromising struggle for national self-determination and of their desire for free international co-operation with the free nations in the former League of Nations in Geneva, as the supra-national organization.

For Hryenko and the other non-Russian Communists it was clear that the sentence would be death. Under the pretext of repentance they spoke to their nations, to their political exiles, and to the free world, reporting the history of the constant national struggle for liberty, and the substance of their confessions for all national opposition was: "Keep fighting against Moscow tyranny!" Hryenko began his statement:

"In order that it may be clear how I came to the execution of the tremendous series of crimes against the Soviet government and the fatherland, and to treason, I must remind you that I joined the Communist Party with other fighters of the Ukrainian Nationalist Organization."

Together with Shumsky, Poloz, and with the later chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars of the Ukraine, Lubchenko, the "conspiratorial center" was formed, and Hryenko called the period until 1926 the period of Shumskism. The program was the separation of the Ukraine from the Soviet Union and the restoration of an independent Ukrainian State. They believed that the economic prosperity of the N.E.P. period offered a good opportunity for such an evolution, and they did not see in Europe a foreign power with which they could ally themselves for the realization of this aim. The second period, according to Hryenko, began after the liquidation of the N.E.P. when this movement in the direction of independence was interrupted; the nationalist organization then gave its members the order to fight collectivization and industrialization, to concentrate its forces for an eventual armed uprising against the Soviet government. Contacts were established with some circles of a State hostile to the Soviet Union and with the Ukrainian exile government, which had provided arms and emissaries. This period ended in 1933 with the arrest of nearly all groups. The third period then began when, about 1935, Lubchenko informed Hryenko that in the Ukraine a "national fascist organization" was acting with the aim of separating the Ukraine

from U.S.S.R.* with the "help of a military intervention"; and he was asked to join it. There can be no doubt that Hryenko worked in Moscow under the cover of his high office for this aim. At the same time this conspiratory organization established contact with the "right Trotzkyite block" through Chernov, who had worked earlier in the Ukraine as grain-supply organizer; Chernov was the link with Rykov.

The secretary of the Communist Party of Byelo-Russia, Sharangovich, said that in 1932 he joined a "national-fascist organization" in Byelo-Russia, which aimed at the "overthrow of the Soviet regime and the separation of Byelo-Russia from the Soviet Union in case of a war against the fascist States." The means of fighting were to include wrecking, rebellion, terror, sabotage of the Soviet policy in the national cultural sphere; even an attempt on the life of Voroshilov during the maneuvers in 1936 was prepared.

Like Hryenko, Khodzhayev, former chairman of the Council of Commissars of Uzbekistan, behaved with much self-confidence. He declared that he had been raised in the national spirit and this national ideology he retained also after joining the Communist Party. He began to fight the Soviet government in 1920 when he headed the Soviet Republic of Bokhara; at that time he joined the national organization, Milli Ittihad—"National Union"—which aimed at separating Bokhara and forming a buffer State between England and the Soviet Union. He proudly boasted of having been the leader of this nationalist organization and of its counterrevolutionary work. The second period started after his appointment to the chairmanship of the Council of Commissars of Uzbekistan in 1925. Since 1928 he had collaborated there with Ikramov, a leader of the nationalist underground. The third period began after a meeting with Rykov when a common front was established against the Stalin regime. The National Uzbek Organization was convinced that an English protectorate would be the best solution for Uzbekistan. As the Communist Party was the only political party permitted, the National Uzbek Organization succeeded in introducing into it a large number of its members in order to dominate the party committee and the State.

Ikramov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, also very confidently "speaks before the court; he joined in 1918 a national youth organization and after officially entering the Communist Party, he was the leader from 1928, of a national organization 'Milli Istiklal'—'National Independence.'" He declared: "This title speaks for itself; we fought for independence." He described how this association organized and educated the youth for a counterrevolutionary rebellion, together with the Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, and the nationalists of the other republics. Bukharin, apparently, was informed about these plans. Ikramov confessed that also the other Commissars in Turkestan

*The opposition of Hryenko was based not only on national motives but also on economic. The economic exploitation of the Ukraine by Moscow illustrate these data: Moscow had, in 1918, 1,850,000 inhabitants; in 1938, 4,000,000; Kiev had, in 1918, 626,000 inhabitants; in 1938, 528,000; Odessa had, in 1918, 631,000; in 1938, 421,000.

sympathized with the Pan-Turc ideology, as he himself did and they discussed the formation of a military group, in the event of a war, which should open the front and co-operate with the "aggressors."

Rykov did not deny that he had direct or indirect contacts with the leaders of the national opposition groups. The military group of Tukhachevsky was also implicated in these plans for the overthrow of Stalin.

Stalin's public prosecutor, Vyshinsky, in his final speech once more accused them all of having worked for the "dissolution" of the Soviet Union, for the "separation" of the Ukraine, Byelo-Russia, the Central Asiatic Republics, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and the Maritime Region of the Far East.

There can be no doubt that the national oppositions tried to use the Russian opposition for their cause. On the other hand the same tactics were used by the Russian opposition in order to undermine Stalin; surely Russian and Ukrainian military leaders had decided to back the planned rebellion.

This trial is proof that about 1938 the whole non-Russian population of the U.S.S.R. fought against Stalin's despotism, including a minority of the Russians themselves. The Russian opposition was prepared to accept the dissolution of the Soviet Union into national republics as the condition for the fall of Stalin's regime. It is a good proof of the indestructibility of the national movements, which in spite of constant persecutions are always finding new practical methods and forms of organizations in their struggle against Soviet Moscow.

The defendants, leaders of the non-Russian nations, used the trial as a forum for drawing the attention of the free world to the nationality problems in the Soviet Union and to the Achilles heel of Russian Communism, strengthening their own nations by giving them a public report of the past conspiracies as an example for the conspiracies of the future. They proved to the world that, after a quarter of a century of Russian oppression, Moscow could not kill with its terrorism the ideas of liberty and democracy among the non-Russian peoples; they proved also that the fight of the non-Russian peoples about 1938 for their liberty seriously endangered the very existence of the Soviet Union police State. Stalin attempted to minimize the seriousness of this situation for his Communist Party by accusing the national movements of being in the service of foreign States, but such an argument cannot convince even the editors of *Pravda*; with such accusations one cannot weaken the political significance of this trial. It has revealed deep cleavages in the Stalin edifice and in the very foundations of the "voluntary" Soviet Union. All the non-Russian national movements had only one aim: the struggle against Russian imperialism and the fight for freedom.

What happened in this period of terror in Turkestan? According to Dr. M. H. Erturk*:

"From 1933--1938 embraces the second five-year plan of Soviet rule. During this period the Soviet slogans were 'The eradication of remnants

**Milij Turkistan*, Nr. 70/71.

of the capitalistic way of thinking from the human mind,' 'Creation of socialist culture,' and 'the introduction of the leading Russian culture.' Soviet Moscow meant that 'the ousting of capitalistic remnants,' the annihilation of national spirit and national customs as well as the annihilation of the 'Socialist Revolution' and of elements opposed to Communism would be carried out. Under the slogan 'creation of socialist culture,' the existence of a past and present Turkestanian national culture is denied. According to their wishes national culture had to serve 'Socialism' and every creative culture ought to be socialist. There should be no difference between Russian and local national culture. Russian culture was to serve as an example to the national culture. In other words Moscow demanded that its culture should be accepted. . . .

"The aims of this period were to create the Soviet individual and the Soviet nation and to introduce the Russian to the Turkestanian as a 'brother' and to inaugurate Russian as the official state language. During this period the Russians stated that the Russian language was an 'international language.' The learning of the Russian language is compulsory."

Finally, Stalin himself gave in 1938 once again an "interpretation" of the rights of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. This interpretation is in fact a revocation of all their rights and a program for their further Russification. Only Russian nationalism is proletarian, the national feelings of the non-Russian peoples are "bourgeois" for they oppose Russification:

"The right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the expediency of secession of a given nationality at a given moment. The party of the proletariat (the Communist Party) must decide the latter question quite independently in each particular case from the standpoint of the interests of the social development as a whole and of the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism. . . .

"The party of the proletariat resolutely rejects what is known as 'national cultural autonomy,' under which education, etc., is removed from the competence of the state and placed within the competence of some kind of national diets. National cultural autonomy artificially divides the workers living in the same industrial area, according to their various 'national cultures'; in other words it strengthens the ties between the workers and the bourgeois culture of individual nations. . . .

"The interest of the working class demands that the workers of all the nationalities of Russia should have common proletarian organizations: political, trade union, educational institutions of the cooperatives and so forth. Only such common organizations of the workers of the various nationalities will make it possible for the proletariat to wage a successful struggle against international capital and bourgeois nationalism."*

*Short History of the U.S.S.R. Communist Party, 1938.

4. World War II and its results for the nationality problem in Europe and Asia

The Moscow mock trials, with the Promethean ideology as the chief defendant, are the facts which preceded the great diplomatic game before the outbreak of World War II. In this game the nationality problem played a decisive and, in the present literature, a completely underestimated role; the fellow travelers do everything to hide this cancer of Russian imperialistic Communism.

Let us present briefly the European international situation, the political tendencies of the powers, and how for tactical aims they used the nationality problem as a political weapon. We shall describe also the political conditions among the exile centers of the non-Russian nationalities and their activities, which attempted again to use the rivalries of the powers for a final solution of the nationality problem inside the Soviet Union and in Central Europe.

It must be understood that a nationality problem existed not only in the Soviet Union, but that a nationality problem as "the problem of minorities" was of paramount importance in Central Europe and the Balkans. The creators of the post-World War I treaties had in many places disregarded the rights of self-determination of the native populations, and the League of Nations had proven itself incapable of safeguarding the promised rights of the "minorities"; finally some powers directly revoked their obligation to their minorities under the Covenant of the League of Nations and made a peaceful solution of these border problems, with the free participation of the native populations, impossible. Thus gradually there returned into European politics the principle of Realpolitik and "might is right," which by these secondary questions completely obscured the chief European problem, the problem of the survival of Europe, as a cultural and historical entity, which was threatened with extinction by Russian Communism. Europe was so unaware of this basic problem that the powers finally invited the Soviet Union into the League of Nations, exempting Russian Communism from all conditions required for membership in this organization. The diplomatic game invented many forms of mutual alliances, collective security, and nonaggression pacts, all of which had the aim of putting the other side in a morally untenable position before the final armed conflict.

The dynamic force in European politics after 1932 was Nazi Germany, a volcano. Some just claims regarding the self-determination of some parts of the German ethnographic territory were used by Hitler for the kindling of a chauvinist megalomania and master-race ideology, which soon created a mighty army as an instrument of active policy. The Berlin-Rome Axis united Italy and Germany in common political planning for the restitution of their old realms in new forms: the old German Empire and the Roman Empire; they united in common propaganda dooming the age of liberty and democracy to ruin and preaching that only their "totalitarian and authoritarian regimes" could save Europe from the decaying democracy which was united with Russian Communism in one front in the League of Nations.

The "self-determination right of her minorities" became Germany's weapon. With the promise of justice she tried to gather around herself

all mistreated minorities in the eastern border States, and was seconded by Italy. Thus "the nationality problem" soon became the star feature of Germany in foreign politics. Germany and Italy sympathized also, in words with all the oppressed nationalities in the Soviet Union, attempting to pose as just protectors of their liberty, thus gaining in all countries some sympathy of all anti-Communists. Germany used this weapon with complete success for her policy: remilitarization of the Rhineland, Anschluss of Austria, Anschluss of the Sudetenland. And the European powers, completely ignoring their treaty obligations, and by their appeasements, materially contributed to Hitler's successes and prestige. Soon Germany and Italy began to reorganize as arbiters their Danubian influence spheres, and there the proclamation of the Slovakian and the short-lived Carpatho-Ukrainian Republics electrified the refugees from the Soviet Union as the Berlin-Rome Axis gradually approached the Soviet borders. It appeared to many observers that England and France aimed only at directing the stream of lava from the German volcano to the East and spare the West, disregarding completely the ideological and moral principles involved.

Facing this new European and international political situation, the democratic exile governments and national committees of the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union found themselves in a very delicate situation. Until the year 1932, when Hitler came to power, all hopes were placed in the ideals of the League of Nations and the democratic Western powers. But gradually the League of Nations went politically from one debacle into another; the acceptance of the Soviet Union, of the prison of the nationalities, into the League of Nations, the supposed protector of nationalities, was one of the ironies of European history and a political crime against all the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union, which for many years had fought for the realization of the League of Nations' ideals against its rival the Moscow Comintern.

This betrayal of democracy split the political exiles from the Soviet Union into two camps: one remaining faithful to the old democratic program, believing that any military action of Hitler in the East would lead to World War II, in which finally the democratic powers would decide and not forget the just solution of the nationality problem as a cornerstone of a real peace in the East. The other camp was completely disillusioned by the indifference and duplicity of the Western powers, and was gradually persuaded by German propaganda to regard the Axis as the true leader in the reorganization of Eastern Europe. Thus Hitler's Germany soon prepared groups of young men, inexperienced in politics, from the non-Russian exiles for eventual action in the East.

The whole European situation soon approached the critical stage, when Hitler tried to apply the same methods he had successfully used toward Czechoslovakia to Poland. Poland was for a few years tempted and threatened by Nazi Germany. Threatened with bringing to an explosion the internal nationality problem in Poland, which was rather badly neglected. Poland had not fulfilled her promises regarding the self-government of the Ukrainians, and there was also, besides the Danzig problem, a Jewish and Byelo-Ruthenian opposition. Modern

Poland forgot that the old great Commonwealth was a Commonwealth of nationalities, that with this principle only could she victoriously oppose Hitler and Stalin. Poland was tempted to become a junior partner in a forced reorganization of the European East, in which Germany reserved for itself as an influence sphere the Baltic States and Russia proper, but Poland would have secured an outlet to the Black Sea by receiving at least the whole right-bank Ukraine. In exchange for Danzig, the transit of the German army to the East and the participation in the campaign against the Soviet Union, Poland was presented with "great expectations." These she disregarded, remaining faithful to her treaty obligations under the League of Nations Covenant, even loyally informing Soviet Moscow of all propositions made by Berlin. After Poland accepted the British guarantee of her frontiers, the world was surprised by the friendship treaty between Hitler and Stalin—and Poland's subsequent fate is known.

Stalin was aware that Germany was very well informed about the nationality problems of the Soviet Union, that Germany would use this information in the case of war. But Stalin also knew well Hitler's imperialistic plans against the Poles, Jews, Czechs, Slovenes, and Serbs, and for him, therefore, Hitler was an ally. Common crimes form common fronts. An alliance with Hitler not only could deprive the nationality problem of eventual foreign support, but would give Soviet Moscow the opportunity to include, as "acts of self-determination" of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians in Western Ukraine and Western Byelo-Ruthenia, those countries which were then parts of the Polish Republic. That would mean a tremendous success for Stalin in his fight against Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian opposition. The consequence would be the liquidation of the comparatively free Piedmonts of the Byelo-Ruthenians and Ukrainians in Poland, the possibility of destroying also the Piedmont in the Bukovinean Ukraine, then occupied by Roumania. Thus Moscow could approach nearer to the Carpatho-Ukraine. The inclusion of the latter was the ultimate aim of Soviet Moscow in order to convert the Ukrainian political problem from a European one to a question of Soviet internal politics. Becoming a champion of the "self-determination of all parts of Ukrainian ethnographic territory" in the name of the Ukrainian national ideal of a "United Ukraine," Stalin could return to Ukraine also the old Ukrainian Cossack land in Bessarabia at the mouth of the Danube, thus claiming through Ukraine the rights of a Danube State and virtually dominating this river through this key position. The alliance with Hitler also opened the way for Stalin into the Baltic States, Finland included. As we see, in the calculations of both partners, Stalin and Hitler, the nationality problem played the paramount role. Both were "liberators," and both "solved nationality problems"; Stalin even attempted to appease his Ukrainian opponents who accused him of including Ukrainian north, east, and south ethnographic territory in the Russian R.S.F.S.R. (a territory as large as England) and Russifying its population, by putting into effect in the west and southwest the program of the just ethnographic frontiers. The democratic Western powers and the League of Nations neglected the dynamism of the nationality

problem in Europe. They had no program at all for a just solution of it, they had only a static program of keeping the *status quo*. Only once, with Briand's program of a United Europe, was there a hope for a solution of it, but only in the West, as Coudenhove-Kalergi—despite my protest—excluded the Western Soviet Union from his European plans. Thus democracy created an ideological vacuum in the sphere of the nationality problem in Europe, and forced the democratic nationalities between Germany and Soviet Moscow into a dilemma. Stalin exploited to the utmost the membership of Soviet Moscow in the League of Nations in Geneva as a tactical asset in his bargaining with Hitler, and sold this institution, with all its ideology, down the river, “justly” dividing its members with Hitler: Poland with Western Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia, Czechoslovakia with Carpatho-Ukraine, Roumania with Bukovinean Ukraine and Bessarabia, the Baltic and Balkan States. The new “just” order was established—and World War II was in full swing. Finland was soon attacked and the League of Nations finally had the courage to throw Stalin out of the League.

In the whole bargain between the two “liberators of nationalities” a mutual fraud was included on both sides. Stalin, from his own experience, knew well what it means to have to deal with nationality problems; he attempted to use Hitler against the capitalist-democratic powers in the West but at the same time he intended to weaken him in the East by the Polish and Czech problems. Hitler, knowing Stalin's nationality troubles, gladly decided to increase them by the Western Ukrainians, and Byelo-Ruthenians, the Balts, the Roumanians and Ukrainians of Bessarabia. He demanded also for selling these nationalities a tremendous contribution to his war effort from Stalin, the selling of more than one million freight cars of food and raw materials. This tremendous contribution, which enabled Hitler to destroy France, Belgium, and Holland, recoiled like a boomerang on Stalin. The lack of a corresponding fleet for England's invasion and the easy victory over the “impregnable Maginot line” induced Hitler to try the conquest of the East—the territory of all the raw materials for which he had to pay Stalin. This easy victory in France induced Hitler to eliminate also from his Eastern plans all “aspirations of the nationalities,” attempting to realize his original plan from the first edition of *Mein Kampf*, of securing “*Siedlungsland*” for the German Bauer at least to the Dnieper-Dvina line. The gullible friends of Hitler amongst the non-Russian exiles did not anticipate these changes in Hitler's plans. As his attack started in 1941, he was regarded by these consummate fools as the “liberator.”

The nationality problem in the Soviet Union exploded in mass desertions and mass surrender of soldiers of the non-Russian nationalities. The German army advanced with astonishing swiftness, welcomed with flowers as liberators—until the crossing of the Dnieper. Behind the Dnieper, Soviet resistance stiffened. Why? News of Hitler's mass execution of Soviet soldiers, in the overwhelming majority of non-Russian nationalities was brought by escaped soldiers behind the Soviet front, and all non-Russian nationalities were warned. This stiffening resistance delayed the advance of Hitler who, apart from climatic conditions in the

East, had started the attack too late because of the Yugoslavian war. Finally the line was established before Leningrad-Moscow.

We are sure that future research will prove that one of the main causes of Hitler's defeat in the Soviet Union was his complete disregard of the nationality problem. The "liberator" let the mask fall, and a policy of brutal national oppression followed, in which the Nazi Party, organizing the administration behind the front, played the decisive role. The German liberators employed the personnel of the N.K.V.D. which was ordered to remain in the territories, as the most trusted agents of their administration, and used them for the suppression of all expressions of democratic national life in all territories concerned. Soon all the intelligentsia saw clearly the scope of Hitler's order and the first to go underground and to start partisan warfare against Hitler were the same nationalist groups which had accompanied his advance to the East. The fact that the independence of the Baltic States was not restored, that Ukraine was partitioned by including West Ukraine into the General government as an old "Austrian heritage," giving the Roumanians a part of the Ukraine with Odessa, that Byelo-Ruthenian independence was not restored, these facts spoke for themselves. Thus as a matter of fact Hitler's grave mistake in the East was his nationality policy, which united all the partisans from Poland, the Baltic States, Byelo-Ruthenia, Ukraine into one common front. Hitler's disregard of the national aspirations, of the agrarian interests of the peasantry, the master-race megalomania toward the nationalities which welcomed him, created a profound change in the sentiments of the population, which Stalin immediately used for his own purpose.

The Communist broadcast in Ukrainian, Byelo-Ruthenian, and the Caucasus languages assumed a tone of patriotic nationalism. Immediately all Russian words were dropped from the non-Russian languages and the old pure literary languages of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians were used. The slogan of national liberation were hammered constantly by radio, press, and publication, the Hetman Khmelnitsky military decoration was established for Ukrainians, Pan-Slavism, and Pan-Slavic Messianism revived, the Atlantic Charter and the Statutes of the United Nations with all their clauses regarding the rights of nationalities signed, seats reserved for Ukraine and Byelo-Russia in the new organization, everything was done by Soviet Moscow to convince the non-Russian peoples that in the Soviet Union after the war the solemnly signed obligations of the Atlantic Charter and the Statutes of UN would be applied, and to stimulate thereby the dynamic forces of these nationalities inside the Soviet Army and in the underground, on the one hand, and, on the other, to deceive the U.S.A. and her allies, in order to win the nationalities behind the line, Stettin-Triest.

Thus the world entered a new stage of "progress." Once some world powers specialized in trading Negro slaves, usually rather a small business involving some thousands of human beings, when Tsarist Russia held the peasantry in serfdom until 1861 (the serfdom of the non-Russian nationalities continued until 1917). Now after two world wars in "defense of democracy," after the proclamation of Wilson's principles,

the League of Nations in Geneva, the proclamation of the Atlantic Charter, the Statutes of the UN and their organization, powers have engaged in wholesale trade. Whole nations were sold into Russian slavery. Amid the constant chatter about human and national rights—the negation of all of them—the Soviet Union with its slave labor camps and bloody terror sits in the UN among the civilized nations of the world. And the torchbearer of liberty during Tsarism, Poland, together with the Western Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia, which sacrificed five million dead for the allied cause, got chains, with the blessing of Western democracy.

Russian Communism consequently also participated in that progress whereby the Stalinist era, having already contributed cannibalism, in the 1930's, achieved the full height of "progress, Stalinist-style": Soviet Moscow began to apply genocide to whole nationalities in the Soviet Union, in order to terrorize the non-Russian nationalities and to crush their rebellious spirit. The collective responsibility, until now used in the Soviet Union only against whole families, now was extended to whole nationalities. The fate of the Ingrians was shared in 1941 by the German Volga Autonomous S.S.R. It was abolished and the whole population scattered over Siberia. During 1944-1945 the autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics of the Kalmyks, Chechen-Ingush, of the Crimean Tatars and the Karachaev Autonomous Region were abolished because their populations welcomed the German armies, and their populations were scattered over the slave labor camps of Siberia. As in the old Russian Tsarist times, these names of nationalities were erased from the map; in these territories changes were made in the names of places in order to extinguish even any linguistic traces of the former inhabitants.

Thus the final victory of Democracy in World War II brought for the nationality problem in Central-Eastern Europe and the Balkans the greatest catastrophe modern history knows. But the nationality problem now became gigantic. The old Soviet Union nationality problem is intensified by the annexation of the Baltic States, of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania-Moldavia, Bulgaria (Yugoslavia) in Europe, and in Asia until now by China, Korea, Tibet, and it is surely not the end. In Asia the Western powers are getting a practical "workshop" education as to how the nationality problem would have to be used by themselves in Europe and Asia against Soviet Russian imperialism.

As a matter of fact the nationalities who, during World War II, conducted their own underground war for liberty against both the German and the Russian oppressor are continuing their liberation struggle with their own forces against the leading member of the UN—Soviet Union. They created and are creating a political DP mass emigration to the West, unique in history, living witnesses of the Soviet brutality and impeachers of the Russian Communist regime. With their own forces they are conducting a partisan war against Soviet Moscow, in which again the Ukraine with her Ukrainian Partisan army forms the core of resistance within the Soviet sphere of influence. And the non-Russian peoples are gaining in self-confidence, because if they could demoralize and disintegrate the German army, why could they not achieve this result against the Soviet army? This especially, since, by the tremendous

expansion of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union and in the Soviet sphere of influence, the Russians as a nation have become a minority which can uphold its cultural and political imperialism only by force. Consequently, the fight within the Soviet Union will be continued with all means, especially since outside the Soviet Union Tito has created a new center of national rebellion against Soviet Moscow within the Communist ranks. Thus the national oppositions got an army which backs, within the Communist ideology, the idea of equality and cultural self-government against Soviet Moscow. Besides, Titoism finally became an eye opener for the West as to the basic importance of the nationality problem inside the sphere of Communism.

The Ukraine especially, now a member of the UN, is a constant source of trouble for Soviet Moscow; the additional eight million Ukrainians of Western Ukraine, presented to Soviet Moscow by Roosevelt and Churchill in the name of the Atlantic Charter, are not easily digestible. Therefore Stalin practices the old method of "the whip and the cooky"; on the one side terror, on the other side "concessions" for appeasement and pacification of the hinterland of the future front of World War III. At the end of the year 1949 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic approved a new "Ukrainian" anthem, flag, and emblem. Appropriately, the paper Soviet Ukraine, Stalin's mouthpiece in Kiev, published its text, in which Moscow reached the height of devilry:

Live, O Ukraine, beautiful and strong;
 In the Soviet Union you have found your
 happiness.
 Equal among equals, and free among the
 free,
 Under the sun of liberty, like a flower,
 you have blossomed.
 Always in the struggles for the
 people's lot
 The Russian people have been our
 friends and our brothers,
 And Lenin has lighted our way to
 freedom,
 And Stalin is leading us to the top-
 most heights.
 We will crush all the attacks of the foe
 With the sacred sword of the people's fury.
 Under the Soviet flag we have become
 strong
 And we are marching proudly into the
 world of communism.
 Glory to the Soviet Union, glory!
 Glory to the fatherland of the people-
 brothers!
 Long live Ukraine, a Soviet state,
 A united country for ever and ever!

When the Russian Tsars oppressed the non-Russian nations, they at least did not compel their victims to glorify them. The new masters of the Kremlin have "progressed" also in this direction. They not only oppress and murder and destroy all cultures and persecute the people, but they demand at the same time that the victims glorify their new masters and sing peans in honor of Lenin and Stalin as the "true liberators and guiding lights." Not only the Jacobsons and Kohns—but the victims themselves; a page of history which even Dostoyewsky's fantasy had not anticipated.

The new flag, characteristically, includes the blue color in a compromise with the national blue-yellow flag. What is behind these "concessions"? It is the old trouble with the Ukraine under the leadership of the Ukrainian Partisan Army.

After a period of liberty from 1918-1939, the Baltic States: Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia were by Soviet aggression included into the Soviet Union. Now, these highly civilized nationalities are suffering a terrible fate under the very eyes of the UN Russian Communism attempts in a couple of years to catch up in the Russification of these peoples with the other non-Russian nationalities, and to transform them into the soul-less mass of "Soviet people"—Russian-speaking, Russian-ruled, and Russian-inspired. What is happening with their languages and cultures gives a tragic account the following report about Lithuania.*

The reader will find in it all well-known methods previously applied to the non-Russian nationalities.

"Members of the Academy of Sciences were ordered to interrupt their teaching and get behind the Party. One hundred 'scientists' were thus mobilized and attached to Agitpunkt No. 22 in Vilnius. The exertions of professors Dzidas Budrys, Purenas, Lasas, Bieliukas and several others were commended by 1st Secretary Snieckus in person. Snieckus said, however: 'Regardless of the excellent achievements in the ideological sphere, it would be deceptive to suppose that the ideological struggle was over. We must persevere in tireless alertness, fight for the Party line in sciences, arts, literature; we must smash all demonstrations of bourgeois-nationalist ideology, combat nationalism, clericalism, cosmopolitanism; fight for the proletarian internationalism, for friendship among the country's nationalities, for Soviet patriotism.' (Party organ "Tiesa," March 11, 1950.)

"This was a notice that more heads would roll—and teachers hastened to abandon the schoolhouses in favor of 'open air treks' in behalf of the Party. Rural teachers realize the indescribable misery of serf life—they had a hard time trying to speak of the 'limitless happiness of life under Stalin's sun,' but the people realized their predicament: duty is duty—the teachers must speak, the serfs must applaud.

"Must Learn the 'Present Lithuanian Language'

"Comrade 1st Secretary Snieckus told the Party Congress in his 4-hour speech in February 1949:

*Lithuanian Bulletin, January, 1950.

"The basic defects in literature: There are no books depicting kolkhoz life in artistic scenes; the bourgeoisie and the reactionary Catholic clergy are not being demasked; literature for children is neglected. . . . Our artists' creations were seriously criticized at the congress of Soviet artists. Up to now, no theatrical play has been created to portray the Socialist reorganization of village life. The responsibility falls on the leadership of art affairs. Cruel errors persist in magazines and cinema news reviews--the Stakhanovite gardening and kolkhoz creativeness are not depicted, musical arrangement is poor. Some problems are elucidated in a weak manner, especially the role of the Catholic clergy. The history of the Communist party of Lithuania is not yet written. No manual of history of Lithuania was prepared. The class struggle is by-passed with silence in evaluating the literary heritage, the reactionary ideology of individual writers is retouched. . . . The Goslitizdat (State-Publishing-Lithuania) is guided by no principle: the former editor-in-chief had smuggled-in a bourgeois ideology. The writings of Peleda, Valancius, etc. contained not a few reactionary views and religious superstitions.

"In regulating the cultural heritage, the Lithuanian Language Institute published two volumes of a Lithuanian Dictionary--written in a clerical phraseology, in a church and feudal language. The Lithuanian Language Institute utterly fails to learn the present Lithuanian language.

"Cosmopolitanism is one of the old ideas spread by Anglo-American imperialists and supported by Rightist Socialists. It is alien to Marxism-Leninism. Cosmopolitanism exists in our republic, too, but the CK of Lithuania did not pay due attention to cosmopolitanism.'

"Dictionary 'Errors'

"The linguists and teachers were too deeply shocked by the new Party line regarding the 'new language,' to react immediately. A 'Methodology of the Lithuanian Language,' edited by A. Vasiliauskas, was put out after the Snieckus speech. The Party censors themselves recovered only five months after the Snieckus speech.

"By July 7, 1949, the Party played the tune in the issue of the Party organ 'Tiesa': a comrade K. Duobinis--an unheard-of 'linguist'--condemned the Methodology for its 'lack of Soviet patriotism and Marxist ideology' and its 'contamination with reaction and religion.' He wrote: 'To confine oneself to a formal declaration regarding the inculcation of a Soviet patriotism and then to demonstrate nothing at all regarding the method of educating the youths, is not a serious view of the teacher's purpose in a Soviet school.' Poetry selections were found to be non-political! 'He forgot to point out that poetry readings must serve not only the aim of improving reading technique but, by its ideas and mental pictures, must conjure and strengthen the political ideological consciousness. . . . With every lecture, the pupil's political orientation must rise.' Vasiliauskas, however, had failed 'to show a Soviet man and the meaning of a kolkhoz.' The comrade recommended that the book be re-edited and published anew--an auto da fe of books. . . .

"20 days later, comrade President Matulis of the Academy of Sciences of the LSSR, deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the LSSR and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR, felt that he had sufficiently learned 'the new Lithuanian language.' The academician, a former intellectual, started off by pointing out the 'faults in the research work' in his own Academy and the small production rate in the various institutes--of Economics, Biology, Geology and Geography. Finally he lashed out at the 'far behind' Institute of the Lithuanian Language: 'Some of the collaborators of certain institutes stayed on the side-lines and away from the urgent Socialistic construction, and committed grave errors in their research work. Certain books were contaminated with impermissible errors (the second volume of the Lithuanian Language Dictionary), not all publications of the Academy of Sciences are inspired with the necessary partisanship, alien reactionary ideas and theories harmful to the working people's society are not sufficiently demasked.'

"Purge of Books

"Public sessions were held thereafter--and members of the Academy of Sciences humbly confessed their heretical deviations. The repentant heretics then went into action.

"First to act was the University of Kaunas: it was decided to remove from its libraries 'the Morganistic-Mendelistic literature, to review the scientific theses and revoke the assignments which are of no significance to practical life.' A lecturer, Vaskevicius, was denounced for his persistence in presenting the development of plant cells in the following manner: 'One scientist, Weismann, avers. . . . The Russian scientist Mechnikov opines. . . .' The Party mouthpiece asserted: 'Such objective comparison of all names figuring in the science of biology does not serve the combat against Weismannism. Rather, it is useful to Weismannism.' The University's Party organization and its secretary Kuzminskas were reprimanded for permitting such 'apolitical lecturing.

"The Agricultural and Veterinarian Academies followed suit in expurgating their libraries of all heretical publications. After some time, however, the Party watchdogs noted that Docents Mastauskis and Vasinaukas had still failed to improve and that Party secretaries Venckus and Minkevicius failed to concern themselves with the party line in teaching.

"It may be noted that the names of the heretics are Lithuanian-Lithuanian only. The Party watchdogs are all Russians. For this reason it took them several months to condemn the Methodology manual of the Lithuanian language and the Dictionary: it had taken several months to translate--Lithuanian Party members were not trusted.

"By October 1949, professors, teachers and writers were all purged and/or reformed: their fate may be gleaned by the tense employed in the criticism. There-after, the campaign was begun to eradicate the Lithuanian names of schools and historical sites.

"Thus, the Party organ 'Tiesa' announced on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the Komsomol that the 'Ausra' gymnasium of Kaunas

was renamed the 'Komsomol Gymnasium.' In ancient Vilnius, the Wall Street marking the ancient ramparts and the park around the Gediminas Castle Hill, were renamed 'Komsomol St.' and 'Komsomol Park.'

"Stalin and Lutheran Catechism

"'Never before were our people provided with such excellent conditions for developing their culture. . . . In the past, in a bourgeois Lithuania, various Western customs were being aped monkey-fashion, foreign culture was blindly copied. Presently, however, we have every opportunity to show to the world that, even though we are a small people, we are capable of contributing to mankind's treasures of science.'

"Such is the new outlook professed by comrade Matulis, President of the Academy of Sciences of the LSSR and the most pliant bootlicker of Russian police officials.

"Under his guidance, the Academy put out a collective work intended to mark the 400th anniversary of the first printed Lithuanian book—the Lutheran Catechism edited by Mazvydas. The preface to the collection of silly ravings by semi-literate 'scientists,' boasted: 'The History of Lithuanian books is a history of the Lithuanian people's troubles, sufferings, struggles, cultural efforts and victories. It shows clearly that the Lithuanian people had been held in oppression and darkness by lords and priests. That representatives of a progressive intelligentsia risen from the common folk had struggled for a brighter future for the working people. That the working people of Lithuania having liberated themselves from enslavement by landlords and capitalists, embarked on the Soviet road and, jointly with other peoples of the Soviet Union, are marching toward a bright tomorrow. . . .

"'The Great October Socialist Revolution finally broke the chains of slavery and cleared the path for all enslaved peoples toward a free, independent life based on the foundations of justice. The Lithuanian bourgeoisie failed to keep the Lithuanian people enchained with new fetters. The word of revolution fired the masses, Lithuania became a Socialist republic after a long struggle, and a Soviet page illuminated by the sun of Stalin's Constitution was opened in the history of our books.'

"Unfortunately, however, the sun of Stalin brought into Lithuania on Red Army bayonets is too bright for the country and a people contaminated to the core with loyalty to the Western Church and the 'cosmopolitanism' of a national spirit. In fact, the 'sun of Stalin' is so hot that books, catechisms, icons, folklore collections, histories and other bourgeois-nationalist books are reduced to regulation ashes in MVD crematoria--while their overheated owners are sent to cool off in the frigid areas of Siberia. . . .

"There are no bounds to falsification. For instance, after the painstaking efforts of Jablonskis, Buga, dozens of expert linguists and hundreds of "live-word gatherers" over a period of several decades, materials for the great Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language were assembled and arranged alphabetically. Every word was carefully commented on, by illustrations from ancient writings, examples of

folksongs, different accents in different parts of the country, etc., by a large staff of experts. Half a million words were finally arranged, and the printing was begun several years prior to World War II. Balcikonis was appointed editor in chief, and the first volume of a thousand pages was prepared by the time the Russian occupied Lithuania. Proofs were ready but Communist censorship prevented the printing. Finally, the materials were recovered from the scrap heaps of the Communist Censorship Office, and volume one rolled off the press at the end of 1941—during the German occupation, following the ignominious flight of the Russian satraps.”

5. What does the formula “Socialist in content, national in form” mean?

With this slogan the persecution of all non-Russian nationalities started in 1928. Soon, in Russia proper, Communist propaganda produced nationalistic Russian plays and films like Levin’s play Fatherland, the films We, Russians and Alexander Newsky; gradually rehabilitated were the Russian “Heroic Epochs” of Ivan, the Terrible, of Peter the Great, and Catherine II, the Great, of Alexander I. together with all the victorious generals, Kutuzov, Suvorov, Bagration, and the Russian people its language and culture were proclaimed also “great.” Glinka’s opera, The Life for the Tsar, was remodeled, Pushkin’s centennial (1951) was the opportunity to rediscover his works, and finally the whole Communist propaganda machine openly stimulated Russian chauvinism and imperialism. Thus gradually the “international dressings” went into the back and one met as “Socialist content” again the old face of Russian chauvinism and imperialism.

Since 1928 the Russian Communists have proclaimed all the bloody history of Russian imperialism and its chief promoters, together with all the tormentors of the non-Russian peoples as “Socialist content” and the whole history of the non-Russian peoples with all their defenders of liberty and independence against Russian imperialism and chauvinism was denounced as “counterrevolutionary.” Thus, during World War II the Communists were prepared to proclaim as “Socialist content in Russian national form” the following ideas:*

“In this struggle we ought to be inspired by the images of our glorious ancestors, Alexander Nevsky, Dmitri Donskoy, Minin, and Pozharsky, Suvorov, Kutuzov, and by the victorious banner of Lenin. . . . Soviet patriotism is national and historical. Also national and historical is the Russian Revolution which continues the tradition of the Russian nation. National consciousness is in the air of our time. The cosmopolitanism of the nineteenth century is a thing of the past, the dreamers who were patriots of time and space have died out. Love for one’s own village has been resurrected. But this is not a reversion. Can one love mankind without loving one’s own people? We have not lost faith in the brotherhood of nations, but love of our motherland has made it a living faith. . . . Patriotism is love of one’s country. What is one’s

*Cf. N. S. Timasheff, The Great Retreat, p. 180.

country? My mountains, my trees, my history, the history of my people, my brothers and sisters, my beloved ones. . . . Our love of the motherland has conquered all other sentiments. Human faces, human eyes, human language--this is our Russia, and we are their guardians in this age of calamity. Motherland: this is a stream of people from the remote past to the future in which we believe and which one builds up for himself and the next generation. In some remote future, these individual streams will combine into humanity. But for our age this is a dream. Our age is an age of struggle for freedom, independence, and the right to construct society according to a nation's own laws. . . . We love Russia not because other lands are less admirable, but because Russia is our country. . . . We are proud of our people, and there is no purer sentiment in the world. The value of Russia has stood the test. We look at this value with calm and firmness. We have become the greatest nation in the world, because our ideals are human ideals."

Simultaneously with the evolution of this "Socialist content" the Russians proclaimed the establishment of the "progressive" family of peoples under the "fatherhood" of Stalin, and appointed themselves as the "big brother" but all non-Russian peoples as "younger" brothers. Thus since the 1930's the Communist Brother Cain forces his "Socialist content" into the national forms of all non-Russian languages using the "big brother" idea, the Communist version of the old Tsaristic paternalism.*

*The "big brother" slogan of the Russian Communists is a political plagiarism from the arsenal of Japanese imperialism in Asia.

Chapter VIII

THE REVOCATION OF MARR'S LINGUISTIC THEORY BY STALIN, JUNE, 1950

This year brought a sensation. The instrument of the Russification of all non-Russian languages, Marr's new Marxist-Leninist teaching on language was revoked by Stalin himself, apparently as a new "cooky" for the non-Russian nationalities.

Let us survey this important change in the Russian Communist policy with respect to linguistics and the non-Russian languages, which, of course, is a new proof that the nationality problem in the Soviet Union is still a living issue.

1. The Linguistic Discussion in the Soviet Union

The Soviet Academy of Sciences observed the fifteenth anniversary of Marr's death in 1949 with a special scientific session devoted to his work. All the Communist elite of linguists attempted to outdo one another in glorifying Marr's works. He was said to have created "the new science of language, based on Marxist-Leninist methodology," and his linguistic theory is the only scientific theory for all the particular linguistic disciplines; it is the only scientific linguistics; it is the new revolutionary science of language. No other Marxist linguistics exists or can exist. Every shadow of a critical attitude was attacked and compared, in essence, with similar attempts of Weismannists and Morganists to discredit and discard the materialist research of Michurin and Lysenko. Especially the U.S.A. was attacked. Linguistics in capitalist countries is used by the imperialist, antidemocratic camp, headed by the U.S.A., in its struggle against "the camp of progress, democracy and peace headed by the Soviet Union," charged Zhdanov himself. Hitler's fascism used the Indo-European linguistics for racial superiority; Anglo-American imperialism uses the contemporary school of de Saussure for their "cosmopolitan propaganda," and as the ideological foundation for the "reactionary" projects for establishing a "United States of Europe," "Marshall Plan," etc. On April, 1950, there was published, in Voprosy filosofii, No. 3, 1949, an extensive report by A. C. Spirkin about this exhibition of the new Soviet scholarship in the field of linguistics.

On May 9, 1950, the official paper, Pravda, unexpectedly brought an article of Prof. Arn. Chikobava entitled "On Certain Problems of Soviet Linguistics," with an editor's note saying that the editor was opening a discussion* and devoting two pages to it weekly. The Soviet linguists

*"The Soviet Linguistic Controversy," translated from the Soviet Press by J. V. Murra, R. M. Hankin, Fred Holling, King's Crown Press, 1951.

were stunned by Chikobava's devastating criticism of Marr. Is this a "provocation" (challenge) of the Communist Party?—this was the suspicion of every scholar. Every scholar who certainly was officially "advised" by the Communist Party to take part in the discussion, tried immediately to defend Marr and his linguistic theory. Thus Academician I. Meschchaninov, on May 16, basically defended Marr, accused Chikobava, and demanded a creative development of Marr's theory. On May 23, Prof. N. Chemodanov also defended Marr and criticized Chikobava; on the same day B. Serebrennikov supported Chikobava, but an Orientalist, Prof. G. Sanshyeev, bitterly attacked Chikobava. On June 20 a fantastic event occurred: Stalin himself published an article: in Pravda, "On Marxism in Linguistics." After the infallible genius of all peoples, ages and sciences and liberal arts had spoken and outlined the new party line the whole discussion was practically closed and all the subsequent articles were only a constant sycophantic "Hallelujah, Stalin" in every shade of tone.

For anyone acquainted with life in the Soviet Union, with the conduct of research, teaching, and press—the background of the whole discussion is clear. Chikobava, a distant relative of the chief of the M.V.D., Beria, had already criticized Marr and through Beria had warned Stalin against the political consequences of Marr's theories. Of course the whole discussion, which some gullible American linguists will regard as spontaneous, was systematically prearranged by the Communist Party in its chief stages—with the statement of Stalin for a climax, surely drafted by the same Chikobava and only "edited" by Stalin himself.

Let us sum up the chief points of Chikobava's critique:

a) The situation in Soviet linguistics is a complete stagnation. It has reached a state in which "it is becoming impossible to do positive work on the immediate tasks of our motherland's linguistic development." Why? Because:

b) Marr was "unable to attain a profound understanding of the essence of Marxism-Leninism," he was "unable to master the method of dialectical materialism and to apply it to linguistics." Marr supplanted Marxism-Leninism with his own theories. Therefore Marr committed "serious errors and omissions." Which? Here they are:

c) Marr's theory that language is a superstructure of the economic basis is false and does not solve the question of the nature of language. Only in the vocabulary are there traces of economic eras, but the structure of a word and sentence, the declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, or the sound shifts do not coincide with or directly reflect the last three or all five socioeconomic periods. Marr's explanation is neither Marxist nor scientific.

d) Marr's teaching "on the class nature of language is entirely incompatible with Marxism." There were not and could not have been any classes at the time when the human collective emerged from the animal world. There were no classes even under the primitive-communal system.

The existence of nonclass language cannot be disputed because Stalin has stated in his definition of a nation, "a common language is one of

the characteristic features of a nation." Marr's concept of the "class-language" is "self-contradictory and scientifically inconsistent." Nations have only national languages which are common for all classes of these nations.

e) Chikobava ironically states that there is no need to dwell on Marr's dubious theses about the gesture language as the original languages. Marr's teaching on the origin and initial function of language (he does not acknowledge the initial conversational function of language) is in sharp contradiction to the theoretical formulation of the question by the classics of Marxism, because Marx and Engels wrote, "Language originates only from demand, from persistent need to communicate with others."

f) Chikobava rejects also Marr's basic interconnected theories about (1) the singleness (unilinearity) of the glottogonic process, (2) the development of languages by stages and the classification of languages according to these stages, and (3) also Marr's peculiar theory of the four original words: Sal, Ber, Yon, Rosh on which is based Marr's method of element analysis. All these theories were usually proclaimed the basic achievement of Marr and hailed as "the progressive and revolutionary doctrines which completely upset the racist principle of bourgeois linguistics." Is this so? asked Chikobava. What is the doctrine of stages based on? What does it affirm? Where does it lead?

Chikobava examines Marr's theory about the emerging of the Indo-European languages which in his opinion were called forth by an upheaval connected with the discovery of metals and their widespread use in economy. In this statement Chikobava finds two contradictions. First: as a matter of fact in 2000 B.C., when nobody heard of I.E. languages in the Mediterranean area, the Japhetic peoples were creators of metallurgy, as is generally known and emphasized by Marr himself. Therefore, the Japhetic languages should in the first place reach themselves the "quarternary stage of development," but they remained on the third and the Indo-European made the jump. Second: according to Marr, the Japhetic languages became transformed into the Indo-European—but nevertheless they continue to exist, they "got stuck" in that stage in which they were before their transformation into Indo-European. Either one or the other, argues Chikobava, either the Japhetic languages became transformed into I.E. and, if so, they cannot be at a previous stage of development, or they "got stuck" at an earlier stage, and consequently one cannot talk of transformation. In the world of living beings parent and offspring can exist side by side, but not in language, there can be no coexistence of the newly developed language and of the one through whose metamorphosis the new language arose. Vulgar Latin does not coexist with Italian, which originated from it, nor with French, Roumanian, Spanish, or Portuguese.

Chikobava finally attacks these theories from all sides, showing their complete lack of simple common sense and elementary logic: (1) The whole theory of the single glottogonic process and the classification of language by stages are "devoid of historicity" and thus necessarily "metaphysical and unscientific." It is nonsense to include all languages

in a single glottogonic process and to deny them the chance of development. (2) The stage theory affirms the exclusive superiority of the Indo-European and Semitic languages; all the others froze at more or less early, archaic levels. Denying them the capacity of development, Marr objectively "helps racism." (3) Marr deprived languages of their individuality by reducing the whole wealth of human speech forms to Sal, Ber Yon, Rosh. Sal, Ber, Yon, Rosh, which is an unproven theorem proclaimed an axiom. The theory which uses the four-element analysis as the technique in linguistic research is not only not a Marxist-Leninist theory of language, it cannot even become one. (4) Marr's concept of "languages related through contact" is also nonsensical, as the contact of the Basque, with the ancient Latin and modern Romance language for at least 2000 years did not make Basque related to Spanish or French. (5) Finally Chikobava states: "To declare that element analysis and the stage theory are attainments of Soviet linguistics means to discredit the materialist science of language."

g) In his positive points Chikobava rehabilitates the genealogic classification of languages used by Western linguists, as unrelated to division of races, much less to racism. Chikobava makes a new "Russian" discovery:

"The existence of related languages having a common origin and common initial language material, and joined in their respective families of languages, as well as the birth of these languages during the process of differentiation of a common language material, is an irrefutable fact. . . .

"The same common origin unites groups of related languages inside one or another linguistic family. For example, the Slavic, Germanic, Romance, Iranian, and others within the Indo-European family; the Kartvelian languages within the Ibero-Caucasian ones; the Finnish within the Finnish-Ugrian, etc., Slavic, Germanic, Romance and other similar groups of languages are genealogical concepts. These concepts are legitimate as the concept of a linguistic group."

With a final heavy artillery barrage of Chikobava against the "idealist" and the "bourgeois schools" of Vossler, Meillet, de Saussure, to cover the retreat—the Western European, "bourgeois" comparative historical linguistics are rediscovered by Chikobava: "Whatever has been achieved of a positive, factually reliable nature in the historical study of Indo-European, Semitic, Ibero-Caucasian, Uralo-Altaiic languages is due to the use of the techniques of such comparative historical analysis." And as a final blow to Marr: "Comparative historical analysis is used by Engels in *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and State.*"

h) According to Chikobava the only matter of principle on which Marr's views are in accord with the theses of Marxism-Leninism is Marr's theory on the single common languages for future mankind. However, Chikobava stresses the fact that Marr's "understanding of the question is incorrect, non-Marxist" in this instance as well. Why? Because Marr proposes to apply "artificial means, scientifically worked

out, in order to accelerate this process." This statement is very important for us, since here a Communist unveils the very essence of all the "reforms" forced by the Russian Communist Party on all non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union. Chikobava formulates his point of view about this question: Marxists understand this matter differently. They hold that the process of withering away of national languages and the formation of a single common world language will take place gradually without any "artificial means" invoked to "accelerate" this process; "the application of such artificial means would mean the use of coercion against nations, and this Marxism cannot permit." (That is a deliberate lie of Chikobava, since for nearly two decades all the "reforms" in the non-Russian languages were pure "coercion.") With long quotations from Stalin, Chikobava concludes—after the practical application of Marr's theory to all non-Russian nationalities for a quarter of a century by the Russian Communist Party—that Comrade Stalin's teaching on the Socialist nations and the prospect for their "development" is a harsh rebuff to all advocates of "artificial means of accelerating the process of transition to a single common language." Consequently, "it is clear that Academician Marr's viewpoint in advocating artificial means . . . cannot be considered Marxist-Leninist." After a quarter of a century of enforced Russification of all the non-Russian languages by the Russian Communist Party with full approval of Stalin, the Communist Party discovers the "artificial means," and makes Marr the scapegoat!

Against Chikobava and in defense of Marr some "small fry" immediately took part in the discussion. They thought this was an opportunity to play the same "heroic roles" as the defenders of Lysenko during the "biological discussion" a year before with all the promotions included. . . . Even Prof. Meshchaninov, who had once the courage to state that the four-element analysis applied to modern speech "yields nothing," was very cautious and defended the other tenets of Marr; likewise Prof. Chemodanov. These "voices" had only to establish the background for the appearance of Stalin himself on the stage. Why? Surely the dictator of the Russian Communist Party understood after the experience in the "biological discussion," there would appear only pathetic "defenses" of Marr and the "approved party line," if he himself personally did not publicly revoke Marr's theory, which by his own order was in force as the "Marxist-Leninist" teaching on language. Surely, the younger linguists, members of the party, ordered to participate in the linguistic discussion were not such fools as to risk an answer and they directly asked for advice from the head of the Communist Church, infallible in Marxism-Leninism, Stalin. And that is the second reason why Stalin could not remain silent. Thus on June 20 his article appeared in Pravda, "On Marxism in Linguistics." It begins: "A group of youthful comrades has suggested to me that I express my opinion in the press on linguistic problems, particularly where Marxism in linguistics is concerned. I am not a linguist and, of course, I cannot fully satisfy the comrades. As for Marxism in linguistics as well as other social sciences, I am directly concerned with this. I have therefore consented to reply to a number of questions asked by the comrades."

The following questions Stalin deigned to answer:

1) "Is it true that language is a superstructure over a base?"

Answer: "No, it is not true . . . language differs radically from superstructure . . . language is generated not by one base or another . . . but by the entire historic development of society and the history of the bases over the centuries . . . it is created not to meet the needs of any class but of the whole society, of all classes in society . . . strictly speaking . . . language can serve equally both the old dying order and the new emerging one, both the old base and the new, both exploiters and the exploited. . . ."

"Language exists, it is created, to serve society as a whole in the capacity of a means of communication for people . . . regardless of their class or position. Language, while differing fundamentally from the superstructure, is not, however, different from tools of production, machinery, say, which can serve both capitalism and socialism equally.

. . .

"Language is the product of a great many epochs . . . it lives incomparably longer than any base and any superstructure . . . this is why the birth and elimination not only of the base and its superstructures, does not lead historically to the birth of a new language with a new vocabulary and new grammar. More than 100 years have elapsed since Pushkin's death. Within this period feudalism and capitalism were eliminated in Russia and a third, socialist order arose . . . two bases were eliminated together with their superstructures and a new, socialist base came into being together with a new superstructure. However . . . the Russian language . . . did not experience any clear break and present day Russian differs little in structure from Pushkin's language. What did change? The Russian vocabulary was . . . augmented . . . obsolete words disappeared . . . many words changed their meanings . . . as for the structure and grammar of Pushkin's language as well as its basic lexical fund, in all fundamentals it remained the basis of the Russian language today."

Stalin ridicules Marr's idea even asking: Of what benefit to the revolution would such an upheaval be in language (the revolutionary change of the language according to the new Socialist base)? Summing up, Stalin says: (a) a Marxist cannot regard language as a superstructure over a base, (b) to confuse language with superstructure is to commit a grave error.

2) The second question is: "Is it true that language has always been and remains of a class nature; that a single, nonclass language common to a whole society and a whole people does not exist?"

Stalin's answer: "No, it is not true. It is easy to see there can be no question of a class language in a society without classes. The primitive clan society did not have classes and hence there could not have been a class language. There language was general, there was a single language for the whole collective group. As for the subsequent developments from clan languages to tribal, from tribal languages to the languages of peoples and from the languages of peoples to national languages

--every where, at every stage of development language, as a means of communication for people in society, was common and single for the society, serving the members of society regardless of social position. . . . History shows that national languages are not class languages but are common to the whole people, common to the members of nations and one and the same for the nation . . . as a means of communication among people in society a language serves equally all classes in society and in this respect is . . . indifferent to classes. But people, particularly social groups and classes, are anything but indifferent to language . . . they try to use language for their own interest, to impose their own special vocabulary, terminology, their own special expressions, upon it. . . . 'Class'-dialects, jargons and salon 'languages' developed . . . can these dialects and jargons be considered languages? Absolutely not . . . because these dialects and jargons do not have their own grammar and basic lexical fund . . . they borrow them from the national language . . . dialects and jargons are ramifications of the common national language of the people. . . . Marx speaks of the 'concentration of dialects into a single national language resulting from economic and political concentration.'

Marx, consequently, admitted the need for a single national language as the superior form to which dialects, as lower forms, were subordinate. Marxism holds that a common language is one of the most important characteristics of a nation, well knowing that there are class contradictions within a nation. Do the afore-mentioned comrades recognize this Marxist thesis? asks Stalin threateningly.

Stalin accuses also other comrades:

"Who regard the contradictory nature of the interest of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, their violent class warfare, as the disintegration of society and rupture of all ties among the inimical classes . . . they maintain that since society has fallen apart and there is no longer a single society but only classes, a single language for society, a national language, is also superfluous. . . . There were once Marxists among us who maintained that the railroads which remained in our country after the October upheaval were bourgeois, that we Marxists ought not to use them, that they should be torn-up and new proletarian railroads built. . . ."

Ironically Stalin remarks and raises against them the charge that they were wandering in the footsteps of the Jewish Bund before the Revolution, which once rejected Lenin's national policy.

"A national language can serve both bourgeois and socialist culture . . . the mistake of our comrades made here is that they fail to see the difference between culture and language and do not understand that the content of culture changes with each new period in society's development while language remains basically the same throughout several periods, serving equally both the new culture and the old. . . ."

"Hence: (a) language as a means of communication has always been and remains one and the same for society and common to its members,

(b) the existence of dialects and jargons does not refute but confirms the existence of a language common to the whole people of which they are ramifications and to which they are subordinate; (c) the formula of the 'class-nature' of languages is an erroneous, un-Marxist formula."

3) The third question which, characteristically, the young comrades did not address to the Soviet Academy of Sciences, but to Stalin, is: "What are the characteristic features of a language?"

The answer of Stalin is a "revelation" for linguistics, he teaches:

"Language is one of those social phenomena which operate all during society's existence. It is born and develops with the birth and development of society. . . . [Similar revelations and truisms Stalin presents on vocabulary, grammar (grammatical structure), but he uses this opportunity to condemn Marr's theory of stages.] The transition from one qualitative state of language to another took place not through an explosion, not through the destruction at one blow of the old and the construction of the new but through the gradual and prolonged accumulation of the new quality, of the new structure of the language and through the gradual dying off of the old quality's elements. . . . They say that the theory of the development of language stages is a Marxist theory since it recognizes the necessity of sudden explosions as the conditions for the transition of language from the old quality to the new. This is, of course, false, for it is hard to find anything Marxist in this theory. . . . Marxism does not recognize sudden explosions in the development of a language, the sudden death of an existing language and the sudden construction of a new language. . . . Marxism maintains that the transition of a language from an old qualitative state to a new occurs not through an explosion, not through the destruction of an existing language and the creation of a new one, but through the gradual accumulation of elements of the new quality, consequently, through the gradual dying off of the elements of the old quality."

Also condemned is the theory of hybridization by Stalin:

"There can be no doubt that the theory of hybridization can give nothing substantial to Soviet linguistics. If it is true that the main task of linguistics is to study the internal laws of a language's development, then it must be recognized that the theory of hybridization not only fails to meet this task, but does not even pose it. . . ."

Thus Stalin saved the "national originality of the Russian language"!

4) The fourth question: "Was Pravda right in opening a free discussion of linguistic problems?"—a question which illustrates to what depths in Soviet Moscow the simple human dignity of scholars and students fell. . . . It also is the best proof that "a free discussion of linguistic problems" was forbidden and all "linguistic opposition" during a quarter of a century was quelled by the very same hangman of linguistics to whom the question is addressed.

Answer: "It did the right thing"—and now follows a public flogging of the Soviet linguists, which is unique even in Soviet history. With an

inconceivable brutality the man responsible for this state of Soviet linguistics, J. Stalin, turns the survivors of his own linguistic terror into scapegoats for all the shortcomings of Soviet linguistics. Stalin's accusations give the best picture of the real state of Soviet linguistics:

"The discussion has been of great benefit. The discussion has made clear, first of all, that both in the center and in the republics a regime has dominated in linguistic bodies not typical of science and men of science. The slightest criticism of the state of affairs in Soviet linguistics, even the most timid attempts to criticize the so-called 'new teaching' in linguistics were persecuted and stifled by the directors of linguistic circles. Valuable scholars and research workers in linguistics were removed from their positions and lowered in rank for criticism of the heritage of N. Ya. Marr and for the slightest disapproval of his teaching. Linguists were moved up into responsible positions not according to their qualification in the field but as they gave unconditional recognition to Marr's teaching. . . ."

The same infallible leader responsible for the murder and exile of the scholars who disagreed a year ago with Lysenko now teaches:

"It is universally recognized that no science can develop and prosper without a struggle of opinions, without free criticism. But this universally recognized rule has been ignored and trampled upon most unceremoniously. A self-contained group of infallible leaders has developed which has begun to ride rough-shod and behave in the most arbitrary manner after guaranteeing itself against any possible criticism. . . . Were I not convinced of the honesty of Comrade Meshchaninov and other linguists I should say that such behavior was equivalent to wrecking."

And the man himself responsible for it, Stalin, asks pathetically:

"How could this have happened? This happened because the Arakcheyev-like regime established in linguistics cultivates irresponsibility and encourages such disorders. . . . The discussion has proved extremely useful mainly because it has brought to light this Arakcheyev-like* regime and smashed it to bits. . . . It has also brought to light the incredible confusion in views on the most important problems of linguistics which reigns among leading circles in this branch of science. Before the discussion began they were silent and ignored the unwholesome situation in linguistics. But after the discussion began, it became impossible for them to keep silent and they were compelled to stand forth in the pages of the press.** Well, it turned out that Marr's teaching contained a whole series of gaps, mistakes, inaccurately formulated problems, incompletely elaborated theses. One may ask why is it that

*Arakcheyevshchina (from the name of a high court and cabinet member, 1769-1834): "the domination of a crude militaristic spirit and savage arbitrariness . . ." (Alexandrov's Soviet Political Dictionary).

**This is the best proof that the discussion was prearranged and scholars were compelled to take part in this "free" discussion.

pupils of Marr have spoken up on this score only now, after the discussion begun? Why did they show no concern for this earlier? Why is it that they did not speak openly and honestly on the subject earlier, as befits scientists? Recognizing certain errors of Marr, the pupils of Marr, it appears, think that Soviet linguistics can be further developed only on the basis of the refined theory of Marr which they consider Marxist. Please, preserve us from the Marxism of Marr. Marr really wanted to and tried to be a Marxist, but he did not succeed in becoming a Marxist. He was merely a simplifier and vulgarizer* of Marxism. . . ."

And now Stalin who imposed on the country, a regime, in comparison with which the Arakcheyev regime appears pure liberalism, gives Marr a severe posthumous castigation:

"Marr introduced into linguistics an erroneous un-Marxist formula of language as a superstructure. He confused himself, he confused linguistics. It is impossible to develop Soviet linguistics on the basis of an incorrect formula.

"Marr introduced into linguistics another formula, also wrong and un-Marxist, regarding the 'class-nature' of language. He confused himself, he confused linguistics. It is impossible to develop linguistics on the basis of a wrong formula which contradicts the entire history of peoples and languages.

"Marr introduced into linguistics an immodest, boastful, arrogant tone, not characteristic of Marxism, and leading to the wholesale and irresponsible rejection of everything in linguistics before Marr.

"Marr noisily fulminated against the method of comparative historical analysis as 'idealist,' nonetheless it must be said that notwithstanding its substantial shortcomings the method of comparative historical analysis is still better, than the really idealist four-element analysis of Marr. Since the former is an incentive to work, to study languages and the second is an impetus to lying on top of the oven and reading teacups about the notorious four elements.

"Marr arrogantly dismissed any attempt to study groups (families) of languages as a manifestation of the theory of the proto-language. It cannot be denied, however, that kinship, for example of such nations as the Slavs, is beyond dispute, that the study of the linguistic kinship of these nations could be of great benefit to linguistics in studying the laws of the development of language. Understandably, the proto-language theory has nothing to do with this matter.

"To listen to Marr, and particularly to his 'pupils' one might think that there was no linguistics before Marr, that linguistics began with the appearance of Marr's 'new teaching.' Marx and Engels were considerably more modest. They believed that their dialectical materialism was the product of the development of sciences, philosophy included, over preceding periods.

*Vulgarization--"an excessively simplified presentation of an idea, political concept, or principle, distorting its substance."

"Thus, the discussion was also of benefit to the extent that it brought to light ideological lacunae in Soviet linguistics.

"It is my belief that the quicker our linguistics gets rid of Marr's mistakes, the quicker it can be led out of the crisis in which it now finds itself.

"The liquidation of the Arakcheyev-like regime in linguistics, the repudiation of Marr's mistakes and the inculcation of Marxism linguistics--such is in my opinion the way which would make it possible to instill new health in Soviet linguistics. . . ."

And Stalin was in such a haste that on July 4 he again wrote on linguistics, replying to Comrade Ye. Krasheninnikova, in the Pravda. Stalin's answer does not bring something new, but he graciously agreed that "semantics is one of the important parts of linguistics." Soviet linguists were surely dumfounded on hearing Stalin's discovery that "the sense aspect of words and expressions has serious significance in the matter of language study. Therefore semantics must be accorded a place in linguistics suitable to it."

Why did that poor Communist slave ask such a question in the Stalinist land of liberty as: "To what extent, in your opinion, must linguistics occupy itself with the sense side of language, semantics, and historical semasiology and stylistics, or must the subject of linguistics be form alone?" Because of the fear of being accused of "idealism." But Stalin understands the dangers in this field and conditions his permission: "However, in the elaboration of questions of semantics and in the employment of its data, its significance should by no means be overestimated, and, more important still, it must not be abused. . . ."

Stalin's deliberations about Marx's statement, "Language is the immediate reality of thought," brought him to the corollary: "It is said that thoughts appear in the head of man before they are expressed in speech, that they emerge without language material, without being garbed in language, naked, as it were. But this is completely erroneous. No matter what thoughts arise in the head of man, they can arise and exist only on the basis of the material of language, on the basis of terms and phrases. Bare thoughts, free of language material, free of the natural matter of language, do not exist." We do not wish to discuss here this teaching, but it is the good luck of Einstein, of modern physicists, and especially of poets, who often think in images not to live presently in the Soviet Union. The question is very characteristic and for us Stalin's answer is very valuable as a confirmation of the existence of the Communist upside-down language:

"Briefly speaking, you want to know whether classes influence language, whether they introduce into language their specific words and expressions, whether there are instances where people attribute to one and the same words and expressions different sense significations, depending on class affiliation.

"Yes, classes influence language, introduce into language their specific words and expressions and sometimes understand differently the very same words and expressions. There is no doubt about it."

As we see, the Soviet linguists also are faced with the problem of why democracy, aggression, truth, liberty, national, self-determination, etc., have different meanings outside the Soviet Union as compared with the Soviet meanings.

And again Stalin's article ended with an attack on Marr:

"N. Ya. Marr considered grammar an empty 'formality' and people who considered a grammatical system as the basis of language formalists. This is altogether stupid. . . . The reason for stagnation in Soviet linguistics is not the 'formalism' invented by N. Ya. Marr and his 'students,' but the Arakcheyev-like regime. N. Ya. Marr's 'students' created the Arakcheyev-like regime. N. Ya. Marr and his closest colleagues introduced theoretical confusion into linguistics. To do away with linguistics, will lead it onto a broad path and will enable Soviet linguistics to occupy the first place in world linguistics."

From the whole linguistic discussion we should like to note some important statements, which are proof of our above-mentioned theses. The Russian Communists are fully aware that, semantically speaking, they speak an upside-down language in comparison with that of the West. V. Kudryavtsev, of Irkutsk State University, on June 13, wrote in the Pravda:

"N. Ya. Marr never ignored the formal side of speech, but he always gave prime emphasis to the most essential thing in language--its semantics, its content, its close connection with thought. Expressing class-consciousness, language itself becomes class nature."

"The class nature of language appears not in its phonetic or morphologic structure, but in content. Into the same words (for example, freedom, equality, brotherhood and such) the bourgeoisie and the proletariat read different meanings. V. I. Lenin exposed the class nature of the bourgeois use of words most mercilessly."

"The class nature of a national language can be seen most clearly in dictionary work. For example, the interpretive dictionaries of literary Russian of the prerevolutionary period distorted, hid and confused in all kinds of ways the class essence of international political and philosophical terminology: revolution, class, party, agitation, propaganda, idealism, materialism, etc."

"The class nature of pre-revolutionary Russian was expressed, by the way, also in the fact that after October the people discarded all that was ideologically alien and unacceptable. The Russian language was cleansed of lexical rubbish, was enriched with many new words which reflect the new socialist life, the new world view. Our language has become ideologically different, distinct from prerevolutionary speech."

In the discussion, in spite of the Russian censorship, there escaped a clear proof regarding the Russification of the non-Russian languages, presented by N. Sauranbayev, July 4, in the Pravda:

"The theory of the 'class nature' of language led to the denial of the existence of a language common to a whole nation, to a whole people,

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while the theory of development by stages incorrectly dealt with laws of the gradual transition of languages from one condition to another.

"It must be said that the 'theory' of a break and sudden transformation of language was frequently reflected unfavorably in the practice of language development. In Kazakhstan, as in other republics whose languages have for the most part only recently been written, there were cases in which many root words were driven from the literature under the influence of the theory of the "class nature" of language. In doing this, many linguists followed the premise that language is superstructure and thus, to correspond to the new socialist base, a new socialist language had to be reacted through an upheaval."

To what depths of human degradation Russian and Soviet linguistics fell may be illustrated by some quotations from post-Stalin articles. Prof. T. Lomtev, of Moscow State University, on June 27, in a Pravda article, "A Fighting Program for the Elaboration of Marxist Linguistics," writes:

"J. V. Stalin's article marks a new period in the development of the science of language; like a powerful beam it illuminates the paths of further development of Soviet linguistics. . . . Comrade Stalin's new work will join the precious body of the most outstanding classics of Marxism-Leninism. It is a brilliant example of creative development of Marxism-Leninism in linguistics."

Prof. G. Akhvlediani, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Stalin University, Tbilisi, June 27, writes in Pravda:

"This remarkable dissension acquired truly international significance when T. V. Stalin submitted his article, 'On Marxism in Linguistics,' which initiated a new era in the history of Soviet linguistics. The importance of this discussion is enormous. Its development is being followed with intense attention by the entire Soviet public, all the world's linguistic science, and by our friends and foes. . . . Consolidation of Soviet linguists around these tasks is essential and possible. The difficulties will be overcome because Stalinist science is all-powerful. . . ."

The Doctor of Philological Sciences N. Sauranbayev, in Pravda July 4, sums up:

"T. V. Stalin's work 'On Marxism in Linguistics' is a great new contribution to creative Marxism. It lays the ground work for a new Soviet materialist linguistics; it marks a turning point in the history of linguistics. The great Stalin has opened before Soviet linguistics a bright path, clear prospects."

The Academician V. Vinogradov, Pravda, July 4, is happy and enthusiastic in the article, "A Program of Marxist Linguistics":

"Stalin's article gives clear, thorough and precise answers to the most important questions of the general Marxist theory of languages. . . . Stalin's article . . . brilliantly illuminates the path and tasks of future development. . . . Stalin brings a new bright light to the understanding of language's structure . . ." etc., and etc. --ad nauseam.

As we clearly see from the end of the "linguistic discussion," for the Soviet linguist it is not important whether the new "Stalinist program" is a right one; such a question cannot even be put. What is important is that, whether right or wrong, it is a political decision of the party dictatorship, and again it must be obeyed, even if one's knowledge, reason, and conscience dictate otherwise. *Moskva locuta, causa finita.*

Sic transit gloria of N. Ya. Marr and of all the methods applied to the non-Russian peoples and hailed by R. Jacobson as the last word in modern linguistics. But what a betrayal of human and scholarly dignity, if a scholar enjoying outside the Soviet Union academic freedom has, during nearly a third of a century in his bibliography, not a single sentence of criticism of Marr's monstrosity, not a single word in defense of the freedom of linguistics in the U.S.S.R.—but only that famous glorifications (given in photostats) of Stalin's linguistic policy until 1950, which was, as the Communist Chikobava clearly stated, the application of "artificial means," "use of coercion" against the non-Russian nationalities.

Marr's theory repudiated—but who can recall to life the thousands of writers, scholars, teachers of the non-Russian nations who were murdered for opposing the "Marxist-Leninist teaching on language"?

2. Communist Witnesses With Reference to the Persecutions of the Non-Russian Languages in the Soviet Union

All our accusations against the Russian Communist Party regarding its Russification of non-Russian languages were supported in the linguistic discussion by following Soviet scholars:

a) Prof. Arn. Chikoba, Pravda, May 9, 1950, as we have mentioned, accused Marr, because he proposed to apply "artificial means, scientifically worked out, in order to accelerate this process" of a "single language" in the Soviet Union;

b) The secretary of the Armenian Communist Party, G. Arutinov, according to Pravda, March 5, 1951, on the Fifteenth Congress of the party declared:

"The work of the Armenian Republic Academy of Sciences' Language Institute has been unsatisfactory. Supporters of Marr, who directed the institute, persecuted and expelled from scientific institutes all who did not share Marr's anti-Marxist notions. The bureau of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, the speaker said, did not make a profound study of the struggle in linguistics and took an incorrect stand toward some scientists. This mistake was rectified only following Comrade Stalin's well-known statements on linguistics."

c) The secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party, Comrade Tkach, according to Pravda, April 4, 1951, on the Third Congress of the party, stated:

"Comrade Tkach, Secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, noted in his speech that following the publication of

Comrade Stalin's works on linguistics serious shortcomings were revealed in textbooks on the Moldavian language. Attempts were made to reduce the importance of the Moldavian language. Comrade Koroban, a staff member of the Institute of the History of Language and Literature, has declared that the Moldavian language allegedly has no history. This 'theory' has not yet been duly rebuffed by Moldavian scholars and writers."

d) Illuminating is the article by A. Ye. Mordinov, "On the Development of Languages of Socialist Nations in the U.S.S.R.," Voprosy Filosofii, Nr. 3, 1950 (published January, 1951). This article illustrated further much of the behind-the-scenes mechanics, clearly reflecting the fluctuations of the party line:

"It is not our task here to show the great profundity of the ideas expressed by J. V. Stalin in his new works on problems of linguistics. This article is simply an attempt to consider the development of the languages of U.S.S.R. peoples in the light of J. V. Stalin's statements in that part of his work in which he speaks of the development of the Russian language during the past 30 years. The question of the role of the Russian language in development of the languages of all the peoples of our country merits particular attention. . . .

"The policy of national oppression, the extremely low level of economic and social development of the majority of peoples in Tsarist Russia, lack of a written language and literature in their native language, lack of schools conducted in the native tongue--these things impeded development of these peoples and were causes of the backwardness of their languages. This backwardness, however, was relative. These languages were poor in words expressing ideas of science and technology, philosophy and politics. But they were rich enough to create monumental works of oral folklore, as is shown, for example, by the Kirgiz, Kazakh, Yakut, Buryat and many other epics; to create innumerable tales and songs, stories and byliny [folk epics]; to express the folk wisdom in proverbs and sayings. The languages of the Yakut, Buryat and other Siberian peoples, including the formerly most backward, possessed a great vocabulary in animal husbandry, hunting and fishing, and also a large number of Russian words (names of agricultural implements, household objects, food, clothes, etc.). The vocabulary of even such a backward and small people as the Yakut was far from exhausted by E. K. Pekarsky's 13-volume dictionary, compiled before the revolution. This is not to mention the various peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia, who possessed a rich spiritual culture in the past.

"Thanks to their inexhaustible wealth, the language of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. were basically able to meet the demands of the new, social order without fundamental changes.

"Lenin and Stalin, the leaders of our Party have always taught that the peoples of the U.S.S.R. can join in socialist construction, can acquire and develop socialist culture, can build their own national Soviet state only in their own language. Therefore, the great cultural work which has gone on in our country since the great October socialist

revolution has been accompanied among these peoples by the establishment of written languages, literary languages, scientific terminology, etc., which meant not the creation of new languages, but thorough development and enrichment of the national language of each people, disclosure and utilization of all of its potentialities and the enlargement of its vocabulary with new words, for the most part from the Russian language, reflecting new ideas in politics, science, technology, literature and art. . . .

"Development of the languages of the socialist nations of the U.S.S.R. is expressed above all in changes in their vocabulary, in enlarging it with new words and expressions reflecting the new, socialist economy and the new social structure and culture. These new words, on the one hand, are newly molded from the vocabulary of the national languages themselves, and, on the other hand, are borrowed from the Russian and assimilated in these national tongues.

"All the languages of our peoples have completely assimilated the ideas and words 'the Party,' 'the revolution,' 'Soviet,' 'socialism,' 'communism,' 'Leninism,' 'collective farm,' 'five-year plan,' 'Young Communist League,' 'Stakhanovite movement,' 'self-criticism,' and thousands of words from all branches of science and technology, literature and art, testifying to the unprecedented progress in the cultural level of the working people and their political consciousness.

"The enrichment of vocabulary with new words has brought the need for scientific work on terminology.

"The tremendous scope of work on terminology is expressed in the fact that a single special terminology committee in Armenia approved more than 18,000 medical terms, 13,000 legal terms and a large number of terms in various other scientific fields. About 40,000 terms were approved in Soviet Latvia in only three years (1947-1949). Similar rapid enrichment of language with new terms may also be observed in the other Soviet republics, in particular those republics which did not even have a written language before the October [revolution] and consequently could not have had a scientific terminology. During the Soviet rule a great number of terminological dictionaries have been published in all the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The basic sources for creation of new terms and scientific terminology generally have been, on the one hand, the Russian terminology and the riches of the native language of each people, and, on the other hand, international terminology assimilated via the Russian language. Naturally, the better developed and richer a language, the more opportunities there are for creating scientific and technological terminology in the language and, on the contrary, the less developed a language, the greater the need for borrowing terms from the Russian language.

"Maximum utilization of the wealth of a language in creating new terminology is imperative both as a matter of principle and from the purely practical point of view. In our cultural development we cannot ignore the wealth of any people's language and we must utilize all its resources first of all. If the given language possesses a word adequately reflecting the essence of this or that scientific concept, introduction of

a parallel term from another language can only bring confusion. Yet no serious linguist can expect terms to be created purely out of the material of the given language, in which it is often impossible to convey the essence of the concept to be expressed by the term. In such cases it is necessary to be daring in introducing the conventional terms employed in Russian. It should also be noted that some Russian terms must sometimes be introduced even when the corresponding words exist in this or that language, if literal translation of these terms does not reflect the specific sense given to them in Russian.

"In establishing terminology, Soviet science is waging a decisive struggle against bourgeois nationalist vestiges.

"As is known, bourgeois nationalists proposed eliminating international socio-political terminology from the languages. In Yakutia, for instance, they proposed substituting 'khamnachchyt,' which means 'hired person,' for the word 'proletarian.' Belo-russian bourgeois nationalists sought to replace the terms 'proletariat,' 'poor peasant,' 'socialist competition,' 'entrant in socialist competition' with terms from bourgeois jargon--'galota,' 'zlyden,' 'itti na vyperadki,' 'vyperadnik'--which express the scorn and hatred of exploiters for the working people and distort the meaning of these terms, substituting the concept of competitiveness for that of socialist emulation.

"It has been characteristic of bourgeois nationalists to attempt to orient the development of languages of peoples of the U.S.S.R. not upon Russian, but upon foreign languages. Thus, the nationalists of the eastern republics were oriented toward Persian, Turkic and Arabic languages, etc. They sought in this manner to estrange the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. from the Russian language and from Soviet culture, and to strengthen the influence of foreign bourgeois culture. Bourgeois nationalism is closely linked with bourgeois cosmopolitanism. It is deeply hostile to the genuine interests of all peoples of our country.

"Enrichment of the vocabulary of our languages has been the greatest contribution to their development. However, notwithstanding the great number of new words which these languages have acquired in the building of socialism, their basic vocabulary has remained without important changes, existing as a base for the formation of new words. . . .

"Along with the basic vocabulary of the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., the grammatical structure has also remained without important change. However, it has been somewhat improved, above all in morphology, particularly among peoples who formerly had no written language.

"One must note, however, that in creating written languages among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. gross distortions occurred as a result of many linguists' erroneous conception of language as superstructure. Having assumed that the language was a superstructure on the base and that prior to the revolution it had been a superstructure over a bourgeois or prebourgeois base, they drew the conclusion that with the liquidation of the old base this, its superstructure, also had to be liquidated. Hence came the further conclusion of the necessity of explosive development of the language, a leap from the old quality in the language to a

new quality, the conclusion that the languages of socialist nations should be new, socialist languages. Such concepts inevitably ensued from N. Ya. Marr's teaching on the superstructure nature of language, which imbued young linguists with impermissible scorn for the laws of language as allegedly obsolete and hence under socialism requiring complete breaking up and even replacement with new 'laws' invented by their fertile imaginations.

"The theoretic confusion and vulgarization of Marxist study of language by N. Ya. Marr and his followers led to gross errors in the work of developing a written language in many of the national republics.

"N. Ya. Marr's 'followers,' proceeding from his erroneous premises, completely ignored the specific features of national languages and, in oversimplified and vulgarized manner, interpreted the leading role of the Russian language in the development of national languages as a mechanical hybridization of the two. The practical results of such a vulgarized approach to the development of national languages was the discarding from some alphabets of a number of letters which reflected phonetic peculiarities of the national languages; the orthography of these languages, based on the peculiarities of their pronunciation became extremely involved. This confusion was most clearly expressed in the spelling of new words taken by the national languages from the Russian vocabulary. Academician I. I. Meshchaninov and Prof. G. P. Serdyuchenko formulated the basic principle followed in practice in the Turkic languages and in the overwhelming majority of other languages in regard to spelling the terms entering these tongues from the Russian.

"They decided that 'in order to remove artificial inconsistencies' between Russian orthography and the orthographies of peoples of the U.S.S.R., the general rule be followed that Russian terms and international terminology borrowed through the medium of Russian be written in accord with Russian orthography, 'allowing no distortions in the writing of these words.'

"Thus the followers of the [Marrist] 'new teaching' considered the subjugation of new words and terms recently acquired by the national languages to the laws of pronunciation and orthography of these languages as introducing an 'artificial inconsistency,' as 'a distortion in the writing of these terms.' This very harmful view, involving a break with the existing laws of the national languages, led to anarchy in orthography, to innumerable difficulties in mastery of the grammar of the native language, in the work of local newspapers and magazines, etc. Every attempt to construct an orthography for national languages in correspondence with their own laws was found by the leaders of linguistics circles to be an attempt to impede the harmonizing of national languages with Russian and an inadmissible and detrimental questioning of the infallibility of the 'new teaching on language,' and was energetically stopped.

"Yet this 'general rule' could not be accepted in totality, and to accept even a part of it would bring only confusion and harm.

"In the first place, in all the languages of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. there exist thousands of Russian words which were acquired hundreds

of years ago, were assimilated by the national languages and therefore have become an organic part of the latter. This refers particularly to names of household objects, implements of labor, personal names, etc. In Yakut, for example, the Russian word 'stol' [table] is pronounced 'ostool,' 'shkola' [school] 'oskuola,' 'mashina' [machine] 'masyyna,' 'Ivan' 'uibaan,' etc. These and similar words have been completely assimilated by the languages in accord with their own laws and have become an organic part of them. However, according to the 'general rule' established by Academician I. I. Meshchaninov and Prof. G. P. Serdyuchenko, it must be explained that all these words are Russian and therefore must be written not as pronounced in a given language but as they are in Russian (that is, in order to write the most elementary words correctly in one's native language it would first be necessary to master the Russian language and Russian orthography). It is perfectly clear that carrying out this rule would require a fundamental break with the existing norms of the national languages without any scientific or practical basis for it.

"In the second place, the demand for mechanically transferring Russian orthography to the languages of the other peoples of the U.S.S.R. obviously contradicts not only the laws of the languages, but also the history of the development of the languages. In Russian, for example, words acquired from other languages are subjected to Russian orthography. Thus the French word 'partie' is written and pronounced 'partia' in Russian, 'dictature' 'diktatura,' etc., etc.

"In the third place, in many cases the preservation of Russian orthography in other languages is quite impossible and leads to absurdity. The word 'Communist' in the accusative in Yakut should be written 'Communuuhy,' but the 'new teaching' of language required it to be written 'Communistu,' that is, to give it the Russian dative form.

"In the fourth place, it is impossible for two systems of orthography to exist in one and the same language: one for words of the language itself and also for words borrowed long ago, the other for recently acquired words.

"There is no basis for the contention that to master another language it is necessary to transfer its laws to the native language, in particular the contention that transference of Russian orthography to national languages is necessary for harmonizing languages, that this can facilitate mastery of the Russian language. The 'drawing together' of languages, recommended by N. Ya. Marr's followers, actually only hampers their actual harmonizing and brings inconsistency into the orthography.

"Comrade Stalin teaches that the vocabulary of a language acquires its greatest import when it is guided by the grammar of the language.

"From the sense of this statement and from practice itself it is evident that new words organically enter the language and are more rapidly assimilated when their pronunciation and spelling correspond to the phonetic peculiarities of the given language and its rules of orthography. However, N. Ya. Marr's followers demanded that Russian words borrowed by languages of U.S.S.R. peoples should not be subordinated to the rules of pronunciation and spelling of the national languages. If one

considers that in the Yakut press and Yakut scientific literature, for instance, words borrowed from the Russian constitute a quite considerable proportion of the text, it becomes clear that this demand was an attempt to make a radical break with the language and establish new pronunciation and orthography. Moreover, Marr's 'followers' demanded exclusion from the Yakut alphabet of many letters standing for specific sounds that are as necessary in this language as all the existing letters in the Russian alphabet are. It is not hard to see how illogical it would be to exclude any part of the alphabet from the Russian. N. Ya. Marr's followers forgot that our Party, defending in every way the socialist content of U.S.S.R. peoples' culture and developing its unity, does not at all demand unification of languages and elimination of the specific features of national forms of culture. Destroying historically developed rules of pronunciation does not make it easier, but harder for the working people to master new words borrowed from the Russian, i.e., yields results contrary to the aims proclaimed by the supporters of the 'new teaching' on language.

"As a consequence of the above-mentioned distortions, the literary language of some peoples, particularly those which did not have a written language before, has of late systematically diverged from the folk speech, and to attain literacy in the native language has become harder and harder. I. K. Danilov, an experienced teacher of the Yakut language, wrote to the Yakutsk branch of the Academy of Sciences in this connection: 'Everyone knows that the overwhelming majority of errors in writing Yakut are in spelling of borrowed words.' There was the case, for instance, of the best correspondence school student of the Vilyuisk Teachers' Training School, himself a Yakut, who scored excellent in all his subjects but failed three times in his examination in writing Yakut, an examination passed only after three years of renewed attempt. . . . Such are the results of the erroneous practice of 'language building' introduced by N. Ya. Marr's followers.

"They proclaimed the rule of synharmonization [vowel harmony] in the Turkic languages as having lost its applicability in words borrowed from the Russian. Accordingly, in Yakut, for instance, the word 'party' is now spelled 'partia' instead 'paartyia' [in contradistinction to the Russian form 'partia'].

"Comrade Stalin teaches that 'the distinguishing trait of grammar is that it sets rules for word changes having in mind not specific words but words in general.' But the Marrists demanded that first it should be determined whether to apply to it the spelling of the native language or of Russian. . . .

"No one, of course, could demand that an orthography be completely unchanged. But the necessity for any kind of changes clarifications in it must be reasoned out and based on serious scientific and practical considerations of the individual case. The confusion which the Marrists brought into the language of some peoples must be removed. For this it is necessary, first of all, that the orthography be made to correspond with the norms of pronunciation in each language that the written language again may become simpler to read and easily accessible to the

people, adapted to the creating of real people's works of literature and art. Secondly, it is necessary to restore letters inadvisedly deleted from some alphabets, which are connected with the characteristic features of the phonetics of the national languages.

"From J. V. Stalin's statement to the effect that under socialism languages will freely enrich one another in an atmosphere of cooperation comes the conclusion that 'Russian words recently acquired by the national languages must become an organic part of them, enrich them, and not contradict their specific traits, their century-old rules and norms. The followers of N. Ya. Marr introduced violation of the national languages' rules of pronunciation and orthography because of their lack of understanding of the fundamentally new relationship among our languages, because they tried to oppose one language to another."

Harry Schwartz, New York Times, March 18, 1951, published the following summary of this article under the title "Russification Seen in Soviet Tongues":

"Premier Stalin's strictures last year against Soviet philologists who followed the doctrines of N. Y. Marr have led to a policy change in the campaign aimed at the Russification of non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, the latest issue of *Voprosy Filosofi* (Questions of Philosophy) to arrive in this country reveals.

"An article in this authoritative magazine denounces the crudities of Marr's followers among philologists who inserted Russian words into non-Russian languages in the U.S.S.R. and insisted that these words be used in every language according to the orthography and grammar of the Russian language.

"The result of this practice was that the orthography and grammar of many non-Russian languages in the U.S.S.R. became hopelessly confused, the article declares. The resultant 'anarchy' created great difficulties for people wishing to learn the grammar of their own language as well as for the proper operation of newspapers and magazines published in languages other than Russian.

"Marr's followers are accused of having blocked every effort to enrich these languages with Russian terms in accordance with the orthography and grammar of the non-Russian tongues. They are said to have followed this policy for fear such consistency would hinder the language's tendency to approach the Russian language, the major goal of their work.

"These revelations apparently confirm assertions made outside the Soviet Union in past years that the Soviet Government has been engaged in a policy of Russification rather than in permitting free development of non-Russian cultures.

"The same conclusion is supported by the revelation in the magazine that the great majority of non-Russian nationalities in the U.S.S.R. have shifted from the Latin or other alphabets to the Cyrillic alphabet used in Russian. Among the peoples who have abandoned their native alphabets for the Russian are twenty Turkic peoples, Ugro-Finnic peoples, Tadzhiks, Ossetians and Buryats. Where the Cyrillic alphabet did not have sounds required by a language, modified Cyrillic characters were

added to represent those sounds. Only the languages of the Baltic states, as well as Finnish, Georgian and Armenian, still use non-Cyrillic alphabets.

"In the future non-Russian peoples are to be encouraged to adopt as many words from the Russian language as required, both to express concepts unexpressible by existing words and to express concepts in exactly expressed by related words in such languages. In adapting such Russian words for other languages, however, the grammatical and orthographic rules of those languages are to be followed, thus avoiding the chaos and confusion that formerly existed.

"A. E. Mordinov, author of the article, hits out at 'bourgeois nationalists,' charging that some philologists attempted to widen the gap between the Russian and non-Russian languages in the U.S.S.R. by turning to foreign languages, rather than Russian, for new terms needed in the non-Russian vocabularies. Efforts were made to orient languages toward Turkish, Persian and Arabic in order to strengthen the influence of bourgeois rather than Russian culture, he asserted.

"Mr. Mordinov makes clear that it is Communist party policy to foster in every way possible development of non-Russian languages so that they approach ever more closely the Russian language. In doing so in the future, however, account is to be taken of the peculiarities of each individual non-Russian language and the official policy is nominally to encourage the development of these tongues though with ever greater Russian influence."

These persecutions descended not only upon the languages in Siberia, but above all attacked Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian, once hailed progress by R. Jacobson!

But until now no Russian scholar had the courage to mention it and to demand the abolition of the "reforms" executed by the Marrists.

We emphasize it would be a mistake to assume that Stalin's article granted "home rule" to non-Russian languages, the goal remains Russification, the methods alone must undergo change. . . .

3. The True Reasons of the Revocation of Marr's Linguistic Theory by Stalin

The American weekly press offered a little information about the revocation, but was completely unable to evaluate this fact or to explain why Marr's theory was revoked. The Communist propaganda established in this country such an excellent Iron Curtain that one seldom finds an American linguist who has heard anything at all about the Soviet linguistic theory created by Marr, which was forced for nearly a quarter of a century by the Communist Party on the linguistics and philologies of all the nationalities of the Soviet Union. Nobody in the United States heard that thousands of linguists, philologists, and teachers paid with their lives or with years of slave-labor-camp imprisonment for the opposition against this monstrosity of Marr's theory.

Any student of Soviet life is struck by the "haste" expressed in Stalin's lines—"the quicker, the quicker"—where is the fire? What are the real

reasons for this haste and the revocation of Marr? It is, in my opinion, our duty here in the United States to analyze carefully the revocation of Marr's theory. The true reasons must have been extraordinarily urgent. This is proved by the participation of Stalin himself in the discussion, and the extraordinary brutality with which Stalin discarded Marr, who, for many years, glorified Stalin at every opportunity and in his—Stalin's—name, acted in linguistics.

The application of this theory for nearly a quarter of a century had the following results:

Inside the Soviet Union, linguistics faced complete bankruptcy. In the last twenty years, the Soviet linguists did not produce a single outstanding work and the largest Slavic nation, the Russian, is still today without a complete etymological dictionary. The application of Marr's theories to Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian created the so-called "linguistic national oppositions" who had to be liquidated by the G.P.U. and N.K.V.D. The same thing happened among all other non-Russian nationalities.

From Chikobava's critique we learned how tragic the problem of the younger generation of linguists in the Soviet Union appears to be. Only Marr's orthodox "pupils" could make a career, usually half-illiterate party hooligans; the talented younger generation created a kind of "linguistic underground" searching for ideas in the works of the pre-World War I scholars. Apparently a "linguistic opposition" again was growing and the party was confronted with the dilemma of either "burning at the stake" all the "bourgeois nonsense" of Russian scholars—Shakhmatov, Sobolevskii, Fortunatov; of the Ukrainian scholars—Potebnya, St. Smal-Stocky, Ohonowsky; of the Byelo-Russian—Karsky, etc., or of revising its attitude toward Marr. Any high school student could find out the truth about Sal, Ber, Yon, Rosh from any foreign etymological dictionary in a library and examine the "truth" of the "stage theory" on the Russian language itself, which from Pushkin to Stalin went through the "stage of feudalism, capitalism, and socialism," but did not change the superstructure by "explosions or jumps."

Outside the Soviet Union Marr's etymologies were highly appreciated by Slavic scholars as the best humorous creations ever written, and his opinions for many years were the laughingstock of all linguistic meetings in Europe.

This state of affairs—inside, an open bankruptcy; outside, ironical laughter—which was heard also inside the Soviet Union—was very embarrassing for Stalin himself because Marr wrote constantly that he was "fulfilling the orders of the ingenious *vozhd*," and, besides, Marr was half Georgian. Thus the Russian "linguistic underground" in the present era of Russian "national bolshevism" chauvinistically blamed the Georgians for this bankruptcy of Russian philology—the more so, because Marr's theory was for a rather long time enforced by another Georgian, Beria. That explains why Chikobava, also a Georgian, was ordered to start the discussion and why Stalin himself participated in it, and the Russian linguists themselves were made scapegoats for this state of affairs. The Georgians are saving Russian linguistics, because

the Russians themselves proved incapable of applying Marxist-Leninism to linguistics. . . .

Thus here we have two important reasons for the revocation: bankruptcy and the need to shift responsibility from the perpetrators to their victims.

However it is not these "scientific" reasons, in our opinion, that explain the haste of Stalin, but the political and ideological consequences of Marr's doctrines. To understand these true reasons we have to keep in mind the post-World War II expansion of Soviet Moscow. The influence sphere of Soviet Moscow from 1945-1950 in Europe and Asia included East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria on the one hand, China, Korea on the other. A tremendous bulk of the population of our planet, some 800 million, are forced to revolve around the Communist sun of the Kremlin. For these tremendous masses Moscow has two ideologies:

a) Pan-Slavism. The Soviet Union appears to the gullible West as the successful realization of "Slavic Unity," and since 1941 Moscow has used the Pan-Slavic idea as a rather successful weapon for her propaganda.

Well, how can there exist a Slavic unity and Slavic family of languages if the linguistic theory of Marr, approved by the Communist Party as Marxist-Leninist wisdom, does not recognize Slavic kinship at all? This inner contradiction chops all four legs off the Soviet Pan-Slavic Trojan horse, on which Soviet Moscow parades in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and now hopes to reinvade Yugoslavia. Pan-Slavism, after World War II, has become a most important weapon of Soviet Moscow, not only among the Slavic neighbors, but also in South America, Canada, and especially in the United States. There are special Pan-Slav organizations in the United States with many ramifications, listed as front organizations for the disintegration of the U.S.A. by the Attorney General.

Therefore, how can Soviet Moscow conduct this Pan-Slavic propaganda without recognizing a special Slavic ethnic, cultural, linguistic group which, of course, had to develop from a common Slavic proto-language declared by Marr in the Marxist-Leninist new science of language as bourgeois nonsense?

But this is only the beginning of the post-World War II Pan-Slavic troubles of Stalin. Soviet Moscow included in her sphere of influence the leading European centers of Slavistics: in Cracow (with a famous Slavic Institute and the traditions of the *Rocznik Slavistyczny* and the Academy of Sciences); in Prague (which was, until 1939, the leading Slavic center with the journal *Slavia*, the Slavic Institute, the Ukrainian University, the Kondakovianum, etc.); in Sofia with its once distinguished Academy. Slavic Comparative Philology and also Indo-European Philology were taught by special chairs in the universities of all the satellite countries—even in Roumania and Hungary. In Roumania the Communist Party began in 1948 to force Marr's theory on the philosophical faculty of the University of Bucharest by two vociferous "Marrists," Graur and Rosetti, who in the *Bulletin Linguistique* (1949) joined the "new

Marxist-Leninist teaching" and started in the university a real cat-and-dog fight with the opponents.*

The dilemma of Soviet Moscow was either to liquidate them all—or to liquidate Marr's theory.

To abolish the chairs of Comparative Slavic and Indo-European Philology would, of course, miss the mark, because in Germany, France, the Scandinavian countries, Italy, England, and partly the United States, there would still remain the existing chairs of Comparative Slavic Philology in the universities.

Besides, the abolition of Comparative Slavic Philology by Pan-Slavic Moscow would be a "show for the gods" and for the whole world. Thus Soviet Moscow became involved in a tragicomical situation in which the whole "prestige" of the universal genius Stalin was at stake. On the one hand, Soviet Moscow "realizes the Pan-Slav idea" and proclaims herself as the "big brother and protector of all Slavic nations" within the Soviet sphere and in the whole world; on the other, Marxist-Leninist linguistics of Marr denounces this Pan-Slavic ideology of the Soviet government in politics as a "humbug and a fraud of the bourgeois linguistics" because a Slavic family of language does not exist at all; such an ideology is "racism, fascism, etc." Who will defend the idea of the existence of a Slavic family of languages related by kinship, used as a basis for the Pan-Slavic ideology of Communist Moscow? The bourgeois Slavistics and linguistics outside the Soviet Union! They, the bourgeoisie, will defend the Soviet Moscow Communists, Pan-Slavists against the Marxist-Leninist linguistics of Marr, and denounce Marr's Marxist-Leninist linguistics as humbug. Think for a moment—bourgeois Slavistics defend the Communists, Pan-Slavists of Moscow against their own Marxist-Leninist linguistics, which declare them to be "humbugists, racists, fascists. . . ."

b) The second idea with which Soviet Moscow leads the masses is: The Communist world revolution for the "establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat," the World Soviet Union, the classless society; the arsenal of the world revolution, the Soviet Union, already solved the "nationality problem" once and forever by the "absolute equality of all nations, languages, cultures" in the Soviet Union. "Join us; do not miss the bus"; every nation outside the Soviet Union is invited. . . !

But at the same time Marr's theory of stages introduced virtually a kind of hierarchy among the nations of the Soviet Union and of the world, a hierarchy of the nations, their cultures and languages, denouncing the very idea of equality. There are "frozen" languages, cultures, and nations, economically backward with "obsolete" linguistic systems which are even deprived, according to Marr, of any possibility of development. The implication of such a thesis is that these nations would do best by accepting immediately the language of "attained Socialism," Russian.

Well, what nation likes to hear from the Soviet linguistics that its language is "backward, obsolete, frozen, without any hope of future development," practically sentenced to death? Which non-Russian

*Cf. La Nation Roumaine, July 1, 1915, Paris.

Communist likes to hear his own mother tongue and his national feelings insulted in such a way by Soviet linguistics?

Thus inside the Soviet Union all the non-Indo-European languages were denounced by Marr as "obsolete, backward language systems"; even the Georgian language was put into the tertiary period. But all the other languages of the Soviet Union—the Finno-Ugric, Turkic, and Mongolian languages were even classed as systems of the secondary period—still living fossils! Thus were insulted the Karelo-Finns, the Uzbeks, the Kazakhs, the Azerbaijanians, the Kirgizs, the Turkmen, the Estonians, all having their own "national republics," and the rest of the non-Russian peoples forcibly included in the Russian Federative Socialist Republic and enjoying "national autonomies"—the Tatars, Bashkirs, Buryat-Mongolians, Komis, Maris, Mordovians, Chuvashs, Yakuts, etc. . . .

We have been informed that the Russian Communist Party again had to deal in these countries with a growing undercurrent of a "national linguistic opposition" against Soviet Moscow, because Marr's stage theory represented an officially blessed linguistic discrimination against the mother languages of these non-Russian peoples. Marr's stage theory established "master-race languages," and doomed the "backward obsolete languages" to die out. . . . Thus the Marxist-Leninist teaching of language virtually established "Jim Crow compartments" for all non-Indo-European and Semitic languages, according to the language stage, like the discrimination in some southern American states according to color. After the rebellion of Tito, the Communist Party nervously investigated the question: Does not Marr's theory provoke Titoism?

But Marr's stage theory created the greatest embarrassment for Soviet Moscow after the victory of Communism in China. The Chinese language is, according to Marr, the bottom of backwardness and primitiveness, belonging to the primary period, and put in one class with the language of the African Hottentots, Nyam-Nyam, etc. The Chinese, who created a great culture, philosophy, and art while Europe was still in a state of barbarism, must regard this classification as an extraordinary achievement of Soviet linguistics, wisdom, and political tact. They must be forced to the conclusion that the Soviet "devils" do not differ fundamentally from all the other European "devils."

Thus Marr's theory became for Soviet Moscow a terrible burden in her political and cultural propaganda—a real nuisance and a constant embarrassment inside and outside the Soviet Union. As Marr's theory was hailed in every publication of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, in every Communist Party publication as Marxist-Leninist and "based on the method of dialectical and historical materialism," this theory in reality made Marx, Lenin, the Communist Party, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences ridiculous in the eyes of every intelligent person everywhere. . . .

China, in my opinion, forced the hasty brutal manner of the posthumous liquidation of Marr by Stalin himself.

Marr's fantasies about the origin of the Goths also ridiculed Soviet history in the eyes of the whole world. He denied their origin in Scandinavia, declaring the Goths a "native population," which formed, 166-375,

the Gothic Empire in the Ukraine; he connected them by his etymological method with the Georgians of the Caucasus and finally with Gog and Magog of the Bible.*

We regard as the next reason for Marr's repudiation, his formulation of the tasks of Soviet linguists and philologists in the current "world revolution." Marr thought that their task was "to speed up by artificial means the unification of language" first in the Soviet Union, then in the whole world. Every student of Soviet matters was aware that such a program in the Soviet Union represents a gradual "Russification" of all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. This program was to go hand in hand with the elevation of the Russian language "as the language of Lenin and Stalin," and the "attained Socialism" to the "international language of the world proletariat." This attempt of Marr to degrade linguists and philologists of all non-Russian languages to the level of "Russifiers" and killers of their mother tongues created in the Soviet Union from 1928-1939 a strong national opposition which demanded the removal of many thousands of scholars, teachers, and writers of all non-Russian nationalities.

After World War II even whole peoples and their republics were destroyed because this Russification excited such hatred of Soviet Moscow that the population sympathized with the Germans. Thus the Kalmyck, the Chechen-Ingush, the Crimean Tatar Republics were abolished. The Communist Party understood the ultimate cause of these national oppositions and traced them to Marr's theory. Hence the party had to ask itself: Can we impose this program on the linguists and philologists of the satellite countries? Can we afford in the present international situation such "purges and liquidations" of linguistic oppositions in the satellite countries? Does not Marr's theory everywhere foster and stimulate anti-Russian nationalism among the satellites?

Finally, we are sure, the Communist Party clearly realized what a deadly ideological weapon, if used by the Western democracies in the war of ideas, Marr's theory would be. Soviet Moscow remembers the echoes of the 1936 Promethean Linguistic Congress in Warsaw of the exiled scholars and linguists of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. Could the Soviets be really uninformed of the fact that in February, 1950, I, the president of this Congress, and my American friends as members of the A.M.L.A., asked the General Secretary to organize, at that annual meeting in New York, a special section where the DP scholars of the Ukraine and Byelo-Ruthenia could present Marr's monstrosity to American linguists and expose the Soviet linguistics to scientific evaluation and hilarity here in America?

Summing up the reasons for the revocation of Marr's theory by Stalin himself, we are sure that the urgent need of immediate elimination of all ideological doctrines which could be used in a war against Soviet Moscow was the decisive factor. Soviet Moscow is hastily attempting to create a "new linguistic atmosphere" inside the Soviet Union among the satellite countries and outside the Soviet Union. This new "linguistic

*Cf. R. Smal-Stocki, *Slavs and Teutons*, pp. 70-73.

atmosphere" must lessen the tension of the "national opposition among the non-Russian peoples" against Soviet Moscow.

In my opinion, the revocation is a pure propaganda measure in the ideological preparations for World War III, as to the "national problem," inside and outside the Soviet Union. Any science and liberal art in the Soviet Union is to serve this plan of world revolution.

The Western and American democracies did not use, in the last three years of the cold war, this most effective weapon, Marr's theory against Communism. The "Voice of America" and of "Free Europe" did not even know what was happening when Stalin repudiated Marr. This unused weapon against Communism is a shining example of the wisdom of the American experts in ideological warfare. They have orders not to provoke "nationalism" among Stalin's victims; these are the orders of "planners" of United States foreign policy. . . .

4. The Fight Against Marr's Theory in the U.S.A.

Before the Revocation and the Refusal of the A.M.L.A. to Participate in the Struggle for the Freedom of Linguistics Behind the Iron Curtain and in the Soviet Union

Just for the record, here are some facts which will supplement our previous information about the demand (March, 1950) of a group of American and DP scholars to the American Modern Language Association to give to the DP scholars from behind the Iron Curtain an opportunity to inform American scholars about Marr's theory and its application.

This demand was prompted by a paper on Contemporary Soviet Linguistics by B. C. Friedl, Miami University, given at the annual meeting of the A.M.L.A. in New York, 1948. The paper was biased and provoked such energetic criticism among the audience (A. Senn, R. Smal-Stocki, etc.) that Chairman Wellek, completely unaware of what was going on, simply "closed" the discussion. Hence the DP opponents desired, at the next annual meeting in New York (planned for 1950), to present to American scholars the whole Soviet linguistic theory and the facts of its application. In 1949 I tried to interest Mr. DeWitt Wallace of Reader's Digest in the Soviet linguistic theory. I proposed an article and was promptly refused. Early in 1950 the professors asked A.M.L.A. for a special conference of scholars on the topic "Marxism and Linguistics." I also wrote on behalf the DP scholars to Secretary W. R. Parker proposing to form a special section: "Leninism-Stalinism and Its Influences on Philology and Linguistics" with three papers: R. Smal-Stocki, former professor of Warsaw University, on "Marr's Linguistic Theory"; P. Kovaliw, former professor of the Soviet Universities of Kiev and Kharkiw, on "Application of Marr's Theory to Ukrainian"; and J. Stankiewicz, formerly of the Ukrainian Masaryk University, Prague, president of the Byelo-Ruthenian Scientific Society, on "Application of Marr's Theory to Byelo-Ruthenian." I informed Prof. W. R. Parker that the scholars from Europe feel it a moral duty to give their American colleagues a

report on what is happening under Communist rule. We, the DP scholars, felt it our moral duty to transfer our fight against Marr's theories from Europe to America and to strengthen the linguistic opposition inside the U.S.S.R. with the voices from the U.S.A. so that the Soviet scholars may not feel forgotten by us—and free American linguists.

On April 3, 1951, Prof. A. P. Coleman, formerly of Columbia University and presently president of Alliance College, received an answer (with copies to C. M. Purin, R. Smal-Stocki, R. H. Delano, M. Henshaw, A. Senn, P. W. Long) as follows:

"At the meeting of the Executive Council this past weekend I called attention to the fact that you and several other prominent members of the Association were proposing for our 1950 meeting a special 'Conference of Scholars' on the topic 'The Scholar and Marxism' or on some special aspect of this topic. Ordinarily a proposal for a conference would be submitted to our Program Committee in the autumn for almost inevitable approval, but this topic so clearly involved a broad question of MLA policy that I thought it essential for the Executive Council to make the decision. This decision, I must now inform you, was unfavorable to the proposal on the grounds that this topic was not of the kind that our programs have hitherto included or should hereafter include.

"There was no disposition on the part of any member of the Council to deny the importance of the topic or its very real pertinence for a large number of our members. But there are many other important topics, of real pertinence to the professional lives of American scholars, in the modern languages, which are nevertheless outside the province of the MLA program. It is not as though you and your colleagues had no other forum for the discussion of this topic. And I think you will probably agree with the Council that there are far more appropriate places for such a conference.

"There is an additional consideration which did not enter into the Council's decision, but which would certainly have worried me as Secretary had their decision been otherwise. I know, as you must too, (1) that if we listed such a conference in our program you could never hold the attendance to the required maximum of thirty-five and make the meeting what such conferences are supposed to be and (2) that the newspaper publicity which would inevitably be given this single part of an MLA program would give a most unfortunate impression of MLA purposes and activities.

"Regretfully yours,

William R. Parker
Secretary"

For a quarter of a century philologists, linguists, are persecuted by a fantastic theory imposed on them by the Russian Communist dictatorship—but in the free U.S.A. the free American scholars refused to grant the DP scholars the right of free speech for a criticism of the Soviet linguistic theory! There are "far more appropriate places for such a

conference," M.L.A. fears "newspaper publicity," and the defense of the freedom of linguistics in the Soviet Union and behind the Iron Curtain would give "a most unfortunate impression of M.L.A. purposes and activities"! Besides, there was the false statement in the letter "that this topic was not of the kind that our programs have hitherto included or should hereafter include"; the truth is that such topic was included in 1948, the above-mentioned paper of B. C. Friedl at the program of the annual meeting of M.L.A.

This reply was for us, DP scholars, who fought for three decades for academic freedom against Russian Communism, a rather deep disappointment. Even here in the U.S.A. there are some forces which are attempting to close the mouth of the witnesses from behind the Iron Curtain and the Soviet Union, depriving them of the right to speak to American scholars and through them to the American youth. I proposed to my colleagues a common action before the M.L.A. and in May I presented Prof. W. R. Parker the following petition:

"The Secretary of the M.L.A.

"Dear Prof. Parker:

"With reference to your announcement about Conferences of scholars at the 1950 meeting in New York, the undersigned members of M.L.A. petition you to allocate to us a room for scholarly discussion upon the topic:

"The Influence of Leninism-Stalinism on Contemporary Philology in the Soviet Union.'

"Time: two hours

"Discussion leader: Dr. A. P. Coleman;

"Explanation of purpose: Leninism-Stalinism influences not only biology, music and current literary production in the Soviet Union, but in the first line, philology and linguistics. The scholarly world in the U.S.A. is not informed concerning these influences. It is our purpose to discuss:

"1) the Soviet linguistic theory and its effect on philology;

"2) the influence of Leninism-Stalinism on the literary production of all peoples of the Soviet Union for the last third of a century.

"Signatures:

Alfred Senn, University of Pennsylvania,
 Anthony Salys, University of Pennsylvania,
 Edmund Zawacki, University of Wisconsin,
 Edward Micek, University of Texas,
 Arthur P. Coleman, University of Texas,
 William Dehorn, Marquette University,
 Victor Hamm, Marquette University,
 John Pick, Marquette University,
 Roman Smal-Stocki, Marquette University"

REVOCATION OF MARR'S LINGUISTIC THEORY BY STALIN 249

I received the following answer from Assistant Secretary Fisher:

May 17, 1950

"Professor Parker has asked me to schedule the scholars' conferences for the meeting at the Statler in New York this coming December, and I shall be glad to put your group down for one. It would help us in arranging the schedule if you would choose the time you prefer, and an alternative time--you can get an idea of the program as a whole from the tentative schedule printed in the Proceedings (PMLA, LXV, 1, 66-68).

"Your topic sounds interesting, and should provide a stimulating meeting. However, we wonder whether it might not be better to confine it to item 1 in your explanation of purposes. Item 2 is so broad and your time will be so short, that you had better save it for another year. Furthermore, leakage of the topic, and in fact the words Leninism-Stalinism in your subject will bring unfortunate newspaper publicity. So at this stage, we hope that you will confine your discussion to the philological aspects of the question.

"Sincerely yours,

John H. Fisher
Assistant Secretary"

Being requested by Secretary W. R. Parker on August 9, 1950, to act as consultant of the Editorial Committee on an article I immediately presented my opinion and in the letter again asked Prof. Parker, now that Stalin had in June revoked Marr's theory, to allocate the DP scholars the necessary room and time; any time would suit us which was not in collision with the parallel annual meeting of the teachers of Slavic languages and I appealed to him not to close our mouths in the free U.S.A., when even in the Soviet Union a "linguistic discussion was permitted."

No reply. In December, 1950, the Program of the annual meeting was published and no room and time for the proposed conference was allocated. Therefore at the business meeting of the M.L.A. after the report of Mr. R. Parker I took the floor and, after reviewing the correspondence with him regarding the special discussion, I asked why we did not get a room for our meeting. Was Prof. R. Jacobson, as the chairman of Slavic Section for the annual meeting, 1950, consulted in this matter, was the treasurer Lyman Bradley, sentenced for contempt of Congress, consulted in this question? Finally I made the motion that the board be instructed to allocate room and time at the next annual meeting in Detroit, 1951. The motion was seconded by Prof. A. P. Coleman.

Prof. Parker, replying to me, stated that what had happened apparently was a "misunderstanding" and I agreed to visit him the next day.

After two days I had an interview with Assistant Secretary Fisher, who informed me that my letter of August 15 to Prof. Parker was not in the files of the respective correspondence. I asked him to give me a written explanation of the whole case.

I am still waiting for it.

That is the history of the DP's attempt to inform the American philologists and linguists about the Soviet linguistic theory and to ask them to express their opinion in defense of the freedom of teaching and research behind the Iron Curtain. . . .

5. The Russian Communist Party Lifts the Ban on the Formation of Purist Terminology in Russian

Stalin's revocation was preceded by a significant step. As the readers remember, purism in the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian language was everything, "sabotage, counterrevolution, nationalism, fascism," etc., etc. For purism thousands of journalists, teachers, and scholars were exiled. And now what happened? Time, the weekly news magazine, on March 27, 1950, printed a dispatch, dated Moscow March 16, which reads as follows:

"The Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union is going to 'cleanse' Russian science and technology of unnecessary foreign words, it was announced today. The academy met yesterday, the announcement said, and heard Academician A. M. Terpigorev say: 'A scientific terminology cluttered with foreign words is intolerable. In most cases these foreign words can be substituted by Russian words.' Others speakers said a terminology of physics, chemistry, geology and biology closely connected with Socialist production must be created."

Academician A. M. Terpigorev, *Vestnik Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R.*, Nr. 8, August, 1950, published an article: "Problems of Scientific and Technical Terminology." There he informs the reader that

"the initiation of a Russian written technical terminology basically goes back to the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. . . . For a number of reasons, these terms were brought into being without sufficient consideration, and unfounded borrowings from foreign languages entered Russian technical terminology in a great flood. . . . In 1867 the Russian Technical Society decided to compile a parallel French-German-English-Russian Technical dictionary, with special attention to the need of creating a great number of Russian terms for the corresponding foreign equivalents. . . ."

This bourgeois work is now being continued by a special Committee on Technical Terminology and there we learn:

"Several scientific research branch establishments, industrial organizations, higher educational institutions, authors and editors are working with all their might to replace inadequate terms with others, to replace foreign terms with Russian equivalents, etc. . . . One of the shortcomings of terminology is that it is unnecessarily cluttered with borrowings and foreign terms. . . . The brilliant new works by Comrade Stalin 'On Marxism in Linguistics' . . . opening up a new era for all Soviet science, lead us to action in the field of terminological work and arm us to overcome the mistakes and shortcomings of our work in this field."

But that, of course, is only for Russian! Then the newly created purist Russian terminology will be again forced on all the non-Russian languages to strengthen the previous Russification.

Now, Mr. Jacobson, what about your wisecracks on the puristic "Hausbackene Woerter, Machwerk, Duftige Woertchen" which will now be created in Russian?

6. The Russian Communist Party Line of the Stalinist Epoch in Linguistics

What is the present party line regarding linguistics and non-Russian languages, so closely merged with the nationality problem, after the revocation of Marr's linguistic theory? We learn the directives from the article of M. Kammari, "Outstanding Contribution to the Science of Marxism":*

". . . In this work (Marxism and Problems of Linguistics) J. V. Stalin scientifically demonstrated that only under Socialism and socialist democracy can there be full equality and free cooperation among nations, their languages and their cultures. This work is a crushing blow to the policy of imperialist reaction and war, which aims at the subjugation of the peoples, cultures and languages of other countries. It exposes the falsity of the racist, cosmopolitan theory of the superiority of the language of the Anglo-Saxon race and latter's right to dominate the world, a theory which serves the Anglo-American policy of imperialist aggression and enslavement of other nations.

"J. V. Stalin showed that nations and national languages possess a great stability and tremendous power of resistance to the assimilation policy of the imperialists. This is borne out by the utter failure and defeat of the German, Turkish and Anglo-American attempts at assimilation pursued with the most ferocious means over the course of decades and centuries. The same fate awaits the present policy of the British and American assimilators, who are out for world domination and are endeavouring to force the English language upon all peoples . . . (p. 7).

"Discussing the future prospects of developments of nations and national cultures and languages, J. V. Stalin made a profound analysis of the way languages will develop after the victory of Socialism on a world scale, in distinction to the way they developed in preceding history, during the existence of antagonistic social formations. When socialism has triumphed throughout the world, when imperialism and national oppression will have been abolished, everywhere the full equality and free development and cooperation of nations established, national languages will be in a position, on the basis of this cooperation, to enrich one another. 'Naturally' Stalin says, 'there can be no question in these conditions of the suppression and defeat of some languages, and the victory of others. We shall then have not two languages, one of which is suffering defeat and the other emerging from the struggle victorious, but hundreds of national languages, out of which, as a result of prolonged

*New Times, N. 26, 1951.

economic, political and cultural cooperation of nations, there will first evolve common zonal languages, the most enriched and then the zonal languages will merge into one common international language, which of course, will be neither German, Russian nor English but a new language which will have absorbed the best elements of the national and zonal languages.

"The cultural and lingual development of the peoples of the Soviet Union are quite voluntarily and without coercion choosing, and are in fact already using the Russian language as such a medium, while at the same time both this and all the other national languages being enriched in the process of cooperation among the peoples. J. V. Stalin points out that every national language is capable of making its contribution to the enrichment of the future world language. Indeed, only on that condition can that language replace the national languages, which will continue to exist for a long time side by side with it and enrich it, until all the treasures of national culture will have been merged into the common world culture of Communism, single in content and form, with a single and common language of all mankind."

This article of M. Kammari defines the current party line for the nationality and language fields based on Stalin's "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics," which caused a revolution in linguistics . . . and laid a solid foundation for a genuine scientific Marxist theory of language, according to the author.

Let us analyze the party slogans, let us unveil the party directives and sum up the principles and methods of the Stalinist era of Soviet linguistics that are applied in the current ideological war against the free world outside the Soviet Union:

a) Only in the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence do "full equality and free cooperation among nations, their languages and their cultures" exist;

b) Outside the sphere of the Soviet Union exists the "dialectical" antithesis: the sphere of Anglo-American imperialist reaction with its "cosmopolitan theory of the superiority of the English-American race and language," aiming by "aggression" at the subjugation and enslavement "of the non-Anglo-American peoples, their languages, and cultures" and at "world domination";

c) Russian Communism, the unselfish big brother, gained a great victory over selfish Anglo-American imperialism and its plans by eliminating the Anglo-Americans from their sphere of influence, and it upheld the "full equality and free cooperation" among all non-Russian nations, their languages and their cultures "inside the Soviet Union" (and its sphere of influence), and saved them from "Anglo-American oppression, subjugation, and enslavement";

d) The unselfish big brother's mission in the interest of the proletarian world revolution is not finished because Russian Communism feels entrusted with the world mission: to defend also the equality and liberty of all non-Anglo-American peoples, languages, and cultures outside the Soviet Union against British-American imperialism endeavoring "to force" the English language upon all peoples;

e) Taking over the leadership of all non-Anglo-American peoples outside the Soviet Union against British-American imperialism, J. V. Stalin stimulates them by showing "that nations and national languages possess a great stability and tremendous power of resistance to the assimilation policy of the imperialist" and predicts to the "British and American assimilators, who are out for world domination and are endeavoring to force the English language upon all peoples," such an utter defeat as was suffered by the German, Turkish, and, to some extent, by the Anglo-American attempts "pursued with the most ferocious means over the course of decades and centuries";

f) Thus the world is divided in two camps with two programs: one is the camp of the "full equality and free cooperation among nations, their languages and cultures" under the leadership of Russian Communism and the "great Stalin, father of all peoples"; the other camp is the "prison of the non-Anglo-American nations" outside the Soviet Union under the dictatorship of the Anglo-Americans, the camp of "oppression, subjugation, and enslavement" of the "non-Anglo-American nations, their cultures and languages."

The Russian Communist camp pretends that it solved the nationality problem, not only in the Soviet Union but in their sphere of influence ("by full equality and free cooperation among nations, their languages and cultures"), and now opens the offensive to solve the nationality problem in the opposite camp under "Anglo-American dictatorship," in the prison of the non-Anglo-American nations, by imposing upon it "a crushing blow" through the ideas of equality and free co-operation of these nations. Soviet Moscow in the "interest of humanity, democracy, world revolution" must also impose its own formula for the solution of the nationality problem on the other camp, and must liberate from Anglo-American enslavement all the non-Anglo-American nationalities, for the Communist Parties of these nations have long awaited a just solution of their nationality problems.

The principles of the general line are clear. The method used is the old Russian pickpocket trick: a thief pursued in the streets by the robbed persons runs ahead of them vociferously calling, "Catch the thief!" So that he may divert suspicion from himself by posing as a persecutor of crime and criminals, and in the resulting turmoil to hide and to escape. Thus Russian Communism always "accuses" its opponents of intentions, plans, and deeds that they themselves are carrying through. These accusations have to serve as a smoke screen for the present Russian cultural imperialism that is imposed on 800 million people and that aims at world domination by holding up the Russian language as the "international language of the proletariat." Virtually the last obstacle in the way of this attempted world domination is the English-speaking world; hence the Soviet application of its usual smear method in accusing the Anglo-American of "forcing English" upon all peoples.

The aims of this propaganda method is also clear: first, to split the free world into two fighting camps in which all "freedom loving non-Anglo-American peoples" may actively oppose Anglo-American language and culture (above all, the ideas expressed in this language) by learning

Russian, as all Communist Parties propagate it; second, to build up and to strengthen the prestige of Soviet Moscow amongst the non-Anglo-American colonial peoples (in Asia and Africa) as the "defender and protector of the freedom of peoples, their languages and cultures," and to induce them to open the gate for the march of the Russian "liberator."

Behind these aims and methods Russian Communism attempts to hide the really crushing defeat of its own nationality and language policy, which ended with the revocation of Marr's linguistic theory in June, 1950. The non-Russian peoples, despite Communist attempts at genocide, finally defeated the Soviet effort to "change the superstructures of their languages" and to merge and fuse them by forced artificial means with the Russian language. Thus the Russian Communists certainly know that "nations and national languages possess a great stability and tremendous power of resistance to the assimilation policy of the imperialists." They know it after the experience of a quarter of a century. Now Russian propaganda "transforms" the defeat into a "Russian victory," which is also a crushing blow to the policy of Anglo-American "imperialist reaction and war, which aims at the subjugation of the peoples, cultures, and languages of other countries!"

Thus, according to the new party line, Russian Communism not only scored victories in both the past and present battles for the liberty of all non-Anglo-American peoples of the world, their languages and cultures, but infallibly establishes, once again, the final aim of the evolution of nations and languages, and the way to this goal in the Stalinist era of linguistics.

The unchangeable aim of the Russian Communists is the "merging of all national cultures into the common world culture of Communism, single in content and form with a single and common language for all mankind." We see that a common, but multilingual world culture cannot satisfy the Russian Communists: they insist on a single and common language for all mankind. Because any living language differentiates, the Russian Communists certainly assume that dictatorial measures shall stop the free life of the language on this level and preserve it unchanged "without left and right deviation." (A necessary prerequisite is that mankind stops thinking and sinks to the level of the present Russian Communist, into whose mind the party has instilled the Communist vicious circle of Marxist ideas.) If Latin, Greek, and Old Church Slavonic do not change, why should the future Communist world language change, concludes the linguist Stalin, obsessed by this maniacal *idée fixe* of an unchangeable, common language, which will absorb all the living languages of the world, stop the anarchy of language production, and impose an everlasting language, controlled, planned, and regulated, of course, like all other mental activity in the Soviet Union. Here we see the very source of this tenet of Russian totalitarianism. As long as the idea of freedom is not eliminated from the sphere of language, the Communist dictatorship has no security since freedom is indivisible. Free, private enterprise in language would undermine the basis of the Russian dictatorship for liberty has its logic and chain reactions. Thus the Russian Communist idea of a world language differs basically from

all Western conceptions of world languages regarding its real motivation and final aim. The way to this last stage of human language development, toward a planned world language, leads through the intermediary phase, of our own time, of "zonal languages." As we see, Russian Communism has the zonal idea of UNESCO immediately incorporated into its propaganda and now dresses the Russian language, forced upon the non-Russian peoples of the Communist sphere of influence, as a "zonal language" of 800 million people. Russian Communism proudly proclaims that its nationality and language policy (always conducted under the banner of "full equality and free cooperation among nations, their languages and their cultures" in the Soviet Union) climaxed in the "progressive" result: that "the peoples of the Soviet Union are quite voluntarily, and without any coercion, choosing and are, in fact, already using the Russian language" as a "zonal language," or as a "common medium of intercourse among nations." (We do not yet know clearly whether they choose it as a medium of intercourse among the nations of the Soviet Union, or among the nations of the world.) As may be presently observed, all Russian satellites in Europe and Asia have also chosen and are, in fact, already using Russian as their zonal language.

Thus, nearly half of the world have already, "voluntarily and without coercion," chosen the language of the "freedom-loving" Russian Communist nation so that they might escape from the Anglo-American imperialist "aggression, assimilation, and enslavement" of their languages and cultures and might enjoy "full equality and free cooperation" under the Soviet banner. (Can there be any doubt, that, after the liberation of the non-Anglo-American peoples outside the Soviet Union from Anglo-American "subjugation, enslavement, denationalization" by victorious Russian Communism, they will immediately, "quite voluntarily and without coercion," choose Russian as their zonal language for the pursuit of their happiness?)

Russian Communism (anticipating some suspicions) pacifies the non-Anglo-American peoples and also the "progressive" Anglo-Americans by declaring that in the zonal process, as it was activated in the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence, "there can be no question . . . of the suppression and defeat of some languages and the victory of others," everything being "quite voluntarily" and in "full equality and free cooperation," and that Russian Communism will uphold these democratic principles and methods "when Socialism [Russian Communism] has triumphed throughout the world, when imperialism and national oppression will have been abolished everywhere [in the world outside the Soviet Union]."

Then, "after the victory of Socialism [Russian Communism] on a world scale" there will "first evolve common zonal languages," and "the zonal languages will merge into one common international language, which, of course, will be neither German, Russian, nor English, but a new language which will have absorbed the best elements of the national and zonal languages."

This Stalinist conception is illogical. If the thesis is true that "full

equality and free cooperation" of the zonal languages and cultures will lead to a merger of them into "a new common international language" (neither German, Russian, nor English), then "full equality and free cooperation of the peoples of the Soviet Union" should have led to a merger of their languages into a "new" zonal, not Russian, language—but not to the "quite voluntarily choosing" of Russian. "The voluntarily choosing" of Russian means, in fact, the defeat of German, French, English, and Turkish, which were all used by some of the Soviet and satellites peoples as their mediums of intercourse in the cultural sphere to which they historically belonged. Illogical also is the conception that the "full equality and free cooperation" realized in the Soviet Union contributed something to the enrichment of the Russian language by the non-Russian languages; we have already seen how intolerant Russian purism was and is. The "full equality and free cooperation" resulted only in the one-sided, forced Russification of the non-Russian languages, and that is now called "enrichment." If the same "full equality and free cooperation" should be realized after the victory of Russian Communism, the world over, then all the other non-Russian languages (zonal or national) expect a similar "enrichment," and the final emerging of Russian as the "language of the Communist victory," the world over, will be assured. And the Russian Communist Party, in the last few years, has officially propagated Russian as the world language of the proletariat. Thus, on the one hand, Russian Communism calls for the abandonment the national languages for the coming "new" (Non-Russian) world language; on the other hand, the same party agitates to have Russian accepted as the "world language of the proletariat."

Why does the new Stalinist language doctrine uphold the principle of the future new world language, introducing at the same time as the intermediary stage to it, the "already existing" Russian "voluntary" zonal language?

Both ideas, the idea of the future international world language as well its lesser manifestation, the idea of the zonal language, are used by Russian Communism as weapons against the opposition of the non-Russian peoples to the Russian zonal language. We will analyze the function of both ideas first in the Communist propaganda in the interior of the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence, and then later in the propaganda beyond the Communist borders.

In the domestic Communist indoctrination both ideas are used for undermining and killing the language feeling of the non-Russian peoples through the conception of the "common world culture of Communism, single in content and form, with a single common language of all mankind." The first stage, the Russian zonal language, is already realized. Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism "scientifically" proved the inevitability of the realization of these conceptions to the younger generations of the non-Russian peoples for the sake of stifling their opposition against the forced Russification. Why oppose the "progress" toward the single and common language of all mankind and its "last stage," the Russian zonal language, which has already been accepted voluntarily outside the Soviet Union by some 600 million people? You can suggest that the Communists

take a "contribution" from your mother tongue for the "enrichment" of the Russian zonal language, but immediately this is thrown out by the Russian purist as a profanation of the great language of Lenin and a desecration of the "classic heritage of the great Russian nation." The Russian Communist imperialism uses both ideas as a method for stimulating political passivity among the non-Russian peoples and their "assimilation." The zonal idea elevates Russian to a master-race language over all non-Russian languages.

Let me explain the point of view of the non-Russian peoples on these matters. All non-Russian peoples support the idea of zonal languages and also the necessity of a world medium of communication between the nations under the condition that it is their own business to choose in full democratic liberty for themselves a zonal language and a world language, which, in our opinion, can be one and the same language. The Russian dictatorship can, for some time, force the Russian language upon its victims, but, after Russia's fall, the free non-Russian peoples will, in our opinion, voluntarily demand to belong to the English zonal and world language, as the language of the free democratic world. The present emigration of displaced persons will prepare its young generation for this aim. The Russian cultural imperialism will end, just as the German imperialism did. Unfortunately, the Russian émigrés are still unaware of what great disservice they do to their people by fostering this Russian cultural and political imperialism outside the Soviet Union. The émigrés of the non-Russian peoples are convinced that the technocratic age in Europe and Asia will bring English-American as a zonal and world language into both continents, as the language of genuine equality and really free co-operation among nations, their languages and their cultures. The Russian zonal language will disappear with the Russian Communist dictatorship as the medium of the dark age of Leninism and Stalinism; this is as certain as day follows night.

Both ideas, the conception of a future world language and several zonal languages, are also excellent weapons for Russian Communist propaganda outside the Soviet Union, giving the Russian Communist the necessary "progressive" halo. No government or political party has a similar program of a future world language; nor was any government so progressive as to recognize, as an already existing fact, the first "zonal language for 800 million people," which is actually the intermediate stage for the realization of the ultimate ideal of a world language. Magnanimously, the Russians assure us that they foster an "international language, which will be neither German, Russian nor English, but a new language"; hence, who from the progressive English or German linguistic camps will dare to oppose this idea? Who dares to deny that the Russian nation on the way to this ideal has by "full equality and free cooperation among nations, their languages and their cultures" created the "Russian zonal language"?

Here we see the real aim of the Russian Communist propaganda: They use their foggy idea of the future world language to demand that the free world and the despised Anglo-Americans must "voluntarily" recognize the Russian language, forced upon non-Russian peoples by

Russian bayonets, terror, and slave labor camps, as a real, voluntarily chosen zonal language that they must respect the Russian Communist sphere of influence as a Russian zonal monopoly sphere, and, finally, that they must keep out of it. Russian Communism demands the recognition of its cultural mare clausum, of a Russian closed shop, where only Russian must be used as a medium for intercourse among all non-Russian peoples.*

Meanwhile, as the Russian language is promoted to the rank of a zonal language, the development of the other zonal languages depends upon the time when Russian Communism will liberate the non-Anglo-American peoples from Anglo-American oppression, so that they may establish, beyond the Soviet Union, the conditions for the development of zonal languages, the "full equality and free cooperation among nations, their languages and their cultures." (Thus, among all languages, only Russian now ranks as a zonal language.)

Until that happens, Russian Communism must conduct its ideological war for the liberation of all non-Anglo-American peoples from Anglo-American oppression with full strength, and must demand an "open shop" (for the Russian language and culture in all countries outside the Soviet Union, backed, of course, by all national Communist Parties which welcome Russian as the "World language of the proletariat.")

Thus the whole party line and its strategy is clear. Russian Communist imperialism, having achieved, by the recognition of Russian as the zonal language, the virtual exclusion of Anglo-American from its sphere of influence, systematically slanders Anglo-American outside the Soviet Union as the language of capitalism, oppression, and enslavement, and systematically weakens the language feeling of Anglo-Americans by the concept of the future single international world language. By rallying to the Russian language, as "the language of the world revolution," all Communists and all subjugated colonial peoples everywhere, the Soviets will certainly have the strength to give the Americans a final battle, even on the soil of the Anglo-American language, where the American universities and colleges have actually voluntarily dedicated themselves to the spreading of the Russian zonal language. Then the Russian Communists hope that just as a "voluntarily" chosen Russian zonal language emerged among the nations of the Soviet Union, that the Russian language may also emerge, also "voluntarily," as the world language. This idea is being now propagated.

*The North American Newspaper Alliance reported October 24, 1951: Following sensational recent escapes of Czechs to the West, the Communist Prague regime has outlawed the teaching of English and other Western tongues in Czechoslovakia, except for "politically mature" people. This, in Russian parlance, would mean trusted Communist Party members. In commenting on the restrictive measure Hospodar, a Prague magazine, speculated that there is no point to teach potential "class enemies" those "capitalist" languages. A proviso of the new regulation also forbids the sale of dictionaries, grammars, and other textbooks for the learning of those outlawed languages. Private tuition in English or French also becomes a criminal offense.

Thus, we see that the Stalinist language doctrine is an important weapon in the ideological war between Russian Communism and the free world. This language war reached the shores of America. We did not notice that the "Voice of America" is aware of what is going on. To defend the English-speaking world means to attack the nationality policy of Stalin; but the "Voice of America" is forbidden to do so, for this fosters "nationalism" among the non-Russian peoples. The American public opinion may sleep calm, for the defense of the American nation, culture, and language on our Russian front rests in the experienced hands of R. Jakobson, H. Kohn, E. Simmons, and S. Yakobson.

Stalin's world war against the English language is in full swing. As long as there is not published a purged edition of the written heritage of Jefferson, Washington, and Lincoln the security of Stalin and Russia is in danger.

Chapter IX

THE PRESENT PREDICAMENT (SINCE 1950) OF THE NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALITIES, THEIR LANGUAGES AND CULTURES AS COMPARED WITH THE RUSSIAN CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

1. Soviet Moscow Continues the Persecution of the Non-Russian Peoples, Their Languages, Literatures, and Historical Traditions

A convincing proof of the invincible national oppositions against Soviet Moscow and of their strength lies in the fact that the Russian Communist Party faced in 1950 practically the same problems as in the late 20's. In Europe the "orientation to the West" of the non-Russian nationalities; in Asia Pan-Islamism, Pan-Turkism and Pan-Afghanism, offer encouragement to the national independence movements of the non-Russian peoples and endorse their desire to belong to the free world.

The news in the Russian Soviet press of the years 1950 and 1951 are in this respect rich in information and they present an excellent picture of the situation. Tsarist Russia entrusted the censorship of the press and books to half-intelligent policemen, a force despised for this "work" not only by all non-Russian peoples but even by the Russians themselves, the mission of denunciation was fulfilled by the "black hundreds." In this respect Soviet Moscow made tremendous progress. Now the job of denouncing is entrusted to the Russian party journalists, who are constantly on the watch for "deviations and distortions" among the "aliens" or non-Russians; but as the supreme censorship and thought control for the non-Russian nations acts now on behalf of the Russian Communist Party—the Russian Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. Thus Russian Soviet academicians today execute the functions of Tsarist policemen and the once glorious Academy, which often opposed the Tsarist regime, stands today as a tool of the Communist Party for policing the thought of the non-Russian nationalities.

Ukraine. The center of the opposition against Moscow is again the Ukraine. Its party, scholars, writers, and teachers are constantly accused by Soviet Moscow of "bourgeois nationalism" and of nonsufficient "Soviet patriotism."

Already at the Sixteenth Party Congress, January, 1949, the Russian Nikita Khrushchov was very dissatisfied with the Ukrainian Communists and demanded "the continuation of an energetic fight against the hostile ideology of the bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism and political passivity."

Recently the Ukrainian Communists were accused of new crimes by Moscow. The Pravda of July 2, 1951, protested "Against Ideological Distortions in Literature:"

"Our magazines are serious ideological weapons of the Party. Their duty is to carry on great educational work among the masses. This obliges the editorial staffs of every magazine to use all possible care in selecting works for publication in the magazine pages.

"The facts show that the editorial staff of Zvezda is not carrying out these requirements. It has shown utter irresponsibility in publishing Sosyura's poem without even submitting it to the editorial board for consideration.

"It is above all surprising that the magazine's editorial board and Editor-in-Chief V. Druzin chose for publication, out of Sosyura's many works, the poem 'Love the Ukraine,' fundamentally defective in its ideology.

"To judge by the title of the poem, the author's intention was to give artistic embodiment to the great idea of Soviet patriotism.

"The theme of love of one's country is a noble and lofty theme of our literature. Creative Soviet patriotism is a mighty motive force of our society. 'In Soviet patriotism the national traditions of the peoples and the general vital interests of all the working people of the Soviet Union are harmoniously combined'(J. Stalin).

"Every literary work which contains a talented exposition of the theme of love for one's socialist motherland inspires in our hearts great patriotic feelings.

"Unfortunately, Sosyura's poem 'Love the Ukraine' does not engender such feelings. What is more, it evokes a feeling of disillusionment and protest. It is true, in his poem the poet calls for love of the Ukraine. The question arises: Which Ukraine is in question, of which Ukraine is Sosyura singing? Is he singing of that Ukraine which groaned for centuries under the exploiters' yoke and whose sorrow and bitterness poured out in Taras Shevchenko's angry lines? . . .

"Or does Sosyura's poem refer to the new, prosperous Soviet Ukraine, created by the will of our people, led by the party of Bolsheviks?

"It is sufficient to examine Sosyura's poem to remove any doubt that, contrary to the true facts, he is singing of some primordial Ukraine, the Ukraine 'in general':

" 'Love the Ukraine like sun, like light,
Like wind and grass and water
Love the wide open spaces of the ancient Ukraine,
Be proud of your Ukraine,
Of her new and eternally living beauty
And of her nightingale voice.'

"Out of time, out of historical epoch--this is the Ukraine in the poet's portrayal.

"Sosyura's poem does not contain the image which is infinitely dear to every true patriot--the image of our socialist motherland, of the Soviet Ukraine. In our people's minds the image of the Soviet Ukraine is irrevocably linked with mighty socialist industry, created by the labor of the creator people, with giant metallurgical and machine building factories, with mechanized mines, with initiators of the Stakhanovite

movement, with that glorious creation of the Stalin five-year plans, Dnieper Hydroelectric Station, with the collective farm system which has brought a happy and prosperous life to the peasantry of the Ukraine. The Soviet Ukraine is a republic of advanced socialist science and culture.

"This is the Ukraine our people know and love—an equal among equals in the harmonious family of Soviet republics.

"But this is not the Ukraine of which Sosyura sings in his poem. He is moved by the ancient Ukraine, with its flowers, leafy willows, birds and Dnieper waves. The author sings of the 'ancient wide open spaces,' 'her blue sky,' 'eternal breezes,' 'purple clouds.' It goes without saying, all this is worthy of poetic imagery and inspiration. But after all Sosyura's poem is called 'Love the Ukraine.' By its very innermost meaning it should inspire love for the Soviet motherland, sing and glorify all that is new that has been created by the constructive labor of our great people and that has transformed into a flourishing Soviet republic the Ukraine which had bathed in tears and had groaned for centuries.

"Behind the external beauty of the poetic form Sosyura's poem contains neither angry condemnation of the enslaving institutions of the past nor a vivid portrayal of the new socialist life of the Ukrainian people, which is becoming more and more bright and beautiful. It is known that Sosyura has written many good verses which deservedly enjoy the sympathy of our readers. As for the poem 'Love the Ukraine,' any enemy of the Ukrainian people from the nationalist camp, say Petlura, Bandera, etc., would endorse this kind of work.

"The Soviet Ukraine has grown and strengthened in the indestructible fraternity of socialist nations, in irreconcilable struggle against the enemies of the people, against bourgeois nationalists. Friendship of the peoples is a great motive force of our society. In the fraternal family of peoples of the Soviet Union, under the direction of the Bolshevik party, the Ukrainian people have achieved outstanding successes in building communism.

"In Sosyura's poem 'Love the Ukraine' we do not see this Ukraine; it is depicted here alone, unlinked with the other peoples of the Soviet Union.

"The following lines about the Ukraine sound strange:

" 'For us there is only one like her in all the world,
In the songs that we sing,
In the stars and the leafy willows,
And in our beating hearts.
You cannot love other peoples
Unless you love the Ukraine.'

"And the poet's words, grossly distorting the true facts, sound openly nationalistic:

" 'We are nothing without her,
Like dust in the field, smoke,
Eternally driven by the winds.'

"It is known that the essence of nationalism consists in a desire to stand aloof and lock oneself up within one's national shell, in a desire not to see what unites the working masses of the nationalities of the U.S.S.R. and brings them closer together, but to see only what can estrange them from each other. The survivals of capitalism in people's minds are far more tenacious in the nationality question than in any other sphere. They are more tenacious, since they are able to mask themselves in national costume.

"Sosyura's poem 'Love the Ukraine' was written and first published in 1944, during the great patriotic war. The German fascist bandits had made ashes and ruins of hundreds and thousands of towns and villages, mills and factories, collective and state farms. On the field of battle flowed the blood of Soviet people who were heroically defending the liberty and independence of their native land. The author of the poem, written during this period of stern trials for our motherland, did not find in himself wrathful words to express all the force and depth of the Soviet people's hatred for the enemy. The poet went no farther than an ambiguous and indifferent phrase about 'foreigners in green uniforms.'

"Thus, by publishing Sosyura's ideologically defective poem 'Love the Ukraine,' the editorial staff of the magazine *Zvezda* showed that it has not drawn the necessary conclusions from the Party Central Committee's decrees on ideological questions.

"In spite of the obvious erroneousness of Sosyura's poem, the Ukrainian press has not sharply criticized the defective poem, which has frequently been published in the Ukraine. We speak about this also because mistakes are not only committed in literature. Distortions in ideological work also occur in the arts. Thus, the opera 'Bogdan Khmelnytsky,' the libretto of which, as has already been noted in *Pravda*, contains serious errors, was produced on the stage of Kiev's Shevchenko Opera and Ballet Theater.

"These facts testify to serious shortcomings and mistakes in ideological-educational work in the Ukraine. It is evident that the Central Committee of the Ukraine Communist Party concerns itself little with ideological questions. Bolshevik direction of ideological-educational work lies in correcting people in good time, in criticizing in a Bolshevik manner and not slurring over their mistakes. This is what helping people and furthering their creative production means. It cannot be said that Party organizations in the Ukraine have consistently applied these principles in their practical work of guidance.

"It must be admitted that ideological-educational work among the intelligentsia is badly organized in the Ukraine. Among Ukrainian writers criticism and self-criticism is inadequately developed and there are cases of slurring over of mistakes and of mutual admiration. Naturally, in this atmosphere Sosyura's poem not only was not criticized but was unreservedly eulogized. Sosyura's poem 'Love the Ukraine' was particularly overloaded with praises by, among others, the poet Maxim Rylsky, who, as is known, himself has not avoided serious ideological errors in the past. At one time, in a report to the plenary session of the Board of the Ukraine Union of Soviet Writers, Rylsky, in defiance

of the fact, declared that Sosyura's poem unfolds the themes of 'friendship of peoples' and 'internationalism.

"Such an unprincipled position inevitably leads to serious failures in literary work and prevents the correct, Bolshevik education of creative cadres.

"Something must be said concerning the practice of translations of literary works.

"Sosyura's poem 'Love the Ukraine' is printed in the magazine Zvezda in a translation by the poet A. Prokofyev, who is a member of the editorial board of the magazine and is responsible for the poetry department. The facts show that Prokofyev adopted an irresponsible attitude to his work as a translator. Thus, in his 1947 translation of Sosyura's poem, Prokofyev for incomprehensible reasons acted completely arbitrarily in writing into the text images which are completely absent from the author's poem. For example, the translator wrote in these lines:

" 'We are nothing without the Soviet motherland.
There is only one motherland in the world for us.
In the verses which flow over the Volga,
In the Kremlin's stars and the Uzbek gardens,
Everywhere beat kindred hearts.'

"But in the translation made in 1951 Prokofyev left out what he had himself added in his earlier translation of the poem and furthermore omitted from the poem the little that pointed, although indistinctly, to a link with present-day reality. Thus the reference to 'foreigners in green uniforms' is left out of Sosyura's poem.

"As has become known, Sosyura's poem has been also translated into Russian by the translator N. Ushakov. Attention is drawn to the fact that his several translations of Sosyura's poem 'Love the Ukraine' have a number of alternative versions; moreover, in each case the author of the translation deviates from the sense and arbitrarily adds to the text. In 1948 Ushakov translated the beginning of the fifth stanza as follows:

" 'She is behind the wattles in the silence,
all in blossom,
And in the most harmonious songs.'

"The same lines in 1949 were translated as:

" 'She is behind the collective farm wattles,
all in blossom,
And in the most harmonious songs.'

"Finally, in 1951, this text was radically changed by the translator:

" 'She is in the wealth, of the collective farm,
all in blossom,
And in the most harmonious songs.'

"The Bolshevik party teaches that the strength of Soviet literature lies in the fact that it is a literature which has no other interests and can have no other interests than the interests of the people and the

state. The mission of Soviet literature is to depict the grandeur and might of our motherland, to cultivate and develop the Stalinist friendship of peoples, ardent Soviet patriotism.

"Soviet patriotism, the national pride of Soviet people, is an active emotion, an emotion the strength of which lies in the fact that the roots which feed it lie in real life. It is the love of the fatherland which we have transformed and built with our own hands. It is the love that is fortified by the consciousness that each step and each effort for the good of the motherland brings closer the triumph of communism.

"No foe is frightening to our country so long as the indestructible friendship of the peoples of the Soviet fatherland lives and thrives. It is the duty of the writers to wage an implacable fight against all and sundry manifestations of nationalism, tirelessly to propagandize the noble ideas of Soviet patriotism* and proletarian internationalism, to sing in their works of the heroic deeds of our great motherland as she builds communism."

On July 14, the New York Times reported that the Communist party has launched a drive in Ukraine to eliminate "serious ideological faults and mistakes," many of which are described as of bourgeois nationalist character.

Pravda published on the above date a decree of the Central Committee of the Communist party of Ukraine acknowledging its responsibility for such errors and pledging itself to eliminate them from Ukraine and particularly from Ukrainian intellectual circles. . . . Numerous articles in the newspaper Pravda, published in Kiev, report meetings of writers and party workers in many Ukrainian centers to discuss "bourgeois nationalist errors and general mistakes in ideology." Prominent Ukrainian writers have been criticized for serious faults. In addition, half a dozen Odessa writers of less fame have been branded as having bourgeois Ukrainian nationalistic tendencies. Another writer singled out for special criticism by the central committee of the Ukrainian Communist party was M. Rylsky, critic and poet who on previous occasions

*Prof. Baudouin de Courtenay, then at the St. Petersburg University, gave to the dictionary of the Russian Language, edited by V. Dal, 1907, a remarkable definition of the meaning of the term "patriotism" in Russian, which did not lose its validity when applied to the present Russian Communist meaning of this word: "patriot . . . patriotism . . . the self-appointed bearers of the true Russian ideals, all these Krushevans and Karls Amalias Gringmuts, regard it as possible to appear in the role of manifestants of the true Russian endeavours, of true Russian patriots and to call up to traitor-beating . . . therefore the appellation 'patriot' must be thrown away as something dirty, soiled by the bloody hands of Krushevans and people bearing kinship to him. The patriotism of the secret police-hooligans and of the 'black-hundreds' is in direct proportion to the possibility to rob unpunished." Again the true Russian proletarian patriotism is also in direct proportion to rob unpunished the non-Russian nationalities.

had been called to task for ideological mistakes. However the campaign is not limited to literary circles. The Central Committee found serious fault with its own work and that of the party organization generally.

"The Central Committee will take measures to remove serious mistakes and faults in ideological work in the near future [its resolution said]. It has been decided to work out measures on a wide scale for the removal of existing serious faults and mistakes in ideological work and for a radical improvement of the leadership of the artistic organizations of the past."

Under a heavy bombardment from Soviet Moscow are all scholars who remained in the Western Ukraine. The Communist Press reported:

"On the occasion of the opening of a branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lviv, a mass meeting of the Ukrainian intellectuals took place in Lviw on April 3, 1951.

"Prof. I. P. Krepyakevych, greeted the meeting on behalf of Ukrainian historians and said that in the past 'Ukrainian historiography was burdened with Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, which was formulated in the so-called counter-revolutionary school of Hrushevsky and which endeavored to detach the Ukrainian people from the brotherly Russian people. . . . The Hrushevsky school preached the classlessness of the Ukrainian nation . . . the theory of a unique stream in the Ukrainian culture . . . falsification, zoological nationalism and reactionary idealism.' He called for redoubled efforts against the 'remnants of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist ideology.'"

M. I. Rudnytsky, now a professor at Ivan Franko University, blasted away at the Ukrainian nationalists who "by every means helped the Austrian emperors in their propaganda of enlightened absolutism" and who clamored that they "were building the Ukrainian Piedmont." He concluded that the Soviet government came to Ukraine to stay forever.

The fight is going on also in the Red Orthodox Church. From underground sources under the date of May 6, 1951, The Ukrainian News (Ukrainski Visti), appearing in Neu-Ulm, U.S. Zone of Germany, printed the following report:

"According to information the Stalinist church in Ukraine has become a powerful weapon of the Russification of all spiritual life of our enslaved fatherland. The majority of bishops appointed by Patriarch Alexei are Russians who relentlessly conduct the Russification and persecute attempts to preserve the Ukrainian character of the Orthodox Church. . . . 'In December 1950 Patriarch Alexei ordered immediate removal of Bishop Alexander of Zhytomyr and Ovruch; his place was taken by Bishop Sergius Darin of Rostov. The first act of the latter was an ostentatious disavowal of a medal of 'National Liberation,' bestowed upon him by the Yugoslav government in 1945, under the pretext that 'Yugoslavia is hostile to the Soviet Union.' No information is obtainable as to the fate of Bishop Alexander. Rumors circulated in Kiev to the effect that he was arrested for 'Ukrainian nationalism' among the clergy of the Zhytomyr Diocese. His successor, however, stayed but a short while in

Zhytomyr before being sent to Byelorussia, his see being taken by Bishop Nifont of Ufa.

"The clergy is being trained in the seminaries in Moscow and Leningrad, and Kiev. . . . Candidates for priesthood are compelled to fill out a questionnaire with precise answers on place of birth, social origin and occupation. All must know the 'literary Russian language,' as well as the 'history of the Russian church.' "

The schools do not, even now, teach the pupils perfectly the Russian language, complain the Russian Communists in the Ukraine. Radyanska Ukraina of May 24, 1951, demands that every child of 10-11 years is obliged to know Russian as perfectly as he knows Ukrainian.

But not all Ukrainian writers and poets are persecuted; some of them are awarded Stalin prizes for combatting Ukrainian "separatism" and the orientation toward the West, especially the country of G. Washington. In Izvestia of March 24, 1951, appeared the following item:

"THEATRE: A Moving Play, by S. Makarov, Dnepropetrovsk.--The presentation of Lyubomir Dmiterko's drama *Forever Together* at Dnepropetrovsk's Shevchenko Theatre has been awarded a Stalin Prize.

"The play is devoted to the historic events of 1657. Bohdan Khmelnytsky, under whose leadership the Ukrainian people joined the great Russian people once and for all, dies, Ivan Vyhovsky takes over the Hetman's mace. This descendant of petty gentry betrays the Ukraine. The rapacious hands of the King of Sweden, of the Turkish Sultan, of the Crimean Khan and of the Polish noblemen stretch forth towards Ukraine's incalculable resources. The portrayal of the young Ukrainian girl Orysia is quite symbolic. Vyhovsky's wife gives her to a Crimean envoy, who sells her to Nemerich the Swedish ambassador.

" 'Now you belong to me, my beauty,' the Swede informs her.

" 'What? I have been sold?'

" 'Don't be sad, my dove; the whole Ukraine has been sold.'

"The Zaporozhe Cossacks rise in a liberation struggle. The best sons and daughters of the Ukraine join them. The fraternal Russian people help them. This puts an end to Vyhovsky's treacherous intrigues. The words of Ataman Ivan Sirko sound like a solemn oath: 'Forever together!'

Taras Shevchenko, foremost bard and national prophet of Ukraine, cursed Khmelnytsky for his ill-fated alliance with the Russian Czar which resulted in the subjugation of Ukraine by Russia. Naturally, Stalin gave the prize bearing his name to a Communist writer who depicted this subjugation of the Ukrainian people to the Russian government in a favorable light. It would seem, as a consequence, that the rank and file of the Ukrainian people under Soviet domination are still unconvinced as to the validity of the title, "Forever Together," inasmuch as the Soviet government has seen fit to have Russian-Ukrainian "friendship" dramatized. Too often have the Ukrainian people demonstrated that they are still following their great leaders, such as Mazepa and Shevchenko, who believed in freedom and fought Russian despotism.

The entire hatred of Soviet Moscow is now concentrated on the U.S.A. *Pravda*, March 27, 1950, published a review by M. Rylsky discussing the new collection of poems, translated into Russian, of the Ukrainian poet, A. Malyshko, under the title "Beyond the Blue Sea":

"The title of the collection, which evokes the image of a fairytale land beyond the blue waters, is, of course, ironic, for the land in question is the U.S.A., and what the poet saw was violence, oppression and appalling inequality. Unemployment, that terrible word, forgotten today in the Soviet Union, is omnipresent in America. He saw tears in the eyes of bricklayers, longshoremen and miners; he saw them also in those of his countrymen who had migrated to this 'promised land' a long time ago and now questioned him eagerly about the Soviet Union ('A Visit').

"Repeatedly he met Negroes, descendants of the Uncle Tom over whose fate we cried in our childhood. They are persecuted with the old, stupid cruelty and with a new, horrible refinement. They are kept down by 'misery and backbreaking work' ('The Negro Woman'); they are deprived of their rights. With profound compassion the poet tells of the Negro woman elevator operator who is addressed by 'the rich with mugs like roast beef' only in the two monosyllables: 'Up!' or 'Down!'

"Our poet, who since his childhood has been accustomed to respect old age, takes off his hat to the aged woman.

"Negro woman, I bow to you
As a son should. Your woe
Alters your eyes. I view
 in them your hopeless sorrow
For three Communist sons—their years
Cut short with a rope in the Black country.
What longing shines through your tears!
The gentlemen-gangsters change their tone,
I hear: 'The Soviet Union!' 'The Soviet Union!'
And while the elevator rattles down
The Negro woman rides on wings
Higher and higher and higher
Where happiness sings.

"'Beyond the Blue Sea' is not merely a description of human sorrow and injustice. It is an expression of a people's wrath. We are shown a line of striking workers and the poet declares: 'No, they will not be conquered, nor is it possible to buy them off.'

"The theme of friendship of peoples is also present in the book. The poem 'Katyusha' has become particularly well known. It tells of two Negroes walking down an Oklahoma field singing 'Katyusha,' 'the "Katyusha," you know, written by Isakovsky.'

"And she entered the hearts of these Negroes,
Forgotten were lies and slavery
'And Katyusha came out on the shore'
Somewhere beyond the blue Pacific sea.

"The eyes of all the honest people of the world are directed toward our country, which is on its way to the sunny summits of communism. And over there, 'beyond the blue sea,' our poet saw the will to struggle, faith in the just cause."

Not only the Ukrainian writers but all writers of the non-Russian nationalities are compelled to "fight for the liberation" of the Negroes in the U.S.A.

Izvestia, December 27, 1950, brought the following information about the plenary sessions of the board of Ukraine Union of Soviet Writers:

"PLENARY SESSION OF BOARD OF UKRAINE UNION OF SOVIET WRITERS. Stalino--One hundred twenty writers from Kiev, Kharkov, Dnepropetrovsk, Stalino and other cities of the republic took part in the fifth session of the board of the Ukraine Union of Soviet Writers, which concluded its work Dec. 26. The plenary session heard and discussed the following reports: 'Comrade Stalin's Work on "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics" and its Role in the Development of Soviet Literature' (M. Rylsky), 'The State and Problems of Literary Criticism in the Ukraine' (L. Novichenko), 'The Second World Congress of Partisans of Peace and Tasks of Soviet Literature in the Fight for Peace' (A. Korneichuk), and 'The Work of the Donets Branch of the Ukraine Union of Soviet Writers' (P. Baidebura).

"The discussion following the reports stressed the necessity of struggling to perfect the Ukrainian language and combating vulgar and bourgeois-nationalist manifestations in linguistics and literature. The session outlined measures to raise the level of literary criticism in the Ukraine."

Literaturnaya Gazeta, January 6, 1951, reports:

"Speaking at the Fifth Plenary Session of the Board of the Ukraine Republic Union of Soviet Writers in Stalino, the poet M. Rylsky, Member of the Ukraine Republic Academy of Sciences, gave a report entitled 'J. V. Stalin's Work "Marxism and Problems of Linguistics" and Its Role in the Development of Soviet Literature.' 'The enemies of the people--the nationalists--at one time sought to implant the harmful notion that the Ukrainian language is separate from the fraternal Russian language,' said M. Rylsky. 'They denied the undoubtedly beneficial influence of Russian on the language of the works of Shevchenko, Kotlyarevsky, Ukrainka, Franko and Kotsyubinsky. The cosmopolitans in general denied the indigenous nature of the Ukrainian language, leveled it down, deprived it of its fresh tones and cluttered the language with artificially created phrases, vulgarisms, etc.'

"D. Kosarik criticized the work of the Ukraine Republic Academy of Sciences' Institute of Linguistics for its insufficient attention to the study of the language of the classics of Ukrainian literature. There are a number of gross shortcomings, D. Kosarik pointed out, in the dictionary of the Ukrainian literary language which has been prepared for the press.

"L. Novichenko, Chairman of the Commission on the Theory of Literature and Criticism of the Ukraine Union of Soviet Writers, gave a report entitled 'On the State and Tasks of Literary Criticism in the Ukraine,' pointing out that one of the reasons for postwar successes on the literary front was the merciless eradication of relapses into Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism and cosmopolitanism, which had occurred in the work of individual writers and critics. Ukrainian criticism has exposed the antiscientific essence of all attempts to revive the bourgeois theory of the 'single stream,' which has isolated literary works from their class and national soil. Criticism has justly struck at those who tried to deny or gloss over the beneficial influence of advanced Russian culture on the spiritual life of the Ukrainian people."

Very characteristic is the following action of the Party Central Committee, of course, ordered by Soviet Moscow:

"Uchitelskaia gazeta, Sept. 12, 1951. Kiev--The Ukraine Communist Party Central Committee has passed a special decree concerning textbooks on Ukrainian literature for the schools of the republic. The Central Committee notes that serious shortcomings and mistakes are committed in individual books for reading in the elementary classes and also in readers and textbooks on Ukrainian literature for the fifth to tenth grades.

"The elementary readers, the resolution states, give a poor elucidation of the theme of the friendship of the peoples, do not show the leading role of the great Russian people among the fraternal peoples of our homeland and the assistance given to the Ukrainian people by the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and especially the Russian people. The heroic labor of the working class of the U.S.S.R. is inadequately reflected. Some books lack material on the Stalinist plan for the transformation of nature and the great construction projects of communism. The Soviet Ukraine as an integral and inseparable part of the great Soviet Union is poorly shown in the readers and textbooks on Ukrainian literature. Apolitical articles and poems are published in a number of them.

"The textbooks on Ukrainian literature for the eighth to tenth grades, the Central Committee points out, do not meet present-day demands for the teaching of literature in the school in the light of Comrade Stalin's language teaching. Some textbooks elucidate arbitrarily and incorrectly highly important questions of the history of Ukrainian literature, the analysis of individual works is given as a thing apart from the social-political conditions of the epoch, and questions of Soviet patriotism and the historic friendship of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples are treated in a superficial manner. The interrelationship of Russian and Ukrainian literature and the fruitful influence of advanced Russian literature on the development of the latter are shown inadequately. The analyses of the creative labor of a number of writers are notable for their lack of concreteness, their declarative spirit and the absence of principled Party criticism. . . .

"The Central Committee charged the Ministry of Education to eliminate the shortcomings and mistakes in readers, manuals and textbooks

on the Ukrainian language and literature and to ensure the preparation of editions of good, ideologically consistent textbooks which would give pupils a profound knowledge of literary works, an understanding of the orderly character of the historical-literary process and of the fruitful influence of Russian literature on the development of Ukrainian literature. The analysis of the language of artistic works in textbooks must be based on Comrade Stalin's works on questions of linguistics.

"The Ministry of Education must complete revision of present manuals and textbooks and preparation of new textbooks on the Ukrainian language and literature by June 1, 1952. . . ."

After constantly "reforming" and purging the textbooks in the course of the past 30 years, Soviet Moscow still regards them as "unsatisfactory." The Russian demands regarding "brain-washing" of the Ukrainian youth for the final "brain-changing" are again increased in order to speed up the attainment of the final goal, prepared by Russian Communism for all non-Russian peoples—the fate of the Jewish nation.

Byelo-Ruthenia (Byelo-Russia). The Byelo-Ruthenians are held under constant suspicion of an "orientation towards the West." The prime minister, A. E. Kleshev, stated in the paper Soviet Byelo-Russia, January 2, 1950,

"that only through the help of the great Russian nation the Byelo-Russians have defended their national independence . . . only through the help of the brotherly Russians the Byelo-Russians could defend their existence and preserve their language and culture. The light of culture went into Byelo-Russia always from the east, from the great Russian brother nationality."

Thus were warned all writers and comrades against the dangerous "Western" orientation, which is traditional for this country.

Moldavia. According to Pravda, April 4, 1951, the secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party demanded "to improve the standards of ideological work, to improve instruction and checkups" on the Third Moldavian Party Congress. The party organizations are not exercising an effective control in guiding the work of schools, higher educational institutions, theaters, workers' and collective farmers' clubs.

Very serious deviations discovered Izvestia, August 30, 1951, in Moldavian literature in the article, "On Major Shortcomings in Work of Moldavian Poets":

". . . It is pleasant to note that capable, talented young people are constantly adding to the ranks of Moldavian poets. Yet, along with this desirable situation, Moldavian poetry plainly lags behind the growing demands of the reader. Serious shortcomings and errors have not yet been eliminated from the work of many poets of Moldavia. . . . Before us lies 'In the Vanguard,' a book of verse by Bogdan Istru that appeared this year. Along with verse in which one feels the warm breath of our times, the book contains many light and superficial poems. . . ."

"In another poem, 'Construction,' Istru likewise speaks superficially and only incidentally of the important thing--man, raising a majestic

structure by his labor. The poet noticed only a girl working on the building, 'with a voice of crystal,' of whom he 'caught a glimpse through the window.'

"Bogdan Istru is one of the best Moldavian writers of the older generation and these verses of his testify that the poet has lowered his standards and has not fully outlived his formalist errors.

"There are particularly disappointing, obvious ideological misconceptions in the poet's work. For example, he writes in the poem 'Stalingrad':

"The Russian defends his new izba [hut],
The Georgian his aul [village],
And the Kazakh, worthy son of the steppe,
The songs of the bard Dzhabbul.
The Ukrainians are fighting for the Dnieper,
Moldavians for Kishinev.

"It is difficult to imagine a more distorted conception of the friendship of the Soviet peoples! The poem 'Stalingrad' is an example of national narrowmindedness, lack of clear understanding of the immense significance of the battle of Stalingrad in the great patriotic war and in the liberation struggle of all peoples against Hitlerism.

"Many successful ballads and songs belong to the pen of the young and talented poet Petr Darienko, but his work, too, shows serious defects. Some of Darienko's verses are dedicated to Moldavia and its flourishing in the years of Soviet rule. But it is these very poems--'My Moldavia,' 'Moldavia, You Are a Sweet Song to Me,' 'On the Strings of the Heart, My Dear Country'--that merit the strongest reproof. It is hard to find in them the signs of our times, of the socialist changes that have taken place on Moldavia's soil. The verses are apolitical and without thought.

"The poet Yu. Barzhansky issued a book of verse called 'Road to Happiness.' Reading this book, one feels that Barzhansky's poetry bears the imprint of indifference, coldness, superficial description of life and at times even an apolitical attitude. . . .

"Leonid Kornyanu's poem 'To the Dniester' is filled with pessimism. . . . It remains for the reader to ask the poet what threw him into such hopeless melancholy and where, to what shores, 'the rolling waves are carrying off' Kornyanu's sadness.

"It is necessary to speak sharply and publicly about such errors in Moldavian poetry not only because they are inherent in the work of certain young as well as 'veteran' poets, but also because as a result of friendly personal relations these ideological deviations are passed over in silence by the critics and 'smoothed out' by translators.

"Only an atmosphere of mutual hushing up of errors can explain the fact that Ye. Bukov's apolitical poem 'I Yearn for the Land of the Cherries' could be reprinted in anthology after anthology, year after year. This is what, it seems, the poet longed for during the days of the terrible struggle against fascism that were so grim for the motherland:

"I yearn for the land of the cherries.
I yearn for the babbling spring.
I yearn for the partisans' songs.
I yearn for the tongue of my ancestors.

"The poet Bukov frequently reduces to purely external characteristics such lofty feelings and concepts as love of motherland and Soviet patriotism. His poem "Motherland" plainly smacks of anatomic description of his beloved, for, in his words, he loves his motherland because she 'is tall, young, strong and beautiful. . . .'

"The mills and factories built after the war, the growing economic strength and culture of the collective farms and collective farmers arouse justified pride in the working people of Soviet Moldavia. But it is not this socialist Moldavia of which Bukov sings in his poem 'Green Leafy Land.' He idealizes the distant past of Moldavia, crushed by the Turkish yoke, he glorifies not Soviet man, who has transformed the republic by his heroic labor, but fairy tale knights and princesses. . . .

"Bukov has been told more than once that his works depict methods of labor that have been outlived. But even after these critical comments the poet in 'Young Communist Lake' describes the same physical straining, the same 'rivers of sweat.' There is nothing here but shouts, shovels, rubble, and sweat running from under the broad visors of the young builders' caps.

"Lately it has become the fashion among Moldavian writers to speak of poetry as a genre which now occupies a 'leading place.' There are not a few literary critics willing to extol both the real and illusory successes of Moldavian poets. However, the facts cited by us testify that indifference to politics, lack of ideological orientation and national narrowmindedness have by no means been outlived in the work of some Moldavian poets."

Armenia. The secretary of the Armenian Communist Party stated on the Fifteenth Congress of the Armenian Parta, according to Pravda, March 5, 1951,

"Much attention was given in the report to problems of ideological work. While pointing out steady cultural growth, the speaker dwelt in detail on serious deficiencies in a number of sectors of ideological work. The Armenian Republic Academy of Sciences' Social Sciences Institute was criticized for insufficient elaboration of timely problems of the history and literature of the modern, recent and, in particular, the Soviet period. Certain scientific institutes have not produced any scientific works for a long period, and persons with little bent for scientific work have found 'shelter' in some of them.

"In recent years the writers of Armenia have largely overcome the narrowness of subject matter in their creative work, have gained more profound mastery of the method of socialist realism and have had some successes, particularly in the realm of poetry, drama and children's literature. The continued lag in this field is, however, a serious shortcoming in Armenian literature. Though many works have been published

in the past two years, the majority of them still fail to meet the growing demands of the Soviet reader. In general these works do not have sufficiently high artistic standards, one of the reasons being unsatisfactory literary criticism.

"The speaker stressed that Party organizations must continue to wage a resolute struggle against all relapses into bourgeois ideology and manifestations of idealism and formalism in the work of individual workers in science, literature and the arts. . . ."

Pravda, May 13, published an article "On Certain Questions of Contemporary Armenian Literature," in which we find traces of the Armenian national opposition:

". . . Several years ago an alarming urge to abandon the reflection of living problems of modern times and to go back to the distant past was discerned in a number of Armenian writers. . . . Attention was called to the need for intensifying the struggle in literature against relapses of bourgeois nationalism, the idealizing of ancient Armenia, against all manifestations of kowtowing before the reactionary West. The Party Central Committee's historic decisions on ideological questions laid the foundation for a new advance in Armenian literature since the war. . . .

"G. Emin's book of poems 'New Road' has been highly valued; the poet was awarded a Stalin Prize. O. Shiraz has written a poem 'Names of Our Villages,' devoted to socialist transformations in Soviet Armenia. The successes of the young poets are encouraging. V. Davtyan has written a fine poem entitled 'In the Turukhan District,' which reproduces incidents in the life of the great Stalin. The poems of A. Grashi, S. Kaputikyan, M. Markaryan and other poets exposing the warmongers are well known.

"However, these advances in Armenian literature cannot conceal serious shortcomings in the creative work of a considerable number of writers. The recent 15th Congress of the Armenian Communist Party pointed out that at the present time the biggest shortcoming of Armenian literature is the still unsurmounted lag of prose, and also the excessively low level of literary criticism. The majority of recent works does not satisfy the growing demands of the reader.

"Despite a noticeable shift to contemporary subjects, Armenian literature is still in debt to its readers. The important achievements of the Armenian people have not found worthy reflection in literature; there are still few books which depict the labor exploits of leading workers in socialist industry, agriculture and science. In effect the Armenian working class is still not properly portrayed in literature. The theme of the Bolshevik party and its wise guidance has not yet received entirely satisfactory treatment. The life of the fraternal people of our motherland is likewise insufficiently reflected."

Naradnoye Obrazovaniye, N. 8, 1950, related that the Armenian Party demanded an improvement of the teaching of Russian in schools which is now most unsatisfactory.

Georgia. In spite of the rather privileged treatment of the Georgians, there occurred a real "heresy" in the Georgian Academy of Sciences. Its member Sh. I. Nutsubidze published a book: RUSTAVELI and the Eastern Renaissance which at first produced a favorable impression. Later, however, the Russians discovered in the idea that the Georgian Renaissance of the twelfth century is declared to be the highest form of the Eastern Renaissance a nationalist "danger," because the author disregarded the statements of the "classical writers of Marxism-Leninism concerning that which must be understood by a Renaissance." Therefore there appeared in Sovietskaya Kniga, Nr. 9, 1950, an attack on the Georgian scholar by S. I. Danelia. The argument of the attack is summed up at the end of the article:

"... The East did not form a Protestant Church, since it was not historically necessary here; this circumstance confirms our idea that the Renaissance in the East did not represent historical necessity. In the contrary event it would have inevitably arisen among the Russian people also. Sh. Nutsubidze, however, says nothing about a Russian Renaissance. According to his theory, the Renaissance, 'removing the confessional barriers' and joining the Georgian people in a single cultural family (cf. p. 80) with the peoples of Islam (Persia, Arabia, etc.) and the Catholic West (Italy, France, etc.), separated it at the same time by a high wall from the Russian people. This is a badly thought out theory, by the single fact that in their cultural relations the Georgian people stood immeasurably closer to the Russians than to the Persians and even the Italians, while the 'confessional barriers,' being the result of very profound historical causes, were far from being as important as the author supposes.

'If we accepted the concept of the 'Eastern Renaissance' put forward by Sh. Nutsubidze, we would be constrained, contrary to the well-known remarks of J. Stalin, S. Kirov and A. Zhdanov concerning the syllabus for a textbook on the history of the U.S.S.R., to construct the history of the culture of the Georgian people in complete isolation from the history of the culture of the Russian people and completely to ignore the greatest achievements of Russian social thought and of Russian historical science; that is, we would have had occasion to break with the long-established traditions of Georgian historiography, the greatest representatives of which the author treats with incomprehensible arrogance.

"Sh. Nutsubidze hastens to ascribe a Renaissance to Georgia, apparently not noticing that if Georgia had had a Renaissance, she would have lagged behind the Russian people in the spiritual sphere much more than was indeed the case. Isolating the history of the Georgian people from the history of the Russian people by his concept of an 'Eastern Renaissance,' Sh. Nutsubidze has mechanically carried over into Georgia the specific characteristics of Italy. The question involuntarily arises: Why should the historical past of Georgia be painted in the Italian colors?

"Why did the author, in order to extol the Georgian people, have to dress them in a strange garb, in the Italian garb of the Renaissance?

"Instead of elucidating the specific characteristics of the national

Georgian culture, Sh. Nutsbidze ignores this important principle of Marxism-Leninism.

"Thus, the main conception of Sh. Nutsbidze's book--the 'Eastern Renaissance'--has been formed in clear violation of the fundamentals of Marxist-Leninist methodology. The author's mistake lies in the mechanical transfer to Georgia of tenets worked out by historical science in relation to the West European countries. At the same time, in isolating the history the Georgian people from the history of the Russian people, he has obscured the specific features of Georgian culture."

Azerbaijan. The Russian chairman of the Communist Party in this country delivered a report on the Eighteenth Congress of the party according to Pravda, May 29, 1951,* which demonstrates a general opposition of the Azerbaijanians:

"All is far from well in Soviet Azerbaijan, the oil-rich Soviet republic bordering on Iran, M. D. Bagirov, head of the Azerbaijan Communist party, has revealed in a major speech, the text of which has just reached this country.

"Mr. Bagirov's exposé of economic deficiencies, political deviationism, and covert anti-Government behavior in Azerbaijan is being studied with particular interest because of the key relation of this area to Iran. Much Soviet propaganda directed to Iran holds Azerbaijan up as a model of what the Iranians could achieve if 'liberated from Western domination.'

"There are many ties of language, religion and culture between the peoples of Soviet Azerbaijan and of Iran.

"Though pointing to increased industrial and agricultural production in the post-war period, Mr. Bagirov made plain that many of these results were below planned quotas, the result of inefficiency, neglect and sometimes deliberate efforts to evade obligations to the Government.

"He lashed out most bitterly at peasants attempting to serve their own interests rather than those of the collective farms. To meet collective farm livestock quotas, he charged, peasants gave the collectives bulls and calves so far as possible, keeping for themselves cows whose milk they appropriated. Similarly they kept sheep for their own flocks while giving collectives less-valuable goats.

"In industry, Mr. Bagirov reported a 28 per cent increase in Baku oil production during the Fourth Five-Year Plan, a rather low rate of gain in view of the great wartime production decline in this area and failure to meet the 1950 rate of gain of oil production, the poor quality of much work in this area, and failure to meet the 1950 drilling program by more than 70 per cent.

"Construction in Azerbaijan, Mr. Bagirov indicated, is going poorly, with power station erection proceeding slowly. Much housing, he indicated, is built negligently so that it is of poor quality and there are delays in putting it to use.

*The New York Times, July 7, 1951.

"Progress in transportation development has been poor. Railroad lines and river craft do not operate on schedule and accidents occur too often. Trucks for road transport are out of commission awaiting repair too much of the time.

"Food made available to the urban population is often of poor grade and produced under unsanitary conditions, Mr. Bagirov reported, assailing the standards of work of the Azerbaijan Ministries for the food and for meat and dairy industries. He indicated similar discontent over the quality of consumer goods.

"Mr. Bagirov demanded that better cooperation be given the Soviet voluntary military training organizations preparing civilians in skills needed by the ground, sea and air forces. He assailed lack of interest in their work, even on the part of organizations linked with the Communist party.

"'Bourgeois nationalism' continues to be a problem in Azerbaijan, Mr. Bagirov's speech indicated. He assailed those intellectuals and others who sought to glorify anti-Russian heroes from Azerbaijan's past."

Very important are the ideological "deviations":

"The republic's Party organization has exposed the incorrect and unscientific conception of the reputedly progressive nature of muridism and the Shamil movement, a conception which was current in Soviet historical literature. Criticism of these serious mistakes with regard to certain problems of Azerbaijan history has played an important role in the correct education and tempering of cadres.

"Recently the Azerbaijan Union of Soviet Writers correctly criticized the harmful, antipopular book 'Dede Korkut.' This book was written in the guise of an Azerbaijan epic and propagandized for many long years by one of our literary scholars and writers who had lost political vigilance and feeling of responsibility.

"The speaker stressed the need to continue a tireless struggle against ideological perversions and manifestations of bourgeois nationalism.

"The Party Central Committee's decrees on ideological problems, continued the speaker, have helped the writers of Azerbaijan to understand their failings and shortcomings, to understand the demands which the Bolshevik party and Soviet government make of creative workers. They have begun to turn more to themes of everyday life. A number of works by Azerbaijan writers have been awarded Stalin Prizes in the past two years. But the writers have not fulfilled the order of the 17th Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress for the creation of really valuable works on the friendship of peoples and the joint struggle of the Transcaucasian peoples for their freedom and independence and for Soviet rule. . . ."

Kultura i Zhizn, November 27, 1950, heralded the crisis in a report about a conference of historians. On the agenda was the "unsatisfactory situation in the field of historiography."

Not satisfactory is also the situation in literature. Izvestia, December 14, 1950, writes about the ten-day celebration of Azerbaijanian literature:

“. . . It is impossible, however, to overlook the fact that criticism and literary scholarship still lag behind the general development of Azerbaijan literature. The decree of the Azerbaijan Party Central Committee pointed out that critics and literary scholars are not performing their direct function and are not yet able to relate to the proper extent the problems of literature and of the policy of the Bolshevik party and Soviet government. They are not waging a sufficiently active struggle against formalism and are not exposing in good time manifestations of bourgeois nationalism in literature.

“Comrade M. D. Bagirov’s article in *Bolshevik* No. 13: ‘The Problem of the Character of the Movement of Muridism and Shamil,’ shows by the example of the harmful and defective book by G. Guseinov that a whole series of Azerbaijan literary and scientific workers have been blind to the manifestations of bourgeois nationalism. Critics and scholars were not able to reveal in time the ideological and political shortcomings of G. Guseinov’s book. The critics were also unable to generalize from experience of Azerbaijan Soviet literature or to render active assistance in the struggle to implant the method of socialist realism. Both outlines of the history of Azerbaijan Soviet literature, that which appeared in 1940 as well as the one prepared this year by the Azerbaijan Republic Academy of Sciences’ Literature Institute proved unsound and full of ideological and methodological errors.

“The strength of our literature lies in the fact that it is inspired by the great ideas of communism, that it lives in the great problems of today and has its roots deep in the soil of the people. . . . In all our literature, our poets and writers sing of the great friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union, of the idea of proletarian internationalism. . . . The theme of the struggle for world peace and against the Anglo-American warmongers occupies a large place in contemporary Azerbaijan literature.

“Following the Party Central Committee undeviatingly on ideological questions, continuing the great tradition of advanced Russian culture, and learning from the Soviet writers, the writers of Azerbaijan have great success. We can say without exaggeration that our literature has emerged onto the highroad and is developing as a literature of socialist realism. Nevertheless, our Moscow friends are quite right in pointing out shortcomings in the work of Azerbaijan writers. . . .

“Our celebration has proved once again that Moscow is a most exacting, severe and demanding judge. What pleases Moscow pleases all the people and the whole world.

“What does please Moscow?

“One of the latest major works of Samed Vurgun, ‘A Negro Speaks,’ which describes the speech of a Negro artist at the Wroclaw Peace Congress, gives a broad panorama of the popular struggle for world peace. . . .

“Among the works of present-day Azerbaijan poetry mention must be made of ‘Two Shores,’ a book of verses by Suleiman Rustam. . . . The second part of the book depicts the other world, on the other bank of the Araks, where the working people languish under the yoke of exploitation, where ‘the specter of hunger and death, of torture and hardships begotten by the Marshall Plan, arises year in, year out!’ . . .”

General Caucasian Problems, including the North Caucasians (Caucasian Highlanders).

Only recently, since 1950, Soviet Moscow has dedicated herself completely to a thoroughgoing falsification of Caucasian history. Before that time the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian ideological problems were her absorbing concern.

In the Caucasian problems the Russian Communist Party acts through the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, which after the "linguistic discussion" and Stalin's condemnation of the Arakcheyev-like regime is in a tragicomical plight. On the one hand the Academy of Sciences must glorify Stalin and the "freedom" of sciences in the Soviet Union. The Vestnik Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R., Nr. 8, October, 1950, published an editorial "For free, creative scientific criticism":

"... The genuine freedom of scientific creation brought into being in our country as a result of the great October socialist revolution, the consistent scientific world view and close contact with revolutionary practice--these things have led Soviet science to world-historic triumphs of which the whole Soviet people can be justly proud and which are admired by all progressive humanity. . . .

"Talk of 'free science' in capitalist countries is repulsive hypocrisy, cynical mendacity. The scientist of the bourgeois world, compelled to convert the products of scientific creation into a means for the mass destruction of peaceful people, compelled to sing the praises of the most misanthropic and reactionary antipopular prejudices, has a shameful and debased status; he is doomed to the role of a traitor to science and accomplice of murderers, of exploitation and oppression. . . . Genuine freedom of scientific creation is possible only in the U.S.S.R. and people's democracies, where science serves the people. . . .

"The essential condition for the progressive development of science, for its departure from old and obsolete ideas, is freedom of criticism. 'It is generally recognized,' says Comrade Stalin, 'that no science can develop and thrive without a clash of opinions, without freedom of criticism. . . .

"In the development of Soviet science criticism and self-criticism is the basis for overcoming routine, the basis of actual progress. Without free criticism there is no movement forward. Therefore criticism--vital creative discussion of problems of science--is an essential condition for fruitful activity by scientists. . . .

"The Bolshevik party and Comrade Stalin personally enjoin Soviet scientists to the broad discussion of fundamental problems of science. Thus, in 1947, the Party Central Committee organized a discussion of Academician G. F. Alexandrov's book 'The History of West European Philosophy.'

"The discussion revealed basic shortcomings in the work of Soviet philosophers as a whole and in particular in the work of the Philosophy Institute. A. A. Zhdanov formulated a number of most important theoretic questions and concrete problems of philosophical thought in his brilliant address at this discussion and severely criticized the lack of principle and of ideological content in the philosophers' work.

"The linguistics discussion which took place in the pages of Pravda and in which the most brilliant thinker of our time, J. V. Stalin, took part, will have major significance for all contemporary science. . . .

"The exposure of the existence of an Arakcheyev regime in linguistics is a serious lesson for all branches of Soviet science and for all scientific institutions, in particular the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences. Where there is no living clash of opinions, no vital and free criticism, no creative debate or continual discussion of scientific problems, there inevitably comes into being the sway of science's 'monopolists,' and stagnation and ideological blunders are unavoidable."

On the other hand the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences published in December, 1950, in *Izvestia Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R., Otdelenie literatury i yazyka*, the following "Decree," a good example of the "free, creative scientific discussion" and an example of how the Soviet Union "solves" scientific problems. "Decree of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R., Academy of Sciences":

"In the work of the study and description of facts from the rich history of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. the correct Marxist-Leninist assessment and interpretation of various national movements, of their real sources and significance, is of particular importance.

"In this great and responsible work it is necessary constantly to bear in mind the brilliant statement of J. V. Stalin to the effect that history can neither be improved upon nor detracted from. The endeavor to embellish historical reality is contrary to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. This refers particularly to the characterization of national movements, which is indissolubly linked with the solution of the nationality question.

"The Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences notes that various staff members of the History Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and of the Dagestan branch of the Academy of Sciences have forgotten these warning instructions of Comrade Stalin.

"Comrade N. M. Druzhinin, A. M. Pankratova, M. V. Nechkina and Zaks, the authors and editors of textbooks on the history of the U.S.S.R., distorting historical reality, idealized muridism, which was inspired by Turkey and Britain, and depicted Shamil as the popular leader of the mountain tribes of the Caucasus. The History Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences published S. K. Bushuyev's politically pernicious book about Shamil. This anti-Marxist, bourgeois-objectivist evaluation of the muridism movement and Shamil also found expression in the discussion 'On the Historical Essence of Muridism,' held in 1947 in the History Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

"The book by R. M. Magomedov, of the Dagestan branch, entitled 'The Struggle of the Caucasians for Independence Under the Leadership of Shamil,' was written from the standpoint of bourgeois nationalism.

"A. O. Makovelsky, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, expedited the publication and popularization of G. Guseinov's bourgeois-nationalist book 'From the History of Social and Philosophical Thought in Azerbaijan,' although this defective book maintains that 'in

its struggle against the Tsarist colonial regime and the local feudal lords, the Azerbaijan peasantry was also inspired by the Shamil movement,' which is a vile slander upon the Azerbaijan people.

"A superficial, dogmatic grasp of the principles of Marxist-Leninist theory, inattentiveness to the real facts and documents of the epoch, relapses into the anti-Marxist ideas of the Pokrovsky school, which have not yet been overcome all the way among our historians--all this could not but lead and did lead to distortion of the facts of historical reality and in particular to the erroneous and politically pernicious assessment of muridism and the Shamil movement in the Caucasus.

"As a result, a numerous collection of documents and information in the state archives attesting to the antipopular character of muridism and Shamil were consigned to oblivion.

"Instead of subjecting these most valuable archive materials to Marxist-Leninist analysis, certain historians from the institutes of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences essentially followed the lead of British and Turkish authors who have deliberately gilded and glorified muridism and Shamil; they showed lack of comprehension of the political acuity of the question of assessment of muridism, let slip from view the fact that muridism is the foundation of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism and that international reaction, headed by the U.S. and British imperialists, is making broad use of muridism, sheiks and dervishes to organize provocations and diversions against the democratic forces of the world and primarily the U.S.S.R.

"The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences considers that the Bureau of the Department of History and Philosophy and the History Institute did not take the necessary measures for immediate rectification of the errors in the assessment of muridism and for liquidating the faults in the research work of institutes of the Academy of Sciences which led to these errors.

"Yet back in the middle of May, 1950, a report was published, according to which the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers had repealed the previous decision to award a Stalin Prize to G. Guseinov for the book 'From the History of Social Thought in 19th-Century Azerbaidzhan' because this book distorts the character of the muridism movement and Shamil, picturing them as allegedly progressive, national liberation and democratic phenomena; in July, 1950 a gathering of the intelligentsia of the city of Baku, after discussing a report by M. D. Bagirov, and a gathering of the Party aktiv of the city of Makhach-Kala, after discussing a report by Comrade A. A. Danialov, Secretary of the Dagestan Province Party Committee, subjected the anti-Marxist assessment of the muridism movement and Shamil to a Party-principled criticism.

"The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences decrees:

"1. To ask the institutes of the Department of History and Philosophy, the Department of Literature and Language and the Department of Economics and Law and also the institutes and sectors of history, literature and language of the branches of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences to hold, prior to Oct. 15, 1950, meetings of the Learned Councils or gatherings of staff members to discuss the article by Comrade M. D.

Bagirov 'On the Problem of the Character of the Movement of Muridism and Shamil' (Bolshevik, No. 13, 1950).

"2. To ask the Dagestan branch of the Academy of Sciences to hold a scholarly session in 1950 devoted to exposure of the reactionary nationalist substance of the muridism movement and Shamil.

"The materials of the Dagestan session, together with the main archive documents attesting to the reactionary substance of the muridism movement and Shamil, are to be published in Makhach-Kala in 1950.

"3. To note that the Bureau of the Department of History and Philosophy and the History Institute did not fulfill the Feb. 15, 1950, decree of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences on extending scholarly assistance to the Institute of the History of Language and Literature of the Dagestan branch of the Academy of Sciences and did not make provision in the plan of works for 1951 for the writing of a 'History of Dagestan' jointly with the Dagestan branch of the Academy of Sciences.

"To ask the History Institute and the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences to include in the 1951 plan questions relating to the study of the history of the peoples of Dagestan, jointly with the Dagestan branch of the Academy of Sciences.

"4. To charge the History Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences with assuming leadership in extending assistance and in editing the 'History of Dagestan.' To allocate to the Dagestan branch of the Academy of Sciences a fund of 150,000 rubles in excess of the grant for 1951 to finance the work of writing the 'History of Dagestan.'

"5. To release R. M. Magomedov, who in a number of his works gave a bourgeois-nationalist interpretation of the muridism movement and Shamil which has nothing in common with scholarship, from the duties of Vice-Chairman of the Dagestan branch of the Academy of Sciences.

"6. To ask the editors of the magazine *Voprosy istorii* to publish a series of articles on the reactionary role of the muridism movement and Shamil, on the aggressive substance of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism and on the progressive role of the annexation of the Caucasus to Russia in the history of the Caucasian peoples.

"7. To hear, at a meeting of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences at the end of November, 1950, a report of the Department of History and Philosophy and of the Council of Branches on the execution of this decree.

"S. I. Vavilov, President, U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences

A. V. Topchiyev, Chief Academic Secretary,
Presidium of U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences.

"Moscow, Sept. 22, 1950."

From the article "Sheikh Mansur and His Turkish Inspirers" by N. Smirnov, *Voprosy istorii*, Nr. 10, 1950, we learn what is behind this "decree" and the official Communist interpretation of the history of the

Caucasus. The Russian interpretation with its defamation of all anti-Russian national movements can be summed up in the following:

"The Transcaucasian peoples established ties with Russia toward the end of the 15th century and these ties were strengthened in proportion as the military danger presented by Turkey and Iran increased. By their actions against Turkey and Iran Russian troops often saved the peoples of the Caucasus from military danger.

"Russia's close association with Georgia, Armenia and certain khانات of Dagestan and Azerbaijan in the second half of the 18th century and the consolidation and pushing forward of the 'Caucasus line' in the North Caucasus contributed to the aggravation of Russo-Turkish and Russo-Persian relations. British and French diplomacy at this time made great efforts to bar Russia from access to the Black Sea and, with the help of Turkey and Iran, turn the Caucasus into their enduring barrier against Russian advance southeastward. From 1784 to 1787, when the hostile Turkish policy toward Russia became more and more active, Ushurma, the 'Turkish emissary' and 'prophet,' fell upon Northern Caucasia and made determined attempts to take Kizlyar and other fortifications on the 'Caucasus line.'

"The first period of Ushurma's activity showed he had not been mistaken in counting on the support of the mountain people. But the mountain people were mistaken in accepting Ushurma as their leader. The backward mountain people were propelled toward Ushurma by the colonial policy of Tsarism, the endless confiscations and tribute; they were lured by his anti-Russian propaganda. Instead of the struggle for land, against exploitation and for the idea of equality, Ushurma called for armed uprising against Russia. This sort of political program did not correspond to the pressing and urgent interests of the mountain people. . . . Certainly, at the beginning of Ushurma's campaign, the Kumyks, some of the Kabardians and other mountain people, seeing in his appeals and sermons a signal for revolt, followed him, dreaming about all of fighting their feudal oppressors. His uprising was a typical reactionary revolt directed by a foreign hand—Turkey.

"In the 19th century Moslem circles adopted a policy of establishing a special religious and political movement in the Caucasus - Muridism. Blindly devoted to its Imam Shamil, its followers, sword in hand, imbued the peoples of the Caucasus with hatred of everything Russian. Its political task was to raise a movement of the mountain people against Russia and subordinate it to the interests of Turkey and Britain, at this time standing behind Turkey's back. It was, according to M. D. Bagirov, a reactionary nationalist movement, connected with Pan-Islamism.

"Revealing the essential meaning of Pan-Islamism, V. I. Lenin pointed out 'the need to fight Pan-Islamism and similar movements.' "

The role of Russia in the Caucasian history is not an abstract topic of research, but most closely connected with the teaching of history in the Caucasian schools. Very illuminating for the understanding of the whole background is also the article: "On Teaching the Theme of Conquest of the Caucasus by Russia" in the ninth grade of secondary schools, by F. I. Korovin, *Prepodavaniye istorii Shkolye*, Nr. 6, Nov. - Dec., 1950:

"A number of Soviet historians have committed gross anti-Marxist errors in describing and appraising the movement of the Caucasians led by Shamil in the 1930s-1950s. Many historians forgot that annexation by Russia represented the only path of social-economic and cultural development and also salvation of national existence for the peoples of the Caucasus and Trans-caucasus threatened with conquest by backward, feudal Turkey and Iran or with colonial enslavement by capitalist Britain and France. The nationalist, reactionary murid movement, implanted and supported by Turkey, Britain and France as an instrument in the struggle against Russia, was regarded, contrary to historical truth, as a national liberation and antifeudal movement, and Shamil himself, who betrayed the interests of his people and served their enemies, almost as a national hero.

"G. Guseinov's harmful book 'From the History of Social and Philosophical Thought in 19th Century Azerbaidzhan,' written from bourgeois-nationalist positions, which idealized and distorted the true meaning of muridism and of the activity of Shamil, not only did not meet with a vigorous rebuff, but was even submitted for the Stalin Prize competition. . . .

"Gross anti-Marxist mistakes in the appraisal of the movement of the Caucasians in the 1830s-1850s occurred also in the textbook 'History of the U.S.S.R.,' Part II, for the ninth grade of secondary schools, and in the practice of teaching in the school."

The teachers are given detailed instructions in the article on the means of presenting Russia as the liberator of the Caucasus; all the instructions are full of anti-Turkish, anti-Iranian, and anti-Islam propaganda. At the end of the article the political interpretations are again made obligatory for all teachers:

"Agents of Turkey, Britain and France, the preachers of muridism, supplied with British and French gold, called for a 'gazavat,' a 'holy' war by the Moslems against Russia, making use of the cultural backwardness of the Caucasians and the discontent over the abuses of Tsarist officials and officers. . . .

"It must be borne in mind that students read in the old editions of textbooks eulogistic descriptions of Shamil and favorable appraisals of the Caucasians' insurrection under his leadership. Therefore, exposure of the true role of Shamil, of the social and political aspect of the movement headed by muridism, must be especially succinct and demonstrative in the teacher's narration. The teacher is advised to tell students briefly that gross mistakes, which were reflected in textbooks and other literature, have been committed in the treatment of the Caucasians' insurrection in the 1830s-1850s.

"The textbook 'History of the U.S.S.R.' (Part II, edited by A. M. Pankratova) contains considerable factual data for a description of the social and political role of muridism and of Shamil personally. Making use of the material cited in the textbook and in M. D. Bagirov's article, the teacher should make students conscious of the following basic tenets. . . .

"Shamil in no way expressed or defended the interests of the peoples of the Caucasus, but, on the contrary, betrayed them. In order to involve the Caucasians in a war against Russia, Shamil resorted to deception; camouflaging his true policy with slogans of a struggle for independence, he seduced the Caucasians with booty from predatory raids and also terrorized in an extremely cruel manner all the districts under his rule. Shamil despised the people whom he forced to shed blood, their own and others', on behalf of Turkish, British and French interests. . . .

"At the conclusion of the lesson it is necessary to stress that even after the destruction of muridism in the Caucasus, muridism and Islam continued and continued to play a profoundly reactionary role. Islam is being utilized to kindle nationalism, preach a most reactionary alliance of Moslem states, send spies and diversionists, under the guise of sheiks, dervishes, etc., and struggle against the spread of enlightenment and the emancipation of women.

"Muridism 'was the basis of the subsequently formulated reactionary ideology of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism, which preached unification under Turkish rule of all the Islam peoples.' The center of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism is chiefly Turkey, but the U.S. and British governments also, not sparing any means, continue to utilize Islam, just as they use Christianity, for their own reactionary aims. Together with the Vatican, Islam plays the most militantly reactionary role among religions."

Turkestan. Since 1924 the term Turkestan has been forbidden by the censorship of Soviet Moscow. Once more a historic "heresy," similar to the Caucasian, clearly demonstrates that this country is "endangered" by Pan-Islamism.

Soviet Moscow is no longer satisfied with Kazakh historians, since 1943 witnessed the first edition of The History of the Kazakh Republic edited by M. Abdykalykov and A. Pankratova; according to Raimov, Sovetskaya Kniga, No. 2, 1950:

"The fundamental deficiency of the work in the first edition was the fact that its authors considered the history of the Kazakh people exclusively as a process of forming the militant traditions of the Kazakhs' struggle for their independence . . . such an aim and arrangement objectively led to an idealization of the patriarchal-feudal mode of life of the Kazakhs, to an incorrect evaluation of the national liberation movement, to a treatment of the usual reactionary feudal incursions as special forms of the national liberation movement, to an erroneous evaluation of the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia as 'an absolute evil,' to incorrect periodization, and so forth."

The second, revised and enlarged edition, in two volumes, Alma Ata, 1949 - 1950, provoked an official intervention of the Russian Communist Party. Thus as in the Caucasus Shamil, so in Turkestan Kenesary Kasimov makes Soviet Moscow nervous. There appeared in the Pravda,

December 26, 1950, a criticism "For Marxist-Leninist Elucidation of Problems of Kazakhstan History," giving the official Russian interpretation.

"The history of the Kazakh people is rich in vivid pages of struggle for freedom and independence against foreign and internal foes. . . . The Kazakh people also fought stubbornly against the yoke of their own feudal hierarchy and against the colonial policy of Russian Tsarism.

"Alongside the people's national liberation movements in the 19th century there occurred the reactionary feudal-monarchical movements of Sarzhan and Kenesary Kasymov and Karatai.

"Soviet historians are called upon to elucidate the history of the national movements profoundly and correctly. This means approaching historical facts from Marxist-Leninist positions. Unfortunately, not every research work meets these requirements as yet. In particular, certain books on the history of Kazakhstan suffer from serious methodological defects which lead to distortion of historical fact.

"Even in the first edition of 'The History of the Kazakh Republic,' edited by A. Pankratova and M. Abdykalykov (1943), the reactionary feudal-khan systems were idealized and the activity of the khans and sultans extolled. The Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee, recognizing the defectiveness of this book, adopted a decision to prepare a new edition. Mistakes of a bourgeois-nationalist nature, however, were repeated in E. Bekmakhanov's book, published in 1947, 'Kazakhstan, 1820-1840.' In it the feudal-monarchical movement of Sultan Kenesary Kasymov was idealized.

"The appearance of this book caused justifiable protest by many historians of Kazakhstan. The necessity of reconsidering the evaluation of the Kenesary movement arose. The History Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, where Bekmakhanov defended his thesis, was obliged to hold a discussion. . . . Criticism of Bekmakhanov's mistakes at these discussions, however, did not reveal the full defectiveness of his work.

"An erroneous evaluation of the Kenesary movements was given in the second edition of 'The History of the Kazakh Republic,' published in 1949 and edited by I. O. Omarov and A. M. Pankratova. The Kenesary movement is here recognized as progressive, 'according to the political demands which Kenesary put forward' (p. 296). The political demands of Kenesary, however, boiled down to restoration of the medieval power of the khan and detachment of Kazakhstan from Russia.

"Thus, the distortions in the evaluation of the movement of Kenesary Kasymov are repeated and, as before, give historians a wrong orientation. Therefore it is necessary to turn to the 'theoretical' source of all these distortions and mistakes—E. Bekmakhanov's book 'Kazakhstan, 1820-1840'—and to introduce clarity into the evaluation of the Kenesary movement, deciding it in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist historiography.

"The annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia began in the first third of the 18th century and continued up to the '60s of the 19th century. This annexation was of profoundly progressive significance. It determined

the historical fate of Kazakhstan and secured the economic and cultural intercourse between the Kazakh people and Russia. . . .

"The Sultan Kenesary, grandson of Ablai Khan, and a group of feudal lords close to him decided to use the discontent of the masses in the struggle for their own narrowly class interests and for restoration of the privileges of the feudal hierarchy. Kenesary desired to obtain power for himself and to turn Kazakhstan back to the institutions existing in the Ablai Khanate (18th century).

"Certain groups of Kazakh working people at the beginning joined Kenesary's movement. . . .

"The Kenesary revolt was a reactionary, feudal-nationalist move by the Kazakh aristocracy, discontented with the liquidation of the power the khan and certain privileges of the sultans.

"Ignoring the class stratification of Kazakh society, however, E. Bekmakhanov depicts the Kasymovs as progressive and all but revolutionary figures and 'popular leaders.' Bekmakhanov's attempt to represent the feudal-monarchical movement of the Kasymovs as a national-liberation rebellion is contrary to the principles of Marxist-Leninist historiography, which requires a consideration of the history of society as a history of class struggle.

"In essence, Bekmakhanov obliterates the class boundaries in the patriarchal-feudal Kazakh society of that time. Without revealing the profoundly progressive significance of the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia, he one-sidedly concentrates on the colonial oppression which arose after the annexation. The Kazakh working people were vitally interested in the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia. The rebellion of the Kasymovs, by retarding the annexation, was contrary to the hopes of the advanced section of Kazakh society. This movement, however, is extolled in the book 'Kazakhstan, 1820-1840.' In it we read: 'The Kenesary rebellion, which bore a clearly expressed anti-colonial and mass character, played a progressive role in the history of the Kazakh people.' Moreover, in depicting Kenesary as a fighter against 'Russian expansion,' the author asserts that the movement headed by this reactionary sultan was allegedly 'a splendid school for the political training of the masses' (p. 360).

"These and other mistakes led Bekmakhanov to idealize a reactionary movement, to distort historical facts.

"Trying to prove that Kasymov acted in the interests of the Kazakh people, the author of the book characterizes him as a wise statesman and talented military leader, who fought allegedly for the formation of an independent and free and centralized Kazakh state. The facts refute this.

"In idealizing the reactionary feudal leaders, the author of the book extols in every way not only Kenesary but the whole family of the Kasymovs. He devotes many pages to rapturous descriptions of Kenesary, his grandfather and father, brother, sister, mother and nephew, everywhere emphasizing their especial spiritual and physical beauty and their superiority to those around them.

"Kenesary himself is depicted by Bekmakhanov as a progressive reformer; the author discusses his 'legal reform,' the 'reform of the government machinery' and his 'diplomacy.'

"Carrying out the precepts of his grandfather, Kenesary achieved the khanite power, agreeing to vassal dependence on Russia and at the same time fighting against annexation to Russia. He called on his followers to march against the 'infidels,' that is, the Russians. Kenesary formed ties with the Central Asian khanates which were hostile to Russia and Kazakhstan. E. Bekmakhanov himself is forced to admit this, but he does not consider it necessary to expose the political meaning of this struggle which Kenesary waged against the Russians, relying on the support of the Central Asian khans.

"E. Bekmakhanov recalls the contradictions between Kenesary and Khivoy, but is silent on the main point—the special interest of the Central Asian khanates in Kenesary's struggle against Russia. . . .

"Mukhamedov, a Kazakh of the Chiklin tribe, stated in his report: 'Envoys came to Kenesary from the Khiva, Bukhara and Kokand khans. Kenesary told these envoys to tell the khans that the Russians were building fortifications in the steppe and therefore they should collect and send their troops to drive them off, in which operation he would help them.' Another report states the 'the Khiva spy, Tair-khodja, who came to Kenesary, stirred up the Kirgiz to try to maneuver against the Russian government, to wear a mask of loyalty, while being sincerely obedient to the Khiva khan, and he threatened the Kirgiz with destruction if they did not do this.'

"The attempts of the Central Asian khans to extent their influence over Kazakhstan by supporting Kenesary reflected a desire to hamper the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia. This policy corresponded to the interests of the British colonizers who coveted Central Asia. It is revealing that Sadyk, the son of Kenesary Kasymov, waged a struggle against Russia in the service of the Central Asian khans, who were connected with the British."

The final judgment of Kenesary, who led a kind of an Asiatic Promethean front against Russian imperialism, is summed up:

"All historical data indicate that the Kenesary movement was neither revolutionary nor progressive. It was a reactionary movement which dragged the Kazakh people back, toward the strengthening of patriarchal-feudal principles, to a restoration of the medieval Khanit regime and to the detachment of Kazakhstan from Russia and the great Russian people."

A "decree" of the party followed dealing with these questions, erecting as a platform the Pravda criticism, which was published in the Pravda, April 25, 1951:

"The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party has discussed the article and has found the criticism it contained of the errors of E. Bekmakhanov's book to be correct.

"A decree of the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party observes that E. Bekmakhanov viewed the Kenesary Kasymov movement from a bourgeois-nationalist position. By juggling quotations and facts he distorted in his work the historic reality of Kenesary's reactionary movement and contended that this movement was a mass people's liberation movement, a movement which played a progressive role in the history of the Kazakh people. Distorting the truth of history, Bekmakhanov failed to reveal the profoundly progressive significance of the annexation of Kazakhstan to Russia. At the same time he represented Kenesary as a defender of the interests of the Kazakh people, although in fact this Sultan never defended the interests of the Kazakh people but sought one thing only and that was to keep in the hands of the Kazakh feudal lords the monopoly right to exploit the Kazakh working people, to separate Kazakhstan from Russia and restore the power of his line of Khans.

"The Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party also noted that the editors of the second edition of the 'History of the Kazakh Republic' did not carry out the August 14, 1945, decision of the Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party on 'The Preparation of a Second Edition of the History of Kazakhstan' and made the same political mistakes in evaluating the movement of Sultan Kenesary Kasymov as had been made in the first edition.

"The Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party has given the republic's historians a most important task. They are to study thoroughly and truthfully to elucidating the history of Kazakhstan on the basis of Marxist-Leninist teaching, paying special attention to working out the history of the Soviet period and resolutely combating all and every attempt to distort the history of the Kazakh people and its continuous friendship with the great Russian people.

"The Central Committee of the Kazakhstan Communist Party outlined concrete measures for the fulfillment of the present decree."

According to pattern an immediate action came on the part of the supreme organ of thought control, the Russian Academy of Sciences:

"The Learned Council of the History Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences also discussed the article 'For Marxist-Leninist Elucidation of Problems of Kazakhstan History,' published in Pravda.

"Those taking part in the discussion remarked in their speeches that the article quite rightly criticized E. Bekmakhanov's book 'Kazakhstan, 1820-1840.' Kenesary's movement is also described in a flagrantly erroneous manner in the 'History of the Kazakh Republic,' in the secondary school textbook on the history of the U.S.S.R. (editor: A. M. Pankratova) and in that for higher schools (editor: M. V. Nechkina). Responsibility for the errors made, it was observed at the meeting of the Learned Council, also lies with the History Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, which did not provide a prompt and correct evaluation of the book 'Kazakhstan, 1820-1840.'

"The Learned Council condemned the book 'Kazakhstan, 1820-1840' and drew the attention of the editor of the book M. P. Vyatkin, to his

serious error, manifest in the fact that he supported and shared E. Bekmakhanov's profoundly harmful views.

"Comrades A. M. Pankratova, N. M. Druzhinin and M. P. Vyatkin, who spoke at the meeting, admitted their errors."

Thus is the "revision" of the Caucasian and Turkestanian history successfully engineered (and we still await the revision for the history of the Baltic nations; it is difficult to conceive, but the Academy is rather lacking in real Stalin diligence in this regard).

In literature again the situation is unsatisfactory among the Turkmenian and Kirgizian peoples. From Literaturnaya Gazeta, September 23, 1950, we learn:

"Turkemenian writers have waged a determined struggle in their time against kowtowing before the culture of the feudal-bourgeois East, against bourgeois nationalism, against the theory of the "single stream" and against an uncritical attitude toward the past. This struggle has strengthened Turkmenian writers ideologically, and many important works on contemporary themes have resulted from it.

"But not all writers have adhered consistently in practice to principles proved by life itself."

And again follows a whole series of denunciations by the Russian supervisor.

What is happening in Kirgizia we can gather from the information at Pravda, October 30, 1950:

"The demand for children's books in the national language is exceptionally high. However, only 18 books for children have been printed in Kirgizia during the past five years (11 of which are translations). Some books by native writers suffer from serious shortcomings and even contain malicious distortions, among them A. Tokombayev's 'The Indian in Search of Happiness,' which preaches nonresistance to evil and presents man as a weak and passive creature, and S. Bulekbayev's 'Comrades Saved Us,' which glorifies the backward usages and customs of the Kirgiz people's remote past.

"Matters are particularly bad with respect to literary translations. The best samples of the Russian classics for children remain untranslated and unpublished with the exception of A. Pushkin's fairy tales. The same is true of contemporary children's literature. Mayakovsky's poems for children and Stalin's Prize works of children's literature have not been translated.

"The serious shortcomings in the publishing of children's literature are due primarily to the fact that the Union of the Soviet Writers of Kirgizia has, until recently, almost completely neglected matters relating to children's literature and has bypassed this important field.

"The Kirgiz Republic Ministry of Education watches the resulting situation with scandalous indifference. In the past five years the ministry has never conducted a single conference on children's literature, has not defined its stand on books which have appeared and, finally, is completely indifferent to the fact that not a single book for children has appeared in the republic in 1950."

On the one hand Soviet Moscow is conducting systematic Russification through its Russian stooges everywhere in the non-Russian Asiatic territories, propagating only Russian children's literature. On the other hand, if opposition rises, Soviet Moscow immediately attacks the existing national literature and makes scapegoats of the non-Russian writers themselves, playing the role of an idealistic partisan of the Asiatic languages.

A very serious deviation, "investigated" by Soviet Moscow, occurred in the treatment of folk epics, and the Vestnik Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R., Nr. 12, 1950, of January, 1951, published this "decree" after many Kirgizian scholars were purged:

"The Language, Literature and History Institute of the Kirgiz branch of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences is one of the oldest research institutes of the Kirgiz Republic. . . .

"In recent years the institute has prepared for the press the collective work 'Studies in the History of Kirgizia' and has completed the work 'The Annexation of Northern Kirgizia to Russia.' The first large Russian-Kirgiz dictionary has been compiled, as well as the books 'Grammar of the Kirgiz Language,' 'Phonetic System of the Kirgiz Language,' 'Introduction to the Study of Kirgiz,' and others.

"Alongside these accomplishments, however, a number of major errors in the institute's work have been found by a commission of the Presidium which investigated it.

"The past of the Kirgiz people has been idealized and the class struggle in the prerevolutionary Kirgiz village has been glossed over in works by the historians and literary scholars of the institute. The annexation of Kirgizia to Russia has been equated with the conquests of the Manchu emperors and the Kalmyk and Kokand Khans, which could not but lead to politically pernicious conclusions (works by K. Rakhmatulin, A. N. Bernshtam and others).

"The anti-Leninist theory of 'the single stream' held sway in Kirgiz literary scholarship until recently. All the folk bards of the 19th and early 20th centuries were regarded as 'great realists and democrats' irrespective of the class substance of their works. The poetry of the reactionary folk bards Arstanbek, Moldo-Klych, Osmon-Aly and others who reflected the ideology of the upper classes—poetry permeated with religious mysticism and anti-Russian tendencies—has not been set apart from the work of the truly democratic folk bards Toktogul Satylganov, Togolok Moldo and others. . . .

"The Kirgiz literary scholars have to a considerable extent worked in detachment from the accomplishments of Soviet literary scholarship, on a low theoretic level.

"The Kirgiz heroic epic poem 'Manas' has been idealized, but the problem of its folk character, the question of its historicity, etc., remain unclarified to this day.

"The leadership of the institute and the Presidium of the Kirgiz branch of the Academy displayed political myopia toward the bourgeois nationalists (Samanchin, Baidzhiyev, Bektenov), did not fight vigorously enough against the consequences of their sabotage on the ideological

front and did not foster the development of principled and truly scientific criticism and self-criticism. The leadership of the institute and the Presidium of the Academy branch did not take measures to realign the institute's work on the basis of the historic decisions of the Party Central Committee on ideological questions. The historic directions of J. V. Stalin contained in his works on linguistics have not been made the basis of the institute's work. The institute has bypassed very important problems raised by the Soviet public. The question of the reactionary substance of muridism and the Shamil movement has remained outside the field of vision of the leadership of the institute and the Presidium of the Academy branch.

"The propagandists of Marr's 'new teaching' on language injected considerable theoretic confusion into Kirgiz linguistics. And criticism was meted out mainly to the linguists who had not shared Marr's theory. . . .

"The Learned Council of the Institute is not directing the scholarly work and takes an irresponsible attitude toward the discussion of completed works. At meetings of the Learned Council, works containing gross political and methodological errors have been approved (Taigurov's book 'The War Epic,' Kutareva's book 'Major Stages of the Civil War in Kirgizia,' and others). . . .

"The Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences has charged the Presidium of the Kirgiz branch and the director of the institute with eliminating these shortcomings in the shortest possible time and securing fulfillment of the tasks confronting the institute.

"In the next few years the institute must prepare a scientific history of Kirgizia and the history of the national liberation movements in Kirgizia, showing the significance of the October revolution in the national and cultural renaissance of the Kirgiz people. In the field of the history of Kirgiz literature, the institute must see to the writing of monographs on the creative work of Kirgiz writers, must turn to study of the questions of socialist realism in Kirgiz literature, traditions and innovation, socialist esthetics, the influence of prerevolutionary Russian literature and Russian Soviet literature on the development of Kirgiz literature, and questions of the attitude toward the literary heritage in the light of Leninist-Stalinist teachings. . . .

"The Presidium of the Kirgiz branch of the Academy has been told to carry out in 1951 a recertification of the staff members of the institute, to work out a plan for training personnel through postgraduate studies, to send ten holders of the Master's degree in 1951 to study for the Doctor's degree in the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, to review the Institute's 1951 plan of research and its plan for the five-year period from 1951 to 1955 on the basis of the instructions of the Council of Branches and the commission of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, to organize systematic check on fulfillment of the thematic plan and to hold a scientific session of the institute in 1951 on the Kirgiz epic 'Manas,' raising questions of the folk character of the epic and its major versions and of preparing a collated text.

"The Presidium has charged the Departments of Literature and Language and of History and Philosophy of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences with extending scholarly and methodological aid in organizing the session on 'Manas.' General supervision of the organizing of the session is assigned to the Council of Branches of the Academy. . . .

"For the purpose of extending regular scholarly-consultative aid to the institute, the Presidium has charged the A. M. Gorky Institute of World Literature, the History Institute, the Oriental Studies Institute and the Philosophy Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences to appoint permanent consultants on questions of the folklore, literature and history of the Kirgiz people. . . .

"The Presidium has asked all branches of the Academy which have scientific institutions concerned with humanities to discuss this decree at general meetings of staff members."

That is the new type of "free scientific discussions," Stalin brand.

The "autonomous" republics of the Russian S.F.S.R. The Russian Communist press contributes enough material for the study of the anti-Russian trends of the non-Russian peoples, incorporated against their will with the R.S.F.S.R.

Soviet Moscow is dissatisfied with the Buryat-Mongolian literature, which must recognize "its shortcomings" (Pravda, December 29, 1950), Pravda, December 22, 1950, gives the following orders to the writers:

"At all stages of its development Buryat-Mongolian literature has experienced and continues to experience the tireless solicitude of the Bolshevik party and the great Stalin for the flowering of the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The Party Central Committee's decree on ideological questions caused a new upsurge in Buryat-Mongolian literature. . . .

"Like all Soviet writers, our men of letters . . . summon Soviet citizens to peaceful, creative labor, actively fight for peace and castigate the Anglo-American warmongers. The poet Tseden Galsanov devoted his book of verse 'Dawn Over Asia' to the heroic struggle of the Chinese and Korean peoples for their liberation and against the American interventionists. . . .

"Together with its successes in development, Buryat-Mongolian literature's substantial failings must be pointed out, both in the ideological and artistic spheres. Serious individual ideological deviations have occurred in the work of the writers' organization of the republic since the war. Bourgeois-nationalist elements in their books have sung the praises of the feudal past and tried to paint in a false light the relations of the Buryat-Mongolian and Russian peoples. The Party has helped the writers of the republic to expose perpetrators of bourgeois-nationalist distortions in literature and to purge their ranks of them."

We learn from Kultura i Zhizn, January 11, 1951, of dangerous deviations in the Buryat-Mongolian literature.

"The historic decrees of the Party Central Committee on questions of ideological work are playing an immense role in the new advance of

Soviet Science and culture, in the struggle against the penetration of alien influences into Soviet ideology. Armed with the historic decrees of the Party Central Committee, the public of the Buryat-Mongolian Autonomous Republics, on the basis of Bolshevik criticism and under the leadership of the Party organization, has uncovered serious distortions of a nationalist character in the treatment of the Buryat-Mongolian people and literature. One of the important elements in the struggle against ideological distortions in the republic is the exposure of the reactionary essence of the epic poem 'Gezer Khan'; it was upon propaganda concerning this poem that the bourgeois nationalist elements counted. . . .

"Alien to the Buryat-Mongolian people, the feudal epic poem 'Gezer Khan' cultivates a hostile attitude toward the Russian people. Our people, who received their liberty and happiness thanks to the great Russian people, cannot permit their fraternal feelings for the Russian people to be insulted. . . . The bourgeois nationalists tried to use the epic poem 'Gezer Khan' as an ideological weapon for their own anti-popular objectives. By propagandizing this feudal Khan epic poem, they strove to elevate and extol the cult of Genghis Khan, depicting him as a leader and military commander who stemmed from the people and defended their interests. . . .

"An attempt to revive the cult of Genghis Khan by propagandizing the 'Gezer' has been made in recent years. Symptomatic in this respect is the book by Academician S. A. Kozin, 'The Epic Poem of the Mongolian Peoples.' Academician S. A. Kozin in his book speaks rapturously of the epic poem 'Gezer' and of the feudal Genghis Khan court chronicle 'Secret Narrative,' in which the bloody misdeeds of Genghis Khan and his hordes are depicted. S. A. Kozin approaches the analysis of the 'Geseriad' not from the standpoint of exposing its reactionary essence but from the standpoint of idealizing it and actively propagandizing it. He lauds the 'Geseriad' with a zeal worthy of better application and tries by this means to show that the epoch of Genghis Khan and his empire was allegedly 'the golden age' in the history of the Mongolian peoples. . . ."

The Udmurts face tasks which "requires intensified work on the Communist training, a resolute struggle against shortcomings in all fields of economic and cultural work" (Pravda, November 25, 1950); the Chuvash literature "has grown and become tempered in the struggle against bourgeois nationalism and apolitical outlook" because "the historic decrees of the Party Central Committee on ideological questions have exercised a fruitful influence on Chuvash literature"; but:

"it must be admitted that the postwar creative work of Chuvash writers is not free of individual failure. This reminds us again and again of the necessity for improving our ideological standards. . . . Noteworthy in this respect is the fate of V. Rzhakov's play 'Entip' . . . the play suffered from serious defects. However, the literary public did not correct the author opportunely, and the play was seriously revised only after the province Party committee had indicated the author's mistakes to him" (Pravda, November 3, 1950).

The Tatar literature, "under the beneficent influence of the great literature of Russia and thanks to the constant aid of the Party . . . has been freed from . . . national narrow-mindedness and formalism" (Pravda, March 30, 1950), but a "flight into the distant past is characteristic of some national literatures [Tatarian]; such a "flight into olden times" is a result of nationalist tendencies not overcome . . ." (Pravda, March 30, 1951). The Russian language has but partially been absorbed by the Tatarian language. According to Narodnoye Obrazovanie Nr. 8, 1950:

"Even pupils, who are finishing high schools, do not completely master Russian and write with orthographic and stylistic mistakes; the teacher himself speaks Russian very badly."

2. The Redefinition of "Nation" and "Nationality"

The following article gives us excellent material showing how urgent is the nationality problem in the Soviet Union which has been "solved" a third of a century ago:

"Answers to Readers' Questions: NATION AND NATIONALITY. (By I. Tsameryan. Bolshevik, No. 6, March 1951 [published in April], pp. 57-62. Complete text:) We are replying to the questions of Comrades N. Basov (Kharkov), Pivovarov (Plast, Chelyabinsk Province), S. Kryukov (Leninakan, Armenian Republic) and V. Golubev (Petropavlovsk-on-Kamchatka) regarding the meaning of the term nationality, how it differs from the term nation and whether fusing of tribes and nationalities under the consolidation of socialist nations is taking place in this country.

"The concepts of 'nation' and 'nationality' reflect the forms of social ties which bind people together at various stages of historical development. Nationality and nation are historical categories which came into being in different epochs.

"Production of material goods, of the means of existence, requires collective effort and cooperation. 'In waging the struggle with nature and using nature in the production of material goods people do not function in isolation from one another but together, in groups and societies,' points out Comrade Stalin.* These groups of people are variously formed at various stages of history. At the dawn of history, at the lowest stages of development of human society, people lived in small groups, like herds of man-like apes; then there appeared collectives of people based on blood ties, family ties and relationships. The basic nucleus of the primitive communal system was the family clan--first matriarchal, then, at a higher stage, patriarchal. The tribe consisted of several closely related family clans. As the primitive community's productive forces developed, the organization of family clans, tribes and alliances of tribes became higher and more complex. At the highest

*"History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Short Course)" [in Russian], p. 115.

stage of the primitive community there were formed more or less stable federations, confederations and alliances of related tribes.

"The primitive communal system broke up as a result of further development of productive forces, the rise of private property and inequality in property ownership; society split into antagonistic classes and the state arose. With the transition from primitive communal society to class society the nature of social ties and social relationships changed radically.

"Blood ties, formerly the chief condition for social groupings of people, were disrupted in the process of the rise of classes and the state. The primitive communal system had as its vital prerequisite the joint habitation of one and the same territory by the members of a single clan or tribe. People belonging to various clans and tribes intermingled as a result of the appearance of private property and classes, the development of trade, alienation of land property, etc. The old clan's closed nature disappeared; blood ties ceased to be a necessary condition of social organization. A process of intermingling and using of clans and tribes went on as the primitive communal system broke down.

"Tribes which fused into one people lost their separate, cut-off existence. A people is not merely an alliance of tribes, but a merger of them in which the tribes are fused and lose their individuality and their own government, their lands are merged into one territory, and all the population of the merged tribes have a common government. At the time of Homer the Greek tribes were in most cases already united in small nationalities, within which clans and tribes still preserved their independence; later, instead of a simple alliance of tribes living alongside one another there came the merging of many tribes into the single people of Athens, with one common government, common laws and common territory.*

"Thus, under favorable conditions of development tribes and nationalities merge and become more or less stable ethnographic and historical formations—single peoples, creating their own cultures and written literatures which fix their languages. Such, for example, was the Russian people in Kiev and Muscovite Rus and the Chinese and other peoples in the era of the slaveholding and feudal system. Nationalities and peoples are communities which arise historically on the economic basis of precapitalist forms of production relations. The merging of tribes to form a single people, however, does not necessarily signify complete disappearance of differences among tribes within this people; usually a certain degree of isolation of tribes within the peoples and nationalities is preserved for a considerable time, sometimes for entire centuries.

"The concept of a 'people' is also used in a wider sense—for example, we speak of the Soviet people, the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Russian, Georgian, Ukrainian and other peoples.

*See F. Engels, "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" [Russian edition], 1947, pp. 118, 125.

"The consolidation of nationalities and peoples into bourgeois nations takes place in the course of the rise and development of capitalism. However, in the epoch of capitalism and even in its highest and final stage, imperialism, there still remain in the colonial and dependent countries numerous tribes and nationalities which have lagged behind in their development as a result of colonial oppression and have not formed into nations. The imperialists pursue a policy of artificially retarding the economic, political and cultural development of colonial peoples, hindering their consolidation into nations.

"How does a nation differ from a nationality? The classic Marxist definition of nation, given by Comrade Stalin, says: "****the nation is a historically formed stable community, arising on the basis of community of four basic factors, namely, common language, common territory, common economic life and common psychological make-up, manifesting itself in common peculiarities of national culture."*

"Revealing the meaning of the term nation, Comrade Stalin shows that a nation is not a racial or tribal community of people, but one which has taken shape historically. The nation is the product of a definite historical epoch, the epoch of rising capitalism, whereas the nationality is the product of precapitalist production relations. Supplanting of the feudal by the capitalist system signifies the consolidation of peoples and nationalities into bourgeois nations. The economic basis for the origin of bourgeois nations is thus capitalist production relations, whereas the economic basis for the origin of nationalities and peoples is precapitalist production relations. This is the first and decisive difference between a nationality and a bourgeois nation.

"Whereas the nation is based upon a stable community of economic life created by division of labor and the appearance of a national market, i.e., a constant and regular economic bond linking the separate parts of the nation into a single whole, nationalities have no such stable economic bond. This of course does not mean that nationalities do not have their own economic basis. It is simply that the historical features of precapitalist economic relations, such as feudal production relations, constituting the economic basis of nationalities and peoples that have not yet developed into nations, find expression in economic fragmentation and disunion of the people concerned.

"Characterizing the conditions of consolidation of the Great Russian people, V. I. Lenin pointed out that the establishment of national ties, of a national community, had capitalist production relations for its economic basis. Criticizing and exposing the antiscientific views of Mikhailovsky, who held national ties to be a continuation and generalization of clan ties, Lenin pointed out that only the modern period in Russian history (approximately since the 17th century) is marked by true fusion of the formerly disunited Russian provinces, lands and principalities into a single whole. This merger was called forth not by clan links and not by their continuation and generalization: 'It was called forth by the growing exchange among provinces, the gradually growing commodity

*J. V. Stalin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. II, p. 333.

turnover, the concentration of small local markets into one all-Russian market. Since the directors and masters of this process were the capitalists and merchants, establishment of these national bonds was nothing but creation of bourgeois ties.*

"Developing this proposition of V. I. Lenin's, J. V. Stalin wrote: 'The process of liquidation of feudalism and development of capitalism is also a process of the formation of nations.'** Thus, for example, the Georgians did not constitute a nation until the second half of the 19th century, since they were disunited, fragmented into many principalities and did not have a stable economic community. 'Georgia arose as a nation only in the second half of the 19th century, when the fall of serfdom and the growth of the country's economic life, development of means of transportation and the rise of capitalism established division of labor among the provinces of Georgia and finally shattered the economic isolation of the principalities and linked them in a single whole. The same must be said of other nations which passed through the feudalism stage and developed capitalism within themselves.'†

"Nationalities and nations, as historically formed communities of people of the precapitalist epoch, have a definite community of language and territory and a certain community of economic life and psychological make-up, manifesting itself in a common culture created by the nationality. As Comrade Stalin points out, the elements of the nation--language, territory, cultural community, etc.--did not fall from the skies, but were gradually established back in the precapitalist period. 'But these elements were in an embryonic state and at best constituted merely a potential, in the sense of the possibility of formation of a nation in the future under certain favorable conditions. The potential became reality only in the period of rising capitalism, with its national market, its economic and cultural centers.'†† For example, community of language existed among tribes, peoples and nationalities long before the formation of nations, before the rise of capitalism. In the work 'Marxism and Problems of Linguistics' Comrade Stalin points out: '***when capitalism appeared and feudal disunity was overcome, when the national market was formed, nationalities developed into nations and the languages of nationalities into the languages of nations.'‡ Hence the language of the nation cannot be divorced from the language of the nationality and contrasted to it as an utterly new language. Comrade Stalin refuted the vulgarized, antiscientific Marr theory of language as superstructure. The old superstructure is liquidated with liquidation of the old base, but the transition from language of a nationality to language of a nation takes place not through liquidation of the old and creation of a new language, but through long, gradual development, enrichment

*V. I. Lenin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. I, pp. 137-138.

**J. V. Stalin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. II, p. 303.

†J. V. Stalin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. II, p. 295.

††J. V. Stalin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XI, p. 336.

‡Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. II, No. 21, p. 4; "The Soviet Linguistic Controversy," Kings Crown Press, N.Y., 1951, p. 71.

and improvement of the language, through dying out of old elements and accumulation of new elements. The language of a nationality, being a language common to the entire nationality, comprehensible to all, has its own offshoots in the form of local ('territorial') dialects. In the process of overcoming feudal disunity and development of capitalism these dialects are fused in the common national language and, melting in it, disappear. Thus, for example, the Russian national language existed long before the rise of capitalism. The foundation of the Russian national language was the Kursk-Orel dialect. In the process of development of the Russian people into a nation, the Russian language became a national language, into which were poured all the local dialects. This was a long, progressive process.

"The language of a nationality and people in the epoch of slavery and feudalism does not always find reflection in literature. But the language of a nation is a language common to the nation and fixed in literature. Lenin wrote: 'Everywhere in the world the epoch of final triumph of capitalism over feudalism was connected with national movements. The economic basis of these movements was the fact that, for complete triumph of commodity production, conquest of the domestic market by the bourgeois was necessary, as was state unification of a territory and its population speaking the same language, with elimination of any hindrances to development of this language and its fixing in literature.'*

"Other elements in formation of the nation also arise through prolonged historical development. They attain their full embodiment in connection with the consolidation of a nationality into a nation.

"Let us now briefly examine the question of nations and nationalities under the Soviet socialist system.

"In the period before the October revolution there existed only one type of nation—the bourgeois nation. In 1929 Comrade Stalin, generalizing the experience of socialist construction in his work 'The National Question and Leninism' gave a classic definition of the two historical types of nations: bourgeois nations, existing in the capitalist world, and the socialist nations arising on the basis of dictatorship of the proletariat and the Soviet system.

"What are nations like under capitalism? Comrade Stalin points out: 'The bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties were and are in this period the chief leading force of these nations.' Class peace within the nation for the sake of 'national unity'; expansion of territory of the nation by seizure of foreign nations' territories; distrust and hatred of other nations; suppression of national minorities; a united front with imperialism—such is the ideological and social-political baggage of these nations. Such nations must be described as bourgeois nations. Such, for example, are the French, English, Italian and North American nations and others like them.**

"The destiny of bourgeois nations is indissolubly linked with the destiny of capitalism; with the liquidation of the latter, the bourgeois

*V. I. Lenin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XX, p. 368. Underscoring mine.—I. Ts.

**J. V. Stalin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XI, p. 338.

nations will cease to exist. As a result of the triumph of the October revolution and consolidation of the Soviet system, as a result of the liquidation of capitalism and the building of socialism, the old bourgeois nations in our country were liquidated. In the U.S.S.R. new socialist nations took shape 'which are much more united than any bourgeois nation, for they are free of the irreconcilable class contradictions which corrode the bourgeois nations and they represent much more of a national community than does any bourgeois nation.'*

"The great friendship of the peoples of our socialist homeland is an expression of the new nature of socialist nations, conforming to historical laws. The social-economic basis of the development of the socialist nations, their social-political interests and aspirations lead with historical inevitability to their ever greater mutual rapprochement and the strengthening of their alliance within the unified multinational Soviet state. A vital feature of the socialist nations is their moral-political solidarity and unity.

"The nature and methods of consolidation of socialist nations and bourgeois nations are radically opposed. The bourgeois method of consolidation of nations is a method under which the nations fall away from one another, a method which incites national discord and enmity. The socialist method is one of steady rapprochement and friendly cooperation among nations with equal rights. The process of the consolidation of socialist nations has followed two paths: (1) Liquidation of the old, bourgeois nations and formation of new, socialist nations on their foundations; this process of forming socialist nations in the U.S.S.R. has been fundamentally completed; (2) Consolidation of the new, socialist nations as a result of all-around development of the tribes and nationalities awakened by the great October revolution and the Soviet regime; this process of consolidation of socialist nations has not yet been fully concluded. Alongside the nations which have taken shape in the U.S.S.R. are nationalities—of a new, socialist type—which are developing and consolidating into nations.

"The nationalities in the U.S.S.R. are mainly small peoples and kindred tribes combined into nationalities, which had been doomed by the barbarous policy of tsarism to die out. Under the Soviet regime these tribes and nationalities, with the help of the great Russian people and other peoples of the U.S.S.R., began rapidly to develop their economy and culture, national in form and socialist in content. . . .

"The difference between nationalities and nations under the Soviet regime consists only in level of development of features which are common to both nations and nationalities. The socialist economy and socialist production relations constitute the common economic foundation of the development of nationalities and nations in the U.S.S.R. Nationalities differ from nations in level of cultural development. This is understandable, for the formerly oppressed and backward nationalities were able to develop freely only in Soviet society, i.e., quite recently, and therefore, of course, they have not yet had time to create so rich a

*J. V. Stalin, "Works" [in Russian], Vol. XI, p. 341.

culture, national in form and socialist in content, as have the nations which had long since taken shape. In the field of language the difference consists in the fact that together with the general language, the nationality preserves local dialects, which are still of great importance. In the language of the socialist nations which have taken shape the local dialects have already died out or in any case play an insignificant part.

"Under the Soviet system the nationalities develop and consolidate to form socialist nations. Both a single, separate nationality and several tribes and nationalities, kindred as regards derivation and language and merging together, can consolidate to form a socialist nation. The Yakuts, Khakassy and Tuvinians can serve as examples of the consolidation of single, separate nationalities to form corresponding socialist nations. But the consolidation of these peoples to form socialist nations has not yet been quite completed. Thus, certain groups of the Yakut people have not yet merged with it, although their development shows a trend toward such a merger. As to the consolidation of several nationalities to form a single socialist nation, an example of this is the nationalities of the so-called Ando-Didoisk language group--the Andytsy, Botlikhtsy, Godoberintsy, Didoitsy, Khvarshiny, Khunsaly and certain other small nationalities of Western Dagestan, which are consolidating with the Avars to form a single socialist nation.

"In the report on the draft Constitution of the U.S.S.R. in 1936 Comrade Stalin pointed out that there are about 60 nations, national groups and nationalities in the U.S.S.R. Since then there has been the reuniting of the Western Ukraine and Transcarpathian Ukraine with the Ukraine Republic, Western Belorussia with the Belorussian Republic, and Bessarabia with the Moldavian Republic, i.e., completion of the consolidation of the Ukrainian, Belorussian and Moldavian peoples into single, socialist nations; the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian Republics have entered the U.S.S.R., and the number of socialist nations in our country has grown.

"The Soviet socialist system guarantees all the socialist nations and nationalities real equality of rights. The fraternal friendship of peoples of equal rights is the firm foundation of the multinational Soviet state."

The idea of a "Soviet nation" built up and propagated by Soviet Moscow during more than two decades seems to be put into the background and the existence of "real equal" nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union again is accentuated. Apparently, it was done in order not to scare the satellites, which sooner or later will have to "voluntarily" join the Soviet Union. In our opinion, Soviet Moscow is driving at the creation of an anti-UN organization and will soon oppose the United "capitalist" Nations with a United "Socialist" Nations, organized in the Soviet Union under Moscow's dictatorship.

3. The Fate of the Jews in the Soviet Union Is Concrete Example of the Final Goal of Soviet Moscow Regarding All Non-Russian Peoples

The best barometer for judging respect for national rights in any country, especially in the Soviet Union, the successor of old anti-Semitic

Russia, is the treatment of the Jewish nation. As we have seen, the national problem in old Russia came to the fore during the Congresses of the Russian Socialist Party at the beginning of this century by the demand of the Jewish Socialist Bund for national cultural autonomy, which was successfully fought by Lenin. On many other occasions Lenin called the Bund an organization of Jewish nationalists who were struggling not for the international unity of the proletariat, but for the observance of the Sabbath and the recognition of Yiddish as a literary language.*

Now, after nearly a third of a century of Russian Communist dictatorship, the Jewish problem in the Soviet Union is again a constant topic in all objective studies on the current affairs of this country. We have mentioned in the course of our presentation how Marr's theory was also applied by the Russian Communists to the Yiddish for its Russification in the 1930's. That marked the beginning of a course of action which at present appears to all observers of Jewish life to have reached its end. A careful analysis proves that Russian Communism systematically carried out the most extensive pogrom of the Jewish nation, a pogrom never dreamed of by Purishkevich and Krushevan of old Tsarist times.

Literature based on the material of witnesses from the newest Jewish and non-Jewish DP exiles is quite abundant, and some of it is collected in a special chapter by Peter Viereck.**

Despite all denials by Communists and fellow travelers outside the Soviet Union, despite the new Soviet semantics, anti-Semitism as a kind of official party line is an indubitable fact in the Soviet Union. Now anti-Semitism is called "anti-cosmopolitanism," and the old Russian name-calling vocabulary for the Jews was enriched by "homeless cosmopolitans," "rabbits," "tribeless bastards," "passportless wanderers," "people without kith and kin," "Talmudists," and again, as in old Tsarist Russian, the Jews are responsible for all oppositional trends among the population and for all economic defects of the Communist regime. The Jews once more became the scapegoats of the Russian regime, which has used them systematically for many years in a provocative manner in many official Russian Communist capacities as lightning rods, especially in the non-Russian territories, in order to divert the hatred of the Communist regime to the heads of the Jews.

We have reason to believe, that Stalin, as a master of the dialectical methods, has always conducted a "planned" use of the Jewish nation for tactical aims in the Communist strategic blueprints, and this included from the very beginning the complete Russification and assimilation of the Jewish nation. This Stalin regarded as a condition of the later Russification and assimilation of the other non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union. Stalin considered the liquidation of the mensheviks, which he regarded as a Jewish faction, a condition for the victory of the bolsheviks. Finally, he considered it essential for the Russian Communist

*Critical Remarks on the National Question.

**Conservatism Revisited (1949), pp. 157-187.

victory over the opposition of the non-Russian peoples that the Jews as a separate nation inside the Soviet Union be utterly destroyed.

We agree fully with Stalin that the Jewish national aspirations have always constituted a cornerstone of the whole nationality problems in the Soviet Union. After Stalin mounted the Pan-Russian horse during World War II and Russian Communism openly became Russian chauvinism, both these Russian positions demanded the liquidation of all opposition of the non-Russian peoples as a preparation for World War III. The most effective blow against all the non-Russian peoples is the blow against the Jews.

At the base of Stalin's tactics is his very illuminating confession in the little-known "Report on the London Congresses," 1907, published in the Bakinski Proletarii, justly appraised by B. Wolfe:*

"Not less interesting is the composition of the Congress from the standpoint of nationalities. Statistics showed that the majority of the Mensheviks' faction consists of Jews. . . . On the other hand, the overwhelming majority of the Bolsheviks consists of Russians. . . . For this reason, one of the Bolsheviks observed in jest [it seems to have been Comrade Aleksinsky] that the Mensheviks are a Jewish faction, the Bolsheviks a Russian faction, whence it wouldn't be a bad idea for us Bolsheviks to arrange a pogrom in the party."

The psychoanalysts teach that the kind of "jests" repeated by a person usually reveals his hidden, suppressed character. There can be no doubt according to this quotation concerning Stalin's attitude toward the Jews as mensheviks and as a nation, because for Stalin the Jews represented the "troublemaker" in the party itself and, as a separate nationality in the Soviet Union. Stalin, held in contempt by all Georgian Socialists as a half-intelligent brutal character, joined the Russian bolsheviks, among whom he could play, if not the second, at least the fourth fiddle. Coming into power in the Russian Communist dictatorship, Stalin as the Commissar of Nationalities then effected the "liberation" of the Jews also. The mass of small traders and artisans became "capitalists" overnight whose children were deprived of all normal right of education and of food rations. After the hunger catastrophe and the introduction of the N.E.P. the Jews as the "Nepman's" ushered into the country in a few years a prewar prosperity. Thus for Stalin the Jews within the Soviet Union became not only the dangerous element, which had connections with the hated Western culture, but the still more dangerous element for the Communist economic system, because in the N.E.P. period they proved that the Soviet Union economy could be successfully managed on a half-capitalist basis. So the Jews and the non-Russian peasantry represented the No. 1 enemies of Russian Communism and of his personal dictatorship to the mind of Stalin, who was strengthening his position when Trotsky became the leader of the opposition. Against this background the Jewish Autonomous Region in the R.S.F.S.R. in far-off Siberia with a climate wholly unsuitable for the

*Three Who Made a Revolution, p. 468.

Jews, must be looked upon as an "isolation region" for the menshevik virus and Zionism. Birobijan was founded in 1928, and in 1934 acquired the status of an Autonomous Region.

The abolition of the N.E.P. policy was a blow both against the Jews and against the non-Russian peasantries. Half of all Jews were declared officially declassed (*lishentsi*) without living space, rations, schooling of children, etc. The other half was forced into Soviet jobs in the most unpopular branches: food shops, store managers, interior administration—where they were hated as executors of the Communist policy. The Russian Communists always put some Jews in the Red army and police formations which "liquidated the kulaks" or "extorted" all the grain from the peasants in the non-Russian territories. These Jews were then blamed for all the brutalities inflicted on the population. I consider the imposition of Marr's theories on the Byelo-Ruthenians and Ukrainians by some Jews as a special "provocation" of Stalin. The aim was clearly to separate the Jewish intelligentsia from the intelligentsia of the non-Russian peoples, and to isolate the Jews, making them completely dependent on the Russians, as an instrument of their Russification in the non-Russian territories. Using some Jews for this policy the Russians at the same time started a systematic Russification of Yiddish and a persecution of the whole cultural heritage of the Jewish nation. During the struggle against Trotskyism Stalin's propaganda worked distinctly with anti-Semitism, especially later, during the mock trials of Zinoviev and Kamenev, who were officially reminded that their Russian names were only pseudonyms.

Just as the program of the non-Russian nationalities was being carried out behind the federative façade of the Constitution, the Jewry outside the Soviet Union were pushed by Stalin behind the Kaganovich façade with the Hollywood romanticism of his secret marriage to the sister of his old henchman, and the Siberian Birobijan. It is certain that Stalin before World War II was fully convinced that the Jews, as the liberal element, united with the outside world and universal culture, as a national individuality and stimulant of the nationality problem inside, were the greatest danger for his dictatorship—especially with the authority of Trotsky abroad.

How much did Stalin's fear of the Jews and his hidden aversion to them influence his decision regarding the alliance with Hitler? Surely a great deal, assuming as it did a vital role in the nationality problem we mentioned. Any enemy of Trotsky was Stalin's ally; the fact of Trotsky's murder proves how deeply Stalin felt endangered by this Jew, who even though he had broken ties with his own people represented for Stalin his Jewish rival in the world revolution.

Stalin's alliance with Hitler brought a red letter day for anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. Gradually the Jews (including Litvinov) were eliminated from key positions, from the diplomatic and governmental services. Characteristic was the order to the Ukrainian University in Lemberg, after the Soviet occupation, to refuse the matriculation of all Jews into the university.

After the attack of Hitler, Stalin's policy toward the Jews was also

well calculated. Surely he had heard something about Hitler's crematoriums, and could therefore give the general order to evacuate the prospective victims of Hitler. No—they were left to Hitler's liquidation, as the Poles during their rising in Warsaw were left to the Germans. The deliberate nonevacuation of Jews brought Stalin a double "success": he liquidated, through Hitler, his enemies and Trotsky's fellow countrymen inside the occupied Soviet Union on the one hand, and on the other Hitler's pogroms, Stalin calculated, would completely overshadow his still well-remembered pact with Hitler and prompt the Jews outside the Soviet Union toward a new sympathy for the Soviet Union, since he had now become an "ally of democracy" against Hitler. The constantly calculating brain of that Caucasian abrek is generally underestimated.

The present plight of the Jewish nation in the Soviet Union represents the ultimate fate of any non-Russian nationality there. The cultural, religious, lingual, and national pogrom of the Jews by Moscow is accomplished. Even the remnants of the flourishing Jewish national culture of 1928-1929 were blotted out. The Yiddish Publishing House, Emes, together with the last Yiddish newspaper, all Jewish social and political organizations were eliminated; their leaders, scholars, poets, writers, actors, and journalists "disappeared"; the once famous Yiddish Theater is virtually destroyed; the Jewish population from the Ukraine, Byelo-Ruthenia, and Crimea is exiled to Eastern Siberia and Stalin's crematoriums of Karaganda can fully compete with Hitler's gas chambers; a systematic smear propaganda is carried on against the present State of Israel, whose leaders like Ben-Gurion and Shertok are accused of being "nationalist" and "puppets of Washington."

The Russian cycle is closed, from the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and the pogroms to the application of the Leninist-Stalinist nationality program to the Jews by the Russian Communist's Party. And we see the result, assimilation and Russification of some three million Jews. The program of old Tsarist Russia is accomplished, the pogrom of the Jewish nation is complete.*

We can support our opinion also by the following quotation from a lecture delivered by the Jewish scholar, Will Herberg, published October 23, 1950, in Time.

"In all Russia . . . there is no trace of formal Jewish organization or institutions. . . . There is not a single Jewish newspaper or periodical throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Union. Hebrew is forbidden. Religious instruction and everything that smacks of religious tradition is under the same ban. . . . Everything Jewish is either eliminated or else suffocated under a heavy blanket of official silence."

Herberg's conclusion: "What decades of Czarist persecution could not do, Communist totalitarianism seems on the verge of accomplishing --the stifling of every form of Jewish expression, the total extinction of Jewish existence."

*Cf. also Eugene Lyons, Anti-Semitism in Utopia, Freeman I, p. 178.

What happened to Birobijan?* Harry Schwartz** reported:

"The Soviet Government has abandoned its much publicized efforts to create a 'Jewish homeland' in the Birobijan region of Eastern Siberia, latest information available indicates.

"An indication of a new policy came last November when a message arrived here at the headquarters of the Ambijan Committee, an organization formed in 1934 to gather funds and other aid for Birobijan's Jews, declaring that Birobijan no longer required or wanted any outside help. The cablegram was signed by Lew Yefremovich Benkovich as head of the Birobijan Government.

"Last month the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, published in Tel Aviv, printed an article saying the Soviet Government had decided to end its efforts to establish a separate Jewish homeland in Birobijan. Haaretz's article, information in which has been confirmed by Israeli Government sources, was based on a report delivered to a recent congress of the Khabarovsk Territory Communist party by Pavel Vasilevich Simonov, first secretary of the Communist party of the Jewish Autonomous Province, as Birobijan is officially known.

"The Haaretz report indicated that the Soviet Government intended to freeze the existing situation in Birobijan giving up efforts to resettle any large additional number of Jews there. The article cites reports that Jews from other parts of the Soviet Union have recently been settled in Krasnoyarsk Territory and other regions in Siberia rather than in Birobijan.

"At the Khabarovsk conference, Mr. Simonov reported that there were 140,000 persons in the Jewish Autonomous Province of whom 30 per cent were Jews. In 1939 the last Soviet census indicated this area had 108,000 inhabitants. Information then indicated that the Jewish population was under 30,000, according to Dr. Solomon Schwarz, who has made studies of Soviet Jewry.

"The increase in Birobijan's Jewish population from under 30,000 in 1939 to 42,000 in the recent postwar period is apparently attributable to the Soviet Government-sponsored migration in 1947 and 1948 of Jews from the Ukraine and other western areas to the Jewish Autonomous Province.

"Mr. Simonov's Khabarovsk report also revealed that a major purge had taken place in Birobidzjan and that the last remaining Yiddish language newspaper in the Soviet Union, the Birobijaner Stern, had been closed down. Haaretz reported that the entire staff of the newspaper had been arrested. Among those purged were S. Kushvir, former first secretary of the Birobidzhan Communist party, and A. Bakhmotsky, former second secretary.

"The new Soviet policy on Birobijan is in accord with the general drive conducted in recent years against the formerly approved concept

*The New York Times, April 22, 1951.

**Cf. (Soviet propaganda) S. Almazov, Ten Years of Biro-Bidjan, New York, 1938.

of the Jewish people as constituting a separate nation among the Soviet family of nations.

"In late 1949 the Soviet Government closed down the Yiddish Publishing House, the last Yiddish national newspaper, Einigkeit, and arrested a number of Jewish intellectuals. In early 1950 it conducted a major drive against 'homeless cosmopolitans,' most of whom were Jewish writers, some of whom were accused of spreading Zionism and other anti-Soviet 'bourgeois nationalism.'

"Reports from the Soviet Union indicate that all or virtually all Yiddish schools have been closed down and that in general an effort is being made to speed up the assimilation of Soviet Jews. In earlier years the Government boasted that it was encouraging all forms of Yiddish culture and schooling."

Hitler has used Jews "only" for "experiments" in laboratories; Stalin has used the whole Jewish nation as a laboratory object for the creation of the Russian Soviet nation by "dissolution" and "merging."* That "social and national engineering" is the only "great contribution" of the new Muscovy to our times; modern physics split atoms, Russian Communism developed a successful and effective method of splitting nationalities and swallowing them. A gigantic modern cannibalism** is in full action within the Soviet Union in the very era of the UN. This example of the fate of the Jewish nation in the Soviet Union can be fully matched with the fate of the Jews as a nation in Hitler's Germany; this fate is prepared for all the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union.

The national ideas of the non-Russian peoples have many aspects, and all are exploited tactically by Soviet Moscow for the final aim, to kill their nationalism, to assimilate, and to Russify them. The "solution of the nationality problem," Russian Communist style, is a political action at the beginning of which Soviet Moscow enthusiastically supports the usually democratic idea of a nation, and through many tactical stages results in the disappearance of the nation itself; thus the problem is solved.

4. Russian Communist Tactics Applied Against the Non-Russian Peoples

Besides a perfection and intensification of all the previously mentioned methods used by Soviet Moscow, against the liberation movements of non-Russians, the decade beginning with 1950 is characterized by the following peculiarities (we limit our material primarily to the Ukraine):

a) Latest persecutions of the Ukrainian peasantry. The Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians, tempted and deceived by Pan-Slavism and

*The present plight of the Jews in the Soviet Union was recently described by S. H. Schwarz, The Jews in the Soviet Union, Syracuse Univ. Press, 1951.

**The Russian philosopher, W. Soloviev, called the assimilation policy of the Tsarist regime, "spiritual cannibalism."

junior partnership, have been since the beginning of 1951, under a new heavy Russification pressure. The collective farms have still preserved a national peasantry with national traditions which oppose Russification. As in 1928 a renewed attack is directed against the peasant masses, beginning in 1950 under the pretext of the formation of large collective farms through the merging of smaller farms. But all published details show that political reasons rather than economic have led Moscow to the new persecutions. A special "gauleiter" from Moscow, Melnikov, functions as the new Postyshev in the Ukraine and he has decreed the following: the chairmen of the collective farms are no longer to be elected but are appointed by the Party; all chairmen who functioned for more than ten years must be "newly trained"; the peasants, born in the village and pledged to the soil by family traditions, are redistributed to new collective farms, which are more easily controlled; a newer and more rigid "work discipline" has to be enforced by special Communist agitation, etc., etc. Behind this new drive is the growing restlessness of the peasantry in connection with the actions of the Ukrainian Partisan army. Thus the new Ukraine anthem and flag will form the smoke screen for the coming blow against the Ukrainian nation.

b) A systematically planned action to break the traditions of cultural independence from Moscow.

The Russian Communists started to organize in Moscow ten-day "celebrations" of the literatures and cultures of the non-Russian groups, which formed Union Republics. In the same manner and for the same goal as the Tatarian Khans once summoned the Muscovite Vassal princes and their courts to the capital Saray in order to pay tribute and to renew their oaths of allegiance, drinking the kumys, the Russian Communists now summon the poets and writers of the vassal non-Russian nationalities to Moscow. However, the Russian Communists surpassed the old Tatarian Khans; they organize among the non-Russian poets and writers "Socialist competitions" for the glorification of Soviet Moscow "to obtain higher productivity and to increase output and efficiency." The plans for the decade of Ukrainian arts and literature are set forth in the paper Radyanska Ukriana, December 9, 1950.

"In the creation and development of the Socialist culture, especially Ukrainian Soviet culture, a distinguished role belongs to the elder brother of the Ukrainian nation--to the leading nation of all nations, which encloses them into the Soviet Union. The freedom loving character and creative genius of the Russian people, the high idealism of the social ideas of Russia have since the old days of the past benevolently influenced the cultures of other nations. Perhaps the Ukrainian people have felt it the strongest.

"Ukrainian literature, arts, liberal arts, any branch of the culture of our nation wears itself the seal of the life-giving influence of the great culture of the Russian people. Above all this influence was strengthened after the Great October Socialist Revolution. Educated by the Leninist-Stalinist ideas of the equality and unshakable friendship of nations, the

Russian people gave tremendous help to all nationalities of our country, especially the Ukrainian in their economic and cultural rise."

The current Ukrainian Soviet Press is publishing reports about this decade in Moscow. The leading poet, Rylsky, addressed Moscow in a poem: "Homage to Moscow, for thee, Moscow, admiration of the whole world, praise fills all the hearts; accept a bow to the earth from all the peoples, Moscow! Accept from the toiling Ukraine words of gratitude, friendship and fidelity; Moscow leads all on to sunny heights!"—in similar sycophantic Byzantinism is written the rest of the poem. Another leading poet, Tychina, wrote: "We are in Moscow! Moscow is our mother!"—and so on, competing with Rylsky. The poet Bazhan "with a heart, which beats with joyful and solemn expectation . . . I thank you for it that the wise eyes of the Party, the wise eyes of Stalin, fatherly, lovingly and demandingly observe, direct, and inspire every creative heart of our land . . . the Ukraine from the Tissa to the Don thanks father Stalin for the happiness, joy and wealth. . . ."

The poor poets are not only required to glorify the slavery of the Ukraine as freedom, but they must also vociferously assert that freedom is slavery in the manner of the poet Malyshko describing the Statue of Liberty following:

"Against the shore the Hudson's waters pound
From billboard-plastered Wall Street comes a din
And in the darkness, little, old and staring 'round
Stands Liberty's Statue with her vacant grin.

"She stares into the darkness without stir
Without suffering, without trace of sadness
For they, they have their paws on her
The greedy bankers--the vile spiders.

"[But] the poet knows that lights of a different liberty are
shining in the world.

The vital one that Lenin used to nurse
The one that Stalin hardened in his fight
Which stands invincible in concentrated light
The very center of the universe."

The Byelo-Ruthenian literature cannot yet reach these "sunny heights" and Petrus Brovka in his poem "Russia" is rather laconic:

"You have lit our horizons,
Russia,
Motherland,
Moscow.
And, once and forever, Stalin
Gave the people all their rights."

Thus the writers and poets of the non-Russian nations, who did not perish in Siberian camps or had not the good luck to escape outside the Soviet Union are used by Soviet Moscow for such "tributes" and

"fidelity declarations," which in the end serve only as proofs of the spiritual abyss between them and Soviet Moscow.

c) Use of the Russian language for literary and creative work by non-Russian writers is the planned next step of Russification.

One of the Communist Ukrainian poets, W. Sosyura, has already arrived at this stage of the Russian language policy and was especially distinguished by an article in the Russian journal, Novyi Mir, Nr. 2, 1951. Sosyura writes in the preface to his booklet, To the Fatherland, written in Russian:

"The Russian language has introduced me to poetry. Reading Russian books I got acquainted with the treasures of Russian and world literature. . . . Publishing a collection of my Russian poems I wish to acquaint my readers with that which helped me, a Ukrainian poet, which I never forgot, never am forgetting and never will forget, so long as my breast is breathing, my eyes are seeing and songs are humming in my heart. From time to time I even now am writing in Russian my poetry, because I cannot resist it. . . ."

The Russian Communist Tarasenkov concludes:

"These Sosyura's words once again prove that the Lenin-Stalin nationality policy fosters the strengthening and development of the national languages and likewise creates a limitless respect of all nationalities for the Soviet Union and the great Russian language. These words of Sosyura are also an excellent answer to the bourgeois nationalists who struggle for full separateness of the language creation of the Ukrainian (and any other) language. . . . The Russian language offers to all humanity the light of the most inspired, most progressive, most lofty of human ideas. Broad and many-sided is its influence upon the entire world. Mayajovsky expressed himself thus:

"Even if I would be a Negro in his old age,
I would without despair and laziness
learn the Russian language only for
the reason that Lenin himself spoke it."

In the future any non-Russian poet will not be considered in good standing in Moscow if he will not write also in Russian.

Writing in Russian will be looked upon as the manifestation of full loyalty to Moscow and to "human progress." The goal is clear: the intellectual elite of all non-Russian nationalities, which ordinarily derived its inspirations from outside, according to their historical traditions, will be forced to use Russian as the only cultural source and, in fact, as the only literary language.

d) The newest addition to Russian tactics is downright genocide. The fate of the Volga Germans, of the Crimean Tatars, of the Kalmyks, Chechen, Ingush, must "stimulate" the remaining non-Russian peoples.

5. The Ideological Background of the Present Russification and Its Asiatic Aims

Taking into account the present Soviet Press and literature we become aware of the principles which guide these Russian Communist propaganda among all non-Russian peoples:*

a) "Fatherland": the Communist Party teaches that "the patriotism of the Soviet people is different from that of other peoples, because the 'idea of fatherland and mother country' is most fully felt only by our people."

b) One capital of the fatherland: Moscow, "all the nationalities have only one capital Moscow."

c) One's own non-Russian culture and language may be loved as "regional peculiarities": "The love of one's own national culture and language, in the present conditions of mutual respect and brotherly cooperation of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., leads to a strengthening of the love of the fatherland of all Soviet peoples, of the Soviet Union."

d) The unity of aims of all people of U.S.S.R. and ways to realize them: "the unity of aims and ways, established by the great Lenin and Stalin . . . fosters friendship among the nationalities. The links of an unbreakable friendship, which have hung together during the course of history of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples, were yet more strengthened during the period of the establishment of socialism in our country."

e) The primacy and leadership belongs to the Russians: whom "all the peoples of the Soviet Union have treated with special adoration and gratitude as their elder brother and whom they are still treating as such, the Russian people, under whose leaderships they have overthrown the Tsarist autocracy."

These are the new Soviet expressions for the Western meaning: political and cultural Russification of all non-Russian nationalities.

Throughout internal and foreign politics this ideology is constantly repeated by all mediums of modern propaganda. Inside the Soviet Union the nationality problem "is solved," outside the Soviet Union all nationalities, especially the American Negroes, are "waiting" for the liberation by Soviet Moscow. During the annual Stalin Constitution Day the tenets of the Soviet propaganda regarding the nationality problem appear particularly clear in the Soviet press. For instance, Pravda, December 5, 1950:

"Today the peoples of our great motherland and honest men throughout the world are observing Stalin Constitution Day, the day of the constitution of triumphant socialism, of the most democratic constitution in the world. The peoples of our country proudly call their constitution Stalinist, demonstrating their boundless love for their great leader and teacher, the creator of the constitution of triumphant socialism.

"There is no more stable state in the entire world than the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Soviet system of organizing society is

*Cf. Ya. Busel (Kyivsky), Soviet Patriotism (1948), pp. 18-19; the quotations are from an article of the Communist, B. Hott.

the most democratic and viable system. The Soviet multinational state is free of the irreconcilable class and national contradictions which rend the capitalist world.

"The great superiority of the socialist system and of Soviet democracy can be seen especially clearly against the background of capitalism's progressive decay and the corruption of bourgeois democracy. The indignation of the masses at the capitalist yoke is intensifying, hatred of the colonial and dependent peoples for their imperialist enslavers is growing. The national liberation movement of peoples is spreading. Attempting to avert the inevitable downfall of the capitalist system, the imperialist bourgeoisie of the U.S.A. and other countries are liquidating the last remnants of the democratic rights of the working people and adopting fascist methods of government.

"But, however much the black forces of imperialist reaction rage, however much the right-wing Socialist lackeys of Wall Street try, they are not in a position to stop the march of history to peace, democracy and socialism."

Izvestia, December 3, 1950, "Stalinist Friendship of Peoples of U.S.S.R."

"Fifteen years ago, on Dec. 4, 1935, a conference was held in the Kremlin between leading collective farmmen and women of Tadzhikistan and Turkmenistan and heads of the Party and government. Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin spoke at the conference, pointing out the great role of the friendship of peoples in the development and strengthening of our multinational socialist state. In the 15 years since that date the Soviet Union has become still more powerful, and the Stalinist friendship of peoples has become still more firm and inviolable.

"During the great patriotic war this friendship passed a severe test in the battles for the honor and independence of our motherland, proving to be one of the deciding conditions in the victory over Nazi Germany and imperialist Japan. Since the war the heroic strength of this friendship has been manifested in peaceful, creative labor.

"National oppression and hostility among peoples was bred of the exploitative system. All capitalist multinational states, formed through deception and violence, are wracked from within by both class and national contradictions. The Bolshevik party and its leaders Lenin and Stalin always related the struggle for the emancipation of nationalities to the general struggle of the workers for liberation from the yoke of capital.

"At the Dec. 4, 1935, conference Comrade Stalin said: 'In olden times, when the Tsar, capitalists and landowners had the power in our country, the policy of the government consisted of making one people--the Russian--dominant, and all others subordinate and oppressed. This was a monstrous, predatory policy. In October, 1917, when our great proletarian revolution unfolded, when we overthrew the Tsar, the landowners and the capitalists, Lenin, our teacher, father and instructor, said that thenceforth there should be neither dominant nor subordinate peoples, that peoples must be free and equal. . . .' The Declaration of Rights of Peoples of Russia, worked out by Comrade Stalin and signed by Lenin

and Stalin, proclaimed equality and sovereignty of the peoples of Russia; their right to free self-determination, even to secession and the formation of independent states; the retraction of all national-religious privileges and limitations; and free development of the national minorities and ethnic groups inhabiting Russia.

"Together with the great Lenin, Comrade Stalin worked to unite all the Soviet republics into a single federated state. This work culminated in the adoption at the First All-Union Congress of Soviets, Dec. 30, 1922, of the historic resolution on the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The great Russian people played an outstanding role in the formation and consolidation of the Soviet multinational state.

"The formation of the U.S.S.R. was a triumph of Leninist-Stalinist national policy, a classic, functioning solution of the national question and a confirmation of the new relationships among the peoples of our motherland. Welded into a single fraternal family, the peoples of our country, led by the party of Lenin and Stalin, made the Soviet Union a mighty industrial and collective farming state. The formation of the U.S.S.R. opened up broad prospects to the development of the statehood, economy and culture of all Soviet republics.

"The Stalin Constitution proclaimed the equal rights of all citizens of the U.S.S.R., regardless of nationality and race. It upholds in deeds the common interests of all citizens of the country and the specific interests of the national republics and provinces--of all peoples, large and small. This is also true of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, highest organ of Soviet power, which is made up of two equal chambers, the Council [Soviet] of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. In the Council of Nationalities the Turkmenian Republic, for example, has the same number of representatives as the Russian Federation, which has scores of times as many inhabitants as Turkmenistan.

"It is generally known that in the U.S.A., for example, millions of Negroes and Indians, deprived of all human rights, are doomed to poverty and extinction. The imperialist colonizers preach a fascist race theory in order to 'establish' Anglo-Saxon superiority, drowning in blood the national liberation struggle of peoples, as witnessed by their aggression against the Chinese People's Republic and the freedom-loving people of Korea.

"The Leninist-Stalinist principles of internationalism, friendship and equality of peoples lie at the basis of the peace-loving policy of the Soviet state, which defends the cause of world peace."

All this Soviet propaganda is written for export, above all for Asia. Here the nationality problem becomes the chief instrument of Russian imperialism. In Volume XXXIII of Lenin's Works (p. 458) we see that Lenin ascribed particular importance in the final victory of Socialism throughout the world to the growing revolutionary struggle of the peoples of the East:

"The outcome of the struggle depends in the final analysis on the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., form the vast majority of the population. It is this majority of population which has been involved with

unusual speed in recent years in the struggle for its liberation, so that in this sense there cannot be a shadow of doubt concerning the final outcome of the world struggle. In this sense the final victory of socialism has been fully and unconditionally secured" (p. 458).

The Russian center directing the "solution of the nationality problem of Asia" is the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy. The Vestnik Akademii Nauk S.S.S.R., Nr. 2, 1951, the following instruction:

"The Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences adopted a number of resolute measures for radical improvement of work in Soviet Oriental studies. . . . The institute has been assigned the task of concentrating principally on scientific elaboration of problems of the modern and recent history, language and literature, economy and politics of the countries of the present-day East, and also national-colonial problems. An extended scientific elaboration of these problems should be based, naturally, on a serious study of the entire history of the Eastern peoples, including medieval and ancient history, but a study of the topical problems of the history, economy and politics of the peoples of the present-day East is the fundamental task of the Institute of Oriental Studies. Only by concentrating its energies on solution of these problems will the Institute of Oriental Studies fulfill those new tasks which have been placed before it.

"In our day, when events of enormous historic significance are occurring in the East, when great economic and cultural construction is being undertaken more and more extensively in the Chinese People's Republic, when the peoples of Korea and Viet Nam are conducting a persistent struggle against the imperialists for freedom and independence, when the national liberation movement is flaming up more and more in other Eastern countries, responsible new tasks arise for Soviet Oriental studies. Soviet Orientalists, armed with Marxist-Leninist methodology, should study those processes now taking their course in the Eastern countries. Along with this, special attention should be given to such problems as the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism, people's democracy in the countries of the East, the national liberation struggle of the Eastern peoples, and, finally, the contribution of the Eastern peoples to the treasury of world culture.

"The Institute of Oriental Studies should become a scientific center which unites and directs all the work of Soviet Orientalists, which up to now was disjointed. The organizational structure of the old Institute of Oriental Studies did not conform to these tasks. Therefore, by resolution of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences of Aug. 2, 1950, a new structure was formed for the Institute of Oriental Studies, which was divided into nine sections: (1) section on China, (2) section on Mongolia and Korea, (3) section on Japan, (4) section on the countries of Southeast Asia, (5) section on India and Afghanistan, (6) section on Iran, (7) section on Turkey and the Arab countries, (8) section on the Soviet East, (9) section (museum) of the Eastern manuscripts in Leningrad.

"The most important theory problems linked with the national liberation movement and the nationality question, which Comrade J. V. Stalin has set forth and elaborated with such force and with such profundity, should be brought to the fore in the institute's works. In these works our Orientalists should proceed from those important principles contained in the brilliant works of J. V. Stalin, 'Marxism and Problems of Linguistics,' which have seminal significance for the development not only of linguistics but also of other social sciences.

"Setting out to fulfill the responsible tasks placed before it, the Institute of Oriental Studies has drawn up a five-year plan for its scientific work. Under this plan, the scientific research of the institute should take the following fundamental directions.

"The personnel of the institute should prepare for the press a number of fundamental monographs on the contemporary East. These should include, first of all, works on the history, economy, politics and culture of the countries of the East which have been liberated forever from the yoke of imperialism and reaction, and, in particular, serious attention should be given to a study of the social-economic reforms in present-day China. Themes linked with the aggravation of the crisis of imperialism's colonial system and the rise of the national liberation struggle in Eastern countries have been introduced in the plan. The aggressive policy of American-British imperialism in these countries should be exposed in these works. Simultaneously, special works on the modern and recent history and the literary history of India, Iran, Japan, Turkey, Burma, the Philippines, and a number of other Eastern countries, and integrated research projects on these countries, have been included in the five-year plan; also, works which expose the antinational role of reactionary ideologies, particularly Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism, which are instruments of imperialist reaction in the East.

"The institute should prepare a number of large works on the culture and national traditions of the peoples of the Soviet East. In this connection, large monographs devoted to the literary history of the peoples of Azerbaidzhan, Uzbekistan, Kara-Kalpakia and Tadzhikistan have been included in the five-year plan.

"Study of the problem of the historic role of advanced Russian culture in the development of the peoples of the Soviet East, particularly of Central Asia, is very important in terms of principle."

In Asia, Soviet Moscow's chief instrument is nationalism (often with undertones of a systematic hatred against the white "imperialists") to hasten the final liquidation of her economic and political rivals: the U.S.A., England, and France. This fight against colonialism by Soviet Moscow, with the help of the national ideas of the native peoples, can well result in all of Asia's becoming a colonial empire of Moscow, including India, Afghanistan, and Persia in the sphere of Soviet influence. Siberia is the great Russification laboratory; from the thousands of proletarianized and uprooted peasants and intelligentsia of the non-Russian nationalities Soviet Moscow attempts, by means of cooky and whip, to create a Russian-speaking Soviet nation, the basis for the Russification of Asia.

6. Russian Communist Ideology Is Supported by Armed Force Against the Non-Russian Nationalities

This factor shows the ineffectiveness of Russian propaganda and demonstrates that the non-Russian nationalities oppose by force Soviet Moscow. Stalin himself, inadvertently, betrays this failure in the following official edict:*

"STATUTE ON THE MEDAL 'FOR EXCELLENT SERVICE IN MAINTAINING PUBLIC ORDER.' (Vedomosti Verkhovnoy Soveta, Nov. 16, p. 1.)

"(1) Officers, sergeants, privates and other personnel of the militia agencies of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Security are decorated with the medal 'For Excellent Service in Maintaining Public Order' for exploits and services rendered in combating common crime and maintaining public order in the country.

"(2) Decorations with the medal 'For Excellent Service in Maintaining Public Order' are made by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Security in the name of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

"(3) The Medal 'For Excellent Service in Maintaining Public Order' is awarded:

"for bravery and self-sacrifice displayed in liquidating robber-bandit groups;

"for bold and skillfully executed actions in preventing crimes which are in stage of preparation, or in uncovering common crimes which have been committed;

"for excellent supervision of operations in the detention of common criminals;

"for skillful organization of the work of the militia in combating common crime and in maintaining public order;

"for efficient service in the militia agencies of the U.S.S.R. Ministry of State Security.

"(4) The medal 'For Excellent Service in Maintaining Public Order' is worn on the left lapel and, if orders and other medals of the U.S.S.R. are worn, is placed after the medal 'For Excellent Protection of the U.S.S.R. State Frontier.'

"(5) The 'For Excellent Service in Maintaining Public Order' belonging to persons who fall in the course of discharging their professional duties or who die are passed on to the families of the holders of the medals, along with certificates relating to the medals, and are kept by them in memory."

What is the reason? The Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Byelo-Ruthenian, Turkestanian partisans are still conducting a constant civil war against Soviet Moscow, which encourages also all other oppressed nationalities acts of sabotage and revenge. Another document also reveals the situation in the Soviet Union. On May 26, 1946, the Soviet Press proudly printed the news that "fulfilling the numerous requests of the workers—

*Vedomosti Verkhovnoy Soveta, Nr., 16, 1950.

peasants—professional and party organizations from all the national republics of the Soviet Union, and the incessant demands of all leaders of culture, the Supreme Soviet has sanctioned and published a law abolishing the death penalty and motivated it by the development of the socialist humanism.” The then minister of justice declared that “hereby is opened a new page in the history of the great Soviet Union.” On January 12, 1950, the Soviet Press brought the news that again “fulfilling the numerous requests of the workers—peasants—professional and party organizations from all the national republics of the Soviet Union and the incessant demands of all leaders of culture” the same Supreme Soviet “re-established the death penalty for spies, traitors, diversionists and persons, who shatter the power of the state.” The new page of Soviet humanism could not cope with the opposition of the non-Russian nationalities and the old Muscovite methods for the solution of nationality problems were re-established. Slave labor camps and police proved inefficient.

What is happening in the Baltic States at the present time is vividly presented by A. Kalme, *Total Terror*, an exposé of genocide in the Baltics (Appleton-Century-Crofts). Regarding the situation of the Ukraine the most striking proof that the Soviet government is greatly concerned about the Ukrainian underground is offered by the official proclamation of Lt. Gen. M. Kovalchuk, Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, directed to the Ukrainian underground. Dated December 30, 1949, this Order No. 312 was posted in every Ukrainian city, town, and village. It declared that hundreds of “illegals,” principally youth, were hiding in the woods and engaging in anti-State activities. Gen. Kovalchuk stated that the “Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic empowered” him to grant full pardon to all those who voluntarily surrendered. The text is reproduced in full:

“1. All heads of district administrations, city and county units of the MGB in the Western provinces of the Ukrainian SSR are not to hold criminally responsible all those members of the bands, including their chieftains, who voluntarily surrender;

“2. The granting of the right of free choice of habitation to all who voluntarily surrender. The local organs of the government shall render them all assistance in finding employment in their old places of residence if possible, or in other districts of their own choosing upon surrender;

“3. All heads of district administrations, city and county units of the MGB shall assure all who voluntarily surrender that the return from exile of their families to their old places of residence will be ordered;

“4. That in view of the fact that some local citizens know the bandits and maintain liaison with them, these citizens shall not be held criminally responsible if they sever their connection with the O.U.N. bandit underground and reveal the whereabouts of the bandits by means of declarations, anonymous letters or otherwise;

“5. That in view of the fact that some persons who abandoned schools of general education and of the trades were deceived and terrorized by

the bandits and went over to the underground and continue to hide despite the fact that they have committed no crimes, such persons therefore shall be permitted to return to their parents.

"6. The organs of the MGB and the militia shall intensify the struggle against those bandits who are unwilling to surrender and who, by threat and provocative action, prevent other illegals from breaking away from the underground and returning to honest work in collective farms and in factories;

"7. Persons who continue to give shelter and material or any other kind of assistance to them, as well as those found in possession of arms, shall be considered as active supporters of the bandits and as such held criminally responsible.

"The Ukrainian Soviet people shall deal mercilessly with those remnants of the defeated bands who do not take advantage of this last opportunity. Their end is inevitable.

"This order is to be widely publicized among the population of the Western provinces of the Ukrainian SSR.

"Minister of State Security
of the Ukrainian SSR.
Lt.-Gen. M. Kovalchuk." *

7. The Plight of the Non-Russian Languages in the Soviet Union

In Chapter III we gave a translation of the Ukaz from the year 1876 concerning the Ukrainian language.

In order to picture the present situation of the non-Russian languages in the Soviet Union let us compare the articles of the Ukaz of the Russian Tsar with the present "regulations" imposed by Russian Communism on the Ukrainian nation and its language:

a) Tsarist article 1: "It is forbidden to import into the Empire, without special permission of the Chief-Censor Office, all books and pamphlets in Ukrainian." This is kept in full force by the Russian Communist dictatorship. To send a private person a Ukrainian book in the Soviet Union is to deliver him to the MVD; even to write, from outside, a letter in Ukrainian means for the addressee immediate investigation and the certainty of being marked as a "suspect" for the next group to "slave labor." Thus the Tsaristic regime was in this respect more liberal, for it supervised in the "black cabinets" only the correspondence of leading personalities. Russian Communism "democratized" this institution for all citizens regarding every kind of mail.

b) Tsarist article 2 reads: "It is forbidden in the Empire to print original works and translations in Ukrainian with the exception of historical and literary documents and of works of belle-lettres, under the proviso that in the historical documents the orthography of the originals has to be strictly adhered to; in the works of refined literature no

*Ukr. Bulletin, June 1, 1951.

deviation from the Russian orthography is permitted and permission for printing may be given, without exception, only by the Chief-office for Printing after censoring them." In substance this article is kept in full force by Russian Communism; all Ukrainian printing is under Russian censorship; the orthography enforced by Russian Communism is strictly obligatory and any deviation is "counterrevolution"; Russian Communism has "improved" considerably the old Tsarist Ukaz by putting not only Ukrainian printing, but the whole Ukrainian press and all literary creation under Russian "planning" and censorship. In Tsaristic Russia, Ukrainian writers and poets could freely create "at home," and keep their works in the "drawer" or send them for publication outside; Communist Russia finally ended such liberalism and "production anarchy" by establishing full control of the mind. In Tsaristic Russia a "Historical Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language" could be edited under some title; but Communist Russia stopped it as "counterrevolution" at the letter zh. Thus the old Russian censorship is now highly perfected and reaches not only the printing but the very creative process in Ukrainian literature and also the editing of Ukrainian authors of pre-World War I in purified publications according to the Russian Communist Party line.* It is well to bear in mind that the liquidation of the Ukrainian nation and its "merging" with the Russian Soviet Nation is the aim of this party line.

c) Tsarist article 3: "Forbidden are all theatrical performances and lectures in Ukrainian and also the printing of texts under music-songs"; in essence this article is also kept in full force by the Russian Communists; lectures and performances, as well as the printing of song texts are under full Russian Communist censorship; as the Russian Communists have established thought control also over the very creative process, only Russian approved or ordered performances or lectures can be given in Ukrainian; thus also this Tsarist article has been highly improved by Russian Communism.

d) So we see: Russian Communism limits the use of a non-Russian language to propaganda purposes for honoring the Russian Communist master race and for effective cultural Russification of the non-Russian peoples. The non-Russian languages have the right only to glorify the previous and present Russian hangmen of their own nations and to praise the Russian boot, which is kicking them in the teeth, as contributing to the "happy life" and as "the most progressive democracy of the world."

The Ukrainian example applies to all non-Russian nationalities. They are fully justified, according to the Stalin Constitution, to use their own languages for their own cultural denationalization, for smearing and slandering all their leaders and writers who loved liberty and fought Russia, and to sing Hallelujahs for Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Lenin, and Stalin.

*Cf. P. Odarchenko, "Soviet Interpretation of a Ukrainian Classic," The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S., Vol. I, Nr. 2, 1951.

The Russians have the exclusive monopoly of censorship over printing, over the creative literary and journalistic activities of all non-Russian languages. The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences is in fact the supreme office invested with absolute authority to control thought, and exercise censorship by issuing "decrees."

While the Russian Tsars were liberal dilettantes, their higher bureaucrats were unquestionably talented men. Although after 1876 the Ukrainian language was forbidden in Russia, the Russian Government used the Ukrainian language at the same time in the U.S.A., for its Pan-Russian propaganda, which was conducted here by the Russian Orthodox Church. For this purpose the paper *Svit* was established. In No. 5, 1898, it printed the following announcement: "It is permitted to publish the paper *Svit* in the Ukrainian language by the *Ukaz* of the Holy Ruling Russian Synod of November 27, 1897, which was issued under No. 6570 for the Most Rev. Nikolay, Aleutian Bishop." This paper aimed at combating all influences of the American ideas of liberty and democracy among the Ukrainian emigrants in U.S.A., and of preventing these ideas from penetrating into Russia through the Americans of Ukrainian descent. This paper attempted to Russify culturally the Ukrainian emigrants in the U.S.A. by preaching that they were also here under the protection of the "mighty Russian big-brother Empire." It urged its readers to join the "true Slavic Christianity" by renouncing the Catholic faith and accepting the "great Russian language" as their literary language, because the Tsar himself spoke Russian. The same propaganda is now carried on in the U.S.A. and Canada by the Communist Ukrainian daily press with the old "big-brother" slogans, Pan-Slavism, and "learn the language of Lenin and Stalin." It is well known who pays for and directs such propaganda. This subversive action is going on in the U.S.A. not only in Ukrainian, but in nearly all languages of the Moscow-oppressed nationalities. The new Russia, like the Russia of old, fights in the U.S.A. the democratic national ideas of this country and of all non-Russian nationalities, misusing here their languages for this purpose.

We sum up the present pitiful situation of the non-Russian languages and cultures in the Soviet Union as compared with the Russian in the following points:

a) The non-Russian languages and cultures do not enjoy equal rights with the Russian language and culture, as is promised by the Soviet Constitution. As a matter of fact this law is disregarded and daily violated by the ruling Russian proletariat. The Russian culture and language is under the protection of the Russian Communist Government, of the Russian Communist Party, and of the Russian writers in every part of the Soviet Union. The non-Russian languages and cultures are deprived of free cultivation by their writers, artists, and scholars; they enjoy no protection from their alleged national governments, which in fact are acting as agencies for the enforcement of all Russification measures ordered by Soviet Moscow. Consequently, all non-Russian nationalities, their languages and cultures, do not enjoy the same rights of free development as are enjoyed by all nationalities outside the Soviet Union. They are discriminated against by the Russian

Communists and put behind the Russian master-race culture and language into a special "Jim Crow compartment," over which the Russians inscribed in the Soviet Constitution the slogans "of equality and freedom."

b) The non-Russian languages and cultures in the Soviet Union are oppressed by the Russian proletariat, which dictates the course of their development toward full Russification, according to Russian imperialist interests. The Russian proletariat proclaimed itself as the "great" Russian nation with the "great" Russian culture and the "great" Russian language, and extorts from the non-Russian peoples by terrorism a continuous "worship of the great Russian nation, its culture and language," including homage to such monsters as Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Kutuzow, and Suvorov, as their own "Soviet" mother country—culture—and language. The chief attack of the Russification policy is directed against the cities, because they control everything: education, political thought, and economic power.

c) For nearly a quarter of a century before 1950, the Russian proletariat conducted a systematic Russification of all non-Russian languages according to Marr's linguistic theory, preaching the necessity of speeding up by compulsory means the "unification, fusion, and merging" of these languages with Russian. The final revocation of Marrism by Stalin is a great political victory of the opposition forces of all non-Russian nations against Russification, in spite of the great losses sustained in this struggle by their writers, poets, journalists, and scholars.

d) The new Stalinist linguistics did not change the basic goal of Russification of the Russian Communist nationality policy in regard all non-Russian peoples; Stalin changed only the methods of Russification; the propagated obligatory bilingualism in the whole sphere of Russian Communism promises as an intermediary stage of Russification to achieve an easier advance of Russian cultural imperialism and an easier penetration of Russian as the "language of the world proletariat."

e) The Russification of the non-Russian groups is systematically promoted by the Russian Communist Party and enthusiastically supported by the new generation of the Communist "black hundreds." This policy follows three lines, which mutually supplement each other, and represent an "improvement" over the old Tsarist methods in fighting the demands of self-determination among the non-Russian peoples.

(1) The first line is the systematic weakening of the will power of the non-Russians to resist the Russian cultural imperialism and the Russian language. It is the systematic weakening of all creative forces among the non-Russians by innumerable chicaneries and constant inquisitions among the defenders of the equality and freedom of the non-Russian cultures and languages. Such weakening and discouragement is especially effected by pointing to "the international language of the future, which is declared to be just around the corner." Why waste time with your "backward" languages, jump on the band wagon of "progress," at any rate "unification will soon come, a fusion of all languages into one language," why then so sensitive about your own mother languages?

(2) The second line constantly hammers home the Communist

propaganda that Russian is not an ordinary language, it is the "great language," the language of "progressive humanity," the "international language of the world proletariat." Then—why not adopt it immediately, rather than waste your labor and time by demanding equality for the "backward" languages? Can you and your family not be suspected of opposing the "inevitable" victory of Russian Communism if you do not accept Russian?

(3) The third line is the honor paid to "national renegadism" of non-Russians as "proletarian heroism" by the Russian Communist Party. Anybody of the non-Russian intelligentsia who "adopts the Russian language," and starts to use it for his creative work, is immediately glorified and his step is regarded as a manifestation of loyalty to the "great Russian nation," "the great Lenin and Stalin," and—the "International Proletariat." And, of course—as in old Tsarist times—all promotions and material blessings are showered on the Russian "neophyte." Behind the Russian Communist idea of "Internationalism" is the old idea of Pan-Russianism, and thus "Internationalism" became a watchword of Russification in the Soviet Union. On the renegades of all non-Russian nationalities Russian Communism confers the honorary degrees of "Soviet patriots" with an aura of heroic achievement for "humanity." The intellectual rabble and scum of all non-Russian nationalities finds it expedient to join the power-happy Russian "Herrenvolk." The cynicism and brutality of these renegades represents to the Russian mind the ideal of a real "hero."

(4) There is something satanic in the present Communist Russian elite, which is conducting this Russification with all the terroristic means at its disposal. This elite is based on the communal crime of denying the idea of freedom. The native Russians must deny the freedom even of their own people, because they know that only through tyranny they can hold together the new "Russian Empire." All the non-Russians, who join the new imperial elite, must deny the freedom of their own oppressed peoples and help the Russian Communist in upholding the oppression of their own peoples. The Russian Communist elite is basically a gang of renegades bent upon the suppression of freedom in the service of Russian imperialism and Russian intellectual authoritarianism.

The necessary prerequisite for the survival of this Russian totalitarianism is uniformity and conformity. Federalism was and is not acceptable to the Russian mind because political decentralization is the end of Russian tyranny over the non-Russian peoples and therefore of a Russian empire. Consequently, Russian totalitarianism demands a centralized and uniform State, uniformity in education, police, press, language—a Russian "one world." In the free world there is unity amid the diversity of cultures and languages—a unity under freedom. Russian tyranny demands full uniformity, uniformity demands full thought control, thought uniformity demands language control, and that language uniformity demands full Russification.

f) The non-Russian nationalities are the victims of Russian Communist imperialism, which represents the climax of Russian chauvinism. These victims are pondering with feelings of horror the present moral

plight of a large part of the Russian nation and the tragic experience it is undergoing. The Russian "age of messianistic longing" gradually realized itself as an "age of terror" and brought about with its strategy of genocide and linguocide a "dark age" covering one sixth of the globe's surface. Such is the consequence of the denial of God and the Natural Law by Russian Communists, which includes also the denial that man is a moral being. Herein lies the philosophical basis of the present Russian "progress" and its achievements; here are the real reasons for the opposition of the non-Russian nations against Russian Communists, upon whom, in the opinion of the non-Russians, is "the mark of the beast." Russian Communism demands from all non-Russian peoples "the worship of this Russian beast," by denying the ideas of God and freedom. The non-Russian peoples are keenly aware of these real reasons for the persecution of their cultures and languages by the Russians.

g) Thus the Russian Communist proletariat continues the old Tsarist Russian policy with respect to the non-Russian nationalities, especially to the Slavic peoples the Byelo-Ruthenians and Ukrainians. The Russian Communist proletariat has re-established in full force the thesis of the Russian "black hundreds" of Tsarist times, against which even a group of liberal members of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences once fought. The Russian Communists again reiterate this thesis—that the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian languages are not separate and independent Slavic languages, as are all other Slavic tongues, but that they are part and parcel of the Russian. The political reasons of this "philology" are obvious.

h) Thus the role of the Russian language and nation respecting the non-Russian nations did not alter in the course of centuries.

In the period of feudalism the Russian language was forced upon the non-Russians, especially by the Russian Church.

In the period of capitalism the Russian Tsars spread the Russian language with the bayonet into all non-Russian territories as a "State language," using capitalism and the industrial revolution as tools for the Russification of the towns and their working class in the non-Russian ethnic territories. In this they enjoyed the help of the Church, of the administration, the schools, and the army.

In the period of Russian Communism, in reality Russian State capitalism, the Russian proletariat proclaimed all the achievements of the Tsarist capitalist Russification as its "proud heritage" and instigated the Russification of the non-Russian peasants, the chief element of the non-Russian nationalities, under the slogans of "equality and freedom of all nations in the U.S.S.R." To this end they employed the weapons of terror and genocide. In the Soviet Union the reciprocal relations as they existed in the old Tsarist capitalist and feudal Russia between the Russian nation and the non-Russian nations remained basically unchanged. The Russians, under Communist proletarian leadership, are the exploiter nation, the non-Russian nations remained as before the exploited nations. Only the slogans were changed. The present Russian nationalist chauvinism, disguised as "internationalism" is the tried

old weapon of the exploiting Russian bourgeoisie and Tsarism. Only the slogans for the Russification were "progressively" modernized. Russian Communism, based on dictatorial State capitalism, continues the economic, cultural, and political oppression and Russification of all non-Russian peoples and, reaching the zenith of Russian nationalistic chauvinism, advances the old Russian aggressive imperialism in all directions, with the final goal of a World Soviet Union, under Russian dominations. This would represent the fulfillment of the old dream of the "Third Rome" in its modern form.

i) The non-Russian peoples have not yet been subdued and are in the underground conducting a continuous anti-Russian revolution, which serves as an example for all the new victims of Russian imperialism: the Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Roumanians, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Croats, Slovenes, Estonians, Lithuanians, and Latvians.

The fight continues along the enlarged common front of all non-Russian nations within the Soviet Union and her sphere of influence, and outside the new Russian prison of nationalities.

8. The Role of the Russian Language Inside and Outside the Soviet Union

On the background of the previous chapters we shall briefly review the evolution of the idea regarding the role of the Russian language in the Soviet Union.

Before World War I and after, the Russian literary language had a peculiar position among the Slavic languages. As compared with all other Slavic literary languages, especially the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian, this language was the farthest removed from the vernacular of the masses of its people. What was the attitude of the Russian common man toward his literary language? After the revolution, when linguistic discussions were not yet directed by the party line, there were many illuminating articles on this question. For instance, on June 12, 1924, in *Pravda*, Comrade Karpinsky writes in an article entitled: "The Basic Question of the Culture-Diffusion Epoch":

"Here it is necessary to call a spade a spade; among us there is going on a 'Nastoiashsheie stolpotvorenie vavilonskoie.'* The language, spoken by the masses, is regarded as a folk dialect (prostonarodnym narechiem), a jargon, and 'argot'-slang (of course a French word!). This language is treated by our writers contemptuously. The genuine people's words and phrases, the genuine people's construction of sentences and way of thought are not permitted in articles and speeches except perhaps in excusing quotation marks! The idea does not even enter our mind that, according to real justice, such a mysterious 'argot' for the over-whelming majority of the population is just our so-called 'literary language,' created by a privileged minority (the aristocratic intelligentsia)."

*The confusion during the construction of the tower of Babel.

In this we hear the truth, the opinion of the Russian man in the street regarding his own literary Russian language. G. Bosse said the same thing in the Review of the Scientific-Popular Literature on Biology, published by the Communist Sverdlov-University of Moscow, in 1924. He sharply criticized the "language of the intelligentsia, which for readers who are workers or especially peasants, is a foreign language."

Such critical remarks were still permitted in the Old Liberal-N.E.P. times. . . . Also permitted was the flourishing of non-Russian languages. But then Russian Communism understood that liberty in the language sphere would stimulate the demand for freedom of thought and research and finally for full freedom. Like Russian Tsarism, Russian Communism must combat any form of freedom, for slavery of body and mind is its foundation. Therefore in 1928-1930 a further evolution ensued.

The pogrom of the non-Russian intelligentsia and peasantry was carried out with a simultaneous action for "Soviet" patriotism, which by proclaiming the old Russian cultural heritage as "the proletarian heritage" virtually became Russian chauvinism. Thus contrary to the thesis of Marx that "the workers have no fatherland" the Russian workers received a "homeland, a motherland and a fatherland," which the Russian Communist Party declared also to be the "fatherland" of all the non-Russian peoples. Consequently the Russian language was automatically restored to the old privileged position as the "language of the October revolution and of Lenin."

Soon there appeared new catch phrases from the leading Russian Communists, such as "Russian is the language of progressive humanity and world revolution," and as A. Tolstoy said, "Russian will be learned the whole world over."

During World War II, not only did the Russians become "the great Russian people" but Russian "the great Russian language." Stalin himself appealed thus: "Let the manly images of our great ancestors—Alexander Newsky, Dmitri Donskoi, Kuma Minin, Dmitri Pozharsky, Alexander Suvorov, Mikhail Kutuzov—inspire you in this war!"—and Kirpotin* proclaimed:

"The Russian language, in which the great works of Lenin and Stalin are written, attracts not alone the peoples of the U.S.S.R., but all the toilers of the world. At one time the summit of European society made Latin the international language. Later, until very recently, French became the language of communion between peoples and governments. The Russian language is becoming the international language of socialist culture."

Still better were the historic missions of Russian as stated by D. Zaslavsky:**

"The Russian language has become a world language. It has won the recognition of the world's common people. They want to learn more

*Russian Culture, pp. 47-63.

**Literaturnaya Gazeta for February, 1949.

about the building of socialism and the sources of our country's might. The succession of languages runs through the ages. Latin was the language of the ancient world, French of the feudal epoch. English of capitalism. Russian is the world-language of socialism. French is the fancy language of courtiers, and English, the jargon of traders. They were the tongues of ruling classes and of snobbish intellectuals. The English language corrupted people in foreign lands. Russian is the first language of internationalism. No one can call himself a scholar if he does not know Russian. Russians unquestionably occupy the first place in the social sciences. All future progress in these sciences has been determined by the genius of Lenin and Stalin."

Russian Tsarism with its "black hundreds," its Purishkevich and Krushevan never even dreamed about such successes. Thus the old privileged master-race language is restored in the Soviet Union to the old position and called "the literary language of all progressive humanity."

After Stalin's linguistic articles there appeared in Voprosy Filosofii, Nr. 3, 1950 (published January, 1951) an article by A. Ye. Mordinov, "On the Development of Language of Socialist Nations in the U.S.S.R.," in which the mission of the Russian language inside the Soviet Union and in the world is declared to be one piece. The article is full of the Communist upside-down language, falsifications, and lies but gives a good picture of the party line:

"We observe tremendous progressive development in the languages of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. However, these languages have completely preserved their characteristic features, their grammatical rules and their basic vocabulary. They are developed not according to the formula of N. Ya. Marr's 'language creation theory,' but according to their own inner laws.

"Each language has its individual peculiarities, characteristic of it alone, which makes it a form of a definite national culture. But the recognition of these peculiarities in no way requires the isolation of languages from one another, the rejection of their mutual influence. One of the most important questions of Soviet linguistics is the question of the tremendous beneficial influence of the great Russian language on the development of the national culture and languages of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. This question was confused by the vulgarizers and simplifiers.

"In his reply to Comrade A. Kholopov J. V. Stalin determined the difference of principle in the relationship among nations and their languages in the period before the world-wide victory of socialism and after the world-wide victory of socialism. Comrade Stalin teaches that in exploiting societies, where national and colonial oppression exists, hybridization of languages takes place as a struggle for domination of one of the languages, that here the conditions do not yet exist for peaceful and friendly cooperation of nations and languages; on the contrary, here the agenda is not one of cooperation and mutual enrichment of languages, but assimilation of some and the triumph of other languages. J. V. Stalin explains that 'under these conditions there can be only

victors and vanquished.' This is fundamentally changed after the worldwide victory of socialism, after the elimination of national and colonial oppression, after the establishment of equal rights and mutual cooperation among nations and their languages. . . .

"In our country there has been established this completely new relationship among nations and their languages, a relationship of mutual cooperation of languages and culture, with the Russian people, their language and culture playing the leading role.

"The history of mutual relations among peoples knows no example of such a great, progressive influence on other peoples, their culture and language as the Russian people, their culture and language have had on the development of the culture and language of all the peoples of the Soviet Union, the people's democracies and the working people of the whole world as well.

"The leading, guiding role of the great Russian people in relation to all the peoples of our country is expressed also in Russian culture and the Russian language becoming powerful factors in aiding the development of the national cultures and languages of all the socialist nations of the U.S.S.R. The contact with Russian culture, the peak of which is Marxism-Leninism, study of the Russian language and mastery of it are great sources for the spiritual development of all the peoples of the Soviet Union and for the rapid flowering of their cultures and languages. . . .

"V. I. Lenin predicted long ago that the Russian language would become a language beloved of all the peoples of Russia after the overthrow of Tsarism, which conducted a policy of forcible Russification of the outlying national areas.

"The Tsarist government, in forbidding study in the native language in schools of non-Russian peoples, in forbidding the publication of newspapers and magazines in the native language and in prohibiting its use in public institutions, impeded development of the peoples' cultures. The forcible inculcation of Russian aroused the working people's antagonism toward Russian and caused indignation and protest, as did all the forcible measures of Tsarism.

"Tsarism's Russification policy was simply a means of kindling animosity among nationalities and impeding development of popular education of the 'alien nationalities.'

"During the 300 years of Tsarist rule in Yakutia, for example, literacy of the population reached only 1%. Much the same situation existed among the other peoples of Siberia and Central Asia. It is well known that the Constitutional Democrats and other liberals supported Tsarism's Russification policy.

"Exposing the policy of the liberals in regard to national education, Lenin wrote: 'The Russian language is great and mighty, the liberals tell us; do you not want everyone who lives in whatever corner of Russia to know this great and mighty language? Can you not see that the Russian language will enrich the literature of other peoples, making it possible for them to acquaint themselves with great cultural riches?' And so on.

" 'All this is true,' Messrs. liberals, we answer them. We know

better than you that the language of Turgenev, Tolstoy, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky is great and mighty. More than you, we want the establishment of the closest communion and fraternal unity among all the oppressed classes of all the nations inhabiting Russia, without exception. And, obviously, we want every inhabitant of Russia to have the opportunity to learn the great Russian language.

"There is only one thing we do not want: the element of compulsion. . . . We think the great and mighty Russian language does not have to make anyone study it under the rod. . . . Compulsion (the rod) will lead to only one thing: It will make harder the Russian language's acceptance by other national groups, and most of all it will intensify enmity, it will create a million new frictions and intensify irritation, mutual misunderstanding, etc.*"

"It should be emphasized that the working masses of oppressed peoples of Tsarist Russia did not nourish distrust or hostility toward Russian culture in general, but toward the culture of the Russian landlords and capitalists which was foreign to them and which the local exploiters adopted. The working masses of the nationalities of Russia always loved and esteemed the progressive democratic and socialist culture of the great Russian people and strove to master Russian in order to acquaint themselves with the achievements of Russian culture. . . .

"This striving was expressed by the leading representatives of the culture of all the oppressed peoples, followers and propagandists of the great Russian culture. . . . The leading figures of the Russian and all other peoples struggled against Tsarism's Russification policy precisely because it impeded the study of the Russian language and mastery of the advanced Russian culture by the peoples of Russia.

"As is known, the Anglo-American and other imperialists carry on a policy of aggression and annihilation of oppressed peoples and an assimilation policy toward their languages and culture, and their lackeys--the right-wing socialists--support in every way and zealously carry out this inhuman policy of imperialism. But this policy is doomed to failure. J. V. Stalin shows in his works the inevitable doom of the imperialists' assimilationist policy.

"The experience of history shows that forcible assimilation, not merely in the course of one or two but of several generations, is powerless to force even the smallest nation to reject its native language and adopt a foreign tongue.

"Only liberation from national oppression and the establishment of equality and friendship of peoples create a genuine stimulus for a real grasp of the language of a more cultured people by a people less cultured in the past, and that only in close connection with development of their own native language and their own national culture.

"V. I. Lenin's statement that the absence of compulsion strengthens the non-Russian population's attraction to and love of the great Russian language has been brilliantly proved, as have all scientific predictions by our leaders.

*V. I. Lenin, Works [in Russian], Vol. XX, pp. 55-56.

"A living example of this thesis of Lenin is the relationship established under socialism between the Russian people and the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R., between the Russian language and culture and the languages and cultures of the latter. This relationship is determined by the national policy of the party of Lenin and Stalin.

"At the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist national policy is recognition of the equal rights of nations and national cultures, of the principles of comprehensive aid by the great Russian people to all formerly oppressed and backward nations, of the principles of mutual aid among all peoples. The policy of the Bolshevik party is the basis of the harmonious flourishing of the culture and languages of all peoples of our country, of the gradual and steady obliteration of the differences in level of development of these peoples.

"The role of the Russian language in the development of the languages and cultures of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. is constantly increasing. Russian has become a second native language, in the full sense of this term, for each of the peoples of the Soviet Union.

"The Russian language is not only a means for our people to become familiar with the great Russian culture; it has also become a means of communication among the non-Russian peoples of our multinational country. Representatives of all the nationalities communicate with each other and exchange the achievements of their cultures only with the help of the Russian language, which has therefore become an inter-national language of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

"But the significance of the Russian language is not limited to this. The great Russian language is becoming a second native language for the liberated peoples of the new democracies and the Chinese People's Republic which, fighting under the banner of Leninism, has freed itself from the yoke of 'its own' and international imperialism and now, studying Leninism and its practical expression--the great experience of Bolshevism--is advancing triumphantly along the path of establishing socialism.

"In our time the Russian language is becoming the most popular and widespread language in the world. The steady growth of the world importance of the Russian language reflects our country's role as vanguard, in paving the way toward socialism, toward the liberation of all mankind from the yoke of exploitation and oppression.

"The U.S.S.R. is the fatherland of the working people, of the fighters for peace, democracy and socialism. All the people who are taking the path of socialism are rallying around the U.S.S.R. This is why a profound interest in and love for the Russian language and for Russian culture has sprung up among the working people throughout the whole world. At the same time, resistance by the oppressed peoples is increasing toward the assimilationist policy of Anglo-American imperialism, which suppresses and cripples their languages and cultures and forcibly propagates the English language in the colonies and semicolonies.

"Love for the Russian language and the attraction to Russian culture have never been so great as now, when the socialist social structure has triumphed in our country. . . .

"Now millions of people of all nationalities in our country are studying with enthusiasm and love the great and mighty Russian language, the language of Russian science and art, the language in which it is possible to master the peak of Russian and world culture--Leninism--through the primary source, the language in which it is possible to communicate not only with the great Russian people but also with all the peoples of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies.

"Our Party does not set knowledge and study of the native language in opposition to knowledge and study of Russian, as has been and is being done by bourgeois nationalists. On the contrary, competence in one's native language, knowledge of its laws, contributes to better mastery of Russian. And for precisely this reason the flourishing of popular education among all the nationalities of the U.S.S.R. in the native language is accompanied by widespread mastery of the Russian language. Knowledge of the Russian language in turn ensures the development of the native languages, which are influenced more and more by terms of science and technology, literature and art which are borrowed from the Russian. Thus, the native language cannot be developed further if Russian is not mastered at the same time.

"The great Russian language nourishes and enriches the languages of all our peoples, imparting to them its power and strength, its beauty and flexibility, its richness and variety.

"Ever increasing enrichment of their vocabulary from the Russian language has become the law of development of the languages of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. The ideas most sacred to the Soviet people and the words expressing them--'the Party,' 'socialism,' 'communism,' 'Communist,' 'Bolshevik,' 'Soviet Union'--the most widespread scientific and technical terms have been adopted by all the languages in ready-made form from the Russian and have become organic part of the vocabulary of the native language of each of the socialist nations.

"Since language is one of the most important elements in the national form of culture, this drawing together of languages of the socialist nations is one of the clearest indications of the drawing together of the national cultures of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

"The popular mass movement for mastery of the Russian language has led to a need for revising the archaic alphabets which impeded the study of Russian. The overwhelming majority of Soviet peoples have changed their alphabet from the Latin to the Russian system.

"Twenty Turkic peoples, the Finno-Ugric peoples, the Tadzhik, Ossetian and Caucasian mountain peoples, the Buryats and foreign Mongolians have switched to a Russian alphabet. Thus transition has facilitated the study of the Russian language. Learning a single alphabet now provides at one stroke a basis for literacy in two languages--the native one and Russian; the expediency of this is obvious.

"The change to the Russian alphabet cannot be considered a replacement of the national written language of the peoples by the Russian written language. This measure aids the further perfecting of the national written language. With the transition of the national written language to the Russian alphabet there is manifested the maximum concern

that the new alphabet should in each concrete instance actually reflect all the necessary and most vital phonetic peculiarities of each national language and at the same time guarantee the assimilation by the language of terminology of the more developed Russian language.

"Thus, for example, there have been preserved in the new Yakut alphabet seven sounds absent in the Russian, without which it would be impossible to speak Yakutian correctly. These sounds are reproduced in slightly altered Russian letters. The characteristics of the national phonemes are taken into account in other alphabets also. The working people of all the national republics and provinces have approved the reform of their written language. . . .

"Where formerly the ideologists of the nationalist bourgeoisie tried in every way to bar the national languages from the influence of the great Russian language, to prevent the working masses from studying the Russian language, where they strove to segregate the peoples of our country, to prevent their fraternizing, now the great Russian language has become a second native language and a mighty means of communication for all Soviet citizens regardless of their nationality, a powerful well-spring for the further development and perfecting of the languages of all Soviet nations, a language binding all peoples of the U.S.S.R. with the great Russian people as well as with each other.

"The practical experience of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. has fully confirmed the truth of our Party's statement on the equality and equal value of languages. All languages are equal in the sense that they have equal opportunity to develop under the economic and political conditions in which their creators and speakers—the people themselves—have been placed. They have proved equal in the sense that any language is a powerful means through which the people speaking it can reach the heights of socialist culture; in the sense that it is powerful instrument of struggle for communism. . . .

"J. V. Stalin teaches that mankind will arrive at a single language and a single culture under communism through the maximum development, the flourishing of the national languages and cultures under socialism. The experience of building the culture of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., national in form and socialist in content, fully confirms this inspired statement by our leader and teacher. This experience entirely refutes bourgeois nationalism, which strives to isolate the languages of the peoples from each other, to arrest the development of the language of every nation, to prevent the normal development of these languages. This experience also fully refutes bourgeois cosmopolitanism, which strives to do away with the national languages and cultures of the peoples, to force upon them the language and culture of the Anglo-American imperialists.

"In his work 'The National Question and Leninism' Comrade Stalin defined with inspired discernment the future of nations and national languages. He demonstrated that national differences and languages will begin to die out only in the third stage of the world dictatorship of the proletariat, when 'socialism enters into the daily lives of the peoples, when the nations become convinced through practical experience of the

advantages of a common language over national languages.**

"Inspired by Comrade Stalin's statements, Soviet linguists, proceeding from the basis of generalizing upon the tremendous experience in building the cultures, national in form and socialist in content, of our peoples, will launch profound and comprehensive study of all problems of linguistics, for the further successful development of the languages of the socialist nations in the U.S.S.R."

That is the ideological Russian Communist smoke screen behind which is hidden the old Russification of the non-Russian languages. All languages are equal, but Russian is "equaler" (supreme). The non-Russian nationalities are tempted "voluntarily" to accept the "great Russian language" as an "international language," because it is practically the international language of all "progressive" peoples outside the Soviet Union. This world mission profited the Russian Communists, because they are the traditional defenders of the freedom of national languages against Anglo-American imperialists, who persecute national languages. There remains only a few questions: Why has the Jewish language and nation disappeared from that paradise of national languages and cultures? Have these "cosmopolitans" committed suicide, in order to discredit Lenin and Stalin? What guarantees are there that a similar fate will not overtake all non-Russian languages and nationalities in the Soviet Union? What guarantees are there that in the third stage of the world dictatorship of the proletariat another "common language" will emerge and that there will not be introduced the "language of Lenin and Stalin" for the function of the common language? What about the "theory of the succession of the world languages" of Zaslavski, which proclaimed Russian as a similar function for the Communist world revolution?

Any careful student of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism is convinced that the "solution" of the nationality problem according to the "dialectical method" carries Stalin's plan:**

"Protesting against the oppression of the Church and defending the right of confession of any group, at the same time we are against the Church altogether, fighting for the victory of a new conception of the world. It is the same with the self-determination of the nations. Recognizing this right and fighting for it, we are at the same time fighting against all rights of the nations which are not in harmony with the interest of the proletariat."

According to Soviet semantics "the interest of the proletariat" means "the interest of the Russian proletariat." Consequently, the "fight" of Russian Communism for the freedom of the Church resulted in the re-establishment of the Russian Patriarch Church and the liquidation of all non-Russian Churches; the fight for the self-determination of nations ended with the destruction of all self-determination and the re-establishment of the Soviet Union as the Russian proletarian empire. Thus

*J. V. Stalin, Works, Vol. II, p. 340.

**J. Stalin, Marxism and the National Question, 1912.

all "Russian" equality and freedom for the non-Russian cultures and languages in the Soviet Union has one aim: their annihilation by complete Russification. All democratic and liberal phraseology, used by the Russian Communists, about a future common language, which will be non-Russian, is window dressing for the gullible professors outside the Soviet Union. The interest of the Russian proletariat did not harmonize with the introduction of democratic Socialism, because this would mean the end of the exploitation of all non-Russian nationalities. Hence there was introduced the Russian State capitalism, which represents the climax of Russian imperialism under the cover of international Communism and demands full Russification of all non-Russian peoples in the "interest" of the world proletariat.

As to all the fine "expectations" about the future "common" language we prefer after an experience of a third of a century to believe the words of Lenin: "We must be ready for trickery, deceit, lawbreaking, withholding and concealing the truth" and the words of Stalin: "A diplomat's words must have no relation to action; words are one thing, action another," and to anticipate that the real plan of the Russian Communists is the realization of Zaslavski's theory.

The Russian Communists are not playing here with mere theoretical considerations; they mean business. Prof. Albert Parry, Colgate University,* made a survey concerning the enforcement of Russian as an "international language" in the satellite countries of Europe and Asia. Combining his findings with our information we can say: The Russian Communist Party conducts a systematic campaign for the elimination of all "capitalist" languages in its sphere of influence and replaces them with Russian. This is done: (a) in all armies from company level, learning Russian is essential for promotion; (b) in all schools, even in China, preparatory work is carried on (according to Pravda, November 11, 1949), to introduce compulsory instruction in the Russian language in the intermediate schools;** in Hungary, beginning with the second grade upward into the universities and in fact everywhere Russian becomes obligatory; (c) in all factories, not only courses, but also Russian choral singing are arranged; (d) in all Communist Parties the study of Russian is regarded as a proof of real loyalty to Communism.

*A. Parry, "Spread of the Russian Language in the U.S.S.R.'s Satellite Countries of Europe and Asia," Bulletin of Aatseel, Vol. VIII, N. 3.

**New York Times, September 18, 1949: "An official education circular, published textually by Wen Wei Pao, set down definitive rules only for the three new required subjects and courses in the departments of literature, languages and philosophy. Nevertheless, it stated, all departments would be expected to conform with the Marxian spirit of the circular and added:

"It is advisable to establish departments of Russian language wherever possible."

"Russian language courses, the press disclosed here, already are being established off the campus under the auspices of the Communist-sponsored Sino-Soviet Friendship Association."

The whole action is backed by Soviet Moscow through visiting professors in the universities, through guest lecturers, visits of theater ensembles, etc.

From the abundant information in the American press giving details of this campaign we obtain a picture of what is happening in Roumania, typical of what is happening in all satellite countries* (Milwaukee Journal, December 7, 1950).

"RUMANIANS URGED BY PRESS TO LEARN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

"If you don't speak Russian, you're not really living. That is what Rumanians are being told. The Communist newspapers of that iron curtain country are bombarding their readers with articles explaining the absolute necessity of learning Russian. The newspaper Scanteia Tineretului says: 'One cannot conceive of an honest, peace loving man, or a real lover of culture and science in the service of mankind, who does not strive to master the Russian language. Let us organize the greatest possible number of Russian courses, in factories and workshops, institutions and collective farms. Let us attend these courses regularly and work our hardest to learn Russian as quickly as possible. Let us bring our colleagues to these courses and make every youth eager and determined to overcome all difficulties in order to master Russian.' Viata Sindicala opened a similar plea with a quotation from V. M. Molotov, Premier Stalin's right hand man: 'There is no doubt that if Latin was the language of feudal society, French the language of capitalist society and English the language of imperialism, Russian is the language of our century, in which all roads lead to communism.' . . . According to the same paper 'the Russian language has crossed the frontiers of the Soviet Union, borne on the banners of the liberating Red army, and today it reaches the farthest corners of the earth, borne on the wings of the dove of peace. In our country, too, all those who work with arm of mind must take the trouble to learn Russian, for in it they will find power and confidence in the final victory of the forces of peace and freedom over the forces of war and oppression.' "

The Carnegie Endowment and the Rockefeller Foundation apparently accepted this point of view regarding the Russian world language long ago and with vast funds they have contributed and are contributing to a speedy realization of this program in the U.S.A. They favor the monopolization of Slavic Studies by Russian Studies in American universities and colleges, whereby the cultural Russification of Americans of Slavic descent receives a powerful impetus. How deep the Russian language as a symbol has penetrated, the following quotation from an article by William E. Bohn, with a quotation from Hede Massings, may demonstrate ("This Deception")** about Noel Field, an official of the State Department:

"He hinted that he had a "rare" present for me. After we had had dinner at his house one night, he drove us all to the Lincoln Memorial.

*Into Bulgarian a mass of purely Russian terminology has been introduced and the orthography changed to conform with the Russian.

**New Leader, March, 1951.

Herta [Mrs. Field] and I walked slowly up the steps and wondered what would happen next. We looked at the Memorial, at the view, and then began to walk down the steps toward the car. As we swung around we heard Noel's voice singing. Standing tall and straight on the top of the Memorial steps, he was singing the Internationale, the Communist hymn, at the top of his voice--in Russian! That was my "present." ' "

"This was a symbol. This keen, well-educated, ambitious young American, who was drawing his salary from our State Department, was proclaiming, before the shrine of Abraham Lincoln, his loyalty to the Kremlin."

What are the real reasons for this global cultural imperialism? For an explanation we must accept the point of view of Rev. Daniel A. Lord, S.J.,* who sees in Russian Communism a complete religion, or better let us say an Ersatz religion:

"Communism has its bible, 'Capital.' It has its Moses, Karl Marx. It has its Messiah, Lenin, who lies in state in the mock holy sepulchre of Moscow's Red Square. It has its infallible Pope, Stalin, surrounded by a small hierarchy of ruling powers. Its elect are the party members. Its god is the state, that must be served with an answering devotion, a blind zeal, and a sacrifice of life and property and personal liberty never demanded by any god since the ancient days of Moloch of Carthage. It has its martyrs enshrined in martyrs' tombs. Its dogmas must be believed with such implicit faith that they cannot be discussed adversely or opposed in the slightest degree. . . ."

Russian Communism, as we see, is in reality a Russian caliphate, a Russian Communist church with the Russians as the "chosen people." But the parallel is deeper. Just as in the Catholic Church Latin is the symbol of union; so in the Russian Communist Church the Russian language is finally elevated to the position of a "holy language," to that of a symbol of Communist unity and loyalty. Consequently it has to be "preserved in the old classical glory"—mummified against changes of time.

In this present function, the Russian language no longer needed Marr's embarrassing theory for the further advance of Russification by "fusion and amalgamation." This theory could be revoked, since bilingualism in the Soviet Union is forced upon all non-Russian peoples, and for the formation of the Russian "cultural sphere" in her present sphere of influence the new Communist messianistic formula promises more success. Russian Communism and Russian imperialism and chauvinism, merged indissolubly together in the new Russian Communist church, are regarded by many Americans with the same veneration as the Yogis of California look toward Tibet. "Dreamboat"—Soviet Moscow—"Third Rome." In this last stage Soviet Moscow makes masterly use of the "nationality question" as an instrument for her final victory outside the Soviet Union. Moscow is very elastic, following many tactical zigzags, but never loses sight of the final aim: World Soviet Union under Russian

*"Thanks to the Communism," *The Queen's Work*, p. 11.

leadership and the domination of the Russian language and culture as the proletarian culture and language of the future.

9. The Struggle of the Non-Russian Nationalities Against Russification Outside the Soviet Union

The answer to the Russians of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet sphere of influence is the political mass emigration of the present time, a phenomenon unique in history. It is the continuation of the "Great Emigration" provoked by Russian Communist imperialism from the nineteen twenties.

The struggle of the political refugees of these nationalities outside the Soviet Union is directed in particular against the thesis of the Russian propaganda regarding the "solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union on the basis of equality and freedom." It is seeking the moral support of the free world for the non-Russian peoples inside the Soviet Union in their struggle for liberty.

This struggle is conducted by the old Promethean League of the non-Russian nationalities oppressed by Soviet Moscow. The ideas of this group are presently upheld and promoted by the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (A.B.N.) and the political organizations of the refugees. In fact, we can say, the Promethean ideas become a common ideology of all the refugees, and common co-operation, manifestations, and declarations of all victims of Russia are now the rule on all continents.

As an example we mention the common appeal of the enslaved nations to the UN regarding the Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed by the Assembly, 1949.

"The Declaration proclaimed that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms as set forth by the Declaration can be fully realized.

"The eleven nations protested that such rights and freedoms are ignored and violated in their countries by the government of the Soviet Union and arbitrary Communist administrations. Specifically they charged:

- "a) arbitrary arrest and detention;
- "b) exile and deportation;
- "c) cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;
- "d) slave labor;
- "e) deprivation or limitation of freedom of movement;
- "f) deprivation of the freedom of thought and opinion;
- "g) arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home and correspondence;
- "h) deprivation of the freedom of assembly or imposition of the duty to belong to organizations (particularly for youth and children);
- "i) arbitrary limitation of the freedom of faith and conscience;
- "j) arbitrary deprivation of nationality, and
- "k) deprivation of the right of freely electing their government.

"The signatories, namely, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, the Czechs, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Yugoslavia, offered to furnish either collectively or separately the necessary documentation in support of the charges."

This struggle won an unexpected ally; in the New York Times, the edition of July 29, 1951, conveyed the news:

"28--Premier Marshal Tito replied yesterday to the Warsaw speech of Vyacheslav M. Molotov, Soviet Deputy Premier, by denouncing the Soviet leaders as a mass of murderers who had built their despotic power on the corpses of many nations uprooted from their homelands and exterminated in the Siberian wastes.

"Marshal Tito's savage attack can be summarized in a single phrase --Soviet leaders are enemies of mankind, let all free men beware.

"In reply to Mr. Molotov, Marshal Tito said:

"'The Soviet leaders are criminals. In their accusations that we are criminals I do not see anything else but a desire to conceal their own crimes. They are killing people in Albania, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Bulgaria and Hungary, not to speak of Russia.

"'What moral right does Molotov have to throw accusations into our faces and say that we are criminals. With what right does he speak, he who is one of the principal leaders of a country where the unheard-of crime of genocide is being practiced in which entire nations are being destroyed in face of the whole world. Where is the German Volga Republic, where one of the most capable people used to live. It is in Siberian taiga. Where is the Tartar Republic of Crimea? It is in Siberia. It has disappeared in the taigas and swamps.'

"'Where are the Chechens on the Caucasus,' Marshal Tito continued. 'They have ceased to exist. They were expelled from the mountains where they fought for centuries for their freedom. They have disappeared into Siberia. They were swallowed by the enormous Siberian taiga.

"'Where are thousands and tens of thousands of citizens from Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia? They are no longer, they are being transported daily to Siberia to work there under the harshest conditions and to disappear from the face of the earth.

"'This fate awaits every country and every people which permits the Soviet to sit on their necks.'

"Finally Tito urged the Poles to revolt."

It is evident that the nationality problem, a child of democracy, can be solved only on the basis of freedom for all nationalities, cultures, languages, churches, and individuals.

The fight of the non-Russian nationalities against Soviet Moscow continues—and the leaders of these peoples inside and outside the Soviet Union are keenly aware that they are defending the traditional Humanistic and Christian values, the Western culture, against Communist Russia. It is a struggle for the freedom of thought through free languages, in free cultures and free nationalities against Russian ignorance,

obscurantism, brutal force, and the conception of a petrified, bureaucratic culture, so peculiar to the old and new Russian Arakcheyevs. All the European and Caucasian nationalities, kept by Russian occupation and terror inside the Soviet Union, are deeply conscious of their natural unity with Western civilization, while all Asiatic nationalities of the Soviet Union hate Russian slavery and aspire to identify themselves with the great values of the Western democratic world. All the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union hope that from the Atlantic Pact a new just and democratic supernational community of Western civilization will emerge which they will in the future join on a footing of freedom and equality.

Thus the nationality problem in the Soviet Union, with all its ideological ramifications, is a world problem, or more exactly: "the" world problem of current world politics, because the Russian volcano of hate bespatters the whole world with its set of false and fraudulent values. In this conflict of ideas—there is no neutrality possible. One is either a Russian slave or an enemy of Russian Communism.

Have free American scholars pondered this problem and defended the Western European common heritage—or were they neutral in the "nationality problem" of the Soviet Union? Were they then and are they now aware that upon this battlefield the fate not only of our but also of their academic freedom lies, to be won or lost? All attempts of the non-Russian nationalities to enlist the moral support of the American public opinion for their struggle against Russian Communist slavery were only partly successful, because the whole nationality problem of the Soviet Union is concealed through skillful Russian propaganda in the U.S.A. behind an Iron Curtain. This sad condition of affairs in the land of Jefferson and Washington—a condition which rivals even the Hiss achievement of the Russian propaganda in the U.S.A. and deeply influenced the whole American foreign policy in Europe and Asia—is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter X

THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM OF THE SOVIET UNION BEHIND AN "IRON CURTAIN" IN THE U.S.A.

1. The Unexpected Tasks of the DP Professors in the U.S.A.

Only upon arriving in this country did the European DP university professors, scholars, and writers gradually become aware of the open or concealed attitude of a large part of the American intellectual elite regarding the Soviet Union and Russian Communism. None of us anticipated it, and we greeted the Statue of Liberty with enthusiasm, deeply conscious of the privilege of landing on the soil of that great country which gave to the world Jefferson and Washington, a country founded on the principles of the American Declaration of Independence, and these again confirmed by the principles of Wilson and the Atlantic Charter! Later there came the first chilling breezes—painful disappointments, as we discovered behind the Statue of Liberty also some "old friends" from Europe.

We, the professors, were disillusioned by the cold welcome from some American scholars, who looked with cynicism upon the "displaced persons" who asked them to defend the violated academic freedoms behind the Iron Curtain and in the Soviet Union. Gradually the "displaced professors" discovered the sad truth that the Iron Curtain begins not in Europe but here in the U.S.A. Here, in the mother country of free men and free thought, exists a powerful ideological Iron Curtain concealing the truth about the Soviet Union, which runs even today from coast to coast, from Hollywood to New York, through all spheres of American life: the press, the radio, the intellectual spheres, some Protestant Church groups, and official channels. In spite of the fact that those who erected and maintained that Iron Curtain inside the U.S.A., the open and concealed Communists, fellow travelers and "liberals," suffered some serious setbacks in the last years, the Soviet termites still are active everywhere, acting as "experts," "specialists," and "advisors." In short, the Iron Curtain in the U.S.A. stands firm as a rock. It is now for us, the displaced professors, to expose the developments and the underlying facts on which that rock is reared.

Who were they who planned and built this Iron Curtain which established in American public life a veritable intellectual "Soviet Zone of Occupation"? This has a positive origin. The planning of this wall can be laid at the feet of masterminds trained in Moscow.* But the

*Cf. S. Kovalyov, The Communist Education . . . Boshevik, March, 1947: "A great force in the Communist education [footnote continued]"

builders of this ideological Iron Curtain in the U.S.A. played their part from the professorial seats of American universities and colleges. Many facts have convinced us that the cartoon figures of "Professor Pinko" is no invention of Isaak Don Levin. These "Professor Pinkos" in the great universities and colleges of the East, endowed with millions of dollars by American democrats for the advancement of research, have educated thousands of open and secret Communists, fellow travelers, and misguided "liberals." There "Pinkos" have systematically shaped the uncritical enthusiastic Soviet-Russophile attitude of American youth. They are today the pulley upon which the Iron Curtain moves in the U.S.A. These "Pinkos" are not true scholars, neither are they "seekers of truth"; they, in fact, are, consciously or unconsciously, the instruments of Soviet Russian propaganda in the U.S.A.*

Thus we DP professors in the U.S.A. are now confronted with a question of conscience. Are we—and many of us are still doing physical labor—are we to try to secure positions as instructors or lecturers from the "Pinkos," subordinating ourselves to these Pink bosses, disregarding their "scholarly" achievements in the Soviet field, or are we to put, first, not our "living standards" and the well-being of our families, but the moral duty we owe to science and liberal arts, to the U.S.A. and its people, who have so hospitably opened to us their gates? We, the DP university and college teachers, the writers and journalists, see before us in the U.S.A. a clear mission: To give the Pinkos everywhere, in every scientific congress and public lecture, an ideological battle, fearlessly stating the truth about the Soviet Union and her nationality problem, its Leninist-Stalinist regime and fearlessly accusing them of falsifying that nationality problem. The Pinkos have systematically hidden in their publications the truth about the devastating consequences of Leninism-Stalinism in the spheres of linguistics, philology, literature, history of all the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union for a quarter of a century. Our duty is to present the facts to unbiased American scholarship and public opinion.

Let us survey the battle front of our ideological war in the U.S.A. and clear up some basic questions.

2. Have Communists Infiltrated Into American Universities?

How does it happen that Soviet Moscow has managed to infiltrate so deeply into American intellectual life and to establish the Iron Curtain here?

[footnote continued] of the people is the corps of Soviet intellectuals and above all the staff of the Party and of the Councils, the teaching profession, workers in letters and arts, and the scientists."

*According to Gottfried Berger, *In Tyrannos*, "Die Sovietisierung der Hochschulen," 1951, the following teachers returned from the U.S.A. sovietized the University Leipzig: Bloch, Herzfelde, Budzislavski, Lips, Boenheim, Gerhart Eisler.

a) Russian Communism places the conquest of the intelligentsia of a nation in the forefront of its revolutionary work. Anyone who has studied Communist conspiratorial techniques is assured that there was organized for the penetration of the American universities a directing and planning cell.

To those who doubt this, Prof. Sidney Hook of New York University gave proof in the New York Times Magazine, February 27, 1949, in his article "Should Communists Be Permitted to Teach?" He quoted from the official organ of the Communist Party (The Communist, May, 1937):

"Party and Y.C.L. factions set up within classes and departments must supplement and combat by means of discussions, brochures, etc. bourgeois omissions and distortions in the regular curriculum; Marxist-Leninist analysis must be injected into every class.

"Communist teachers must take advantage of their positions, without exposing themselves, to give their students to the best of their ability working-class education.

"To enable the teachers in the party to do the latter, the party must take careful steps to see that all teacher comrades are given a thorough education in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism. Only when teachers have really mastered Marxism-Leninism will they be able skillfully to inject it into their teaching at the least risk of exposure and at the same time conduct struggles around the schools in a truly Bolshevik manner."

Sidney Hook writes the following comment:

"Two things are significant here. The first is the injunction to cooperate with Communist party factions among students in order—I am still quoting from official sources—'to guide and direct that spirit of rebelliousness which already exists.' The practice, many years ago, was to organize Communist students and teachers in the same cells, but since this led to exposure when students dropped out teachers and students are now separately organized and meet only through carefully selected committees. The second noteworthy fact is that the Communist party teachers are fearful of exposure and quite aware that their practices violate accepted notions of academic freedom and responsibility. That is why when literature appears under their imprint it is anonymous. Since no one takes personal responsibility, what is said about things and persons, including non-Communist colleagues, it is not likely to be scrupulous or accurate. Sometimes it is downright scurrilous."

b) The infiltration was made easy by the peculiar structure of American universities. The American university has not the democratic self-government practiced in Europe, which kept the European universities until 1939 practically free from Pinkos, because the European system allows faculty votes not only upon scientific qualifications but also upon the moral qualifications of the candidate.

In the American universities a dean or the head of the department has the power of a "commissar" and may arbitrarily decide these problems. Consequently the head of a history, political science, or Slavic

department executes in comparison with European traditions nearly dictatorial power in all matters of teaching. Therefore one fellow traveler or Russophile in a key position means usually a whole fellow-traveler or Russophile department, a whole pro-Soviet school of thought in a university because "the boss" eliminates the ideological opposition. There is no end of the influences of such "commissars." Some scholars of Eastern universities are regarded as "authorities" by the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment, and by all other organizations of American scholarship and learned societies which have means to support research. Those who influence such open and secret fellow travelers and Russophiles, know well to what "purposes" to direct the means and to reserve scholarship for the special Soviet or Russophile brand of students.

The penetration of these institutions with Communistic ideas culminated in the appointment of Alger Hiss to the presidency of the Carnegie Endowment—a unique achievement. A careful analysis of his appropriations of funds from viewpoint of Soviet interests would surely be instructive.

c) This infiltration of American universities was accompanied for nearly two decades by the organization of a network of special schools for the study of Marxist-Leninism from coast to coast.

In short, the result of this systematic penetration was that some important chairs which teach matters connected with the Soviet Union (Slavistic, history languages, literatures, economics, political science) became gradually a monopoly of the Soviet or Russophiles for whom a nationality problem in the Soviet Union did not exist. Their pupils, often honest liberal enthusiasts, but partly Communists, occupied as specialists in course of time many key positions in American foreign policy, press, economy. They established eventually this "Intellectual Soviet Occupation Zone" in the U.S.A. These teachers are responsible for this "intellectual climate" which has produced not several, not dozens, but hundreds of fellow travelers, traitors, spies, and agents. Through their glorification of the Soviet ideology these teachers created a complete moral anarchy among the staffs and the youth, which later culminated in the scandalous fact that a leading university of this country whose generosity feeds half of the world accepted money from Stalin's hangmen, Bierut and Gottwald, who have quashed all academic freedom in their own countries.

This is the statement for Mrs. Kuhn of Prof. A. P. Coleman, president of Alliance College.

"After a quarter of a century of study of the various Slavic languages and cultures, I am convinced that Soviet Communism as practiced today breaks the noble cultural tradition of the Slavs. It is nothing else but idolatry directed against the great Eastern and Western currents of Slavic Christian idealism.

"Consequently I have consistently disagreed with the stand taken by Columbia University with regard to the so-called 'innocence' of Soviet-Satellite regimes who have been subsidizing the Slavic Department at

that great University. Both as the holder of two graduate degrees from Columbia and as a free American citizen I regard the refusal of Columbia to cancel these grants as an assault against academic freedom. I do not believe that any American professor should be given, as I was, the alternative of collaborating with colleagues paid with Communist gold or of resigning from an institution to which he had given twenty years of service.

"In the difficult days that lie ahead for our Country, I pray to God that General Eisenhower will, even though belatedly, reverse his confirmation of the acceptance by Columbia of Soviet-Satellite subsidies. I think that if the General has now thought through the problem he will speedily realize that no matter how innocent the deal appeared in 1947-48 it was a WICKED ATTACK ON THE FREE CITADEL OF AMERICAN ACADEMIC FREEDOM."

The plan of Russian Communism in the U.S.A. was clearly this: penetrate the universities and their youth. He who has the youth on his side has the rising generation, a generation destined to occupy the key positions in public life, and finally its subordination directly or indirectly to the orders of the party. Consequently the penetration of universities and colleges has been the paramount aim of Russian long-range strategy for the education of an ideological officers corps in the U.S.A.*

*According to Freeman, July 30, 1951, A. Zoll, National Council of American Education, heads a "fascist and subversive organization." Consequently, we, DP professors, wish to be clearly separated from his action. But his data deserve an investigation: Time magazine, July 16, 1951, informs that A. Zoll listed as "pro-Communists" 76 professors in Harvard, 87 in Columbia, 60 in Chicago, and 30 in Yale. The Harvard Crimson (editor in 1915, John Reed, is buried in the Kremlin) according to Newsweek, July 2, 1951, listed for 1949-40, for 1950-32 cases throughout the U.S.A. "involving academic freedom." Of course, we will defend the academic freedoms of all these professors and we ask only the academic freedom for ourselves, the DP professors, by granting to us equal opportunities to teach American youth and publicly to discuss with them their opinions about the Soviet Union, and also the basic problem of academic life whether a professor professing a totalitarian ideology can be permitted by the faculties to teach in free universities dedicated to the search of truth and to independent thought.

It would be really worth while to read our following pages keeping in mind the hypothesis of Robert Morris, counsel of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, advanced during the investigation of the activities of the Institute of Pacific Relations (cf. Time, September 3, 1951):

"His hypothesis: 1) I.P.R. had the inside track in the field of academic research on the Orient, and its full-time professionals pumped one-sided opinion through U.S. schools and universities in hundreds of pamphlets, the quarterly magazine Pacific Affairs, and the fortnightly Far Eastern Survey; 2) the professionals dominated the reviewing of books on the Far East, batted down those books which opposed their line and made bestsellers out of those that conformed; [footnote continued]

3. The Ideological Tenets of Soviet and Russian Imperialist Propaganda in the U.S.A.

"Our Fatherland is afraid of no enemy as long as there exists and flourishes the indestructible friendship of peoples of the Soviet Fatherland. . ." (Pravda, July 2, 1951).

Let us imagine a conference of the Russian Communist section of propaganda and ideological warfare in Moscow, with the participation of the necessary advisers of the Red Army and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There can be no doubt that, after all the unpleasant experiences with the Ukrainians, only Russians participate, perhaps some Caucasians, trusted thugs of Stalin.

What is the chief aim of Soviet propaganda? To mislead and misinform "the enemy" about the real problems and dangers inside a State on the one hand and on the other to plant in his mind all those principles which will fortify and strengthen the Soviet State's position. The ideological disarmament of "the enemy" is the final goal of a continuous Soviet propaganda, which leads to the result that the highest officials of an "enemy State," professors engaged in secret research, a lot of small fry in journalism, radio, and the motion-picture industry regard it as an honor to commit treason on behalf of the ruling Soviet State.

In such a conference of the Russian Communist Party there are certainly no discussions about the chief danger inside the Soviet Union. For all of the participants the paramount importance of the nationality problem is a truism, a life and death problem for Russian Communism. The nationality problem drives toward the dissolution of the U.S.S.R. into national States and imperils Russia's very existence and the power of the Red Army. Together with the systematic fight against the non-Russian nations and the conduct of planned Russification inside the Soviet Union, Russian Communist interests, from the propaganda point of view, must:

a) Misinform the outside world about the aims and actions of the Russian Communist Government and represent the Russification of the non-Russian peoples as a fight for "progress," "internationalism," and as a struggle against "reaction" and "fascism";

b) Deprive the non-Russian peoples and the victims of Russian brutality in the concentration camps of any moral sympathy or support

[footnote continued] 3) they were summoned into Government to give top-level advice on the Pacific area during World War II, and effectively swung U. S. policy their way.

"Neither Counsel Morris nor the committee was claiming that I.P.R. itself was an espionage network. In fact, with commendable restraint, nobody was claiming much of anything until the committee had heard all of its witnesses. But from the I.P.R. files and the testimony, Morris was obviously trying to show that I.P.R. was an intellectual instrument for inserting Communist policies into the U.S. Government, the U.S. press and U.S. academic life. If he could prove that in the hearings yet to come, he would make tales of espionage sound like child's play."

from public opinion, press, broadcasting;

c) To prevent, as the supreme goal any discussion of the nationality problem outside the Soviet Union and especially in the U.S.A. in other words, of the fight of the non-Russian peoples for independence and the free development of their languages and cultures;

d) Hammer into the American mind by all methods of modern propaganda the idea that a nationality problem in the Soviet Union does not exist at all, since the U.S.S.R. is the only State which long ago solved the problem successfully;

e) Hammer into the American mind a whole row of "scientific" conceptions about the "unity and indivisibility of the Soviet Union." With continuous Big Lies—the barrages of Russian Communism—all Americans must be inoculated with Russian messianism, with the "progressive destination" of Russian Communism, and open their gates enthusiastically to the "avant-garde of progressive humanity."

These are the negative and positive aims of Russian Communist propaganda in the U.S.A., but plainly there looms in the very center of it the nationality problem in the Soviet Union. Consequently the fight against the non-Russian nations and their demands for self-determination on one hand, the propagation of the "indissoluble unity" of the Soviet Union on the other are, together with the Marxist Leninist dogmas, the content of Russian Communist propaganda in the U.S.A.

Let us pass in review its principles, conceptions, and slogans:

a) Marxism-Leninism, as a world view forms the general background of Russian propaganda, with all its consequences in philosophy, liberal arts, and sciences, especially the relativity of moral standards. The whole hierarchy of Christian values of our Jewish-Greek-Latin-Christian world is undermined to its very foundation. The inalienable rights are considered by the Marxist-Leninist in this country only for their destruction, but at the same time they are denied to all opponents, who are called "fascists, red baiters, warmongers," etc. This Marxist-Leninist doctrine of class war and hate have created also in the U.S.A. fanatical robots, who repeat like parrots its principles and, power happy, anticipate the moment when through the streets of New York "blood will flow like borshch"* (an authentic expression). Thus in the U.S.A. a Marxist-Stalinist church is also active which by constant adoration of "Soviet Russia" and its leaders has created their necessary halos in the name of "progress" and "humanity."

By calumny and terrorism the Russian propaganda had dictated one requirement in the American definition of a "true liberal" and that is the "recognition of the progressive role of the Soviet Union." Some pro-Communist tinge is the absolutely necessary make-up of any "liberal" university professor. In the last two years there have been some changes in this, but they are very slight. A "Russian Intellectual Salvation Army" in the U.S.A. is still singing Hallelujahs to Russia.

b) Eurasianism is a conception which defends the fundamental "unity and indivisibility" of the Soviet Union and is used as a "tank"

*Red beet soup.

against the self-determination of the non-Russian nationalities; it includes also a "mission" for Muscovy.*

Any scholar knows the place of legitimate geopolitics in history, economy, and current affairs, and anyone knows very well how these legitimate geopolitics were developed by unscrupulous dilettantes into German "geopolitik" and abused for the justification of Nazi imperialism and its crimes. The same thing happened after the 1920's in Russian political thought, not only in Soviet Moscow but also among the chauvinistic Russian émigré-intelligentsia in Western Europe. The Eurasianic school teaches that old Imperial Russia, and, of course, her "continuation," the Soviet Union, are not the result of imperialism, as are the empires of other nations, emerging and vanishing—no, not Russia, the Soviet Union. She is a result of "geopolitical laws." Therefore the Soviet Union, like old imperial Russia, represents a "geopolitical unit," which still has not reached its "natural frontiers." The application of the right of self-determination to the oppressed non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and her dissolution would be a "crime against nature." Also the present imperialistic drive of Russian Communism in Asia or Europe is only the fulfillment of "natural laws" by Soviet Moscow for the establishment of "natural frontiers," the "urge to the sea," the opposition to which is also a "crime against nature itself." Not only is this imperialistic Russian "geopolitik" applied to modern and recent political developments, but the "Eurasianic" doctrine is placed at the very beginnings of human history, and since ancient times the territories of Siberia, Turkestan, the Caucasus, and of course the Ukraine, Byelo-Ruthenia, the Baltic States, and Poland are included into this "Russian Lebensraum."**

It is regarded as "unprogressive, fascist," even "warmongering," to raise any objections against this "scientific truth," which is repeated by nearly all of the American "specialists" as a basic principle. Thus Hitler's spirit, in Russian garb, haunts the steppes from Siberia to Berlin. It is a waste of time to draw to the attention of the American partisans of "Eurasianism" the fact that this "world outlook" contradicts the very facts (a) of legitimate geopolitics, which recognize in this "Lebensraum" definitely shaped natural units determined by the river basins, different climates, fauna, and flora† belonging to non-Russian nations (illustrative map) or (b) history, since the penetration of Siberia started intensively at the beginning of the seventeenth century and

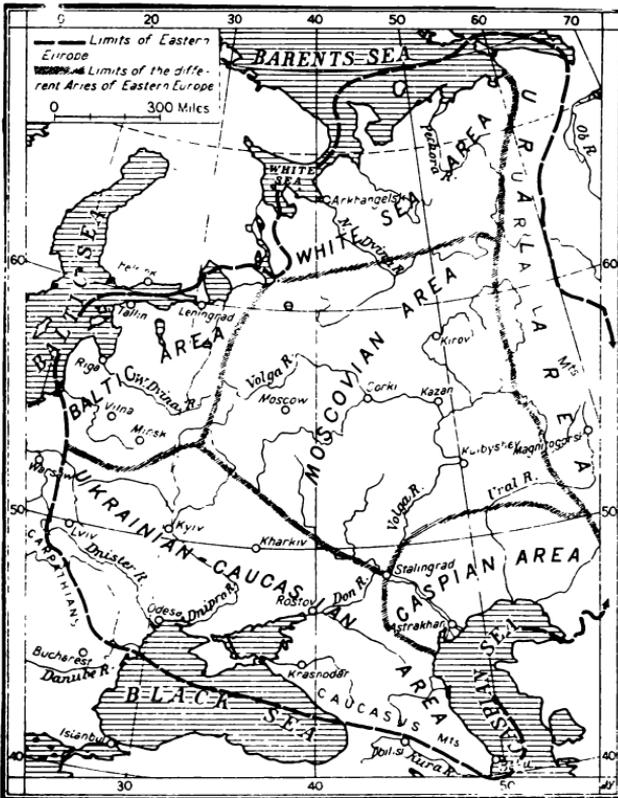
*Based on Mackinder's statement: Who rules East Europe--commands the "heartland"; who rules the heartland--commands the world island (Europe, Asia, Africa); who rules the world island--commands the world.

**Cf. the large literature published by Izdanie Evraziytsiev in Paris with propaganda works of N. Trubetskoy, G. Vernadsky, P. Savicky, N. Toll, Ya. Bromberg, R. Jacobson, and other Russians.

†Cf. L. S. Berg, Natural Regions of the U.S.S.R., translated by O. Adler Titelbaum. Cf. M. Dolnytsky, "A Geographer Looks at East Europe" (with the reproduced map) Ukrainian Quarterly, Vol. VII, Nr. 1.

reached the Bering Sea only at the end of the eighteenth, this, moreover being accomplished by men who went there only to escape from all that despotic Moscow-Russia represented, since Ukraine entered into personal union with the Muscovitean dynasty only in the seventeenth century, since the Balticum was annexed in the eighteenth century, since the conquest of Central Asia and the Caucasus was effected at the end of the nineteenth century. The alleged original unity is pure fiction.

This "Eurasianism" is also made a law for the oldest cultural Slavic history, and the Eastern Slavs are immediately put under Asiatic influences and separated from their Teutonic relatives, the ancestors of the present-day Americans, English, Germans, and Scandinavians. This in spite of the fact that the cultural influences of the Teutons have shaped and molded the oldest Slavic culture.*



Natural regions of Eastern Europe

*R. Smal-Stocki, *Slavs and Teutons*.

Eurasianism includes also a special role for the Russian language. N. Trubetskoy* since 1926 preached: "The Russian literary language, within the limits of the various languages of the Eurasian world, is playing and will continue to play the part of a center of a very strong literary linguistic tradition. There now exists and will continue to exist henceforth an area of radiation of the Russian literary language, similar to the areas of Greek or of Latin . . . owing to a series of historical circumstances, the Russian language became the center of radiation extending to a whole area of literary languages of Eurasia."

Of course, not only the Russian language, but also the Russian script because: "Owing to its prolonged use, the Russian Cyrillic has closely fitted the Russian language and has entered into the system of the language consciousness of literate Russians"—despite the fact that "it cannot be said that this alphabet is completely adapted to the phonetic system of the Russian language."

Thus there developed in the U.S.A. a most peculiar situation in the sphere of history and current affairs: "geopolitik" applied by Hitler, Tojo, and Mussolini was declared a crime against morality and humanity, and was put on trial in Nuernberg and Tokyo, but these same principles applied by Stalin are respected as "laws of nature."

Eurasianism was applied by R. Jacobson to linguistics, as we mentioned, but it also has its consequences in political science. The wide plains from Siberia to Berlin "determine the form of government" and "require" a different system from the constitutional form of American or Western democracy. "Geopolitik" demands "progressive and centralized democracy" or "progressive" and "democratic centralism with a whip," which only the fascist and reactionaries slander as dictatorship or tyranny. Ivan the Terrible and Peter I were champions of this "progressive democracy" and forerunners of Lenin and Stalin. Thus Eurasianism is the foundation also of the present Russian progressive Knoutocracy. It is noteworthy that the Russian Eurasiatic ideology created a similar movement, fantastically blended with the conception of a Slavic-German Empire, among the Germans. Prof. Ernst Niekisch in his book Entscheidung (Decision), Berlin, 1930, wrote:

"It is the destiny of Germany to regain her independence in the struggle against Europe. Germany can only be won if it collaborates with the Russian-Asiatic spearhead against Europe.

"Communism and Bolshevism have effectively emerged as the most intransigent anti-Roman, anti-European fanaticism. The moment one hundred million Russian fanatics are joined by eighty million German fanatics, the old order will fall apart like a house of cards. . . . The East will give birth to a mighty Germanic-Slavic Empire. But this only with the help of Prussian discipline, Prussian self-sacrifice, Prussian order, Prussian combativeness. . . ."

*The Common Slavic Element in Russian Culture, pp. 47-48, New York, 1949.

In another book Niekisch, today a leading German Communist, wrote:

"Germany's decision in behalf of Russia is a decision in behalf of Asia; it places its hope in Asia's revenge against imperialist Europe. . . . There are only two paths: either Asia or Africa—either Tatar-Russia or Negroid France."

Niekisch now plays a leading role in the German-Soviet Friendship Society in Berlin and its ideological journal Die Neue Gesellschaft.*

c) American origins of the Russian Communist Revolution. This is another conception, taught the American youth, that the Russians do realize in the Soviet Union genuine Yankee ideas, against which the backward non-Russian nations rebel. Thus Russian Communism was presented as the "necessary successor" and climax of the American Revolution and its ideas. Of course the "backward" non-Russian nations, muzhiks, who do not even munch popcorn, cannot appreciate the high aims and ideas of "progressive society"; consequently "you cannot make an omelet, without breaking the eggs"; thus are justified all the terror, slave labor camps, and persecutions. Russian Communism is, in reality, present-day Americanism, Leninism-Stalinism is progressive Americanism—concluded the students. Who dares to criticize or to oppose the fact of Americanism in the Soviet Union? Thus to the American youth were exposed the worst system of despotism and terror known to history.

That was the professorial approach to the Soviet Union and Russian Communism. The actual practice behind the democratic and liberal phraseology of the Constitution is completely ignored or misrepresented. This terminology is taken by "liberal professors" at its true Western European and American face value, while the upside-down language of Soviet semantics and all the Soviet changes of the meanings of this terminology are totally passed by and thus is held up before the eyes of American youth whole Fata Morgana of a Communist utopia, a paradise for the workingmen of all nationalities. Consequently part of the American youth regards the ultimate aim of Moscow, the World Soviet Union, not as an attack upon their nation, but as the "Americanization" of the world.

d) "The solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union is a unique achievement of Russian Communism, which no bourgeois democracy could accomplish" and this is dogma. The non-Russian nationalities would consider it as an "enslavement" if somebody would dare demand for them the right of self-determination; there is in the Soviet Union a happy, peaceful co-operation of all nationalities with full equality and national liberty. (All this is stated with an immediate addition about racial discrimination in the U.S.A., which has not solved the Negro problem.) The Soviet Union is the paradise of nationalities, prepared for all the nationalities in the future World Soviet Union, also for the U.S.A., when it will be liberated from the oppression of Wall Street, etc.

*The New Leader, April 16, 1951.

How could American public opinion and the scholars be bamboozled into believing this Russian Communist propaganda? This was Soviet Moscow's great victory in befuddling American minds. Let us trace the path of this Communist penetration:

(1) The U.S.A. was flooded with booklets discussing the "solution of the nationality problem." Among them the pamphlet: "How the Soviet Government Solves the National Question" by L. Perchik, Moscow, 1932, merits special attention, because it was published at the very time that R. Jacobson and H. Kohn spoke oracularly in Europe about these nationality questions. It was especially designed to conceal the forcible enslavement of the political, economic and cultural life of non-Russian nationalities by Soviet Moscow. The preface of L. Perchik's book is even now an interesting document of Russian propaganda:

"Not more than fifteen years ago Russia was one of the most backward countries in the world. The ruling classes in Russia, the landowners and the capitalists with the Tsar's clique at their head, ruled the country by a policy of cruel and savage repression of the workers and peasants. It was a policy of brutal gendarmerie and the 'black-hundreds,' as the reactionary 'diehards' in old Russia were called, which mercilessly suppressed all progressive and revolutionary elements and their vanguard the working class. It was a regime of prison and exile, the knout and the scaffold.

"These methods of political repression were in complete accord with the methods of economic exploitation which prevailed in Tsarist Russia. The poor and middle peasantry, having little or no land of their own, slaved in a state of semi-feudal dependence on the landlords. The conditions of the working class, defeated in the barricade battles of the Revolution of 1905, were no better than those of Chinese coolies. Very low wages for a 12 to 14 hour day, horrible labor conditions, wretched housing in most cases consisting of dark, filthy, crowded barracks close to factories—such were the conditions of millions of workers and their families who were mercilessly exploited by the capitalist at home and abroad.

"Imperialist Russia, striving to acquire more and more colonies, Manchuria, Persia, the Balkan countries, etc., was universally known as 'the gendarme of Europe' at the service of international capital in the brutal task of suppressing nationalities in the West. Tsarist Russia was also notorious as the 'prison of the nations' and this phrase best characterizes the internal policy of the Tsar's government.

"Tsarist Russia was indeed a prison for scores of oppressed and enslaved nationalities; there were the Ukrainians, Poles, Finns, White Russians, Turks, Uzbeks, Turkomen, Tadjiks, Kazaks, Yakuts, and many others. The history of conquest, enslavement, and oppression of these peoples is written in blood of millions and millions of the victims of Tsarism.

"The national policy of the old Russian bourgeoisie and landowners was a policy of Russianizing and oppressing these peoples, a policy of fomenting national strife, pogroms, and massacres.

"Only fifteen years have elapsed since the old brutal Tsarist regime was overthrown and what a great change our country has undergone. As Marx said and Lenin often repeated: one year of revolutionary activity is equal to scores of years of peaceful development. During these great years of socialist revolution we, the workers of the U.S.S.R., together with vast masses of toiling peasants, under the leadership of our Bolshevik Party and its leaders, Lenin and Stalin, faithfully carrying the banner of socialist revolution, have shown the whole world 'how it is done.'

"We have shown the way to solve the national problem by the way we have solved it in the Soviet Union. While in the capitalist countries surrounding us the social oppression of capital goes hand in hand with the imperialist oppression of small nations and colonies, which has increased to an unprecedented degree in the present period of crisis, in the U.S.S.R. the hundred and more nationalities which have been set free by the October Revolution are rapidly overtaking the advanced Russian nation in our Union and, together with it, are marching in jerried ranks to overtake and surpass economically and technically the advanced capitalist countries of the world.

"The great powers, or it would be more true to say, the 'great pirates,' such as England, France, Japan, the U.S.A. and others are holding millions of the toiling masses in India Indo-China and Africa in the chains of slavery. . . .

"It will interest readers abroad to learn of the great work of construction that is going on in the formerly backward national republics and autonomous regions in the Soviet Union. And foreign workers in the Soviet Union, who are taking part in our heroic work of construction, will learn from this pamphlet another side of our constructional work, namely, how the national problem had been solved in the Soviet Union.

"My aim as author (and as a Bolshevik) is that the foreign workers who read this pamphlet shall by their own experience in our country—our common fatherland—become convinced of the correctness of the Leninist policy in general and in regard to the national problem in particular."

Some parts of the pamphlet entitled: "The Correct Solution of the National Question Has Great International Significance" would be even now illuminating for our Department of State.

"The correct solution of the national problem in the land of the Soviets has a great international significance. The construction which is going on in the U.S.S.R., in practically all its phases, affords an example to the proletariat of all capitalist countries and to all oppressed peoples of the world. The construction of socialism is in itself the best form of propaganda and agitation for the Communist Revolution among the vast masses of the working class and toilers of the world."

"It seems as if history has chosen the land of the Soviets as the field of vast experiments, the results of which are being eagerly followed by tens and hundreds of millions of slaves of capitalism, who are learning from its experiences."

"How the National Problem Is 'Solved' in the Capitalist Countries?"

"What is the truth about the way nations live together in the capitalist oppression, a handful of men formed by the ruling classes of great imperialist powers (England, the U.S.A., France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, Holland, etc.) hold under their iron heel many hundreds of millions of colonial peoples, oppressed and utterly enslaved by this handful of 'civilized robbers.' Complete political subordination of the colonial peoples, predatory exploitation of their labour and their natural resources, systematic obstruction of their economic, political and cultural development--this is the policy of the bourgeoisie in their attitude towards the many colonial and semi-colonial peoples of Asia, Africa, Australia and South and Central America. Thus, the workers and peasants of the colonial peoples are doubly oppressed: by their own capitalists and feudal lords as well as by imperialist powers.

"Compare the conditions of these colonies which are mercilessly oppressed by imperialism, with the conditions of the formerly oppressed peoples of the U.S.S.R. Is not this comparison of the two worlds--the world of capitalism and the world of socialism--the best form of propaganda for Communism among the proletarian and semi-proletarian classes in capitalist countries? Does not this comparison serve as a weapon for agitation among the most backward, most wretched and most ignorant colonial slaves of capitalism--the peasants of India, China, Indonesia, Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, Syria and other colonies?"

"Here and Abroad,

"Comrade Stalin in his report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Party Congress said: 'in the capitalist countries there is a sharpening of the national question and a growth of the national liberation movement in India, Indo-China, Indonesia, the Philippines etc., passing into a national war.'

"In the U.S.S.R., there is the strengthening of the foundations of national brotherhood, safeguarded national peace and the rallying of the peoples of the U.S.S.R., numbering many millions, around the Soviet Government.

"The Eleventh Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, which met at the beginning of April, 1931, characterized as follows the basic differences which exist between the U.S.S.R. and the capitalist countries in the field of national politics:

"In the U.S.S.R. the existence of the government of the working class implies a firm policy of peace, the establishment of fraternal relations with all nations, a consistent struggle for complete disarmament, the union of the toilers of all nations inhabiting the U.S.S.R., the economic, political and cultural development of the nationalities formerly oppressed by Tsarism and the growth of the land of the proletarian dictatorship as the principal barrier against new imperialist wars.

"In the capitalist countries, the predatory character of the imperialist states as embodying the dictatorship of a handful of financial magnates, finds specially marked expression in the circumstances of the crisis in the growth of imperialist aggressiveness, in the striving of the imperialists to extend their colonial possessions and 'spheres of

influence,' in the intensification of all forms of colonial slavery, and in the effort to impose the burden of the crisis mainly upon the weaker and dependent countries and enslaved peoples . . . (p. 13).

"Does not this comparison serve as the best form of agitation for the Soviet power?

"Does not this show what great significance the correct solution of the national problem in the U.S.S.R. has for the world proletarian revolution?

"Conclusion.

"Thus from the point of view of socialist construction in the land of the Soviets, and of winning over the broad toiling masses of the formerly oppressed nationalities to the side of proletarian dictatorship, as well as from the point of view of the World Communist Revolution, the correct solution of the national question in the U.S.S.R. has the greatest political significance."

"That is why every Communist, Komsomol, worker, collective farmer and toiler, regardless of his nationality, should know how the Communist Party and the Soviet power solves the national problem in the country of the Soviets" (p. 15).

"Underestimation of the National Problem Is One of the Grossest Political Mistakes" (p. 18).

"The Solution of the National Question Takes Three Forms: Political, Economic, and Cultural.

"What are the main forms which this development must take? By what means must we Bolsheviks solve the national problem?

"First--the slogan of Lenin as to the right of all nations to self-determination, even including the formation of separate states, the slogan of sweeping away all national privileges. In capitalist countries the force of this slogan strikes against imperialism and for the liberation of colonies; whereas in the land of the proletarian dictatorship it means strengthening in every way the union of toilers of all nationalities, who with their joint strength are building socialism.

"Second--the slogan of Lenin as to the economic and cultural aid given by the Soviet state to the formerly oppressed nationalities. While imperialism mercilessly exploits the colonial peoples, the proletarian state has not only liberated them politically, but is also helping them to rise to the economic and cultural level of the more advanced nations of our land. Working in close alliance and cooperation the peoples of the Soviet Union will overtake and surpass the advanced capitalist countries within the next ten years both technically and economically.

"Third--the slogan of Lenin concerning the development of national culture, proletarian in content and national in form. While imperialism suppresses national culture, not giving it any opportunity to develop, the proletarian dictatorship is laying the foundations for a cultural revolution, embracing millions of the toiling masses of all nationalities, without giving the slightest privilege to any of them, as regards language or national culture" (pp. 19, 20).

Anyone must agree that Communism did not underestimate the decisive importance of the nationality problem. The "solution" was propagandized by the whole American Communist Press, the "liberal" press complimented Soviet Moscow on this "progress." Joseph Stalin's: Marxism and the National and Colonial Question (New York: Workers Library Publishers) became in the U.S.A. a bible of the nationality problem for all "liberals" and Pinkos professors together with Kohn's book. From the dozens of Communist propaganda books about the "solution," I should like to mention A. Rysakoff, The National Policy of the Soviet Union (New York: International Publishers, n.d.), and M. Chekalin, The National Question in the Soviet Union (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1941), we offer here some quotations from this booklet published during the war. Under the title: "The International Significance of the Soviet National Policy" the author states as an "older brother":*

"The Bolshevik national policy has triumphed. The U.S.S.R. is the only country in the world where mutual distrust among nations has been completely eradicated, and where relations among them are based on the principles of mutual trust, fraternal association and friendly collaboration" (p. 45). "Like an older brother, the great Russian people have helped the formerly exploited peoples rise from poverty and disfranchisement to economic prosperity and cultural progress, to political equality and independent state life. All the peoples of the land of socialism live in peace and friendship with one another. This peaceful collaboration of the various nationalities, inconceivable under capitalist conditions, has been fully successful on the basis of socialism" (p. 3).

"The example of the Soviet Union is a tremendous revolutionary force. The friendship among the peoples of the land of socialism and their aspiration to live in peace and friendship with all the peoples of the earth rallies the working masses of the capitalist countries and colonies around the U.S.S.R., constituting a powerful force of attraction.

"The Stalin Constitution of the U.S.S.R. vividly demonstrates to the whole world the great triumph of the national policy of the Bolshevik Party . . . (p. 45).

"In the camp of capitalism we have mutual distrust and national animosity, inequality and colonial slavery, national oppression and pogroms, chauvinism and wars.

*We call attention to the "evolution" of the "Russian big [older] brother" slogan from a "big brother of the non-Russian peoples" in the Soviet Union before World War II to the "big brother of all Slavic peoples" during and after World War II and presently to the "Russian big brother of all peoples of the world." Thus Chinese and Korean Communists now use this expression referring to the Russians; cf. New Leader, October 15, 1951. (Interesting is the reaction of the non-Russian peoples to this propaganda, they changed the first consonants of the Russian word and converted brat, "brother" into kat, "hangman": "big brother" into "big hangman.")

"The land of Soviets has become a powerful lever of the liberation movement all over the world. The U.S.S.R. is a beacon light that illumines the road toward liberation from the yoke of oppressors for the peoples of the whole world" (p. 46).

And in order to veil the plight of the non-Russian nationalities there was aimed at the U.S.A. also the glamorous descriptions of the life of the Jews. In this pamphlet the author wrote:

"The position of the Jews in the U.S.S.R. is a particularly striking example of the triumph of the Soviet national policy.

"In July 1918, by a Soviet Government decree signed by V. I. Lenin, anti-Semitism was proclaimed a criminal offense. In the very first days of its existence, the Soviet power created a number of Jewish national districts in the Ukraine and in Byelo-Russia, where there is a concentrated Jewish population and in 1934 a Jewish Autonomous Region--Birobidjan--was formed in the Far East.

"For the first time in the history of the Jewish people its ardent desire to create its own homeland, to create its own national state system, has materialized. Under the leadership of the great Bolshevik Party and actively supported by all sections of Soviet society, the Jewish toiling masses are developing and consolidating a Soviet state system in Birobidjan, whose forms correspond to the customs and modes of life of their people. . . .

"The formation of the first and only Jewish autonomous region in the world is the most striking proof to the working people of the whole world that only under the conditions of a Soviet system is the complete social and national emancipation of the oppressed nationalities possible, that only in the land of socialism does the economic and cultural life of the national minorities truly flourish" (pp. 24, 35).*

All this was published in New York after the Stalin-Hitler treaty--unbelievable, but a fact.

(2) The gushing eulogies of American statesmen and professors about the solution of the "nationality problem" could fill volumes. They finally won a segment of American public opinion. We limit ourselves to a few who have spoken without reserve. Wendell Willkie declared:

"I found in Yakutsk evidence of one of the Soviet Union's greatest achievements and one which the best and most progressive American must applaud: its handling of the terrible problem of the national and racial minorities."

Professor Owen Lattimore** is, of course, no less enthusiastic:

"The Soviet nationality policy was reassuring. It gave the minority peoples both freedom to be different from the Russians in such things as language and cultural habits, and freedom to be like Russians, and

*As we see, Russian Communist propaganda introduced this misleading term "minorities" for the non-Russian majorities to American terminology.

**Solution in Asia (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1945).

equal to them, in such things as military and administrative service and industrial and technical development. The Soviet Union stands for strategic security, economic prosperity, technological progress, miraculous medicine, free education, equality of opportunity, and democracy: a powerful combination. The fact that the Soviet Union also stands for democracy is not to be overlooked. It stands for democracy because it stands for all the other things" (Owen Lattimore, Solution in Asia quoted in Soviet Russia Today, July, 1945).

Prof. J. H. Bradley's opinion in World Geography (p. 368), edited 1945, Ginn and Company, Educational Publishers, Boston, refused us the permission to quote.

Corliss Lamont,* together with H. Kohn, decidedly influenced American foreign policy regarding the nationality problem in the Soviet Union:

"According to Marxist theory, the proletariat, or working class, in the various capitalist countries will eventually emancipate itself by eliminating the capitalists as a class and establish a new system of socialism. And it will at the same time emancipate, under the banner of proletarian internationalism, the oppressed nations and races. This is precisely what happened, the Marxist say, in the Soviet Union, the only land where a true socialist revolution has taken place. There, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, the old dislike and distrust between the national groups has given way to mutual friendship and mutual aid during both war and peace (p. 197). Just as American political democracy has stressed equality of opportunity for all citizens in the United States, so Soviet ethnic democracy has stressed equality of opportunity for all nationalities in the U.S.S.R. To paraphrase a well-known document, the Soviets take the stand that all nations 'are created equal, that they are endowed . . . with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.' The professed ethical aim of Soviet socialism is the freedom and welfare of all individuals and peoples within the U.S.S.R. irrespective of nation or race. This Soviet ethical attitude extends to mankind as a whole, to all the manifold peoples of the earth in whatever country or continent they may be (p. 207).

"I do not regard it as the function of this book to discuss in detail the possible application of the Soviet minorities policy in whole or in part, to nations outside the U.S.S.R. It is sufficient to say that the Soviet attitude toward nationalities fits in well with the general war aims of the United Nations; that the United Nations will be wise to take note of the Soviet solution in their efforts to establish enduring peace; and that certain of the Allies, such as Britain, France and the United States, may be able to draw lessons from the U.S.S.R. that will be useful in domestic or intraempire minorities problems. . . .

"Fully in keeping with the Soviet nationalities policy were the proposals regarding colonial peoples made at the San Francisco Conference

*The Peoples of the Soviet Union (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1944, 1945, 1946).

by the Soviet delegation. 'The basic objectives of the trusteeship system,' the Soviet plan stated, 'should be to promote the political, economic and social advancement of the trust territories and their inhabitants; and their progressive development toward self-government and self-determination, with active participation of the peoples of these territories having the aim to expedite the achievement by them of full national independence.' The final formula adopted in the United Nations Charter promised the furtherance of the development of such peoples toward self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

"Whatever one may think of socialism as an economic system or however critical one may be of the Communist political dictatorship or some other phase of Soviet life, one has to admit that the Soviet Union has made a profound contribution in the sphere of interethnic relationships. Acknowledgment of this point is almost beyond dispute, since even the bitterest critics of the Soviet regime, writers like William Henry Chamberlin, Louis Fischer, and William L. White, have a good word to say about its nationalities policy. Manifestly the national federalism of the U.S.S.R. constitutes one possible solution of the minorities question that must be seriously considered hereafter in this general field. . . . Toward the eradication of these age-long animosities the Soviet Union, with its multitude of ethnic groups progressing in peace and harmony, has taken genuine leadership" (pp. 209-210).

In his recent book* Corliss Lamont did not change his opinion:

"... it is plain that the Soviet Union lags lamentably behind the United States in the development of civil liberty . . . (but is) far ahead of America in the establishment of ethnic equality and racial democracy among the more than 150 different minority nationalities and races. . . ."

Julian Towster** informs the Americans:

"On the whole, the Soviet nationality policy seems to make for harmonious relations in the political process of the U.S.S.R. and would probably operate against cataclysmic disintegration in crisis (p. 336).

"As we have noted in previous chapters, a considerable framework of administrative arrangements operates to assure to the non-Russian nationalities a substantial measure of political expression" (p. 341).

(3) Indoctrination of the American youth with the dogma of the "solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union." Was not a great sin committed here against objective teaching, claiming its victims among American youth, who honestly believed in the veracity of their teachers, presenting to them the democratic oppositions in the non-Russian nationalities as a kind of "fascism or reaction"? We limit

*The Independent Mind, Horizon Press, 1951, pp. 118-119.

**Political Power in the U.S.S.R., 1917-1947, Oxford University Press, 1948.

ourself to the report: "Intensive Study of Contemporary Russian Civilization," by Ernest J. Simmons, Cornell University, 1943.*

Could the following members give the American youth true presentation of the nationality problem of the non-Russian nationalities, which were, as we see, from the very beginning "included" in the "contemporary Russian civilization"?

Prof. Ernest J. Simmons. If an American journal printed such an evaluation of his publication, what would the DP scholars have to say about it? We quote: American Mercury, June, 1950 (p. 760), in the book review on Craig Thompson, The Police State:

"... his ability to tell a forced labor-camp from a health resort is refreshing, and his hard hitting exposition of Soviet realities should serve, if only in a modest way, as an antidote to such fellow-traveling 'guides' to the Soviet Union as those of Simmons and Mandel."

But this guide of E. Simmons consists of articles written by the teachers of the afore-mentioned "Intensive Study"* courses in Cornell University, 1943, 1944, which are also the basis of the whole section on Russia and the U.S.S.R. for the Encyclopedia Americana.** Another quotation from an article of Ralph De Toledano,† "Grave Diggers of America," American Mercury, August, 1951:

"It is hard to understand the critical value of Ernest J. Simmons, who some years back joined Schuman, McWilliams, Max Lerner & Co. in attacking John Dewey, Irwin Edman and other writers and philosophers as 'fascists and allies of fascists' because they had signed a statement calling the Soviet Union 'totalitarian.' Yet Simmons is entrusted with the responsibility of reviewing Juri Jelagin's anti-Soviet Taming of The Arts. Brooks Atkinson, in The Times, extracted from this work the whole horrible story of police subjugation of the arts in Russia. Simmons used his review space to point out how, despite some police control, 'artists are described . . . as pampered favorites of the state. . . . The arts have flourished in the Soviet Union' and actresses own many fur coats. Only since 1946 has the government really interfered, he noted, and Stalin has very good taste. As for Meyerhold, liquidated in the early 1930's for refusing to knuckle down to artistic dictation, Simmons merely glossed over this unpleasant phase by mentioning the great director's 'mysterious later years.'

"This is the pattern to which so much reviewing is being cut today. Most of the Communists and fellow travelers are 'non-Communists' today, but their hate of the old enemy--the premature anti-Communist--persists. They are a little more circumspect now.

"And the same Leninist belief that only one philosophy is valid persists."

*With the support of the Rockefeller Foundation.

**Cf. our book review, Educational Reviewer, Vol. III, No. 2.

†Coauthor of the book, Seeds of Treason.

We only request the reader to study E. Simmon's article on the new Russian literature in the U.S.S.R. handbook or in the Harvard Handbook of Slavic Studies and to compare it for instance with Max Eastman's article, "Plain Talk," April, 1950, and to keep in mind that he intended to approach the Soviet Union for a grant of \$100,000 for the Slavic Department of Columbia—the same Soviet Government, which abolished all academic freedom. Let the reader also keep in mind that this objective scholar persisted even in 1946 to deny the existence of concentration camps in the Soviet Union, in a public address before a large section of the Modern Language Association. (Cf. the document in the Appendix.) Could or can Prof. E. Simmons approach without prejudice the nationality problem of the Soviet Union? He was the organizer of courses.*

*According to Times-Herald, Washington, D. C., July 8, 1951: "Columbia University has accepted a new grant of \$10,000 from the Communist regime in Poland to finance a chair of Polish studies, it was learned today. Columbia's president, Gen. Eisenhower, approved the original grant in 1948.

"The original outlay of funds from Red Poland to Columbia was for \$30,000. That financed the teaching project for three years.

"The chair of Polish studies was set up under Prof. Ernest J. Simmons, head of Columbia's Slavic department. Prof. Simmons has been affiliated with several organizations and publications labeled as Communist fronts by governmental bodies.

"In 1945 he was a member of the board of directors of the American Russian institute, which was cited as Communist by the former attorney general, Tom Clark. He was a member of the League of American Writers, cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Clark as well as by several congressional and State legislative committees.

"Prof. Simmons was on the sponsor committee on education of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in June, 1945. The special congressional committee on un-American activities reported on March 29, 1944, that 'in recent months, the Communist party's principal front for all things Russian has been known as the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship.'

"At the time the original grant was approved, there was widespread criticism of President Eisenhower's action. University spokesmen justified receiving Communist funds on the grounds they would be used purely for 'cultural' purposes, no 'politics' was involved, and claimed that Columbia had chosen the man to teach the new course without dictation from the Polish donors."

Cf. with this statement of Columbia the following: the Communist paper in Warsaw, Odrodzenie, August 21, 1949, published: "Our government entrusted the chair [at Columbia] to the excellent scholar Manfred Kridl"; reprinted Dziennik Zwiazkowy, Chicago, November 20, 1949.

Let us compare these acts of Columbia University with the attitude of Harvard toward a proposed grant from a totalitarian regime. According to Harvard Crimson (The New York Times, [footnote continued])

Among the lectures we find well-known personalities: John Somerville, the author of *Soviet Philosophy*, Prof. Oscar Lange, as a specialist for the nationality problem, Corliss Lamont (cf. the list of the former attorney general, Francis Biddle, *Freeman*, July 16, 1951, he ranks immediately below Frederick Vanderbilt Field), Sergius Yakobson, and V. D. Kazakevich.* Kazakevich was originally a White-Russian émigré. During the past war his attitude toward the Soviets underwent a complete transformation. He became a Communist. He began to lecture in favor of the Soviets on Soviet affairs, becoming one of the editors of *Science and Society*, a Marxist quarterly, and was a frequent contributor to *Russky Golos* and *Soviet Russia Today*, pro-Communist publications. A few months after Kazakevich was exposed of being a Soviet agent, he returned to Russia and acquired citizenship.

The courses included exhibits, film programs, discussions, informal meetings, and among the required reading one can find the whole American Communist and fellow-traveling literature, but not many critical books.

The nationality problem was presented in lectures by S. Yakobson, "Soviet Nationality Policy and Nationalism"; Dr. Corliss Lamont, "The Different Peoples of the Soviet Union," "The Evolution of Democracy," and in the examination, questions concerning the nationality problem, especially the Ukraine, were regarded as necessary for consideration: "Throw what light you can on the question of the Ukraine." "Contrast briefly the respective policies of the Imperial and Soviet governments toward nationalities other than Russian within their borders." "According to Stalin's definition of a nation, why are the Jews and the Gypsies not a nation, but a national group?" "Show Socialist Humanism as the Soviet way of life, including some of its historical and contemporary relationships, its philosophical foundations and attitude toward the universe, its interpretation of history, its motives, methods and aims, and its general intellectual and emotional adequacy (full length essay)." "Outline the main difference between Tsarist and Soviet policies toward minority cultures giving concrete illustrations." And inevitably a question about the achievements of Jewish Birobijan was not forgotten.

From the formulation of the questions themselves anyone can conclude in what form of "Socialist humanism" the solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union was presented to American students.

[footnote continued] December 6, 1951): "James Bryant Conant, university president, had in 1934 rejected a gift of money from a ranking German official because it was 'so closely associated with the leadership of a political party which has inflicted damage on the universities of Germany through measures which have struck at principles believed fundamental to universities throughout the world.' "

**Ukrainian Bulletin*, February 15, 1950.

4. Unobjective Informations About the Nationality Problem Given to the American Congress

The brother of R. Jacobson, Sergius Yakobson, has the most influential and decisive function as expert in the Slavic field and the Soviet Union in the U.S.A. He is Chief of the Slavic Division of the Library of Congress (since 1941, fellow in Slavonic History; in 1946 he served in the Legislative Reference Service, first as Foreign Affairs Analyst, then Chief of the Foreign Affairs Section; since 1950 as Senior Specialist in International Relations [Soviet Union]). He now serves as Senior Specialist for the Soviet Union to Members and Committees of Congress ("Information Bulletin," L. of C., January 15, 1951, p. 12). How the American Congress was informed about the nationality problem in the Soviet Union can be seen from the House Document, Nr. 754, "Communism in Action," 1946, a documented study and analysis of Communism in operation in the Soviet Union, for which information Dr. Sergius Yakobson,* Library Consultant, "who reviewed the entire study" is virtually responsible (p. VII).

In this study the history of the non-Russian nationalities after 1917 is suppressed, also the fact that the Soviet Union was built up through aggression and war. On page 94 the following information is given about the nationality problem, about which the Congress is informed that "since the Revolution Stalin himself has been closely concerned with a solution of the problem."

"Today the U.S.S.R. is a federation of 16 constituent Republics, a federation which combines strong political centralization with wide local cultural autonomy.

"THE NATIONALITIES

"This political centralization is balanced by a wide local cultural autonomy. There are nearly 200 ethnic groups in the U.S.S.R. and the most important of these were embittered by the Czarist policy of 'Russification' and exploitation. Before the Revolution the Bolshevik Party made wide promises of 'self-determination,' and since the Revolution Stalin himself has been closely concerned with a solution of the problem. His policy is based on cultural autonomy for definite territorial units and the economic development of the more backward regions. The more powerful units formed the constituent Republics. Within these constituent Republics other ethnic groups were given varying degrees of autonomy as autonomous Republics, autonomous provinces and national districts.

*I am informed that S. Yakobson was, during his stay in Berlin, in contact with the Soviet Embassy (his brother was press attaché at the Soviet Mission in Prague) and belonged to the circle of Prof. Otto Hoetsch, leader of the German Nationalists, who propagated closer Soviet-German relations in his monthly Ost Europa. Hoetsch was (according to S. N. Harper, The Russia I Believe In, p. 182) persona gratissima with the Soviet leaders, enjoying even a diplomatic laissez-passer for his travels to Moscow.

"All these groups are represented in the Council of Nationalities, the second house of the Supreme Soviet, which corresponds roughly to the Senate of the United States of America. Since the 1936 Constitution the Council of Nationalities is elected directly on the basis of 25 seats for a constituent Republic, 11 for an autonomous Republic, 5 for an autonomous province, and 1 for a national district."

In reality these nationalities are not represented in the Council of Nationalities, but the Communist renegades appointed by the Russian Communist Party. As the Communist propaganda always does, thus is placed here the Communist policy against the background of the Tsarist policy of "Russification" and exploitation, creating the impression for the reader that Russification and exploitation of the non-Russian peoples were abolished by the Russian Communists. They were on the contrary intensified. On page 134 under the title "Freedom From Discrimination" this propagandist impression is, of course, strengthened by quotations from Hans Kohn and Corliss Lamont:

"The most strongly worded of all Soviet guaranties is article 123, which reads as follows:

"Equal rights for citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social, and political life, shall be an irrevocable law.

"Any direct or indirect limitation of these rights, or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of their race or nationality, as well as any propagation of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred and contempt, shall be punished by law'

"This guaranty is closely related to the Soviet policy of encouraging national cultural autonomy. Within the boundaries of the Soviet Union there are said to be--

"177 distinguishable races, nationalities, and tribes, speaking some 125 different languages or dialects and practicing as many as forty different religions.'*

"Almost a third of these national groups have been given political recognition. Even more marked, however, has been the positive encouragement of national cultural activity, through the development or even creation of written languages, the founding of national libraries and museums, and the fostering of national artistic expression in the theater, dance, and music. The aim has been to produce a culture 'national in form, above all in language, but supranational, Socialist or proletarian, in essence.'**

"Both as to national groups and their individual members, Soviet policy does not tolerate dissent in matters of substance. The peoples of the U.S.S.R.--

*Corliss Lamont, The Peoples of the Soviet Union (New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1946), p. 8.

**Hans Kohn, Nationalism in the Soviet Union (London, G. Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1933), p. 88.

"enjoy full equality of rights, but it is an equality before the law, equal and uniform for them all, of the Communist Party. . . ." *

Thus the application of collective responsibility and genocide toward nationalities was presented as lawful "punishment for treachery" and the complete extermination as nationalities of the Chechens and Crimean Tatars is trimmed down to a "mass resettlement of large numbers. . . ." The fate of the German Volga Republic three years earlier is also suppressed. All the Communist propaganda concerning "national cultural autonomy," the "fostering of national artistic expression in the theater, dance and music," "national in form, above all in language—Socialist in essence" are here uncritically presented as facts and Marr's linguistic theory, the long struggle of two decades against Russification is not even mentioned.

5. Purging of the Anti-Communist Articles From the American Historical Bibliography

Americans of Ukrainian descent are publishing already the seventh year The Ukrainian Quarterly, edited by a distinguished historian Prof. N. Chubaty, Ph.D., honoris causa, a contributor to leading American scientific journals. In this review a large number of American scholars and journalists collaborated: C. A. Manning (Columbia), A. P. Coleman, J. Roucek (Bridgeport University), W. H. Chamberlin, and others. The Ukrainian Quarterly developed into a real encyclopedia of the whole nationality problem in the Soviet Union, with a series of articles entered into the Congressional Record.

Sergius Yakobson became responsible in the American Historical Review for the compilation of the bibliography of articles for the section "Russia and Slavic Countries" beginning with Volume 52 (October 1946), and is entrusted with this section at the present moment.

All articles pertaining to history and current affairs were purged by Sergius Yakobson and Volumes 52, 53, 54 do not include one single article from this journal but, of course, the Communist propagandist's Likholat, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists as servants of foreign imperialists, Voprosy istorii, 1948, Nr. 12, were not overlooked. During a period of four eventful years the American scholars were put under such a thought control, but the articles from a similar type of journals The Russian Review and Novyi Zhurnal were included in Yakobson's bibliography. In Volume 55 (from October 1949-1950) we found beginning with 1950 three articles mentioned in Yakobson's bibliography from the Ukrainian Quarterly. What happened in the politics of the nation to bring about this change—Korea?

*Ibid., p. 104, An extreme illustration of this point may be found in the recent official announcement of the mass resettlement in other parts of the Soviet Union of large numbers of Chechens and Crimean Tatars, inhabitants of two former autonomous Republics of the R.S.F.S.R., as punishment for treachery during the German invasion. The Republics were also deprived of their autonomy. (New York Times, June 27, 1946, p. 4).

Yakobson systematically discriminated against all anti-Communist non-Russian publications, which presented the nationality problem. Besides the Ukrainian Quarterly, the following publications are also purged: the Eastern Quarterly, edited in London by the anti-Communist Central-Europeans; the Lithuanian Bulletin (New York), including many photostatic documents; the Byelo-Ruthenian Veda, the English edition of the journal Milij Turkestan; not listed are The Collected Scientific Papers of the Ukrainian Free University, Munich 1948 (with English summaries), etc.*

Misleading the American reader is the bibliography of 500 books about "Russia," published by the Library of Congress and compiled by S. Yakobson. The term "Russia" includes the whole Soviet Union, but the bibliography lists only three books on the "peoples of Russia." Thus, S. Yakobson has decidedly influenced the selection of books of all university and college libraries in the U.S.A. Any objective bibliography about the Soviet Union for the Americans should in addition include the free voice of the scholars, who emigrated since 1920, and have created a whole literature about all fields of the non-Russian nationalities and the Russian regime itself.

6. Present Communist propaganda is continuing to repeat the mentioned dogma, a clear proof that this thesis is specially important for Soviet Moscow. Prof. W. Halych** reviewed in a special article the "Russian Communist Propaganda in American Schools." An examination of the official "USSR Information Bulletin," January 27, 1950, shows the enlightened information given to American teachers:

"Bourgeois democracy is the veiled dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiting minority over the exploited majority. Soviet democracy is real democracy, democracy for the majority, the new principle, people's democracy under which all the people participate in administering the country (p. 38).

"The Soviet system has insured the working people the real exercise of democratic rights and democratic freedoms. The Constitution of the USSR, whose author is J. V. Stalin, does not limit itself to the formal recognition of equality of the rights, of citizens, but insures the conditions necessary for the practical exercise of these rights, insures genuine democracy . . . a voluntary and honest union of the peoples of Russia.

"The application of the Lenin-Stalin national policy has fostered inviolable friendship among the peoples of the USSR (empire), headed by the Russian people. The solution of the national question by Soviet

*Thus the librarian of the "Fortress of Freedom" (cf. L. Salamanca, Fortress of Freedom, The Story of the Library of Congress, 1942) handles the fight for freedom of the non-Russian peoples. But he is a master in publicity, and Tristram Coffin (in an article in the New Leader, "As the Russians See Us," reprinted in the December issue, 1951, of Readers Digest) calls him a "famous Russian scholar."

**Ukrainian Quarterly, Vol. VI, Nr. 2, 1950.

democracy is the greatest achievement among mankind's great social gains" (p. 38).

What paramount importance Soviet propaganda attributes to the nationality problem as a "solved problem" in the present time we may determine from the article of Izvestia, August 30, 1951, "Truth About the Soviet Union Overcomes All Barriers."

"The mass pilgrimage of foreign delegations to the Soviet Union is one of the most remarkable phenomena of our times. It is an expression of millions of people's boundless love for and gratitude to the Soviet people, to great Stalin, the leader and friend of the working people of all countries, the standard-bearer of peace, for delivering mankind from fascist slavery during the war years, for consistently defending peace in the postwar period. The working people of all countries see a reliable defender of the cause of peace in the Soviet Union.

"Foreign delegations come to the Soviet Union in an uninterrupted stream. In the first half of 1951 alone 110 delegations from 28 countries of the world visited the U.S.S.R. This year 40 foreign delegations came to Moscow for the May Day festivities. . . .

"Visits to the national republics of the Soviet Union evoke a feeling of admiration among the foreign guests. Numerous delegations visit the Ukraine, Uzbek, Georgian and Armenian Republics; delegates from the Korean People's Democratic Republic visited the Belorussian Republic and Indian cultural figures toured the Kazakh Republic. During these trips the foreign guests saw with their own eyes how the national question has been brilliantly solved in the Soviet Union on the basis of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin, how formerly backward peoples, with the fraternal assistance of the Russian people, did away with their economic and cultural backwardness in a short period and are now building communism in a harmonious family of nations enjoying equal rights. . . .

"Appraising the role and importance of foreign delegations, Comrade Stalin said: 'We do not need any special propaganda either in the West or in the East after the workers' delegations themselves come to us, learn about our institutions and spread the news of our institutions throughout the countries of the West. . . . We do not need any special propaganda in the East when we know that our entire state system revolves on the basis of fraternal cooperation among the peoples of the most diverse nationalities of our country. Any Chinese, any Egyptian, any Italian who comes to our country and spends six months in it has the opportunity of finding out for himself that our country is the only country which understands the soul of the down-trodden peoples and is able to establish cooperation between the proletarians of a former dominating nationality and the proletarians of former oppressed nationalities.' "

7. The State Department's opinion about the nationality problem in the Soviet Union, with all the consequences resulting for foreign politics, was certainly influenced by distinguished scholars and advisors. From the publication of the State Department: Post War Foreign Policy

Preparation, 1939-45 we are learning who is responsible for its planning. On page 726 are listed: Alger Hiss, H. Julian Wadleigh, Harry Dexter White, Laurence Duggan, Henry Wallace (two Russian-born experts: Leo Pasvolosky and Louis Bean—the Russians are usually prejudiced regarding the non-Russian peoples), so we must question the objectivity of the American experts mentioned.

8. Russian and Communist Propaganda Labels, Semantics and Statistics, Confusing the Soviet Nationality Problem in the U.S.A.

There is no other point to which Russian Communism has devoted more attention than to the nationality question. Not only is American public opinion constantly bombarded with such positive statements as that "no such problem exists in the Soviet Union," that "no nationality desires self-determination," that the Soviet Union is "a voluntary Union of equal nations." The Russian Communist propaganda directly or indirectly attempts by "negative and preventive labels and slogans" completely to confuse American public opinion about the truth in the Soviet Union by such "definitions" such as: "self-determination is Balkanization" (hiding the fact that the non-Russian nationalities in Europe aspire to membership in the future United States of Europe and wish to contribute to European economic reconstruction instead of being exploited by Soviet Moscow for the Russian imperialistic drive in Asia), "self-determination is tribalism" (thus the American act of independence is tribalism for the Russian mentality), "self-determination is fascism, reaction, etc." (concealing the fact that modern freedom is constant self-determination and democracy without self-determination is inconceivable). Of course the "Promethean Movement" is "English Imperialism" or "Fascism" or "Wallstreetism," etc. This smearing of the self-determination principle is happening at the very time of the reconstruction of Israel and is surely a part of the new Soviet anti-Semitism.

The Pinkos have scored one great success in this matter. They have falsified the historical facts between the years 1917 and 1924, about the struggle of the non-Russian nationalities against Communist Russia. The "official Soviet version" of these events was introduced as objective historical truth into American encyclopedias and historical works, that is such "truth" as the "official Soviet version" allows about the present events in Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia.

The national problem in the Soviet Union is closely connected with the linguistic, philological, literary, and economic fields. What Russian Communism did in these fields of activity in the non-Russian nationalities is declared taboo in the U.S.A. Critical remarks are permitted only about Russian biology, music, painting, occasionally literature, and general Marxist theories. What occurred among the non-Russian nationalities is passed over in silence by the Pinkos. In all other countries the specialists in Slavistics feel it a duty to comment publicly on all developments and to discuss them at scholarly meetings. Not so

in the U.S.A. The Pinkos suppressed and withheld all information from the American scholars about the linguistic theory of Marr and its practical application to the non-Russian peoples, about all the persecution and Russification of the non-Russians, of their languages and literatures, about the ideology of the opposition against Russian Communism, about the real aims of the Russian nationality policy: the annihilation of the non-Russian languages and nations.

The newest Russian weapon in the war against the non-Russian peoples is the semantic "terminology" trick started by Russian menshevik-imperialists in the U.S.A. They attempt to give the whole nationality problem a new façade in the U.S.A., because the façade of the "voluntary federation of equal nations" is already rather threadbare. The new façade is: Russians are the "majority" but the non-Russian nationalities, demanding self-determination, are the "minorities" (this "minority" term was introduced, as we mentioned, by the Communists into American terminology). Consequently the majority has to decide. I always admire the ingenuity of the Russian "democrats" in their "inventions" of new "democratic slogans" for the preservation of the Russian Red Empire and for depriving the non-Russian nationalities of their legitimate and inalienable rights.

But "Russian bolshevik semantics," like the "Russian menshevik semantics," are a fraud. The Russian mensheviks now propagating the term "minority" overestimate the naïveté of the Americans. They have learned much the hard way in the last years, and this semantic trick will boomerang:

a) The Russians according to Lenin were a real minority* in old Tsaristic Russia, but have now become a majority. How did this come about? Did the non-Russian nationalities stop reproducing themselves in their apparently "equal" national republics in the Soviet Union? Since when have the Russian mensheviks such confidence in the objectivity of the statistics of the Russian bolsheviks? Did they forget how Dallin himself evaluated Soviet Statistics?*

b) But let us accept the fact that the Russians are now a majority. Would their majority not represent an international problem? Because only by genocide could such a majority be achieved. The Russians themselves are accusing by such a terminology Soviet Moscow of genocide of the non-Russian nationalities. This international crime must be penalized by the UN and the International Tribunal. And a crime demands not only a punishment but a restitution of rights. Or are the Russian mensheviks and democrats already claiming the Russian Communist heritage with the successes of genocide as their future "Russian democratic heritage"? As we see, the Russian mensheviks and democrats already regard the doubtful achievements of Russification conducted

*Cf. M. Chekalin, The National Question in the Soviet Union (New York: Workers Library Publishers, 1941), p. 3: "In Tsarist Russia the Russians constituted 43 per cent of the total population, i.e., a minority while the non-Russian nationalities constituted 57 per cent."

**The Real Soviet Russia, p. 129.

by the Russian Communists as "lawful property of the Russian nation," in the same way as the Russian Communists claimed as their heritage the successes of the Russification by the Tsar in the territories of non-Russian nationalities.

But we can be grateful to Russian mensheviks, who thus reveal their moral approach to the genocides of their twin brothers, the Russian Communists.

c) But to anyone acquainted with the real facts it is clear that the non-Russian nationalities in their national republics constitute, in spite of a quarter of a century of Communist Russification, overwhelming majorities in their territories; that all the non-Russian peoples, until now included against their will in the Russian Federated Socialist Republic, also are majorities in their native territories, and—I am absolutely certain—that millions of "Russians," who are now forced to declare themselves "Russians," or are automatically counted in Siberia as "Russians," will after the downfall of Russian terror, greatly surprise their oppressors, just as did the Jewish Frankists upon whom Christianity was forced in Spain.

The Russian democrats again demonstrate by their semantic tricks a complete absence of moral responsibility. They apparently have not learned, even in the U.S.A., that honesty and respect for the rights of non-Russians is the best policy.

All points heretofore mentioned contributed to a tremendous victory of Russian Communist propaganda in the U.S.A. At the very time that Soviet Moscow uses nationalism in Europe, Asia, Africa, and even in the U.S.A. (among the Negroes and Slavs) as a weapon against democracy,* George F. Kennan acts as a fireman against the nationalism of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union, which are fighting for democracy against the Russian dictatorship, and attempts to extinguish with "cold-water articles" the fire inside the Soviet Union—a singular effort in the cold war of ideas and the American struggle for the moral leadership of the free world.

d) Pan-Slavism,** in fact Pan-Russianism, camouflaged as idealistic and messianistic Pan-Slavism, includes the following: Soviet Moscow, "Russia," is the "big brother" recognized and beloved by all Slavic nations, as the "leader" of the Slavic world; Russia has realized "the centuries-old dream" of all Slavic nations "the Slavic unity," the "Slavic

*Cf. the speech of G. M. Malenkov, December 9, 1949, before the Moscow Soviet. "The victory of Chinese democracy opens a new page in the history of not only the Chinese people, but all peoples of Asia oppressed by the imperialists. The national liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia, of the Pacific, of the entire colonial world, has risen to a new and considerably higher stage."

**From the numerous literature we mention: Lednicki, V., Pan-slavism in F. Gross's European Ideologies, New York. Clementis, V., "Panslavism" Past and Present, London, 1943. Beněš, E., Uvahy o Slovanstvi, Praha, 1947. Mousset, A., The World of the Slavs, New York, 1950.

Empire," which began the "Slavic century, leading all humanity." Consequently Russia is virtually "the Slavic world," her language is "the" Slavic language, some of its teachers therefore automatically accept in the U.S.A. the titles "professors in Slavic."

Thus Comparative Slavic Philology, which is taught by special chairs in European universities, like Romance, Germanic, Celtic, Semitic, Comparative Philology, became in the U.S.A. virtually Russian Philology. All research of the other Slavic languages and literatures is, in comparison with Russian, completely neglected. (Only within the last year or two have there begun, under the influence of the revolutionary fermentation in the non-Russian countries, some minimal changes.) This Pan-Russian line in American Slavistics ran parallel with the Communist propaganda in favor of Russian as "the international language of world proletariat," as "the language of socialism" and "the language of the future." It is very characteristic that Russian had to be forced on all satellite countries, on their universities and schools, but all the leading U.S. universities voluntarily accepted this line as mandatory.

This line of the great Eastern universities practically eliminated Comparative Slavic Philology and the teaching of other Slavic languages from smaller universities and colleges, and in effect converted the American universities and colleges into Berlitz schools of elementary and advanced Russian.* Even the Americans of Slavic, non-Russian descent, who have some knowledge of their non-Russian Slavic original mother languages and wish during their college studies to use this knowledge for credits, are thus forced to study Russian and to become Russified.

This Pan-Russian-Pan-Slavic point of view is also dominant in history and literature. In histories of "Russia," the history of the struggle of the non-Russian nationalities against Russia, especially of the Slavic nations, Poland, Ukraine, Byelo-Ruthenia, is completely ignored or misrepresented. In literature courses there is systematically fostered an uncritical approach to all Russian writers and their works, and the presentation of Russian literature in the universities is in reality "Russia worship." Russian writers are the only "seers" and "prophets" of humanity, compared with whom the writers of other Slavic and non-Slavic nations are pygmies. Any professor of Russian literature who would have the courage to mention that Dostoyewsky was a hater of France, of Socialism and Democracy, an adorer of Prussia, of Bismarck's "blood and iron" policy, an intolerant hater of the Catholic Church would be immediately branded as "a Russian hater" or a "politician" and would soon be "liquidated." To present the attitudes of Pushkin, Nekrasov, etc., toward the non-Russian peoples and the basic problem of human liberty would not be tolerated.

This Communist Pan-Russianism-Pan-Slavism is strangely connected with the Eurasianic doctrine and these doctrines are used by

*According to A. P. Coleman, A Report on the Status of Russian . . . in the Educational Institutions of the U.S.A., 1948. 160 colleges and universities taught Russian.

Communist propaganda for their mutual strengthening. C. R. Jurgela* rightly says:

"Simultaneously, strange as it may seem, a new 'Eurasian school of thinking' rapidly developed in the Soviet Union and penetrated into Russian White emigree circles, supplementing the old Slavo-phile idea. This school considers that the roots of future Russian happiness and greatness lie in Asia, especially in Central-Southern Asia. Of course, a preliminary 'reunion' of all Western and Southern Slav peoples with 'Mother Russia' is considered by them to be a pre-requisite."

Thus was formed a political Pan-Russian-Pan-Slavic ideology, which has many aspects and far-reaching consequences in the field of the interpretation of history and current affairs. This ideology directly and indirectly penetrated the American universities and is the most effective ideological weapon used by Russian Communism, for the subversive actions in the U.S.A. not only for the undermining of the U.S.A. by Pan-Russian sympathies among all Americans of Slavic extraction, especially among the working class, but also for the active combating of any moral support which is given by these Americans to the fight for liberty of their native peoples in the Soviet Union.**

The present staffs of American universities, with rather few exceptions, never dare to treat Stalin's Pan-Russianism in Pan-Slavic form on the same level as Hitler's Pan-Germanism; never dare to criticize this ideological monstrosity, garnished with the pretended "liberation

*History of the Lithuanian Nation, New York, 1948, p. 359.

**Cf. Walter Dushnyck, "Stalin's Pan-Slavism in the U.S.A.," Ukrainian Weekly, No. 30, 1948. Regarding Canada cf. Watson Kirkconnell, A Tale of Seven Cities, Ontario, 1948.

Pan-Slavism reached through the Communist Pan-Slavist, Louis Adamic, even the White House during the war. Adamic's ideology is presented by Bogdan Raditsa in the December issue, The American Mercury, 1951:

"By the end of 1942 Adamic was the leading force in the organization of the United Committee of South Slav Americans, a front organization--in which the Communist Party, as we later discovered, was in real control. At that time he repeated again and again that Yugoslavia had to become part of the Soviet Union. 'They want to go the Russian way and Russia-ward.'

"The American Communists of Yugoslav descent distributed Adamic's books everywhere as their most effective propaganda. His books were sold to immigrants who did not even know how to read them. He addressed meetings at which few understood the language in which he talked. But the fanatic Communists translated Adamic's thinking into such simply-understood slogans as this: 'You are going, you Slavs, to lead the world! Not only in Europe, but even here in this country--thanks to Russia. The American Slavs will become the leading group, the new upper crust.' "

of workers and peasants of the world"—"avant-garde of humanity." They fail in their classrooms to exhibit in its true colors this ideology as the blackest and most reactionary movement of modern times. It would create an uproar among the Pinkos, if somebody would write a "History of Modern Russia From the Point of View of the Ideas of the American Declaration of Independence," and discover in the old and new Russian prison of nationalities a continuous fight for these ideas, conducted by the non-Russian nationalities, against the Russian divine-right absolutism and the Marxist-Leninist-right absolutism. It is "forbidden" in American universities to look at "Russia" or the Soviet Union through American glasses, they must be "Muscovite." The American values of liberty are limited according to the Monroe Doctrine to the American continent, and for the Russian Empire there is established a "Russian-Pan-Slavic-Eurasianic set of values," which is sold to visionary Americans as "progress towards humanity."

R. Jacobson, when Hitler began his operations toward Eastern Europe by destroying Czechoslovakia, did not return to the country, where there was in progress the progressive "language-construction program," so masterly propagandized by him in Western Europe. The brothers finally landed in the U.S.A., and R. Jacobson turned his special attention to Pan-Slavism:

(1) Moudrost Starych Čechu (New York, 1943) is a masterpiece of the then revived Pan-Slavism in Moscow. This book (with quotations from the Soviet propagandists, Tarle and Erenburg) has contributed much in the U.S.A. to the uncritical exaltation of "Soviet Russia" among the Americans of Czech descent and ideologically paved the way for the swallowing of Czechoslovakia by her "protector."

(2) Jacobson's program for American Slavistics regarding the "Tasks and Aims of Comparative Slavic Literature"* is rather peculiar:

"The belles-lettres of the various Slavic peoples show many common structural features due to the mutual propinquity of the Slavic languages. The skeptical attitude to comparative Slavic literature is historically justified but obsolete. Different aspects of comparative study: common Slavic poetic heritage in the oral tradition of Slavs; the old Church Slavonic trend as an attempt toward a common Slavic literature; convergences and divergences in the development both of language and of poetic art among the Slavic peoples; similarities in the adaptation of world trends by Slavic literatures; the inter-Slavic literary exchange favored by the affinity of languages; the interpenetration of folklore and its rôle for the development of Slavic literatures. The Panslavic current in Slavic literatures."

Thus we see that "the Pan-Slavic current"—we stress Pan-Slavic not Slavophile—tops a whole program of Pan-Slavic literary ideology, which is now quite common in Soviet research. Can Jacobson's program constitute a basis for Slavic research in the free world? In what

*Program of the Sixty-Third Annual Meeting of the P.M.L.A., December, 1949.

points does this program differ from the program at present applied in the U.S.S.R.? Why are all the problems which cannot now be discussed in the Soviet Union, such as the questions of the West and East, the literatures of the exterminated peasants and the world outlook of their great writers, the contributions of the Slavic women, the conception of freedom and the manifold other topics, investigated in the comparative literatures of other linguistic groups, excluded from this program? Is this to be the contribution of the free world to free Slavic research? Or is it a subordination of free American research to a Soviet program with a Pan-Slavic bias?

(3) Pan-Slavism is at present the favorite instrument of Soviet Moscow in the fight against the "separatist" aspirations of the Slavic nationalities. Jacobson gave it his special attention also in the review of the Harvard Handbook of Slavic Studies (Saturday Review of Literature, June 11, 1949, p. 40): "A Handbook of Slavic studies cannot be confined to a simple juxtaposition of historic and literary surveys of the separate Slavic peoples, but must pay special attention to the inter-Slavic problems, i. e., to the common Slavic patrimony, to the cultural inter-relations of these peoples, and to the history of Pan-Slavic ideology." We emphasize the fact that in this sentence it is not Slavophile, but Pan-Slavic that stands out prominently and the difference between the two terms is well known to Jacobson. This present interest in Pan-Slavism shown by R. Jacobson behind which hides the old Pan-Russianism is backed by Jacobson's authority in the U.S.A. as a great Russian scholar of the rank of Vinogradoff, Rostovtzeff, Vasiliev, Karpovich, Vernadsky, "once persecuted and exiled by the Russian Communists." Thus Roman Jacobson, who never was a university professor in old Russia, and went outside the Soviet Union first class as press attaché of the Soviet Mission to Prague, succeeded in getting the following contribution for his biography in Toward a Russian Policy by R. Gordon Wasson (Stanford, Conn.: The Overbook Press, 1951), p. 13: "The Russian universities were on the highest level of excellence, and here again many distinguished Russian professors driven into exile, men like Vinogradoff, Rostovtzeff, Vasiliev, Karpovich, Vernadsky, Jacobson, have enriched the faculties of Oxford and Cambridge, and Harvard and Yale, and other universities." (Jacobson got his Ph.D. in the German University in Prague and was then teacher of Russian.)

But the truth about Pan-Russianism cannot be disguised, and the book of Thomas A. Bailey (Stanford University), American Faces Russia, is the first swallow of spring, the first evidence that Americans began to oppose the principles of the old and new Russian political propaganda.

e) "Proto-Russian unity": This political conception of the old Tsarist Russian philology supplements the former tenets but its usefulness is rather limited at present. This conception attempts artificially to establish, within the Slavic family of languages, a special relationship between the Eastern Slavic languages (Byelo-Ruthenian, Russian, Ukrainian) claiming that they developed from a special "Eastern-Slavic proto-language," which the Russians, of course, immediately call "proto-Russian." The political aim of this conception is obvious: The

Russian politicians at least attempt to uphold their cultural imperialism with such doctrine, in order to draw from it the following consequences: (a) the Eastern Slavic nations have inside the Slavic family a common origin, consequently a common culture, and they should have a common State; (b) therefore the demands of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians for self-determination must be denied; (c) the Russian Tsarist philologists also devised a special point of knowledge in order to justify the persecutions of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian languages. They taught that Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian are dialects of Russian, and that therefore Russian is to be regarded as their "literary language." Consequently the Russian language is to be enforced, but the free use of Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian must be "verboten." At present the last point, for "democratic" reasons, is not often used, especially in view of the existence of "national republics" in the Soviet Union, but the first two are still propagated by R. Jacobson and the Eurasians. In 1949, the Department of Slavic languages in Columbia University published, under a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation, a translation of the pamphlet of Nikolai Trubetzkoy, "The Common Slavic Element in Russian Culture." Trubetzkoy, when sober, was quite a good linguist, but he was seldom sober. And in his drunkenness he wrote many of his "Eurasian sermons" in which the Russian language is the center of his "Eurasia." It is a sad fact that American Slavistics (even without a Grammar of Old Bulgarian published) wastes time and money for the translation of such Pan-Russian-Eurasian propaganda literature. Here are some quotations from this pamphlet, which will characterize the scientific objectivity and logic of Trubetzkoy:

"The dialects into which Proto-Slavic disintegrated formed three groups: the Southern Slavic, the Western Slavic and the Eastern Slavic, or Russian. The Russian or Eastern Slavic group includes three dialects great Russian, Byelo-Russian and Ukrainian. . . . All Eastern Slavic tongues are descendents of one and the same dialect of the Proto-Slavic language, a dialect which may be designated as 'Common Proto-Russian.' This Common Russian language disintegrated, i.e., ceased to be a single entity in linguistic evolution between the middle of the twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth centuries (it is impossible to place such a phenomenon within exact dates)" (pp. 4-5).

This is the old dogma of Russian Tsaristic philology in Trubetzkoy's formulation, proclaimed also a dogma since 1928 in Russian Soviet philology.*

Trubetzkoy has a special attitude to the Ukrainian literary language which has "disintegrated" his Russian or Eastern Slavic (note the terminology) unity:

*Kalynovych in the preface to the Russian-Ukrainian Dictionary (1947) states: "(Ukrainian) deriving from one, Eastern-Slavic root, expressing and demonstrating the friendship and brotherly connection of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples from primitive times, the languages of which in the course of centuries developed in mutual union and unity."

"The differences between the three Eastern Slavic dialects are, consequently, neither very wide nor of very old origin. But even if differences between Great Russian and Ukrainian were older and more profound than they actually are, it would by no means follow that they call for the creation of an Ukrainian literary language distinct from Russian. . . . The differences in these three principal Eastern Slavic dialects are no older than the twelfth century. . . .

"Thus it was not linguistically necessary to create a separate Ukrainian literary language. All the East Slavs (Great-Russians, Ukrainians and Byelo-Russians) could well have limited themselves to the use of a single literary language. . . .

"Nevertheless, a new Ukrainian literary language did arise. It arose at the end of the eighteenth century, without any kind of genetic connection with the extinct West Russian literary language.*. . . The greatest of Ukrainian poets, Taras Shevchenko, reproduces in most of his works the spirit and the style of Ukrainian folk poetry, and in his case too, genre and content motivate the use of the popular spoken language. In these poetical works, as well as in the prose narratives of the better Ukrainian authors which deal with peasant life, the language is deliberately popular, deliberately non-literary. Writing in this genre, an author consciously limits himself to a sphere of images and concepts for which the lexical material of artless folk language provides adequate means of expression; he chooses a theme which for its adequate treatment, does not require any additions to the actual vocabulary of the living popular vernacular. There is no doubt that this genre demands much stylistic skill on the part of the author. But it is a limited genre and literature cannot be confined to it, nor can it serve as a basis for the development of a true literary language. A literary language must possess adequate means for the expression of concepts or shades of thought which are alien to the thinking of the uneducated popular masses and for that very reason it is obvious that the popular language must lack the means necessary to express such concepts.

"The literary language of the majority of educated Ukrainians was the Russian literary language. This, of course, by no means excluded the use of purely popular Ukrainian in works of a certain literary genre in which the author, himself belonging to the intelligentsia, deliberately limits his outlook to that of an uneducated person. . . . But a certain part of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was not content with a language fit to be used only in a limited literary genre and wanted to take popular Ukrainian as a basis for the creation of a true literary language capable of becoming the tool of intellectual culture to be used by all the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Essentially, there was nothing unnatural in this aspiration toward a national literary language. But in the attainment of this goal, there were certain data in the linguistic reality which should have been considered. Such a reality was the Russian literary language created, as we have seen, through the organic historical process of the

*Misleading Russian term for the Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian old Church Slavic language.

gradual Russification of Church-Slavonic. . . . This repudiation of the Church Slavonic Ukrainian tradition, inasmuch as the introduction of Church Slavonic into Russian and the preservation of the purity of the Church Slavonic language in Russia is most closely connected with Ukraine. Even in the pre-Mongolian period, Kiev, most of all, was concerned with the purity of Church Slavonic. . . . Kiev, likewise, set the phonetic standards for all other provinces. . . . Later, at the time of Polish domination and of the struggle against the union with Rome, Kiev once more played the part of the center where the Church Slavonic tradition was . . . preserved. . . . Until the time of Lomonosov, all literate Russians (and even non-Russian orthodox Slavs) studied Church Slavonic in the Grammar of the Ukrainian scholar Meletij Smotricky. . . . The extension of the use of Church Slavonic to purely secular literature, also originated in Kiev. . . . Russian drama and comedy also found their origin in the 'interludes' performed in Church Slavonic by the students of Ukrainian seminaries.

"Thus, the entire tradition of using Church Slavonic as a language of secular literature, as well as the forms in which it was thus used, were established in the Ukraine. Russian literature from the time of Peter the Great must be considered as a continuation of the Church Slavonic literature in Western Russia (mainly the Ukraine) of the seventeenth century; Russian literature of the eighteenth century had no connection with the specifically Great-Russian, Muscovite literature of the period before Peter I. (The same relationship may be observed in other fields of culture, in particular in music and painting. Thus, Russian portrait painting of the eighteenth century has nothing in common with Great Russian icon painting of pre-Peter the Great times; it was genetically connected with Ukrainian icon painting of the seventeenth century. The Ukrainization of Great Russian culture began during the reign of Aleksej Mikhailovich--it will suffice to recall the role of the Kievans in the reform of Patriarch Nikon--and opened the road to Europeanization. This circumstance is extremely important because without this link of Ukrainian influence, Europeanism could hardly have taken root on Russian soil.)

"Consequently, in its Church Slavonic element, the Russian literary language belongs to the Ukrainian domain even more than it does to the Great Russian. But it is precisely this natural resemblance to the Russian literary language that was undesirable for those members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia who advocated the creation of an independent Ukrainian literary language. They refused to follow that natural path which would have led to the creation of a literary language of their own and broke away not only from the Great Russian, but also from the Church Slavonic literary-linguistic tradition, deciding to develop a literary language based entirely on the popular vernacular, with as little resemblance to Russian as possible. But the popular vocabulary was inadequate for the expression of all those shades of thought which a literary language must be able to express; the syntactic structure of the popular language was too clumsy to satisfy even the most elementary requirements of literary stylistics. It became necessary, therefore, to

adhere to some existing literary linguistic tradition, sufficiently polished and refined. But since the Russian tradition was to be avoided, there remained the tradition of the Polish literary language. And indeed, except for the populist literary genre referred to above, the Ukrainian literary language of the present day abounds in borrowings from the Polish. This development in the history of the Ukrainian literary language seems to have resulted in its joining the group of literary languages of the Western-Slavic (Czech-Polish) tradition" (pp. 28-34).

Marr with his linguistic theory inside the Soviet Union and Trubetzkoy with his teachings, merging together Pan-Russianism with Pan-Slavism and Eurasianism, outside the Soviet Union were the two ideological pillars of Soviet Moscow in the new Russification after 1928, especially with respect to the Ukrainian language. Besides the semantic tricks (Russian—Eastern Slavic, West Russian—Old Ruthenian Church Slavic, Lithuanian-Russian State—Lithuanian-Ruthenian State, etc.), Trubetzkoy's opinions are based on a rather superficial knowledge of the Ukrainian language and literature, often on ignorance. Acknowledging the paramount importance of the Ukrainian influences on the partial Europeanization of Muscovy-Russia, Trubetzkoy has not understood the fate of the Church-Slavic language in the Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, and Muscovite territories, operating with "a fiction of unity" of the Church Slavic, where in reality no unity existed, especially in pronunciation, even in vocabulary. Such a conception of a literary language is always based on some dictatorial power of the State, determining norms and developing a language of the intellectual elite. The worship of this State-literary language is then a part of the respect for the State by the masses. The Ukrainian conception was and is quite democratic. It upholds the idea that the people should create their national language, which will serve the masses who use it as a perfect medium of communication and artistic expression. Its norms are not static, but move with the changes in the language of the masses, because life is change. Consequently, we regard the complete vernacularization of the Ukrainian literary language as a very important achievement of the intellectual development of the masses, which had lost the knowledge of many Church Slavic words and constructions. The vernacularization of the old Ukrainian Church Slavic literary languages was the only "natural path" for its modernization; and this process, unknown to Trubetzkoy, continued for centuries. Completely false are Trubetzkoy's opinions about the lack of "adequate means for the expression of thought" by the vernacular of "the uneducated popular masses"; French, German, English, classic literature is translated into Ukrainian even in the Soviet Ukraine. This contempt for the "uneducated popular masses" is a specific part of the Russian megalomania. The uneducated masses of Tibet developed a psychological terminology of such refinement that the translators into English faced insurmountable difficulties.* On the other hand the works

*W. Y. Evans-Wentz, The Tibetan Book of the Dead, Oxford University Press, 1949.

of Franko, Lesya Ukrainka, Shevchenko, Kotsyubynsky are translated into Russian in a way in which the Ukrainian shades of their West European thoughts were not adequately expressed. Trubetzkoy is completely mistaken, when he accuses the Ukrainians of borrowing from Polish, for he cannot grasp the facts that the Ukraine belonged through the Rus' Empire and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to the Western European cultural sphere from the very beginning, the Western Slavic World and Ukraine mutually influenced each another. For a Russian any difference between Ukrainian and Russian is "Polish." Neither is it true that "the literary language of the majority of educated Ukrainians was the Russian literary language."

Trubetzkoy is a good example of how a "true Russian" scholar works and how in his mind apparently scientific conceptions are interconnected with gradually larger conceptions until the "Russian world mission" is "scientifically proven." He is a real vozhd of the Russian cultural imperialism. Starting with the "Proto-Russian unity," he develops alongside it the conception that "the old Church Slavonic language came into being at the end of the epoch of Proto-Slavic unity." Therefore "Old Church Slavonic was potentially a common Slavic literary language" (p. 34)—which the Russian got through Ukrainian mediation. On this basis he develops the conception:

"of all the modern Slavic literary languages, Russian has the longest uninterrupted tradition. This continuity of tradition goes back to Old Church Slavonic, i.e., to the Common-Slavic literary language of the end of the Proto-Slavic unity. This hereditary connection with the age-old tradition of a literary language lends many advantages to the Russian language" (p. 37).

The Pan-Slavic role of literary Russian is thus built up by Trubetzkoy and then he presents the final conception, Russian as the Eurasiatic literary language.

But a critical investigation of this pyramid of conceptions proves their true origin to be Russian imperialism.

(1) The facts of objective Slavistics are clear: all the Slavic languages are derived directly from the Proto-Slavic languages. Neither a Western Proto-Slavic, nor a Southern Proto-Slavic or Eastern Proto-Slavic language ever existed. All Slavic languages developed from dialectal differentiations of the Proto-Slavic language or tendencies in that direction. The differences between Ukrainian and Russian are manifest from the very beginning in the use of script and surely go back to the origins. Slavistics has no need (except the need required by Pan-Russian politics) to construct a dialectless "Eastern Proto-Slavic language" and to call it, as Trubetzkoy does, Russian.

(2) It is surely a mistake of Trubetzkoy to date the end of the "Proto-Slavic unity" with the developing of the Old Church Slavonic language in the ninth century. He dates it so late in order to construct the "potentially common Slavic literary language" which the Russians are to inherit later. In reality the Proto-Slavic unity came to an end in the fifth century with the migrations of nations in Europe, if not earlier.

(3) Trubetzkoy was the first to construct the conception of the "potentiality" of Old Church Slavonic as "the common literary Slavic language." This theoretical assumption he used later as a real fact to support the claim that "of all modern Slavic literary languages Russian has the longest uninterrupted tradition"—from the end of the Proto-Slavic unity. Thus the Pan-Slavic Russian literary language is born—with a "Eurasian radiation."

Harvard was a shrine of the "Russian unity" and Prof. S. Hazzard Cross* preached: ". . . These three groups are none the less parts of the same nation, so that either a White Russian [Byelo-Russian] or a Ukrainian [he] is precisely as much a Russian as the purest Great Russian born in the shadow of the Kremlin."

This conception is supported by R. Jacobson in his quite objectionable method of philology. The book of two leading scholars, the late academician St. Smal-Stocki, of Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev, and of the late distinguished scholar of Romance philology, Th. Gartner, University of Innsbruck, Austria, who refuted this conception in their book: Grammatik der Ruthenischen-Ukrainischen Sprache, Vienna, 1913, is "purged" from the bibliography of the booklet of R. Jacobson, "Slavic Languages," Columbia University, Department of Slavic Languages, edited under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation in the first and second printing, 1950. Compare with this method the fact that the American scholar A. Senn, University of Pennsylvania, an internationally recognized authority in Balto-Slavic linguistics, in the Harvard Handbook of Slavic Studies, gives this book the first place in the list.

R. Jacobson defends this view also in the field of history of literature. After 1941 Soviet Moscow began to exploit the famous Tale of Prince Ihor (which is surely of Ukrainian origin and in its ideas and form a monument of Western European spirit) for the purpose of proving the "unity of the Russian territory." (Characteristic of this kind of philology is the preface of Prof. M. K. Hrunsky to the Ukrainian edition by M. Rylsky, Kiev, 1941. Of course it is treated according to the party line as a monument of common "Russian" literature and its author is asked to rise from the grave in order "to sing of the powerful Red Army, its iron marshal and great vozhd of all workers, our beloved friend and teacher, comrade Stalin.") R. Jacobson treats the monument also directly as a monument of "Russian literature" in his edition. He "purged" every statement about its Ukrainian origin, and included in the edition a translation into Polish by the Communist writer, Tuwim. Let us sum up:

Behind this conception of "Eastern Slavic Unity"—by semantic tricks proclaimed for political aims as the, "Russian unity"—is hidden a whole "calculation" of Russian Communism, supported by Russian chauvinism.

The calculation runs thus: If we Russians succeed in enforcing this dogma, then the "Russian group" will dominate the whole Slavic world both in number and extent of territory. But if the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians are separate nations and they get "permission" to join the

*Slavic Civilization through the Ages, 1948, p. 51.

Western Slavic culture—Russian supremacy is doomed. Consequently, Russification of the Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians is the basic demand of Russian Pan-Slavic imperialism for reaching numerical supremacy over the Western and Southern Slavs on the one hand, and on the other only the formation of this “Eastern Slavic (Russian) unity” and the use of Ukrainian and Byelo-Ruthenian intelligentsia for “Russian aims” in the Soviet Union will make it possible for Soviet Moscow to dominate her Eurasianic Lebensraum and its sphere of influence. The Ukrainians and Byelo-Ruthenians are tempted to become junior partners of Russian imperialism and to that aim Stalin introduced them into the UN.

Thus we see Russian imperialism is advancing in cycles. The first is the attainment of “Eastern-Slavic”-Russian unity, the second that of “Pan-Slavic unity,” which is being enforced also as “Russian Orthodox Church Unity” by the Patriarch of Moscow (liquidating gradually the Catholic Slavic Churches); the third has to do with the “Eurasianic unity”—with elastic frontiers—which finally will embrace all Europe and Asia (with the later addition of Africa). We see here once more how all these stages and their conceptions are interconnected and how any such conception has for its background one single propagandistic aim and that is to strengthen the basic idea of Russian Communist propaganda: the “unity and indivisibility of the Soviet Union.”

f) The creation of terminological confusion in the American language. Lenin’s advice: “Confuse your enemies,” is in the terminological sphere carried out to perfection by the Pinkos in the U.S.A. Usually the university professors are responsible for a clear-cut terminology for scientific purposes, which then is also accepted by the general public. In the Slavic field quite the opposite happened; the responsible professors not only are not interested in a scientific terminology,* but they desire a systematic confusion. As an example, here is what happened with the meaning of the term Russian—Russia in the American language. This single word has at this time the following meanings:

- (1) Russia—Soviet Union;
- (2) Russia—Russian Federated Socialist Republic;
- (3) Russia—in the ethnographic sense, exclusive of all the non-Russian peoples now included in the Russian Federated Socialist Republic.
- (4) Russia—a “Russian group” Russia, Byelo-Ruthenia and Ukraine - Eastern Slavic.
- (5) Russia—Russian influence sphere, including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Baltic States.
- (6) Russia—Rus’, the old Kievan Empire.**
- (7) Ancient Russia—a rather unclear Eurasianic idea.

Not only the common man, but students in universities must work weeks to get the necessary background in order to understand the substance of his instructor’s lecture.

*Cf. Roman Smal-Stocki, “The Scientific Terminology of the Modern Language Association of America,” Ukrainian Bulletin, Vol. III, Nr. 12.

**Geoffrey Chaucer used for the Kievan Rus’ an excellent term: Ruce which is nearest in sound to the native word.

g) The aim of all conceptions.

Let us now look at the ultimate purpose of all these principles and calculations so vociferously preached by the "liberals," the Pinkos, and the whole Communist press in the U.S.A. The chief aim of these "scientific" conceptions, all of which include political, cultural, and economic superstructures, is to establish in the American universities and public opinion:

(1) The dogmas of the "unity and indivisibility" of the Russian Soviet Lebensraum and of the necessity of a Russian dictatorship as "natural law";

(2) The dogma of the necessity of refusing self-determination to non-Russian annexed nationalities;

(3) The dogma of Pan-Slavic unity including the Soviet Russian domination of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia;

(4) The dogma of nonresistance to "Russia's advance toward her natural borders";

(5) The dogma that Russian Communism represents the full fruition of the ideas of the American revolution.

Thus the only weapon that could and can defeat Soviet Moscow's imperialism, the national revolutionary ideas of the oppressed nationalities, is "checkmated" in the U.S.A. by the Soviet propaganda and the Pinkos, and all moral influences emanating from the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence, of Wilson's Principles, of the Atlantic Charter, have been eliminated. Thus was the American foreign policy kept in the dark by Soviet propaganda and by the Pinkos in relation to the real facts and aims of Russian Communism, and thus the foreign policy of the cradle of self-determination of nationalities became subordinate to the interests of Russian imperialism and the preservation of the U.S.S.R. prison of nationalities. Thus was American Slavistics and the education of the American youth subjected to a process of intellectual Russification.

9. The Direct and Indirect Allies of Russian Communist Propaganda and Their Methods in the U.S.A.

The direct allies are those in the American Communist Party, with all its front organizations, all the Communist press in the U.S.A. and Canada, edited in all the languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union, together with the "national" organizations of Pan-Slavic organizations supporting this press,* and the large number of fellow travelers.

The indirect allies are many gullible "liberal" university professors, who are used for the "noble cause of progress" by the specialists of Soviet propaganda. Among the indirect allies the old Russian émigrés occupy the most important place. Every student of the methods employed by Russian Communism is aware of the existence of an ingenious

*Cf. Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, Revised, May 14, 1951, U.S. House of Representatives.

Russian conspiracy within the United States, a conspiracy which has achieved and continues to achieve outstanding successes in every sphere of American life. But the ordinary American, the common man with his direct, open, and straightforward way of thinking, does not even suspect its existence. He is wholly unaware of the systematic way in which the solemnly proclaimed moral principles of American foreign policy are being undermined.

For a truly remarkable performance is being carried out every day in American public life by two well-trained and well-organized teams—the White Russian émigrés on the one hand and the representatives of Red Russia, with all its open and hidden auxiliary organs, on the other. The ball is so artfully hit from one side to the other that no one seems to see that the entire play is a fake, that in reality both teams are fighting a common struggle against a common enemy: the nationalism of the submerged and oppressed non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. And both parties fight with a common basic aim: to deny the non-Russian nationalities the right of self-determination. Let us take a look at these two efficient ball clubs.

After 1920, there was a considerable influx into the United States of White Russians from the former Tsarist Empire. This included a great many of the younger generation of the titled aristocracy, of the old Tsaristic bureaucracy, and a few Russian left-wing “democrats.” Those of the younger generation, especially those with titles, easily established contact with certain levels of American society. Entries into business and science were made as well. Through this “underground work” of social friendship, they occupied, during succeeding decades, many important posts concerned with “Russia” and Eastern Europe in the universities, the press, business, and, after acquiring American citizenship, in many offices of State. This is partner Number 1.

After American recognition of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet Union installed in the U.S.A. its missions, its apparatus for propaganda, whose activities were reinforced during World War II by the millions spent on propaganda by the American government to convince the American people that the Soviet Union is not a Communist dictatorship, but rather a “progressive democracy,” in which the submerged non-Russian peoples enjoy a paradise. And here we have the second partner in the game, the Soviet partner who convinced Americans by systematic propaganda that Soviet Moscow “yearns” for co-operation with the United States!

During 1946 and 1947 came the rude awakening from these illusions. Now, in the “cold war,” in which America of necessity must engage, we find old White Russian émigrés often acting as “experts” in solving American questions of policy with respect to the Soviets. Because of their American citizenship and their knowledge of things Russian these men are officially employed everywhere on the naïve assumption that between these former Tsarist patriots or Russian left-wing democrats and “Red Russia” there exists an impassable barrier of basic ideological differences. Nothing is further from the truth.

In reality the partners disagree only in so far as the desirability of the social system in the Soviet Empire is concerned. But upon the vital

question of Russian nationalistic and imperialistic politics there is full agreement. Both groups form a common front in common action against the basic principles of American foreign policy as expressed in the Atlantic Charter, the Four Freedoms embodied within the Statutes of the UN, the principles proclaimed by President Truman, and, most important, the traditional ideals of a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people," for which ideals the non-Russian peoples oppressed by Soviet Moscow are now fighting.

Both these groups, by the spoken word and the written page, have always defended the "unity and indivisibility of Russia"—meaning the nations contained within the Soviet Union—and they doggedly fight against the right of self-determination of all non-Russian peoples under Soviet Moscow. Both sympathize, as secret "Russian patriots," with the territorial expansion of Moscow and her "Pan-Slavic" achievements, of which the "Tsars could not even dream." And both ridicule always the tragic fate of the Baltic States, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, and hate Catholicism and the Christian denominations of the West.

At the same time that America applauds the British and Dutch actions in granting the right of self-determination to the peoples of their former empires, the American press and officials have been induced through the conspiratorial efforts of these two Russian groups to deny these basic rights to the oppressed non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union in order to preserve the "Russian Empire," that monstrous prison and cemetery of entire nations. Indirectly responsible in no small degree is this Great Russian conspiracy for having thus deprived the United States of the most powerful weapon against Russian Communism: the revolutionary national ideal in Europe and Asia, a weapon which even in Tito's Communist hands is proving to be most effective.

White Russia and Red Russia, in creating within the United States this veritable "Spiritual Soviet-Russian occupation zone," which includes many important posts in universities, in the world of journalism, and in the government bureaucracy, have had the support of American fellow travelers and left-wing enthusiasts, all under the protection of the American Communist Party. Thus these two supposedly antagonistic groups—White and Red Russia—have brought over into our hemisphere the timeless and unchanging attitude of the Kremlin rulers with respect to the non-Russian nationalities. Today this attitude is expressed by the Soviets in their genocide program; for the Tsarist Russians we had the Russian version of the Jim Crow law as propounded by Purishkevich and Krushevan. And their common tactics here are now to discredit utterly the heroic fight of Karelia, the Baltic States, White Ruthenia, the nations of the Caucasus and Turkestan, the Tatars, and the Cossacks and—above all—of Ukraine.

But the infiltration of this pernicious propaganda, the advice given by the "experts," the agitation of fellow travelers, mean more than the doom of the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain. The success of this activity is a direct threat to the moral foundation of American world leadership.

Thus the Russian "democratic and socialist" émigrés in the U.S.A., with few exceptions, have a rather shady record as to the non-Russian nationalities, their individual and national rights. These democrats and socialists, using the hospitality of this country, not only obstinately refuse to be "Americanized" in their political ideas, but they are uniting their efforts to "Russify" the U.S.A.

Here are a few examples of their attitude toward the Russian Communist dictatorship. Mr. A. Kerensky* said: "It is better to have a bad dictator than to cut the live body of Russia," i.e., than to grant liberty to the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union. The leader of the Russian mensheviks, R. Abramovich,** in his article entitled "The Numberation of Enemies," wrote: "They [the bolsheviks] are despots and tyrants, they are dictators and fire-spreaders; they are guilty of all crimes against the people, save one: They did not dismember Russia." The meaning is obvious. Abramovich is ready to condemn the Soviets for their many crimes, but he is gratefully kowtowing before Stalin for not granting self-determination to the non-Russian peoples, because that would mean "the dismemberment of Russia." The theoretical anti-Communism of the Russian Socialists becomes in practice pro-Stalinism. Abramovich's statement is a proof of complete amorality, which can be well evaluated by comparing it with the following sentences published by an American Socialist (Candidate for Governor of Wisconsin) William Osborne Hart, in the Milwaukee Journal, defending Socialism against the accusation of sympathizing with Stalinism:

"Currently, in Russia, thousands of Social Democrats are suffering the horror of the Stalin concentration camps. The most recent deportation decrees in the Soviet Union have been aimed at the final liquidation of the remnant of Socialists in the Baltic region, who at this moment are dying in the slave labor camps of the Soviet Union.

"Truly, when democracy everywhere is threatened, men such as the author of the letter are doing a great disservice to our cause when they attack and misrepresent a movement--socialism--whose supporters here in America and in countries everywhere have never wavered in their loyalty to that precious achievement of man, an achievement purchased over the centuries at great cost, democracy."

The Russian bolsheviks and mensheviks always wavered.

The bestiality and cruelty of Abramovich is the more contemptible since he surely knows the fate of his Socialist comrades of all the non-Russian nationalities. Very peculiar is the case of the White Russian,

*Cf. "Russian Social-Democrats in Their True Light," Ukrainian Bulletin, June 1, 1950. Kerensky plainly writes in his article on Miliukov (Novy Zhurnal, No. V., 1943): "Russia, a geographical backbone of history, should exist in all her strength and power no matter who or how he is ruling her. From this comes his (Miliukov's) testament for us: to be on watchful guard of Russia--no matter what her name is--absolutely, unconditionally, and to the last breath."

**Socialisticheski Vestnik, 1-2, 1950.

Vladimir Kazakevich, who made headlines in the year 1950, as we have mentioned. One possible explanation for his turnabout with respect to the Soviets is that the strength of his Russian nationalism predominated over antipathy against the Soviet regime. Numerous other White Russian émigrés, in fact, have begun to regard Stalin as a super-Russian patriot, in that he has added other Slav territories to those already annexed by the monarchist regime; for them Russia apparently comes first, all other considerations, such as the undesirability of a Communist form of government, second.

The methods employed by the Russian Communist propaganda and its direct and indirect allies against the non-Russian nationalities are manifold:

a) The Pinkos and their direct and indirect allies, in their works, on the one hand completely ignore the existence of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union, and on the other they suppress any book or pamphlet presenting this problem in their book reviews, acting as "specialists" for the Soviet Union.

This "conspiracy of silence" in the American literature and press about the nationality problem in U.S.S.R. is one of the greatest intellectual scandals of our century. We can say that neither in the scientific literature nor in the press have we found put into actual practice the principle so proudly proclaimed as American by the late George Bannerman Dealey: "Build the news upon the rock of truth and righteousness, conduct it always upon the lines of fairness and integrity, acknowledge the right of the people to get from the newspaper both sides of every important question."*

b) The many scholars of the non-Russian nationalities in the U.S.A. are discriminated against in the formation of editorial committees and scientific advisory boards; for them a Jim Crow class is instituted by the Russian "socialists and democrats" and their American friends.

c) To them the right of public discussion is denied (cf. the case with the MLA).

d) The non-Russian scholars are systematically defamed by these Russian politicians and their American allies in professional togas as "politicians, reactionaries, fascists," etc.

e) Since the Pinkos, the Russophiles, and their allies insinuated themselves into many key positions, their "recommendations" are regarded as conditions for obtaining teaching positions. Consequently the non-Russian scholars are kept from contact with the American youth.

f) Titoism and the nationality revolution in progress in the Soviet Union has made the method of silence difficult at the present time. Thus a new method is developed by the Russians; they offer positions to persons of non-Russian nationalities who accept the political platform of the "Russian federation" or at least the conception of "Russian common culture." Thus is prepared, by the Russian Marxists in the U.S.A., a new species which is presented to Americans as the "good" Ukrainians, Georgians, Byelo-Ruthenians, etc. Just as Stalin has his Manuilskys, so the Russians in the U.S.A. are fabricating their Manuilskys.

*Inscribed on the building of the Dallas Morning News.

g) A Russian method constantly employed is "threatening." These Pinkos and their allies are terrorizing the Americans with the threat: "If you support morally the self-determination of the non-Russian nationalities you will stimulate Russian nationalism"; in other words, "the Russians will support Stalin." This argument is designed for gullible "liberals" and quakers. How can present Russian chauvinism be still more intensified, which proclaimed the Russian language as the world language of the proletariat, Socialism and humanity, which began to expand into the universe by giving Russian names to apparently newly discovered stars,* which in its broadcasts applies the term "Russian America" to Alaska?

h) The Russians and their allies systematically silence or misrepresent the objections of the non-Russian nationalities to their programs and the constructive program of the non-Russian peoples. As an example we mention the Catholic magazine, the Commonweal, which published on December 31, 1948, an appeal of "The American Committee for Free Russia" advocating on behalf of the U.S.A. a "Russian Federation," including in it also the non-Russian peoples, without consulting their will. (This Catholic organ refused to print a letter of the author, a Catholic scholar, and it appeared in the Ukrainian Quarterly, Vol. V, 1949, "The right of self-determination of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union.") We include this discussion into the appendix.

i) The favorite Communist method in the U.S.A. is to denounce anyone who fights the dogma of "the solution of the nationality problem" in U.S.S.R. or of her "indivisibility" as an anti-Semite.

Thus the U.S.A. has become since 1947 a battlefield of the ideological war between Russian imperialistic Communism and the freedom-loving non-Russian nations.

Russian propaganda attempts with all methods to hammer into the minds of the American public the dogma of the "indivisibility and unity" of the Russian "Lebensraum" and to use the U.S.A. as an accomplice for the enslavement of the non-Russian nationalities. This propaganda has as its final aim the defense of the Pan-Russian imperialistic interests of Soviet Moscow, the strengthening of the dictatorship of Russian Communism in the Soviet Union, and the undermining of any confidence in American moral leadership in the world.

10. The Poor Showing of the American Universities in the Fight Against Russian Communism, the Enemy of Academic Freedom

With comparatively few exceptions among the American university professors who stood uncompromisingly against Communism-Leninism, the part played by the American university professors in the ideological fight was and is quite inconspicuous. What are the few books, opposing

*Newsweek, Feb. 13, 1950: three new planets which Soviet astronomers claim they discovered have been named "Russia," "Moscow," and "Komsomolia."

Communism, in comparison with the Niagara of the fellow-traveler literature of the academic teachers? We do not remember one great action of American universities in defense of academic freedom in the Soviet Union, but we remember all their distinguished members at the Communist gatherings in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel. As a matter of fact, the change which we are witnessing in the last two years in the U.S.A. is not the result of the work of American universities, which rather have failed, but it is the result of the great "literature of disillusion" created by the former Communists. These former Communists learned the hard way and by practical experience rediscovered the basic values of Western civilizations: Russel, Auden, Spender, Koestler, Orwell in England, Eastman, Dos Passos, Wilson, Hicks, Farrell, Gitlow, Budenz, Wolfe, Freda Utley, Chambers—not all of them have discovered as yet the quarter-century-old struggle for these values waged by the non-Russian nationalities. What, in comparison with this "literature of disillusion" (contributors to which in Europe included Gide, Souvarine, Serge, Silone, Panait Istrati, Ciliga), is the contribution of the American universities? One most important discovery was made by all these writers, who saw through the Russian Soviet myths, which is very important also to the nationality problem, and that is the incredible cruelty which characterizes all of Russian Communism, and which regards the lives of human beings as raw material, like scrap or iron, for production. What these writers did not perceive, because their observations were usually limited to Moscow, was that this bestial cruelty is also the attitude of Russian Communism toward all non-Russian nationalities, their cultures and languages.

And very often we have been tempted, instead of wasting time in appealing to American professors on behalf of these victims of Stalin, to appeal to the American Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, for they would surely show more compassion than the Jacobsons and Kohns and their pupils.

11. The Achievements of Russian Propaganda in the U.S.A.

There can be no doubt that the achievements of Russian Communist propaganda in the U.S.A. are unique.

Under the banner of the "avant-garde of humanity" and "the ideals of progressive democracy," which is "realizing in the Soviet Union the principles of the American Revolution"—Russian Communist propaganda placed its faithful collaborators in many key positions and used them for its aims. The trials of the last years gave ample evidence of these facts.

The penetration of universities created a special intellectual atmosphere of pro-Russian and pro-Soviet sympathy, in which gullible generations of American youth grew up. This atmosphere in the English-speaking world later nurtured such persons as Alger Hiss, Julian Wadleigh, Judith Coplon, Whittaker Chambers. The textbooks of history, of social science, of foreign politics used a false perspective regarding

the Soviet Union, they "stacked the cards" in favor of Russian Communism, imbuing the students with Russian Communist bias. Instead of giving both sides of the question, they gave only an apology for Soviet Moscow, silencing or completely misrepresenting the nationality problem inside the Soviet Union and the struggle of the non-Russian peoples for liberty and democracy. Thus there developed in the American universities a type of people who by embracing Russian Communism wished to share in the feeling of superiority as belonging to the "avant-garde of humanity." This idealization of Russian Communism was an improved edition of E. Bellamy's Looking Backward, the famous utopia in American literature, and induced generations of youth to "Looking Forward" to Soviet Moscow.

The greatest achievement of the Russian Communist propaganda is the complete elimination from American psychological warfare and foreign politics of the weapon of the national idea the world over, and the institution of a kind of Russian monopoly for the "liberation of nations" and anticolonialism. Instead of using the American idea of self-determination of the nationalities the world over in the spirit of Jefferson, Washington, and Wilson,* in order to defend democracy against Russian Communism, the American statesmen permitted the Russians to turn this weapon against the democracies, which never were guilty of such exploitation in their colonies as the Russians in the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union. Leading American statesmen many times accused colonialism in Asia, and Africa, demanding freedom for the peoples there, but they never lost a single word concerning the colonialism of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, completely disregarding a struggle that has been going on for a quarter of a century. This systematic discrimination against the non-Russian peoples and their political aspirations will some day surely be inscribed on the same page as the discrimination against the Jews and Negroes. This American misunderstanding and underestimation of the importance of the nationality question, created in the U.S.A. by systematic Russian propaganda, has led us to the Sovietization of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, to the loss of China, Tibet, and the formation of a Russian Communist despotism embracing nearly half of the population of the globe. Late, very late, American policy began to understand in Korea the nationality problem, after having acquiesced in the swallowing of all her faithful allies in Europe. The Americans did not believe the democratic leaders of the non-Russian peoples until the Communist Tito gave a lesson to American democrats about the importance of the national idea, even in Communist ideology, proclaiming, "No matter how much each of us loves the land of Socialism [the Soviet Union], you cannot ask us to love our own country less!"

American analysts will later "discover" the true reason for the present tragic world situation, and will declare that the American disregard of the nationality problem, created by the systematic Russian

*Cf. General Wainwright: "Psychological warfare is now our first line of defense."

propaganda in the U.S.A. for the last one third of the century, resulted in the American defeat by Soviet Moscow in World War II, and created the present situation, in which Leninism-Stalinism is already at the throat of America. They will later "discover" that only by courageous revolutionary help extended to the democratic underground movements of the oppressed nationalities within the Soviet Union and behind the Iron Curtain can the Atlantic Pact become a victorious force in the World War III, which has been in full swing for several years. That all will be done "later." For the present the Russian propaganda still holds sway in American public life. The Iron Curtain is effectively working and good old Joe can sleep in peace. George F. Kennan* guards the "integrity and indivisibility of Russia." Some recent examples are:

(1) The National Committee for Free Europe, Inc., formed by a group of leading Americans with long experience in international affairs, attempts "to halt Communism and save our freedom" and to organize in the present struggle for man's mind the defense and counterattack against Communist expansion. Justly they say: "Only in the contest of ideas can there be final victory which will yield us one world dedicated to peace and freedom." The excellent program of this Committee is limited to Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia. A similar Committee is acting for "Free Asia."

Consequently: (a) The Committee for Free Europe has excluded from its program Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelo-Ruthenia, Ukraine, Karelia, and the other Finnish peoples, and also the Cossacks. The "Free Asia" Committee excluded all non-Russian Asiatic nationalities of the Soviet Union from its program.

(b) They are Committees for half-free and half-enslaved Europe and Asia, respecting the "unity and indivisibility of the Soviet Union," and denying the right of self-determination of the non-Russian nationalities.

(c) Can there exist a world half-free and half-enslaved? Can America with such half-principled measures, which overlook perfect political crimes regarding the other nationalities, achieve moral leadership in the world? Why do the Americans, "with long experience in international affairs," underestimate the intelligence of the leaders of the satellite countries, who well understand that the other nations are being sacrificed to Russian slavery as "bait" so that Moscow will not refuse a "compromise"? Who of these satellite leaders will believe in the honesty of the American partners, will believe that they will not be ready to sacrifice them also to Moscow for a "compromise"? And can the Americans imagine the feelings of all the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union and their émigrés outside? The American Liberty Bell, the symbol of Free Europe Committee means freedom for the satellites, for the non-Russian nationalities inside the Soviet Union slavery and chains.

(d) Finally, who of the Americans really believes that dynamic

*Cf. R. Smal-Stocki, "A Stalin Prize Book and George F. Kennan," Ukrainian Bulletin, July 15, 1951.

Russian Communism, having subdued half of the world, will voluntarily retreat from the satellite countries? Have they not studied the "Principles of Leninism"? As a matter of fact without the solution of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union, the nationality problem of the satellites in Europe and Asia cannot be solved.

(2) Congress for Cultural Freedom, Berlin, June 26-30, 1950. This Congress organized by American intellectuals was characterized by a large attendance of Russian mensheviks from the U.S.A., but the intellectual representatives of the non-Russian nationalities were ignored. In the light of all the information it is clear that the invitation of the Ukrainians to the Congress was cut off, even sabotaged by the secretary of the Congress. During the meeting in Brussels of the International Committee, elected in Berlin, the Polish representative, Czapski, proposed to enlarge the Committee by the co-operation of the representatives of Hungary, Roumania, and Ukraine. Who immediately opposed the co-operation of the Ukrainians? The Russian menshevik, D. J. Dallin.* Thus the representatives of the non-Russian nationalities, fighting for one third of a century for their cultural freedom were excluded from the Congress and the whole Congress has not devoted a single word to the theory of Marr, not a single word to the fate of the non-Russian cultures inside the Soviet Union.

But on the other hand the secretary of this Congress, a naturalized American speaking on behalf of the Americans, Mr. M. Lasky, has contributed something that deserves to be kept on the record about this strange "fighter" for cultural freedom. The newspaper Natsionalna Trybuna, No. 15, 1915 (New York) published the information that the exclusion of the representatives of all non-Russian nationalities was decided in the U.S.A. by the Kerensky and the Russian menshevik groups to whom the American accorded the "privilege and monopoly" of speaking on behalf of "all peoples of the Soviet Union." M. Lasky spoke to the protesting Ukrainians: "You Ukrainians are separatists and your accusation is not true that the Russians are imperialists (regarding the Ukraine). In that case the U.S.A. is also imperialistic, because it included Texas." We do not know in what field the ignorance of M. Lasky is greater, in American history or the history of Eastern Europe. In any case his wisdom concerning the nationality problems in the Soviet Union qualifies him as a fighter for "cultural freedom." It is a fine achievement of Russian propaganda. The Ukraine, an apparently independent State, member of the UN with a separate Slavic language and culture, is herein insulted by this "freedom-loving" representative of the free press by the old Tsarist police term "separatist," because it is like Texas in regard to the U.S.A., an "indissoluble part of the holy mother Russia, the Pan-Slavic "mother." . . . Congress for Cultural Freedom—or for Cultural Enslavement of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union?

(3) "Voice of America." In this field also the principles of Russian propaganda are, up to the present, victorious.

*Kultura, 1951, No. 1, Paris.

As a matter of fact the author was informed by a leading radio commentator in 1948, on whom his lecture, "The Nationality Problem in the U.S.S.R.," made an obvious impression, that the commentator "sympathizes personally with the unhappy nations fighting for the ideas of Washington and Wilson," but he cannot openly support their cause because of "advice of the State Department not to foster nationalism, especially that of the Ukrainians." Future American historians will have the ungrateful task of studying all the instructions about the nationality problem given by the respective offices and of discovering the real authors of these instructions.

Since 1949 the "Voice of America" has also done branch broadcasting in Ukrainian. But this branch is not a separate division; it is subordinated to the Russian division—"unity of Russia"! The Russian-Ukrainian dictionary of Kalynovych, Kiev, 1949, which has included all the results of the Marr's Russification, is there proclaimed as the standard for the Ukrainian literary language. Thus not even in the free U.S.A. is the Ukrainian language exempt from Russian oppression. Of course the "Voice of America" is forbidden to encourage "nationalism" in the Soviet Union in any way not only among the Ukrainians, but among all the non-Russian nationalities. Therefore this fact of Russian thought control must go on record: President H. Stassen, University of Pennsylvania, after returning to the U.S.A. from a world tour, gave in January, 1951, a statement which was broadcast in English in the U.S.A. demanding freedom for the Baltic and Central European nations, including the Ukraine. The "Voice of America" broadcasting this statement in Ukrainian to the Ukraine had stricken out from the statement—"the Ukraine."

(4) Signing of the Freedom Pact in Philadelphia on Lincoln Day, 1951; "Independence Hall, the cradle of American freedom, witnessed a ceremony reminiscent of the signing of the American Declaration of Independence in 1776, a declaration of liberation for Central and Eastern peoples." Such information was published in the American press on February 12, 1951. What happened at the same time, and will be remembered as a dark day in the history of the non-Russian nationalities is the fact that their representatives were excluded from the signing by the American democrats, who had invited to this ceremony Mr. A. Kerensky publicly denying the non-Russian nationalities the right of self-determination. Thus in the name of the "equality of nationalities" the representatives of the U.S.A., directing the ideological war against imperialistic Communism, desecrated the American Independence Hall by establishing "first-class" nationalities, which were invited to participate in the ceremony, and the Jim Crow class for the non-Russian nationalities.

Contrast this fact with the declaration of an old friend of the U.S.A., Carlos Romulo, a week later during the inauguration of "brotherhood week" in Boston:

"The true power of America does not rest on the dollar and the atom bomb. (It) still rests on the conviction held by the free peoples of the

world that America stands for justice, for freedom, for equality, for progress, for all the great humane values of our civilization. If this faith . . . is lost, the dollar cannot redeem it and the atom bomb cannot restore it."

Thus to the discrimination against Negroes and Jews in internal policy by some states in the U.S.A. there was added to foreign policy the discrimination against the non-Russian nationalities. And Independence Hall and Lincoln Day were selected for this event.

(5) Slavic and Soviet Union studies and research. In the U.S.A. these are, with some few exceptions, completely under the control of Russian propaganda; the great American foundations have contributed millions to Russian studies. In comparison with these grants the other Slavic studies and the studies of the non-Russian nationalities were not supported with even 1 per cent of the amount granted to Russia.

Thus Russian propaganda limited Slavic studies virtually to Russian studies, and American youth is in the U.S.A. getting a distorted Russian imperialistic view of the Slavic world and the Soviet Union, and their problems, looking on all Slavic and non-Russian nations of the U.S.S.R. nations exclusively from the point of view of Moscow and through Russian glasses. The key position of Slavic linguistics in Harvard is occupied by R. Jacobson, the key position of Slavic history and Soviet Union bibliography is held by S. Yakobson.

To the Russian studies are subordinated all Soviet Union studies, including the life of all the non-Russian nationalities. The Ford Foundation even subordinated them to the "Free Russia Fund" with G. Kennan as president.

In the course of the last decades these teachers of Russian and their pupils occupied nearly all key positions in book reviews, the press, State offices, and public life. With the defense of the tenets of Russian propaganda in the U.S.A. are linked their positions and private business, and any attempt of the non-Russian nationalities to bring into the Slavic and Soviet studies some objective approach is fought by the profiteers, the Russians and Russophiles, by every kind of smear, slander, and character assassination. Thus the U.S.A. even today dares look only through the Russian prism on Russian history, the Soviet Union, on the non-Russian nationalities, and has to obey these Russian propagandists and politicians, who have prepared for the U.S.A. the honorable mission of functioning as an associate jailer of all the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet prison.

A good example of how effectively the propaganda for Joe Stalin is conducted under the cover of the Columbia University are the films on the Soviet Union. The "Communication Material Center" of this university issues such educational films and one can read in the film catalogue:

"Election Day in the U.S.S.R.

"How elections are carried out in the U.S.S.R. by direct suffrage and secret ballot. The film begins with an appeal by Stalin on Feb. 9, 1946, for a full vote on election day. The camera has recorded farmers,

actors, soldiers and travelers across the breadth of the Soviet Union as 100 million people go to the polls. Provides an extremely interesting glimpse of election methods in the Soviet Union."

An election still means, in the U.S.A., the choice between parties. Consequently how can there be an "election" in the Soviet Union if only one list, that of the Communist Party, is permitted? It is a Communist-propaganda lie that there are "elections" in the Soviet Union. There are many films of this kind: "One Day in Soviet Russia," "Peoples of the Soviet Union" (showing famous artists of the Jewish theater from 1937 which for nearly a decade has been liquidated), "Children of Russia"—they all are arranged and designed to show off the Soviet Union as a paradise of happy individuals and peoples, with the authority of the Columbia University behind them for the "advancement of knowledge."

Harvard University brought this pro-Russian attitude* in Soviet Union and Slavic research even to Europe. In Munich an "Institute for the Study of the History and Institutions of the USSR" was organized and its direction put into the hands of Russian scholars, while the non-Russian scholars were barred. The Institute started its work according to the old Russian imperialistic ideology and the old "integrity and indivisibility of Russia" conception. Soon the Harvard Russophiles learned their lesson that the nationality problem exists. In the conference of the DP scholars from the Soviet Union, organized January 11-14, 1951, in Munich, the Ukrainian DP scholar, Derzhavyn, protested against the interpretations of "Soviet patriotism" by Prof. N. Osipov and unmasked it as the "old Russian patriotism" based on Russification of the non-Russian peoples. The Ukrainian scholar was supported by DP scholars from Turkestan, Azerbaijan, and other countries. The magnanimous statement of Prof. N. Osipov, that "only thirty years ago we Russians lost Finland and Poland, but only few of us grieve about it" got from the Turkestanians a sharp reply: "Listen, if somebody would steal your portfolio and you would have retrieved it, what would you say to the declaration of the thief, who magnanimously forgave the owner his action?" The whole non-Russian press reacted to this type of Harvard studies in articles entitled: "Falsification of Science." The refugee interview project of the Harvard University was conducted in a similar way. Its lists of queries have a pro-Russian bias and give no opportunity to speak the truth about the oppression of non-Russian nationalities.**

(6) A rift in the Iron Curtain in the U.S.A.?

Of course, we DP scholars, the free voice of the non-Russian

*Cf. Roman Smal-Stocki, "The Harvard Handbook of Slavic Studies," Ukrainian Bulletin, Vol. III, Nr. 1.

** Cf. B. Sywenko, Svoboda-daily, July 17, 1951, New York.

Cf. the public protest of the professors of the Ukrainian University in Munich, Mrs. Wasylenko-Polonska, Mr. G. Boyko, and I. Mirchuk, stating that the Harvard research program can only contribute to a falsification of real facts in favor of the traditional Russian imperialism (Svoboda, September 8, 1951).

nationalities, are faced with the question, how could the Russian and Soviet propaganda gain such successes in the U.S.A.?

A deep-seated tradition in the American soul is sympathy for the underdogs and hostility to imperialism. This very word was even odious and the phrase "British Empire" proved, according to H. Steele Com-mager, a severe barrier to Anglo-American understanding. But for "Russian Empire" and Russian imperialism the Communist propaganda created among Americans an "enthusiasm."

A peculiarity of the Americans was and is the devotion to peace and aversion to all forms of aggression and persecution. But the "liberal," "humanitarian," and "idealist" professors for years quietly passed over the nationality problem of the Soviet Union in the U.S.A., ignored the truth about the process of vivisection on the living bodies of the non-Russian nations, perpetrated by the Russian Communists.

These facts had tragic consequences for the U.S.A., because the U.S.A. is "the" world power. And world power means world responsibility; world responsibility for the national problem not only in Europe, Asia, Africa, but also in the Soviet Union.

We think that the victories of Russian propaganda in the U.S.A. must be understood on the background of Maragon, the deep freezers, mink coats, gamblers, cheating cadets—on the breakdown of morals in some intellectual spheres, which also violated and are violating the fair-play code. In some intellectual circles there exists a real jungle of opportunism, where material success remains the highest end to be pursued, by all means and at any price.

But we DP scholars did not doubt for a single moment that these negative symptoms, existing in larger or lesser degree among all peoples in this postwar time were passing phenomena in this nation, built on the foundation of justice and freedom. We began here in 1947, believing in the old American traditions, to interest the American public in the nationality problem of the Soviet Union, not admitting discouragement when the New York Times, Life, Time, etc., refused to publish our commentaries on their rather one-sided information. We began to make known our situation to congressmen and senators and soon found friends—the idea of freedom is contagious.

As a turning point for the nationality problem in the Soviet Union we cite the inclusion in the Congressional Record the article: "The Struggle of the Subjugated Nations in the Soviet Union for Freedom"* by Congress-man Lawrence H. Smith. Soon he included another article in the Congressional Record: "The Genocide Convention,"** reporting the sad condition of the non-Russian peoples under Russian rule. Thus the nationality problem of the Soviet Union was put on the agenda of American foreign politics in its whole scope, supported also by Senator A. Smith and Herbert H. Lehman.

Prof. S. Soloveitchik, University of Kansas City, a Russian authority

* Ukrainian Quarterly, 1947, Vol. III, Nr. 4.

** Ibid., 1949, Vol. V, Nr. 2.

in misrepresentation of the nationality problem,* soon reacted publishing in Novyi Zhurnal, Nr. 1950, an article with a quotation from the works of one of the founders of Russian Socialism, F. Volkhovskii: "The tendency to national independence loses its lawfulness if it attempts to subordinate general human interests to the conservation of national peculiarities or of national differences." As we see, the old Marxian-Leninist principle regarding the subordination of the principle of self-determination to the "interests of proletarian world revolution," is by this Russian "democrat" a little mitigated for Americans by subordinating it to "general human interest." Of course, with the well-known Russian fairness and modesty, the Russian democrats also, like the Russian Communists, regard themselves as the only people authorized to declare what "general human interests" are; they regard themselves as the only people authorized also to act at once as "public prosecutors" of all non-Russian nationalities on behalf of "humanity" and as infallible judges in the conflict between the Russian imperialism and the non-Russian peoples, because they identify general human interests with unlimited Russian imperialism. He received an answer from the Ukrainian Socialists:** "before discussing the constant role to be played by the Russians in the cultural world process, it is first necessary to kill [in Russia] the lice."†

Unprejudiced American scholars like Prof. C. A. Manning, an authority on the Baltic and the Ukrainian question, Prof. L. Dobriansky, Prof. James Burnham, A. P. Coleman apprised the American public of the fact that the Ukrainian Partisan army and the Baltic partisans were still fighting. A courageous Ukrainian woman, Oksana Kosenkina, will never be forgotten by all freedom-loving peoples; she has given an unforgettable lesson to American Pinko professors. The menshevik, D. Dallin, soon directed an attack on James Burnham in his book: The New Soviet Empire, a masterpiece of Russian misrepresentation of the nationality problem in the Soviet Union.

The year 1951 began with a remarkable statement of Mr. H. Stassen, president of the University of Pennsylvania, after his return from Europe. This statement demands that the U.S.A. should accept a program of seven points, the first of which runs as follows: "The establishment of separate national sovereignty and true independence of the Ukraine, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Roumania, Bulgaria and Hungary."

In spite of the fact that the word "Ukraine" was suppressed in the "Voice of America" broadcast to Soviet Ukraine, the Achilles heel of Soviet Moscow was hit. Hardly two weeks later Piotr N. Pospelov, director of the Marx-Engels and Lenin Institute in Moscow, on the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of Lenin's death vented his

*Cf. R. Smal-Stocki, "Pan-Russian Propaganda and Scientific Facts," Ukrainian Bulletin, Vol. III, Nr. 23.

**Vpered, "Forward," Ukrainian Review for Workers, Nov. 3, 1950.

†What an elementary force lice and bugs are in the country of "attained Socialism and advanced humanity" the reader can learn from E. Lipper, Eleven Years in Soviet Camps, Chicago, 1951.

rage against America. Giving up all pretense to historical truth, Pospelov asserted that President Wilson demanded at the Versailles Conference the "dismemberment of Russia" and declared "the Russian people will never forget that the hands of American imperialists are red with the blood of the Russian people." Pospelov was speaking also to the nations of Asia and Africa and to the satellites in Europe not to place their hopes for liberty in America but to count on the strength and the protection of Moscow.

There was an opportunity for a great moral victory for the Department of State to rally to the cause, by a programmatic declaration, all the oppressed nationalities around the flag of the U.S.A. and the Declaration of Human Rights by the UN. Instead, on January 31, the Assistant Secretary of State, Jack McFall, in an answer to P. N. Pospelov, declared that the U.S.A. had always shown great friendship, respect, and sympathy for the "great Russian nation" and had always opposed, and continued to do so, any dismemberment of the Russian Empire or the separation of any part from it, just as the America of 1918 had denounced the "infamous" Brest-Litovsk treaty (which has recognized an independent Ukraine in accordance with the declarations of President Wilson on self-determination). Thus Soviet Moscow won a great victory in the ideological warfare showing that official America is not standing for justice, equality, and freedom of the nationalities the world over. On March 15, 1951, there appeared a sensational article by Leonard J. Snow, "Weapon Against Russia," The Sign, supporting the Promethean ideology and stating that the nationality problem is a more powerful weapon against Russian Communism than the atomic bomb. Congressman Charles Kersten included the article into the Congressional Record, April 2, 1951. George F. Kennan considered the moment an opportunity for a special kowtow before Russian imperialism in the April issue (1951) of Foreign Affairs in the article "America and the Russian Future," solemnly "rededicating" the Ukraine and the Baltic States to Russian imperialism.*

He received many replies. We mention only two. On behalf of the Ukraine our article** "A Stalin Prize Book and George F. Kennan" analyzed Kennan's thought by proving the complete parallelism between the contemporary Russian Communist propaganda in the Ukraine (awarded the Stalin Prize) and Kennan's opinions. We said:

"This question of freedom, which is of paramount importance not only to the Ukrainians but to the entire world as well, cannot be superseded by any 'economic' argument. We need but turn to the deathless words of Abraham Lincoln:

*In order to be fair to G. F. Kennan we must state that in his article he did not expressly refuse to the Ukraine the right of political self-determination. Only the title of the article and some sentences allow the readers to infer that this is possibly his attitude toward the non-Russian peoples, especially now, after the publication of his American Diplomacy which is nothing more than diluted Machiavellianism.

**The Ukrainian Bulletin, Vol. IV, Nr. 14.

"What constitutes the bulwark of our liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling seacoast, our Army and our Navy. These are not our reliance against tyranny. All of these may be turned against us. . . . Our reliance is the love of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit of liberty which God has planted in us. Our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere. Destroy this spirit and you have planted the seeds of despotism at your own door. Familiarize yourself with the chains of bondage and you prepare your own limbs to wear them. Accustomed to trample on the rights of others, you have lost the genius of your own independence and become fit subjects of the first cunning tyrant who rides amongst you."

"For the attainment of American freedom many prominent Europeans fought: Steuben, Lafayette, Kosciuszko, Pulaski. But now Mr. Kennan's advice would seem to be that the United States ought not intervene in favor of Ukrainians who fight for their freedom."

In Europe Kennan got an answer in the ABN-Correspondence, Nr. 10, by P. G. Andree, entitled "U.S.A. and U.S.S.R.":

"American Unity

"Let us start with a little game; suppose an enemy were to land in United States territory, in Alaska, Texas, California or Connecticut. Everywhere he would find Americans, speaking the same language, all feeling and reacting like Americans.

"If this enemy were to announce that he had come, for instance, to liberate the State of Texas and the Texan people from the dictatorship of Washington, people would laugh at him, and all Americans, whether from Texas, California, Connecticut or Alaska would do their best to drive him out of the country.

"Russian Parallels

"Now, suppose an enemy were to land in the territory of the U.S.S.R., in the Union Republic of Turcmenistan, or Aserbaijan, or Ukraine, or Latvia, he would find a different nation in every one of those parts of contemporary Russia, a people with a language of their own, traditions of their own, and quite different reactions. If this enemy were to tell them that he had come to make good Russians out of them and give them a new, good Russian government, they, too, would laugh at him, and ask him what a good Russian or a good Russian government mattered to them as Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians or Turkestanians; nor would they consider anyone who approached them thus as a friend.

"But if this enemy of the Soviet Union were to come to Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbaijanians and Turkestanians and say, 'We will give you the same rights that every people in the West has' he would be welcomed by these nations as a friend and a liberator, except perhaps for a very small group everywhere in the Soviet Union who are personally interested in maintaining the present regime.

"Important Differences

"What does all this mean?

"It is a dangerous simplification to compare the United States of America with the Soviet Union of Socialist Republics, only because these great powers are both, federal unions in form, and because, therefore (apart, of course, from their system of government), the situation is the same in both.

"When a Latvian, Ukrainian or Caucasian emigrated to the U.S.A., he did so of his own free will, desiring to become a hundred per cent American as soon as possible, and he was then proud of his American citizenship.

"When Latvians, Ukrainians, Aserbajjanians or Turkestanians became Russian citizens, they were forced to do so because their country was conquered by Moscow. They will not recognize the government of the Soviet Union, or any other Russian central government as their government, but only as an alien dictatorship which they were forced to accept.

"That is the first difference.

"Soviet Union Based On Compulsion

"The United States of America is a voluntary union of free people in free communities, these—and this is important—being called 'States'; they are parts of one and the same great nation, namely, the American nation. If a free plebiscite were held in the U.S.A., it would make no difference to this state of affairs.

"Things are not so simple in the Soviet Union, where propaganda, false ideas and slogans used in class strife throw dust in the eyes of outside observers. In Soviet opinion, only part of the population is politically of age and entitled to express its views; it is prepared to say 'yes' to all Soviet demands and desires. This must be said in order to explain why 99.9 per cent of the votes in all plebiscites held in the Soviet Union are in favour of present conditions there. It is true that, by constitution, the Soviet Union is also a voluntary union, but we must not forget that the adjective 'voluntary' was applied in Moscow, after Ukraine, the Caucasian Republics, Turkestan and other Republics, Turkestan and other areas had been conquered by the Red Army in 1918-21 and after the same fate had overtaken the provinces of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania after 1940. The 'free will' of the Constitution was therefore established, and will be maintained by force of arms.

"If a really free plebiscite were to be held in the separate parts of the Soviet Union, it is most probable that the population there would not vote for the continuance of the Soviet Union. Up till now it has been impossible to gain such proof, as all attempts in this direction have been suppressed at great sacrifice on the part of those concerned.

"Furthermore, the communities that constitute the Soviet Union, i.e., the Union Republics, are not parts of the same, homogenous area, say of Russia, but territories settled by different nations. More than 50% of the population of the Soviet Union are non-Russians.

"The Soviet Union, therefore, does not possess the common national denominator present in the United States of America; but it tries to compensate for this lack by creating the fiction of a homogeneous Soviet nation. Russian exiles do the same when they speak of an imaginary Russian people (*rossiysky narod*), erroneously translated in Western languages as 'Russian people.' There is a Russian people, but no Russian peoples, no Russian family of nations, no Soviet nation, no nation of Russia. Clear thinking on this point would save much misunderstanding and annoyance. But both the Soviet Union and Russians in exile assume that people abroad accept their fictions and repeat them out of ignorance.

"These, then, are further differences.

"Some Erroneous Views

"Other traditional views, sometimes expressed by Americans, also require to be rectified.

"It is, of course, much more convenient to imagine the world as a simple entity, and not to pay heed to complications, just as it is simpler to count in round figures instead of in fractions. Unfortunately the accounts presented us by the world are not always in round figures.

"Let us consider, for instance, the advantages of extensive economic areas. It would probably be more practical from the economic point of view if the American continent were an economic unit. But this is not the case, probably because the states of Latin America would not then be able to hold their own. But nobody dreams of forcing a united, and perhaps more efficient extensive economic area on those states. In the Soviet Union, on the contrary, which is geographically speaking a continent, the unity of a big economic area is upheld against the interests of the peoples who inhabit it; it is even propagated by Americans (cf. George Kennan: 'U.S.A. and the future of Russia,' in 'Foreign Affairs,' April, 1951) who assert that Ukraine for instance, is just as much a part of Russia from the economic point of view 'as Pennsylvania is of the United States.' This as we have pointed out already, is an erroneous comparison, for Pennsylvania's position in the United States is not at all that of Ukraine in the Soviet Union, or as Kennan has it, in Russia. If we wish to talk of extensive economic areas, then it would be nearer the mark to say: Ukraine, or Caucasia, or Turkestan might be part of Russia from the economic point of view in the same way as Mexico, the Argentine or Peru might be part of the U.S.A., provided they so desired.

"And this, I think, leads us to a critical point.

"Public opinion in America regards the legitimate national efforts of the nations in the Soviet Union as chauvinistic and separatist because it is easier to speak simply of Russia than of the many different nations that are included in the frontiers of the Soviet Union—the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the Baltic and Caucasian nations, the Turkestanians, etc.

"Why Different Measures?

"If I am not mistaken, American public opinion reacted differently to cases that are fundamentally the same as ours. Movements for liberation

in India, Pakistan and Indonesia secured the approval of American public opinion, though it might have been more practical from the economic point of view to have left those countries as they were--in the British or Dutch Colonial Empires. If American opinion was right in these cases, it is hard to understand why other measures are applied to Russia and the Soviet Union; the desire of people there for freedom is stigmatized as 'Chauvinist separatism' which would do better to accept Russian hegemony than to shake the 'historic frontiers of Russia,' divide the country up, or destroy such an 'excellent economic unit.'

"Chauvinism and Separatism

"Let us consider separatism and chauvinism for a little, beginning with the former. Contrary to the situation in Indonesia or India, the struggle for national liberty in the Soviet Union is so bitter, entailing such enormous peril for the individual, that it imposes rigid discipline and demands unequivocal expression. That the controversy knows no compromise is the result of measures adopted by the opponents and not by the protagonists of the movement for freedom. Surely this is not chauvinism. We can talk of separatism only when part of a homogeneous national whole tries to secede, if for instance, the State of Texas or California should attempt to secede from the U.S.A. But it is surely not correct to talk of separatism when, for instance, Ukrainians, the Caucasian nations or the Turkestanians wish to liberate themselves from an alien regime. Was it separatism when in 1905 the Norwegian people decided to dissolve peacefully their union with Sweden? Was it separatism when Czechs, Slovaks, Croats, and Rumanians demanded their own national homes after the collapse of the Empire of Austria-Hungary? Surely not.

"George Fischer, an American journalist (cf. his article 'The Vlassow Case' in 'Der Monat,' 1951, No. 34), for instance, speaks only of extreme separatist and chauvinist movements when describing the nationalist movements in the Soviet Union, and he calls their refusal to join a committee under Vlassow, a Russian, 'malignant.' Were the movements for freedom in the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia extreme separatist and chauvinist movements? Were their efforts to achieve independence 'malignant,' or was American public opinion, which obviously sympathized with these efforts 'malignant'? Obviously not. And sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. . . .

"Stalin's Methods

"Stalin is perhaps not a sympathetic person, but he is no blockhead. Would such a man, with the enormous powers of a centrally governed state at his disposal, give himself the great trouble to pacify, at least in form, the nations living in the Soviet Union by granting them republics, constitutions administrations, and to take meticulous consideration of them, if he did not deem it practical and necessary? Stalin probably knows the proper strength and value of the national movements among the nations living in the Soviet Union. He tries to control them by making them formal concessions, and when that does not suffice, he

applies methods of the M.V.D. and 'mass murder.' But the Western world will have nothing to do with these last two methods, even in connection with the peoples behind the Iron Curtain."

The former Polish representative in the League of Nations, T. Komarnicki, analyzed the superficial economic and political conceptions of Kennan. He attempted to straighten out this American and to give him some sense of objectivity and proportion:

"Mr. Kennan speaks in very enthusiastic terms about the greatness of Russia: 'Yet that there is such a thing as national greatness is clear; and that the Russians possess it in high degree' is beyond question."

"We do not dispute the Russian titles to greatness, without on the other side underestimating the contributions to universal civilization of other Central and Eastern European nations. Let us remember what Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the prominent Czech statesman and philosopher, said about this problem in his inaugural lecture of the 19th October, 1915 (see Seton-Watson, *Masaryk in England*, p. 143): 'Physical greatness and strength, being ipso facto always relative and correlative, is no warrant, no foundation of right and prerogative; seventy is certainly far more than ten, but have the seventy the right to deprive the ten of their bread? Have they the right to use force?!!'

"No political conclusions should be drawn from the greatness of Russia, either cultural or economic. Should we assume that only Russian civilization deserves interest and that everything else in Eastern and Central Europe should give way to it? Masaryk continued the said lecture in the following way: 'History is a process of integration, but at the same time of disintegration; the double process appears as the strengthening of individualism and the simultaneous growths of collectivism. History tends not towards uniformity but towards variety, towards organized variety which very often is represented as barren, monotonous, indiscriminate uniformity.'"

T. Komarnicki completed his article as follows:

"Summing up our remarks, we wish to state that we perfectly realize the necessity for establishing the most friendly relations between the West and the future Russia, but such relations must not be based on the recognition of the fruits of previous aggressions (has not this principle been applied by the Allies to Japan, which was forced to abandon even Formosa?) on the recognition only of Russian rights to security (under the pretext of Russian security half Europe was surrendered to Russia), or only of Russian claims to undisturbed economic life. Mr. Kennan expressed his personal opinions only, but there is the danger that owing to his prominent position as a political planner and an expert on Russian affairs he might win some responsible quarters to his views. We wish to emphasize that these opinions unfortunately lack generosity and understanding for the points of view of many millions of Europeans belonging to the Western civilization, who might be induced to believe that their interests might easily be sacrificed for some illusory hopes of re-establishing an international order based on the supremacy of big powers, small account being taken of the rights of small nations."

The Ukrainian viewpoint against G. F. Kennan was supported also by comments in The Lithuanian Bulletin, January-June, 1951, and in The Armenian Review, Summer, 1951.

This discussion was going on, when in the U.S.A. all the non-Russian nationalities showed their common front against Soviet Moscow during the manifestation, honoring the heroic death of the Commander of the U.P.A. General T. Chuprynka.

Then came a historic event, which started the ball rolling. Congressman Charles Kersten emphasized the nationality problem of the Soviet Union with his concurrent resolution introduced in the House of Representatives, April 17, 1951. This document, of historic value for the future traditions between all non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union and the U.S.A., we give in the Appendix. In view of the tragic losses in Korea and the continuation of the victorious resistance of Tito to Russian Imperialism, the Secretary of State Dean Acheson addressed the people of Georgia, the home country of the Soviet dictator, calling upon the Georgians to share with the U.S.A. "a future that promised freedoms" they did not have. Mr. Acheson stated:

"The ultimate goal of the American people and their government is a peaceful world in which there is no strong and no weak, no masters and no slaves, but where all men can live and work freely and happily without want or fear and with the right to worship God in their own way." (Underscoring ours--author.)

But the central and very significant idea of Mr. Acheson's speech, for all non-Russian peoples, was his statement about Russian Communism as the continuation of the old Russian imperialism. He said that "the Russian rulers have followed the imperialist Russian tradition with only this difference: They have added to Russian military power the new weapons of Communist conspiracy, subversion, psychological warfare and indirect aggression." Stalin's policies, Mr. Acheson asserted, are merely an extension of expansionist and aggressive policies conducted by Russia in the past 500 years. The New York Times, June 28, 1951, declared in its editorial "Realism About Russia," commenting upon his remarks:

". . . It is a history which the Soviets consciously seek to continue by emphasizing that, while all the many nationalities in the empire are equal, the Great Russians of Moscow are destined to rule the world.

"Viewed in the light of this history, there is a peculiar unreality attaching itself to the American policies which after the First World War opposed any 'dismemberment' of the Russian empire even by nations fighting for their freedom from its rule, and which during the Second World War facilitated a further expansion of that empire in the name of military expediency and in an effort to satiate the insatiable. Mr. Acheson's statements show that these policies have been replaced by a new realism."

There was an immediate reaction against Mr. Acheson's statement on May 30, 1951, in Novoye Russkoye Slovo, Russian daily appearing in New York, written as follows:

"This appeal and others to come will have a tremendous influence upon relations between Russia and the United States. In this relationship lies the fate of the world. . . . Was the wise counsel of Kennan in the elaboration of the new plan of psychological warfare against the Soviet regime taken into account? It does not seem so, to judge by the initiated steps. . . . we have heard an appeal directed to one people, an appeal that invites separatist tendencies. Do we have to prove that such appeals are extremely dangerous even with respect to Georgia, whose independence was forcibly destroyed in 1924? . . . Such appeals are in favor of the Soviet regime. They do nothing except convince the Russian people that the dismemberment of Russia is in the making and that only a close unity of the people with the government could remove this threat."

So we see, Russian anti-Communists, with few exceptions, are usually pro-Stalinists for Stalin is preserving the "unity and integrity of Russia," against the "separatists." For Russian émigrés, the tragic fate of all peoples of the U.S.S.R., including the Russian, appears to be purely a secondary consideration; for them the prime concern always is not the freedom for millions of people, but the "preservation" of the Russian despotic empire and for this purpose the Russian "democrats" revived in free America the old Tsarist police term: "separatist"!

On June 29, 1951, the Secretary of State, during the opening of the "Voice of America" for the Turkestanians, Volga-Tatars, and Azerbaijanians, made the following speech:*

"I am very happy to have this opportunity to say a few words to the Moslem peoples of the Soviet Union. For some while now the Voice of America has been bringing its message of truth and liberty to the people of the free world including Islamic people of Asia and Africa. Today we are proud to broadcast to the Tatar, the Azerbaijani and the Turkestanian peoples in the USSR who for more than three decades have been denied access to the truth by the Communists.

"We Americans admire the brave manner in which all the peoples of the Soviet Union including the Tatars, the Azerbaijanis and the Turkestanians are striving to maintain the religions, their traditions, their own way of life, despite the efforts of the Communist regime to replace religion with Godlessness, to replace the glorious histories of the peoples of the Soviet Union with the false folklore of Stalinism.

"The people of the U.S. have a friendly regard for the Moslem peoples of the USSR. The proud history of the Tatars of the Volga who have maintained their ancient culture and traditions despite all obstacles; the brave Azerbaijanis and other mountain people of the Caucasus whose centuries-old struggle for their human rights has provided some of history's most glorious pages; the people of Turkistan whose ancient cities of Bokhara, Samarkand, Merv and Tashkent represent monuments of a lofty culture; these, like the other God-fearing peoples of the Soviet Union are regarded by us Americans as staunch polars against atheistic, materialistic tyranny.

*Milij Turkistan, April-July, 1951, Nr. 72/73.

"The Voice of America will henceforth bring you in your own language the truth which the Communists fear and try to keep from you. We shall tell you what is happening in the free world and particularly in those regions of the free world linked with you by religion, tradition and culture. We shall keep you informed of the aggressive actions of those disturbing world peace. We shall tell you how free men are standing firm against the further spread of despotism.

"As I said last month to the people of Georgia, the goal of the American people and their Government is a peaceful world where all men can live and work freely and happily, without want or fear and with the right to worship God in their own way. This is our vision of the future; we invite you to share it.

"I extend to you Moslems of the Soviet Union in the name of the American people, our sincere, friendly greetings."

The long disregard by the American policy of the Moslem peoples of the Soviet Union and of their struggle for liberty—also an achievement of Russian propaganda in the U.S.A.—brought great harm to the prestige of U.S.A. in the whole Near East. Therefore the statement of Mr. Acheson was very warmly welcomed in the whole Moslem world and among their political émigrés from the Soviet Union.

In answer to Mr. Dean Acheson's statement about Russian imperialism Prof. M. Karpovich, Harvard, published in The New Leader, June 4 and 11, 1951, two articles entitled "Russian Imperialism or Communist Aggression?" Thus he started very late a discussion in the U.S.A., which in Europe was carried through in the early nineteen twenties when Wynnychenko and Jordania, two Socialists, proved the thesis that Russian Communism is the contemporary form of Russian imperialism. Apparently, this thesis was accepted also in the U.S.A. by impartial students of Soviet affairs; for instance Isaac Don Levin* wrote: "It has finally become self-evident . . . that Russian imperialism is as much a part of the Soviet order as German imperialism was part of National Socialism, and there never was a chance of preserving peace in equal partnership with the Soviet Union." Russian nationalism forced Karpovich into the front line to separate the old Russian imperialism from present Soviet imperialism. The editors of The New Leader put in a note for the discussion with a question, misleading for Americans, formulated as follows: "Are we fighting Communism or the Russian nation?" In our opinion the Russian nation is one thing and Russian imperialism another. The best friends of the Russian nation (I regard myself one of them) uncompromisingly fought and will continue to fight Russian imperialism in the very best interest of the Russian nation itself. What special privilege for its preservation can the Russian imperialism claim in comparison with the English, German, French, or Italian?

Prof. M. Karpovich gives a whole series of splendid parallels between the imperialisms of European powers, but they all "limp" on one

*Plain Talk, November, 1947, p. 3.

foot or both; all his arguments are aiming to substantiate the following theses (used immediately by professional defenders of Russian imperialism in their articles; cf. Eugene Lyons, Freeman, August 17, 1951):

"Pre-revolutionary Russian imperialism was essentially no different from the imperialisms of the other great powers. The Russian Empire was a conventional one; its policies were traditional imperialist policies. Neither its emergence nor its expansion needs to be explained by allusions to 'Russian messianism' or to peculiar traits of the 'Russian character.' If there is an illusory identity between pre-revolutionary and Soviet foreign policy, it stems from the fact that the same territories often constitute the objects of expansion. . . . After all, when one comes down to it, the Soviet Union still occupies the same space as the Russian Empire did before it. . . . One can hardly conclude from this that the aims, methods and general character of both imperialisms are the same."

All these theses, formulated dogmatically, for the defense of the Russian imperialism as many statements in the articles, are quite debatable and "contain a great deal of historical stylization." Unconvincing also are Karpovich's attacks on Prof. Jan Kucharzewski, whose book The Origins of Modern Russia brought into the Russia-worship of the current American "research" some objective approach to the subject, based on documentary sources. In our opinion, there is no doubt that old Muscovy has to be placed outside "Europe," and therefore it is a question whether "the rise of Moscow is a chapter in the modern history of Europe as a whole," or whether it is rather the rise of an Asiatic force against Europe as a whole. We doubt that Russian messianism and character can be disregarded in the rise of Russian imperialism. The works of Dostoyewsky penetrated the whole Russian intelligentsia and even Alfred Rosenberg and Nazism. Some Russians did not need the principle of Talleyrand for lying, because the surely unbiased Turgeniev* declared the Russians as the greatest liars on earth—this statement refers in our opinion only to some Russians. The Russians did not need the doctrine of Machiavelli, Asia gave them earlier and better Machiavellis from Persian, Chinese sources through the practice of the Tatars, their teachers (cf. The History of Diplomacy, Vol. 1, Moscow, 1941; A. Svechin, Evolution of Military Art, Vol. 2, Moscow, 1927-1928). Is it really true that "the Soviet Union still occupies the same space as the Russian Empire did before it"? What about the satellites and Mongolia which in fact belong to the Soviet Empire? Behind a lot of rather interesting comparisons of the imperialisms of European powers, their aims, methods, and general character, Prof. M. Karpovich concealed the essential problem of all imperialisms, the modern nationality and colonial problem in order not to give full support to Mr. Dean Acheson's statement. Every imperialism has two faces. Prof. Karpovich limits himself, and he does it deliberately to the

*In the novel Virgin Earth: "It is a known fact, if not easy intelligible, that the Russians are the greatest liars on earth."

exterior, outside face, to the aims, methods, and general character of the foreign policy; but has not every imperialism also an inside content, aims, methods, and general character regarding the victims of imperialism? Is it, from the historical point of view, methodically right not to take this interior side into account in a comparison of imperialisms?

The whole discussion cannot be limited to the point of view about Russian imperialism of the Russian historians, representing the Russian patriotic schools, but the historians of the non-Russian nationalities, representing the victims of Russian imperialism, should like also to present the other point of view and to compare the practice of Russian imperialism with, let us say, the British. We limit ourselves to the elucidation of the following theses of Prof. Karpovich:

1. Was the prerevolutionary Russian imperialism really essentially no different from the imperialism of the other great European powers? In our opinion, the statement of Prof. Karpovich is false.

a) European imperialism embracing gradually the whole globe contributed to the Europeanization of the whole world.

Russian imperialism (annihilating the Statehood of Ukraine, this fact is ignored by the Russian patriot, Karpovich, subjugating the peoples of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Poles, Ukrainians, Byeloruthenians, Lithuanians, later the Latvians, Estonians, Finns, Ingrians, and Karelians, finally the highly civilized Armenians and Georgians), embracing a large part of Eastern Europe, which for centuries formed an entity with Western Europe, did de-Europeanize these nationalities and forced them to a lower cultural and spiritual level by separating them from the Western European family of nations and their civilization. Consequently, Russian imperialism was essentially anti-European, anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant, anti-Jewish.

Even in Asia, Russian imperialism differs from the European essentially. We could present whole pages showing how the native populations were treated by the Russians; but we limit ourselves to the quotation from the popular Outline-History of Russia by W. Kirchner (p. 49): "Torture, abduction, murder and cannibalism were among their crimes."

b) European imperialism was also essentially different in its methods. Of course, also the European had its dark pages; but it went through an evolution in its justification and methods from brutal force to the conception of a "mission" finally developing into voluntary unions and the abolishment of the dictatorship of the once privileged nation. European imperialism gradually was controlled by the public opinion in the imperial nation; it grew more or less into "enlightened imperialism" as did pure absolutism into enlightened absolutism.

Russian imperialism is completely beyond comparison also in this regard with the European. The worst abuses of the European type are quite mild as compared with the Russian, characterized as it is by un-Christian cruelty and ferocity even until the recent pre-World War I times. We also miss completely any progressive improvement. It was cruel and brutal from the times of the Muscovite oprichnina and remained so toward the non-Russian nationalities until the downfall of the Empire.

What are the reasons of this phenomenon? We assume that, first, M. Gorky* may be right in declaring cruelty to be a special fault of the Russian common man (for which perhaps the climate is to blame). Second, Russian imperialism as compared with the European remained in a state of stagnation in its ideological evolution. Third, in conclusion, Russian imperialism represents the antithesis of the European.

What European power gave to history in modern times such a monster as Muravyov, or such an ideology as the falsified Protocols of the Elders of Zion (from a French source), or organized such pogroms of the "alien" non-Russian nationalities, their cultures, languages, churches? Which European imperialism can be compared with the Russian?

c) The European imperialism, on the whole, wished above all to integrate and to exploit the subdued peoples economically, but again, on the whole, the native cultures, languages, customs, often their rulers, were not interfered with (cf. the evolution in modern Austria); consequently, as a classic example, the English imperialism in fact contributed to the cultural development of the peoples of the Empire.

Russian imperialism never respected the individuality of the non-Russian nationalities, their languages, cultures, traditions, churches. Russian imperialism was totalitarian and the idea of a multinational Empire was absolutely foreign to its policy. This totalitarianism aimed at the complete Russification by terror of all "aliens," of their cultures, languages, and churches. Intolerance, complete absence of any respect for law and the rights of the non-Russian peoples characterizes Russian imperialism. Russification is the primary aim. The secondary purpose is the economic exploitation of the non-Russian elements.

We are summing up: Russian imperialism was essentially different from European; the Russian Empire was not a "conventional" one; its policies were not of the "traditional" European type. Its rise and expansion require special explanation.

2. Have we really to do after World War I and II, not with Russian imperialism, but with Communist aggression? In our opinion this thesis is false, but we respect the motives of Prof. M. Karpovich in expressing such an opinion.

a) Again we stress the fact that present Communist imperialism is essentially anti-European. The Eurasianic ideology played an important role in the nineteen twenties and Stalin's proved statement to the Japanese foreign minister during World War II: "I am an Asiatic" is characteristic.

As once Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Ingria, Finland, Karelia, Byelo-Ruthenia were de-Europeanized by terror behind a Russian Imperial Iron Curtain, so now in the same way are de-Europeanized the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, East Germany, and East Austria behind a Russian Communist Curtain. These peoples are forced down to a lower cultural and spiritual level

*In 1923 M. Gorky published a special article about the cruelty of the Russian peasantry.

by Soviet Moscow, being separated from the Western European family of nations and their civilization. Communist imperialism is essentially anti-European, anti-Catholic, anti-Protestant, anti-Jewish.

The example of Prof. Karpovich, given as a warning against regarding present Communist imperialism as the continuation of old Russian imperialism—"Yes," say the apologists for Soviet foreign policy, "Russia interferes in East European countries, but don't America and England do the same in Greece and Iran? . . . Russia is creating puppet governments but what is America doing in Korea?"—supports our thesis. America and England act in the interest of freedom and European civilization in a rather unselfish way, but what happened to the satellites? A new barbarization. It is the ideological aim of the interference that counts and it is decisive whether some action is "imperialism" or defense against imperialism.

b) This example brings us to the next point. Present Communist imperialism remained faithful to the old methods of Russian imperialism, increasing the use of brutal force to an incredible degree. Cruelty, not only in the first revolutionary years, but continuous cruelty is its particular feature. On the point we have an extensive literature of disillusionment from the pens of former Communists of all European nations, who unanimously testify to this fact. And this cruelty characterizes the present Russian regime in its dealings with all non-Russian nationalities. Is the oprichnina not a living fact in the political police? There arose not one Muravyov but dozens in the Soviet Union, and as the "successful" solution of the nationality problem the Jews, Germans, Chechen-Ingush, Crimean Tatars, Kalmyks, Karachis "disappeared." Russian terror went so far as to resort to genocide as its most effective means.

c) The Communist policy toward all non-Russian nationalities is a refinement of the old policy of Russian imperialism, aiming at the Russification of all non-Russian peoples, including their cultures and languages, which are put under Russian strict censorship.

We are summing up: Communist imperialism was and is essentially the continuation of the old Russian imperialism.

3. Now we ask, can there be any doubt that this Communist imperialism was and is conducted by Russians and as a Russian imperialism?

a) Any imperialism has its bearer—a nation, functioning as a dynamo of expansion and aggression. The Communist imperialism is directed by Russians and Russian "neophytes."

b) The Russian proletariat under the leadership of a large part of Russian intelligentsia gradually proclaimed themselves the heirs of the old Russian empire, of the classical Russian language, and of the old Russian culture and literature.

c) Behind a deceitful slogan of "self-determination for all non-Russian nationalities, including separation," the Russians by military aggression reoccupied in 1920 nearly all countries subdued by Russian Tsarist Imperialism. Was this move not dictated by Russian imperialism? These countries had Socialist governments.

On all non-Russian nationalities was imposed the dictatorship of the

Russian Communist Party by its Russian secretaries. After the short respite from 1923-1928, during the N.E.P. period, Soviet Moscow renewed its Russification of all non-Russian peoples, restored the privileged positions of the Russians in the Soviet Union, developing the "big brother" theory, with the "great" Russian nation including Ivan the Terrible and Peter I, and the "great" Russian language and finally proclaiming Russian as the language of the world proletariat and advanced humanity.

Was and is all this not Russian imperialism? All the Communist positions in the national republics accused the Russian party of fostering old Russian imperialism and not of "Communist aggression" (we refer only to Ukraine: Skrypnyk, Liubchenko) and acting contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution, which promised equality to all peoples.

d) During World War II did Stalin in his proclamations invoke Marx and Engels or all the great heroes of Russian-Muscovite history? What is Leninism is pontificated in Bolshevik, N. 2, January, 1944:

"Leninism, according to the classic definition of Comrade Stalin, is the highest achievement of Russian culture, the peak of development of Russian social thought. In Lenin's doctrine every individual's dreams of freedom are verbally realized. Leninism is the heir of everything created by Russian culture and Russian social thought. . . . Leninism is the highest expression of Russian patriotism. . . ."

After the war this Russian political and cultural imperialism was imposed now on all satellites; Russian language, literature (with the old classic one), art, and music are forced by terrorism upon all the non-Russian satellites and all their ties with Western Europe are forcibly broken. All this is not Russian imperialism but Communist aggression? Why does international "Communist" aggression not force upon them English?

e) There can be no doubt there is an interrelation between "domestic" politics and foreign politics, the latter being in fact an expression of the inward essence. There can be no doubt that these policies are conducted by Russians and their Janizaries. There can be no doubt that in this Russian imperialism the Russian nation functions as the master race and profits by it. There can be no doubt that this Russian imperialism is supported by the overwhelming majority of the Russians inside the Soviet Union, and also outside. The obstinate refusal of the Russian émigrés to grant programmatically self-determination to the victims of this Russian imperialism, to the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union, is the best proof for it.

To sum up, we fully agree with the opinion of the Russian philosopher, Berdyaev, who regards Bolshevism-Communism as the third form of Russian imperialism (after the first form, Muscovy, and Russia, the second). Since it is blended with the old Russian messianism, it is at the same time nationalistic and universal. Russian imperialism is with Communism merged into one whole; Communist aggressions were and are the expressions of Russian imperialism. The Russian nation, its

dreams of world conquest and aspirations, are the basis of this political phenomenon (which now restored to Alaska the name "Russian America") excellently formulated in the saying: "Our matushka Rossiya is the head of the whole world." Without the Russian nation and its mentality Communist aggression would be impossible; without the Muscovite traditions Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism is unthinkable.

4. Let us finally review the arguments of Prof. Karpovich, with which he attempts to show that a difference exists between the old "Russian imperialism" and its present continuation in Russian Communist form, terming it "Communist aggression."

a) The activities of the Politburo are "global," the activities of the old Russian imperialism were limited. What about the Ukas of 1821, which closed the entire North Pacific from the Bering Straits to the fifty-first parallel to the trade and navigation of any foreign power, provoking the Monroe Doctrine? Did not Russia extend her feelers toward Siam? What about the activities of Ashinov and Leontyev in Abyssinia under Alexander III? Russian imperialism was global, the difference between the old and new Russian imperialism is not in its "extent" but in its intensity, dependent on the fact that then the world still lived in the age of the horse but now of the aeroplane and technocracy, used in modern propaganda.

b) The old Russian Empire was not an "ideocracy" and can, therefore, not be compared with the present Soviet Union with its "Marxism-Leninism." All attempts of Prof. Karpovich to minimize the importance of the Third Rome idea, of Pan-Slavism, in reality, Pan-Russianism, of Russian messianism, are unconvincing (apparently he does not know the recently published book of the Ukrainian scholar, O. Ohloblyn, about the Third Rome idea). Unconvincing are his statements about the "absence of imperial consciousness" among the Russian intelligentsia. (I wonder where the present "imperial consciousness" of the whole Russian intelligentsia among the émigrés came from?) All these ideologies had their influences and despite the fact that the old Russian imperialism did not have an "officially approved program" for outside expansion (which one did have beside slogans?), "the internal program" was officially approved: "Russian absolutism, Russian nationalism, and Russian Orthodoxy," and its expression in foreign policies was Russian imperialism with definite aims. The absence of an "officially" approved ideology of Russian imperialism made its dynamic power all the worse, often unpredictable because it was always enveloped with foggy mysticism. Writers like Dostoyewsky strengthened that imperialistic tendency among the whole intelligentsia and nearly all great Russian poets have dark pages in treating the oppressed non-Russian nationalities, the Ukrainians, the Poles, and the Caucasians and their struggle for liberty against Russian imperialism. We do not deny the existence of "liberal" trends among the Russian elite, but they were foreign to the Muscovite soul and led to no positive results.

c) Prof. Karpovich concedes that Tsarist diplomats did from time to time employ "irregular methods," but Soviet diplomacy made a principle from the exceptions and is conducting a diplomacy of civil war. No!

The "seeds" are old Muscovite and the Russian Communist must be credited only with their cultivation to full maturity. Again, this is only a question of the time we live in, horse and buggy days or the aeroplane. There is between old Russia and the Soviet Union no difference at all. The Russians had to conduct inside the Empire a constant civil war against the non-Russian peoples and could only in times of relative peace use this method outside. But inside civil war against non-Russians was the only Russian method of keeping the Russian Empire together.

d) Prof. Karpovich states that with the Communist "fifth column" something fundamentally new appeared on the historical scene. A great mistake! Old Russian imperialism systematically used the "fifth column" method during the partitions of the Polish Commonwealth, against Turkey in the Balkans, and against Austria-Hungary, where it developed a special Russophile group for combating the Ukrainian independence movement; the Russian Orthodox priests worked to this end even on the American continent. Cf. *Svoboda*, September 22, 1901, informs us that the Russian Orthodox priests demanded from Ukrainian Catholics the following oath: "Do you believe in the holy Synod?" Answer: "I do." "Do you promise to obey the Tsar?" Answer: "I do."

e) There is also no basic difference between the old Russian imperialistic concept of security and that of the present Russian Communist. The old Russian concept also aimed not only "at the territorial security of the nation, but at the political security of the regime in power." Not only the present Russian Communist regime considers it necessary for security reasons to "Stalinize" the neighboring satellites, but the old Tsarist Russian regime used the same method toward the previous neighboring States, the Ukrainian Cossack State, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Finland, Caucasus. Both regimes stand a common ground in their security concepts, that is: fear of freedom.

5. We must finally also evaluate the political aims of the article of Prof. M. Karpovich, a distinguished scholar and leader of the Russian anti-Communist émigrés in the U.S.A. We, the non-Russian scholars, are sorry that Prof. M. Karpovich wrote this article against Mr. Acheson's statement and disregarded the nationality problem in the old and new Russian imperialism.

The Russian émigrés in the U.S.A. instead of fighting Russian Communist imperialism, which endangers the U.S.A. and the liberty of the whole world, are fighting on a common front with this Russian Communist imperialism, against all aspirations of the subject non-Russian nationalities for self-determination and liberty; the Russian émigrés in the U.S.A. deliberately ignored for decades the policy of Russification inside the Soviet Union and are now fighting the free voices of the non-Russian peoples in exile, together with the Soviet propaganda. In this respect both parts of the Russian nation have a common imperialistic program: the preservation of the Russian Empire by upholding the slavery of the non-Russian nationalities. From this point of view the Russian anti-Communist émigrés in the U.S.A. are in fact an active branch of Russian Communist imperialism and represent its fifth column,

directed against the ideas of the American Declaration of Independence, and all human rights and liberties of the non-Russian peoples. Here in the U.S.A. there is now going on the great ideological battle for the liberation of the Russian "Negro Nationalities" in which the Russian émigrés in reality support Stalin, beclouding and concealing from the American public the whole nationality problem in the Soviet Union.

If the Russian people really "yearn for lasting peace . . . and above all, for its own liberation from Communist aggression at home," as Prof. Karpovich says, then the Russian émigrés in the U.S.A. have a marvelous opportunity to contribute to the realization of this "yearning" by

a) Liquidating the Russian imperialistic ideology, which he calls "Communist aggression," immediately in the U.S.A. amongst the Russian émigrés by proclaiming unconditional self-determination for all non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union;

b) And by uniting as a democratic and equal nation with the non-Russian nationalities in the fight against Russian Communist imperialism, the modern form of the old Russian Tsarist imperialism.

When will the Russian émigrés finally give up all their attempts at subordinating the foreign policy of the U.S.A. and of the democratic public opinion of this cradle of "self-determination" to the interests of Russian imperialism, white or red? When will they cease to protect the Russian prison of nationalities? When will the mentality of the Russian émigrés, these obstinate political "Old Believers," adopt a little of the American way of thinking? Here we summed up our answer to Prof. M. Karpovich. He was also a joint author of a collective letter from a group of Russian intellectuals to the New York Times in connection with its editorial referring to Mr. Acheson's speech, published on July 8, 1951. This letter criticized the equating of Russian Communist policies with Russian national traditions and was signed by R. R. Abramovitsch, Prof. G. Fedotoff, R. Goul, Prof. M. Karpovich, A. Kerensky, Prof. B. A. Konstantinovskiy, Prof. I. Kurganov, B. I. Nicolaevskiy, Dr. S. M. Schwarz, Prof. L. Smirnov, Prof. M. Vishniak, V. M. Zenzinov.

Despite the usual tricky terminology of the letter we regard it as a great moral victory for the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union, because the Russian intellectual leaders cornered in free America by the Kersten Resolution for the first time have collectively stated:

"As to the national minorities in Russia: all democratic organizations of Russian émigrés, old and new, who are in close touch with Russia's internal life, believe that the future Russia, freed from communism, should be transformed into a federation of free and equal nations, with the right of every nation to claim its statehood through the democratic plebiscite under supervision of the UN. In this way a peaceful co-existence of all peoples in Russia can be assured."

Of course, all organizations of the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union think that they have already expressed their self-determination after the dissolution of the Russian Empire and in a bloody struggle of a century sufficiently manifested their will. Consequently their will,

after the fall of Communism, will be the re-establishment of their proclaimed Statehood and the formation of higher supernational organizations according to their cultural traditions and political and economic interests. But this statement proved before the forum of American public opinion our thesis:

a) The nationality problem is the paramount problem of the Soviet Union, and

b) It is an international and not a domestic Russian problem.

The statement of the Russian intellectuals also had consequences which the signatories did not anticipate. It led to a public discussion in the "Letters to the Times," in which leading representatives of the non-Russian nationalities and American scholars participated, denouncing Russian imperialism.

Thus the Russian nationality policy and Russian imperialism arraigned in the U.S.A., and that resulted in a small rift in the Iron Curtain in the U.S.A., behind which Russian propaganda was hiding the nationality problem.

The nationality problem of the Soviet Union was brought to the fore.

Finally on August 13, 1941, there appeared in the New York Times the editorial "Ukrainian Nationalism" which we regard as a turning point in American public opinion:

"The Kremlin's recent concern with 'bourgeois nationalism' in the Ukraine throws the spotlight on one of its chief continuing anxieties: the persistence of separatist sentiment not only among Ukrainians but also among many others of the minority peoples of the U.S.S.R. The intellectuals are the chief victims of the current witch-hunt in the Ukraine--including such devoted Soviet sycophants as Alexander Korneichuk and his wife, Wanda Wasilevska--but the fight against Ukrainian nationalism has a bloody history and may require new lives in the future as well. The matter is far more fundamental than the contents of a particular poem or play, though it is in this area that Kremlin concern is now manifested publicly.

"Amid the fog of Soviet verbiage one central fact is clear: despite more than three decades of allegedly 'enlightened' Soviet minorities policy, there still exist Ukrainians, Bielorrussians, Balts, Uzbeks, Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians and others who resent being vassals to the Soviet state with its glorification of Great Russians. These malcontents understand well from their own experience that the 'equality' of the peoples in the U.S.S.R. today is that suggested in Orwell's Animal Farm where all animals were equal but some were 'more equal' than others.

"The very persistence and magnitude of Moscow's concern over minority nationalism is the best proof that this is one of the significant Achilles' heels of the Soviet dictatorship. The 'Voice of America' has already acted on this realization with its broadcasts in an increasing number of minority languages. That the Kremlin will continue to combat this nationalism is clear, but that it will win a final victory is dubious. Not until there is democratic rule in what is now the Soviet Union

and the peoples of that area have been able to decide their own destinies by exercising the right of self-determination will the problem of 'bourgeois nationalism' be solved and free cooperation replace the present enforced subservience."

Unfortunately—the editorial is one third of a century behind the times. If such an understanding of the nationality problem of the non-Russian nationalities with the recognition of their legitimate revolutionary ideas and their burning concept of equality, justice, and freedom would have directed American policy in the 1920's—Leninism, would long ago have been forgotten, and no Hitler would have arisen to react against Russian Communist imperialism; there would have been no World War II with all its tragic results for Europe—and today Korea would not be drenched with the blood of the young Americans.

But there is no advantage in constant blindness especially at this time, when World War II is beginning to take its toll. Editorials are very well, but the "common cause of freedom" demands action on the part of the Americans. We ask our American friends to reorganize immediately their research institutes and to enlighten American youth on the true character of the Soviet Union.

The Russian institutes must reorganize as research institutes of the Soviet Union and the non-Russian scholars must participate in their work in full equality with the Russians. The Russian monopoly must be ended.

Slavic studies and research in all fields must be systematically organized and Russian studies integrated with Slavic studies. The non-Russian Slavic scholars must be given opportunity to participate as equals in Slavic research and teaching.

Only then will the still enslaved "Negro nationalities of Soviet Moscow," the non-Russian nationalities consider their ideological battle for freedom and equality in the U.S.A. as culminating in a moral victory of the ideas, on which the American nation was founded.

With full confidence we look to the future because freedom always wins the last battle. Some events of the past weeks are especially encouraging:

a) October 13, 1951, U.S. Displaced Persons Commissioner, Edward M. O'Connor, speaking in Philadelphia said:* "The overwhelming majority of those non-Russian people, living in the 'captive states,' are freedom-loving patriots whose hopes and ambitions, yearnings and struggles, parallel those of the patriots who founded our nation."

O'Connor recommended the immediate formation of an organization to be known as the "American Committee for the Liberation of Non-Russian Peoples of the Soviet Union." He pointed out that this is the first time anyone has suggested that "we direct our assistance toward the liberation of the majority of the people in the Soviet Union."

b) Some true friends of the non-Russian nations are to be found among the newest Russian DP émigrés. Thus in September Mr. Georgi

*Cf. Ukrainian Bulletin, October 15, 1951.

Alexandrov published in Novoie Ruskoie Slovo, New York, an article entitled "Patriotism and Democracy." The following excerpts* are taken from it:

"Leninist Bolshevism and especially Stalinist communo-fascism have sharpened national antagonisms exceedingly and created an intense hatred toward Moscow among the national minorities which live in the USSR.

"Western Ukrainians, Balts, Caucasians, Turkomen, Polish Jews, Georgians, Armenians and Crimean Tatars who are dying in the Kolyma concentration camps or are suffering under the heel of Soviet occupation experience extreme difficulty in understanding that Moscow, the capital of the Russian people, and the Russian people themselves, should also be dominated by an alien power, and that the Soviet government also comprises the representatives of the above-mentioned national minorities. For them, for these peoples of another origin with a different language, culture and tradition, Russia remains the symbol of their national enslavement.

"If one is to be objective and just to the end, one must bear in mind the nationality policy of Czarist Russia: persecution of the Jews, ghettos and pogroms, enforced Russification of the Vistula Land and of the Baltic provinces, devastating raids of Minin and Potemkin in the Crimea, of Yermolov in the Caucasus, of Suvorov in Warsaw, of Skobelev in Bukhara and Khiva--one must acknowledge that the descendants of these peoples conquered by Russia and the inhabitants of the border territories of the Stalinist empire, have reasons enough to justify their historical defiance of Moscow.

"There is little doubt that the inevitable catastrophic end of the Stalinist enslaving empire will evoke stormy centrifugal movements of these border peoples. The latter have had enough of the troublesome tutelage of Moscow. . . .

"There are all kinds of patriotism. For instance, the proud and dignified patriotism of a citizen of the United States or of the Swiss Federation, who has real reason to be proud--because in those countries the people of all origins and nationalities, of all languages, religions and traditions are all equal in enjoyment of all the benefits of freedom, independence and mutual tolerance.

"But there is another sort of patriotism, the so-called 'zoological' kind. It springs from a great-state imperialistic chauvinism which erects its welfare on the suffering of enslaved nations. In their Deutschland Ueber Alles have the Germans displayed such a patriotism. A year ago I published my memoirs as an eye-witness of the tragic destruction of the good-hearted and friendly small people--the Crimean Tatars. My material on this people was based not only on personal observation, but on research in libraries and archives with the cooperation of people acquainted with the Tatar, Turk and Arabic languages, and on sources dealing with the life of the Crimean Tatars for the past

*Cf. Ukrainian Bulletin, October 15, 1951.

150 years of the Russian and Soviet domination. After all my research (the results were published in a book which was banned in the USSR), I renounce the honor of being a Russian patriot in the sense it is understood by the Vozrozdnie of Paris (a Russian monarchist paper). One of its 'patriots' mercilessly denounced my modest research, and accused me, a native Russian, of being a partisan of independence and the Bandera movement, and the like. . . .

"At the risk of being accused again, I raise my voice as a Russian democrat in defense of the oppressed and dispossessed peoples who for centuries suffered in the Czarist prison and continue to suffer in the Stalinist prison of nations.

"The sincere desire to see my country, Russia, not necessarily great and powerful, but a free, just and democratic federation of free and independent peoples, compels me to protest against articles similar to that written by Mr. Dyky (author of an article, 'Is Ukraine Occupied?', which appeared in the Novoye Russkoye Slovo--Ed.).

"Such articles and expressions on the eve of perhaps the greatest crisis in the history of Russia could only contribute to our losing as Russians our last allies among the free and independent nations.

"For the people who still are imbued with Great Russian chauvinism in our era of the proclamation of the independence of India, Pakistan, Israel, Burma and Indonesia--for those people there remains only one place--the camp of Stalin, who erected the most dreadful prison of nations that history has ever known, in which, among other peoples, are incarcerated our own Russian people."

This article proves that the true democratic traditions of Herzen and Soloviev are among the Russians still alive. Such Russian democrats who respect the self-determination right of the non-Russian nations will always find our outstretched hand of friendship for building a true peace founded on "justice and liberty for all"--individuals and peoples.

c) On December 29, 1951, we finally gained in free America the opportunity to discuss at the annual meeting of the MLA in Detroit, "The Influences of Marxism-Leninism on Linguistics in the Soviet Union," under the chairmanship of Prof. A. P. Coleman. (R. Jacobson and E. Simmons did not honor the annual meeting by their presence.) In a crowded room the present writer outlined the points for the discussion, which had as main participants Prof. A. Salys, University of Pennsylvania; Prof. M. S. Mirski, U.S. Military Academy; Prof. W. Lew, Ukrainian University in Munich; Rev. W. C. Jaskiewicz, Boston College; I. Sydoruk, Ph.D.; and others. At the end of the first hour a participant of Columbia University asked the chairman how the name Marr is spelled, for he heard this name for the first time at that very meeting. Does Columbia train its young American scholars to ignore the central figures of the current ideological struggle between Moscow and the free Slavistic scholars of the world?

d) On December 14, 1951, Prof. L. Dobriansky and the present writer got the opportunity to present the nationality problem at Freedom Week Conference, sponsored by All American Conference to Combat Communism, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The present writer explained:

"The present world crisis demands from all Americans the full awareness of the true causes of, and dangers to, all the spiritual values of mankind that are presently at stake. Since the Hebrew-Greek-Latin-Christian times, European history attempted to solve two basic problems of human life: the problem of the freedom of individuals, nationalities and religion on the one hand, and the problem of protecting these freedoms by an international organization on the other. Freedom is the foundation of our civilization, and freedom and civilization are inseparable.

"In this struggle for a moral order in the world, the United States made two memorable and decisive contributions. The ideas of the American Declaration of Independence (1776) represented the climax of mankind's battle for freedom; the principles of Woodrow Wilson (1918) and his conception of a league of free nations offered the protection of freedom, peace and justice to all peoples under the rule of international law.

"The very antithesis of these American ideas was old Czarist Russia, the ill-famed prison of peoples, and now her successor, the Soviet Union. The old Russian imperialism with its divine right absolutism, Pan-Slavism and 'Third Rome' Messianism, evolved into the present form of Russian imperialism with its Marxist-Leninist absolutism, Neo-Pan-Slavism and Communist Messianism. Soviet Russia continues the historic Russian imperialistic expansion policy by every means of modern propaganda, aggression and warfare, aiming at the establishment of a world Soviet Union under a Russian dictatorship.

"How could Russian Communist imperialism have achieved its successful aggression over a sphere that includes 800 million people? The Americans know now that Russian spies stole thousands of secret files from state offices, many production secrets and the secret of the atomic bomb, but something far worse and more tragic happened, of which the American public opinion is still generally unaware. Russian Communist imperialism achieved all its successes by stealing for its deceitful aggressive design, the great ideas of the American heritage - the idea of self-determination and freedom for the oppressed colonial peoples and of the international world organization.

"Inside the Soviet Union and its sphere of influence, protected against inspection by the Iron Curtain, the Russian Communist dictatorship established over all non-Russian peoples the worst kind of colonial exploitation ever known, and used genocide for the suppression of freedom-loving peoples (Crimean Tatars, Chechen, Kalmycks, Jews, Ukrainians) but outside the Soviet Union the Russian Communist imperialism poses as an apostle of freedom, dressed with the slogans of stolen American ideas, in Central Europe, Asia and Africa. Even the democracies were deceived and permitted Russian Communism to swallow Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, China, North Korea and Tibet.

"But a truly tragic fact is that Russian propaganda, inside the United

States, induced a part of American liberal opinion to repudiate vociferously the extension of the great American ideas to all non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union and to refuse the right of democratic self-determination to those nationalities which, for a third of the century until now, have fought for their freedom against Russia. The same liberal opinion, under the direction of Russian Mensheviks, supports the self-determination of the peoples of the British and Dutch Empires, but at the same time insists on the "indivisibility" of the Soviet Union in spite of the fact that even the Soviet Constitution, in Article Seventeen, permits the non-Russian Union Republics to secede freely from the Soviet Union.

"The Russian propaganda in the United States introduced a special upside down terminology for the non-Russian peoples by calling them 'minorities,' in spite of the fact that they are not only overwhelming majorities within their own territories, but collectively constitute a majority of nearly 60% of the total population of the present Soviet Union. Thus Russian master spies and propagandists not only stole the American ideas for the Communist imperialism, but induced the misled liberals and the American foreign policy to oppose the ideas of self-determination of the non-Russian peoples inside the Soviet Slave Empire. Only Titoism partly opened the eyes of the world to the decisive importance of the national ideas in the struggle against Russian Communist imperialism.

"If America is to defend itself successfully and save the free world from Russian imperialism, American public opinion must solemnly reclaim the ideas of American heritage from Russian deceitful propaganda and rededicate the American foreign policy to the expression of the great American ideological heritage, that 'all men are created equal,' that all peoples are entitled to the enjoyment of freedom and independence, and that these principles are universal and apply to all people everywhere, including the peoples of the non-Russian Union Republics, and all non-Russian Autonomous Republics and Districts of the Russian Federated Socialist Soviet Republic itself. The free will of these peoples will decide whether they will join the future United States of Europe, the future Unions of the Turanic or Mohammedan peoples, a Siberian Union or remain in an Eastern Federation with Russia proper."

e) Finally Soviet Moscow decided to help the hard-pressed Russian defenders of the "unity and indivisibility" in the U.S.A. by new propaganda in English, and, in 1951, in Moscow the pamphlet of Prof. M. D. Kammari appeared, "The Development by J. V. Stalin of the Marxist-Leninist Theory of the National Question," which asserts again that the nationality problem in the Soviet Union is solved and reaffirms the paramount role of the nationality problem in the Communist world revolution (p. 85):

"The existence of the Soviet Union is the decisive factor that facilitates and determines the successes and victories of all the peoples' movements for national liberation in the dependent countries and colonies, because its very existence in itself puts a curb on the dark forces

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of reaction, inspires the oppressed peoples to fight for their liberation and facilitates this liberation.

"The movements for national liberation are gaining victories because, and insofar as, they lean on the might of the U.S.S.R., enter into ever closer alliance with the U.S.S.R. and rally around it, as Lenin and Stalin taught; these movements are gaining victories because they are headed by the working class and the Communist Parties which are armed with the revolutionary Lenin-Stalin theory, strategy and tactics, and are led and inspired by great Stalin.

"Stalin--the name of the genius, continuator of the great teachings and cause of Marx, Engels and Lenin, has become the symbol and fighting banner of the liberation of the peoples from the yoke of imperialism, the banner of proletarian internationalism. The great ideas of the Lenin-Stalin friendship and fraternity of the nations which are building a new world are today inspiring hundreds of millions of the common people in all parts of the world to fight for their emancipation."

In these final pages we have presented the high lights of the great discussion about our nationality problem which is now in full swing in the United States. We have presented some excerpts from it as material for thought for Americans who must now suffer all the consequences of the mistakes committed by the foreign policy planners regarding the nationality problem.

APPENDIX

DOCUMENT A

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER 30 (calendar day, NOVEMBER 20), 1929

Mr. COPELAND introduced the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations

A BILL

Providing for the appointment of a diplomatic representative to the Ukrainian Democratic Republic.

Whereas the Ukraine for many centuries maintained its independent existence, its racial identity, and the integrity of its language, institutions, and laws against the almost constant aggression and frequent invasion to which it was subjected, and its territory has been, for many centuries, and is, occupied by people of the Christian faith; and

Whereas the Ukraine was succeeded by the Ukrainian Democratic Republic which was regularly and freely established, with a written constitution, on January 22, 1918; and

Whereas the existence of the Republic has been generally recognized by the nations of the world except the United States; and

Whereas notwithstanding such express recognition by the Russian Government in 1918 that Government has since invaded and now exercises control of the territory of the Republic, which has been compelled to transfer its governmental activities from the Ukraine to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and France, where its officials now function; and

Whereas it is the sense of the Congress that the Government of the United States should express its disapproval of the unwarranted action of the Russian Government and its sympathy with the people of this Republic: Therefore

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That provision be made by law for authorizing the defraying
4 of the expenses incident to the appointment of a diplomatic
5 representative to the Ukrainian Democratic Republic, when-
6 ever the President shall deem it expedient to make such
7 appointment.

DOCUMENT B

Slavische Sprachfragen in der Sowjetunion.

Von Roman Jakobson

Slavische Sprachkunde in der Sowjetunion in den letzten Jahren? Matt sind die Ergebnisse, versteht man unter slavischer Sprachkunde das Studium der west- und südslavischen Sprachen. Freilich entstand in diesen Jahren und entwickelt seine Arbeit das Leningrader Institut für slavistische Forschung an der Akademie der Wissenschaften, jedoch sind sprachwissenschaftliche Probleme leider außerhalb seines Interessenkreises geblieben. Etwas größere Erfolge lassen sich, um eine beliebte militärische Metapher der heutigen russischen Presse zu gebrauchen, am literaturwissenschaftlichen Abschnitt der slavistischen Front verzeichnen. Das imponierende Buch von Kravcov „Serbskij epos“ (Academia 1933) vermittelt dem russischen Leser in geschickter Weise die Schätze der serbokroatischen Wortkunst, mehr als das — es ist ein wertvoller selbständiger Beitrag zur Geschichte und Historiographie der südslavischen epischen Dichtung. Kravcov betrachtet die Entstehung und das Leben der Epen im Lichte der sozialen Problematik und zollt somit den gebührenden Tribut sowohl der soziologischen Tradition der russischen Bylinenforschung, als auch der spezifischen Einstellung der heutigen Sowjetwissenschaft. Wir erwarten mit Interesse die weiteren in Aussicht gestellten Bücher dieser Reihe — die „Bulgarische Volkslyrik“ sowie die „West- und südslavischen Märchen“.

Verstehen wir unter slavischer Sprachkunde in der Sowjetunion das Studium nicht der ausländischen, sondern der heimischen Sprachen der Union, so wird auch in diesem Falle festzustellen sein, daß die Ernte der letzten Jahre keine allzu erfreuliche ist. Die aktuellen und grundlegenden Aufgaben der Erforschung der ostslavischen Sprachen bleiben unerfüllt: neuer Studien und neuer Beleuchtung bedürfen die Grammatik und der Wortschatz der Gegenwart, die Sprachgeschichte — die innere und die äußere, die Sprachgeographie, die Stilistik. Die Fülle der unerforschten Denkmäler und Mundarten hemmt auch weiterhin die synthetische Arbeit.

In die slavische Sprachkunde gehören jedoch nicht nur Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der slavischen Sprachen, sondern auch die Fragen ihrer unmittelbaren Zukunft. Sprachkunde ist

nicht nur Rekonstruktion des vorhandenen Materials, sondern auch Sprachaufbau. Und in dem Maße, wie der soziale Aufbau einen immer planmäßigeren und zielstrebigeren Charakter annimmt, wie in den Kreis der Planwirtschaft eine immer größere Anzahl sozialer Wertsysteme einbezogen wird, ist natürlich auch im Leben des Sprachsystems die Produktionsanarchie dazu verurteilt, Schritt für Schritt vor dem Plan und der Regulierung zu weichen. Freilich darf man sich diese Steigerung der Zielbewußtheit im Leben der Sprache nicht als mechanistische geradlinige Entwicklung denken.

Die Revolutionsepoche in Rußland hat nicht wenig Wehre, Schranken und Zensuren aller Art fortgeschwemmt. Die herrschenden Schichten des Imperiums besaßen das Monopol auf die russische Hochkultur. Das Hauptwerkzeug dieser Kultur, die russische Schriftsprache, war ihr uneingeschränkter Besitz. Indem die Revolution die herrschende Klasse wegfegte, erweiterte sie gründlich den Kreis der Besitzer der russischen Kultur und namentlich der russischen Schriftsprache. Die bunte Zusammensetzung und die ungenügende, beschleunigte Vorbereitung dieser neuen Träger der Kultur, der abhanden gekommene Begriff der guten, musterhaften Gesellschaft, d. h. jener Gesellschaft, die einst in konkreten Fragen der Sprachkultur tonangebend war, — all das sind bezeichnende Begleiterscheinungen der Demokratisierung der Kulturwerte, und je stürmischer und umfassender dieser Demokratisierungsprozeß ist, desto entschiedener wirkt er sich in der Zerrüttung der Sprachnorm und in der allgemeinen Verflachung der Sprachkultur — in der Vulgarisierung der Sprache — aus. Die Hochblüte verschiedener geschlossener Gruppen und Vereinigungen, als da sind Parteizellen, Komsomol, Gewerkschaften, Sportvereine, führt unvermeidlich zur Entwicklung diverser Sondersprachen, und so ergiebt sich in die Schriftsprache ein breiter Strom von bunten Argotismen, untermischt mit aufdringlichen Vulgarismen, mit Provinzialismen aus den verschiedensten Gegenden und mit Elementen der mannigfaltigen Eingeborenen Sprachen. Zahlreiche neue Begriffe erforderten neue Benennungen, nicht genug damit — öfters ruft die veränderte Beziehung zu alten Begriffen ebenfalls neue Benennungen hervor, in der Hitze des Revolutionsgefechtes nehmen Etiketten rasch eine affektive (meistens pejorative) Färbung an, es entsteht ein Bedarf an neuen, neutralen Termini, kurzum, die Nachfrage nach „Funkelnagelneuem“ hört nicht auf, es werden nicht nur neue Wörter, sondern sogar neue, beschleunigte Methoden zur

Bildung neuer Wörter gebildet (ein charakteristisches Beispiel sind die Sovjet-, „Abkürzungen“). Das schmerzlose Eindringen dieser zugewanderten und neugeborenen Wörter wurde durch die Politik der offenen Tür begünstigt, die seit jeher für die russische Schriftsprache kennzeichnend war, durch ihre herkömmliche Duldsamkeit gegen Fremd- und Neuwörter und durch ihre erbliche demokratische Haltung, die in der Literatur der „Narodniki“ ihren äußersten Ausdruck fand. Die Stabilität der Schriftnorm war von diesem Liberalismus nicht bedroht, solange die russische Schriftsprache von einer dünnen Oberschicht der Nation bedient wurde und solange das Leben der Sprache durch die soziale Kontrolle der führenden Gesellschaftsschicht geregelt werden konnte. Diese beiden Voraussetzungen gingen in der Revolution verloren.

Die russische Vorkriegsdichtung (teilweise bereits die Symbolisten und folgerichtig die Futuristen) machte die Lostrennung von der Sprachtradition, den „Haß gegen den hergebrachten Sprachbestand“ zu ihrem Leitsatz. Die willkürliche Verletzung der vorhandenen lexikalischen, phraseologischen und syntaktischen Schablonen, die schon dem russischen dichterischen 19. Jh. aufs genaueste vertraut war, wurde im Schaffen der maßgebenden Schriftsteller unseres Jahrhunderts, als da sind Andrej Belyj, Chlebnikov und gewissermaßen Majakovskij, zum entblößten Kunstgriff. Kühne Wagnisse und Normverletzungen sind wirksam, wenn ein klarer, unerschütterlicher Sprachkanon vorhanden ist, der dem Dichter sowohl wie dem Leser gleich wahrnehmbar ist, aber in einer Zeit des revolutionären Erdrutsches der Norm verlieren sie ihre Stoßkraft. Es verwischt sich die Grenze, wie dies die Schriftstellerin Sejfullina offen gestand, zwischen verfeinertem Experimentieren und verwegener Maskierung der eigenen dichterischen Ratlosigkeit.

„In vielen Büchern tummelt sich nach Herzenslust jegliche sprachliche Albernheit“, grämt sich ein Dorfkorrespondent der „Krestjanskaja gazeta“. Es schien, die Hochflut des Wortes würde kein Ende nehmen, und niemand habe die erforderliche Erfahrung, den Scharfblick, die Schlagfertigkeit und Autorität, um der außer Rand und Band geratenen Naturgewalt durch entschlossene Maßnahmen Einhalt zu gebieten. Das Zurückbleiben der russischen Sprachwissenschaft hinter den praktischen Tagesaufgaben ersterangiger Wichtigkeit wurde bereits von der Moskauer Presse verzeichnet. Die ersten, denen die Unhaltbarkeit der sprachlichen Zustände aufgefallen ist, waren nicht die Theoretiker, sondern die

Praktiker der Sprachkultur — die russischen Schriftsteller und in erster Reihe Maksim Gor'kij, der in den Zeitungen eine großzügige Sprachdiskussion eingeleitet hat. „Die russische Sprache“, warnte Gor'kij, „wird entstellt, vulgarisiert, ihre klaren Formen werden aufgedunsen, indem sie lokale Redensarten aufsaugt und Wörter aus dem Wortschatz der nationalen Minderheiten, aus dem Gebiete der Produktionsprozesse, aus Büchern usw. in sich aufnimmt. Der Schriftsteller muß Russisch schreiben, nicht aber V'atisch oder Balachnisch. Ihr schreibt für die Menschen eines gewaltigen mannigfaltigen Landes. Um einander rascher und besser zu verstehen, müssen diese Menschen ein und dieselbe Sprache sprechen“. Eines der aktuellsten Schlagworte des Sovietlebens — „der Kampf um die Qualität“ — wurde somit auch auf die Sprachwirtschaft ausgedehnt.

In der politischen sowohl wie in der Fachpresse hat Gor'kij's Anregung einen starken Widerhall gefunden. Die literarischen Zeitungen Moskaus und Leningrads eröffneten eine spezielle Diskussion, wobei die Grundparole aufgestellt wurde: „Die Stoßaufgabe ist die Selektion der Sprache, d. h. die künstliche planmäßige Zuchtwahl in dem elementaren Prozesse, der sich gegenwärtig in unserer Sprache vollzieht.“ Die Literarhistoriker belehren heute in tendenziöser Weise die Zeitgenossen, daß selbst der vorbildliche Puškin die Grundaufgabe des Schriftstellers nicht darin erblickte, neue Wörter zu erfinden, sondern darin, aus dem vorhandenen gedruckten und mündlichen Wortschatz die notwendigen Wörter, Redensarten und Wendungen auszuwählen.

Zur Grundlage der Zuchtwahl wird das Prinzip der folgerichtigen, strengen Einheitlichkeit der Schriftsprache gemacht — das Pfand ihrer breitesten und tiefsten Expansion und ihrer propagandistischen Möglichkeiten. „Man kann sich unmöglich darauf berufen, daß in unserem Distrikte soundso gesprochen wird — Bücher werden nicht für den einen Distrikt geschrieben“, erklärt Gor'kij, und daraufhin stempelt der Sprachforscher Jakubinskij jeden Versuch, die Sprache auf Kosten von Krähwinkelwörtchen zu erneuern, ohne Rücksicht auf die allgemeine nationale einheitliche Kultursprache, als reaktionär. „Eben an dieser Sprache und nicht an den zersplitterten Bauernmundarten ist das Proletariat interessiert.“ „Die Sprache muß die Gewähr dafür bieten, daß jede noch so komplizierte Idee in die breitesten Massen, bis zu jedem Arbeiter und Kollektivwirtschaftler vordringt“ (Bolotnikov).

Aber der populäre Charakter der Schriftsprache bedeutet keineswegs ihre Rustikalisierung. Derartiges wird in jeder Weise abgelehnt. Das „volkskundliche Verhältnis“ zum Worte ist verpönt. Der Linguist Ščerba zieht gegen jene Eiferer ins Feld, die den Bauern „wie im Leben“ reden lassen, und stellt ihrem naiven Naturalismus den klassischen Realismus eines Tolstoj und eines Gor'kij entgegen, die mit Abweichungen von der Schriftsprache sparsam umgehen. Einer der unmittelbaren Anlässe zur ganzen Sprachdiskussion war eigentlich die Begeisterung gewesen, die der Schriftsteller Serafimovič der Sprache des Schriftstellers Panferov entgegenbrachte — ihrer „ungelenken, gesunden, bäurischen Wucht“. Es folgte eine empörte Erwiderung Gor'kij's, diese bäurische Wucht sei eine sozial ungesunde Kraft. Diese These kam zur rechten Zeit und löste eine Flut von zustimmenden Äußerungen aus. Besonders treffend kommentiert die Diskussion ein Brief der Arbeiter der Stalingrader Traktorwerke: „Wir glauben, daß die „bäurische Wucht“, wie viele unsere Schriftsteller sie sehen möchten, ihrem Ende entgegengeht. Unser Kollektivwirtschaftsdorf wird unter der Führung der Arbeiterklasse diese anarchistische Kraft einer organisierten Tätigkeit unterwerfen. Ausdrücke wie *čavo, taper', pakel'*, mit denen viele Schriftsteller heute mit Vorliebe ihre Werke schmücken, schwinden allmählich dahin, diese Ausdrücke sind für den heutigen Kollektivwirtschaftler nicht mehr typisch. Wer sich für die „bäurische Wucht“ einsetzt, wer vom Wortschatz der nahen und doch so entfernten Vergangenheit lebt, ist ein Mensch, der sich von unserer merkwürdigen Wirklichkeit losgetrennt hat. Wir sind für die Reinheit der russischen Sprache . . . Wir sind ernstlich entschlossen, die russische Sprache, ihre Syntax und Grammatik zu studieren. Die Ergebnisse lassen sich bereits merken. Unsere Genossen treten jetzt mit größerer Vorsicht und Verantwortungsgefühl an die Wahl der Ausdrücke, an die Verwertung jedes Wortes, an den Satzbau im ganzen heran.“

Vor unseren Augen entrollt sich eine interessanteste kulturhistorische Erscheinung: die vorderen Reihen des russischen Stadt- und Dorfproletariats lösen bewußt die Bande der volkstümlichen Muttersprache, die territorial und funktional allzusehr beschränkt ist, und streben mit Elementargewalt danach, das Erbe, das ihnen von den herrschenden Klassen der nahen Vergangenheit zugefallen ist, möglichst rasch und voll in Besitz zu nehmen. Das sind schon keine feindlichen Zitadellen mehr, die

zerstört werden müssen (man hört bereits Spöttelien über die „falschen Neuerer“ und „kleinbürgerlichen Revolutionäre“, die da verlangen, das Proletariat möge die Normen der Sprachtätigkeit zerbrechen), das ist nunmehr eigenes Gut, das erkannt, reflektiert und vermehrt werden muß. Von den Klassikern wird das Klassenodium aufgehoben, und für ihre ideologische Harmlosigkeit wird eine Lanze gebrochen. „Sollt ihr auch euren Turgenew ausgezeichnet kennen und ihn nachzuahmen trachten“, sagte Bundesobmann Kalinin zu den jungen Bauernschriftstellern, „so vergeßt nicht, daß wir die Epoche Turgenews weit hinter uns haben. Zurück in das leibeigene Rußland wird euch Turgenew nicht verschleppen . . . Aber seine Meisterschaft muß und kann verwendet werden. Die Klassiker sind für euch die erste Stufe“.

Es entsteht eine Theorie der Gemeingültigkeit des klassischen Erbes. „Das ist die echte Schriftsprache“, predigt Gor'kij, „und obschon sie aus der Umgangssprache der werktätigen Massen geschöpft wurde, unterscheidet sie sich kraß von ihrem Urquell, weil sie sich der beschreibenden Darstellung bedient und aus dem Sprachelement alles Zufällige, Zeitweilige und Unhaltbare, Launenhafte, lautlich Entstellte, aus verschiedenen Gründen mit dem eigentlichen ‚Geist‘, d. h. mit der Bauart der allgemeinen Stammessprache nicht Übereinstimmende ausscheidet.“ Beim Vorherrschen der Tendenz zu einer klassenlosen Gesellschaft wird auch die russische Sprache als klassenlos, allgemein-national aufgefaßt. Aber ihre Bestimmung ist eine noch breitere. Der hervorragende Schriftsteller Aleksej Tolstoj, der gemeinsam mit Gor'kij gegen die Überbleibsel der rohen, verkrusteten Dorfrede in der russischen Hochsprache und für den Aufbau einer wissenschaftlichen Sprachkultur kämpft, geht von der Voraussetzung aus: „die russische Sprache muß eine Weltsprache werden, und nicht fern ist die Zeit, da sie unter allen Breitengraden des Erdballes gelernt werden wird“.

Allseitige Popularisierung des klassischen Erbes, seine Annäherung an den zeitgenössischen Massenverbraucher und Produzenten von Sprachwerten — das ist die Kampfaufgabe, die den russischen Literatur- und Sprachforschern gestellt ist. Die Wortkultur des vergangenen Jahrhunderts ist ein derart aktuelles, gangbares Thema geworden, daß der Schriftsteller Panferov, das erste Opfer der Sprachdiskussion, darüber wehklagt, die Sprache der Revolution sei aus dem Blickfelde der Kritiker, die lieber Betrachtungen über die Sprache der Klassiker anstellen,

gänzlich herausgefallen. Gor'kij wirbt für „das herrliche Erbe: das reiche Sprachmaterial der Narodniki, den Wortschatz solch eigenartiger Stilisten wie Herzen, Nekrasov, Turgenev, Saltykov, Leskov, Gl. Uspenskij, Čechov“. Kalinin empfiehlt neben Turgenev Puškin, Gogol', ja selbst die akademische „Fregatte Pallas“ von Gončarov. „Langweilig, sagt ihr? So leset vom Standpunkt der Sprache, der Form . . .“ Lev Tolstoj wird von Kalinin bezichtigt, die Sprache übermäßig vereinfacht zu haben, doch, meint er, könne man auch von ihm vieles lernen. Die Revue „Literaturnaja učeba“ fordert auf, von der antiken Dichtung, vom Klassizismus, von Goethe, von Puškin, vom verfeinerten Bat'uškov, von den Realisten die Exaktheit der Sprachform zu lernen. Die realistische Auffassung des Wortes wird als eine strenge Nachprüfung seiner Beziehung zur bezeichneten Wirklichkeit definiert. Der Romanismus, Symbolismus und die darauffolgenden dichterischen Schulen werden beschuldigt, die Gegenständlichkeit des Wortes erschüttert zu haben. In diesem Zusammenhang ist von besonderem Interesse die künstlerische Umwertung der russischen klassischen Dichtung des 18. Jhs. und die Anerkennung ihrer bedeutenden Urwüchsigkeit seitens der heutigen Literaturwissenschaft, — eine Parallele zur Anerkennung des hohen Standes der russischen Wirtschaft des 18. Jhs. in der neuen russischen historischen Wissenschaft.

Das kulturelle Erbe beschränkt sich aber nicht auf zwei Jahrhunderte. Gor'kij nimmt unter seinen Schutz die kirchenslavischen Elemente der russischen Schriftsprache, weil sie die Sprachkultur heben und bereichern, und verurteilt die Unkenntnis der Meisterwerke der vorpetrinischen Literatur, z. B. der Lebensgeschichte Avvakums. Kalinin rechnet es dem Dichter Demjan Bednyj als besonderes Verdienst an, daß er in seinem Sprachstudium bis zu den altrussischen Heiligenlegenden hinausgeht und alte Kirchenbücher sammelt.

Einen Ehrenplatz im kulturellen Erbe nimmt die russische Volksdichtung ein. Zur Aneignung der Reichtümer der Folkloresprache fordert die „Literaturnaja gazeta“ auf, indem sie das Fazit der Sprachdiskussion zieht. Eine unversiegbare Quelle der Sprachkultur nennt das Volkslied, die Byline und das Märchen auch die „Literaturnaja učeba“. Wie diese Schlagworte mit dem Feldzug gegen das lokale Dorfelement in der Sprache ins Gleichgewicht bringen? Gor'kij wurde auch in diesem Falle von seinem feinen linguistischen Gefühl nicht im Sluche gelassen — von jenem

Gefühl, das ihm auch die richtige phonologische Lösung der Frage der Assimilierung von Fremdwörtern eingegeben hatte. Er hat richtig auf den interdialektischen Charakter der Volksdichtung hingewiesen, die Provinzialismen und rein örtliche Ausdrücke meidet, die aus der reinen Sprache aufgebaut wird und mit einer breiten Expansion rechnet. Dieses Interdialektische des Folklore ist ein Ergebnis der kollektiven Selektion und entspricht dem zwischenklassenmäßigen Charakter des Folklore. Genetisch eng mit dem Schaffen der herrschenden Klassen verbunden, zieht seinerseits das Folklore die Literatur groß. „Das Folklore“, betont P. Stepanov in der ‚Lit. učeba‘, „ist eine ausgezeichnete sprachliche Grundlage für den Dichter. Nicht umsonst greifen Puškin, Nekrasov, Aleksej Tolstoj fortwährend auf die Volksdichtung zurück“. Die untrennbare Verbindung zwischen Schrifttum und Volksdichtung vom Igorliede an bis zur Sowjetlyrik ist eine kennzeichnende Eigentümlichkeit der russischen Literaturgeschichte.

Bei aller Eigenartigkeit des sozialen Inhalts der russischen Revolution könnte man auch in der Entwicklung anderer Länder in der Nachkriegszeit gleichstrebige Erscheinungen finden, freilich in anderem Maßstab und Tempo, in anderer Reihenfolge und lokaler Färbung. Wenn wir z. B. bei aller Verschiedenheit der politischen Ideologie des Prager Slavisten M. Weingart von der Weltanschauung Gor'kij's und Kalinins zwischen der Haltung der letzteren in der Sprachdiskussion und dem soeben erschienenen Buche Weingarts, „Český jazyk v přítomnosti“, auffallende Übereinstimmungen erblicken, so erklärt es sich eben durch die im Grunde gemeinsamen sozialen Voraussetzungen: der Prozeß der ungestümen Demokratisierung hat in den Kreislauf der Kulturwerte neue, untere soziale Schichten stürmisch hineinbezogen und die vor kurzem noch führende soziale Oberschicht mindestens ihrer Bedeutung entkleidet. Der Prozeß der Gärung, der Zerstörung, der Umgestaltung, der Inflation hat sich in allen sozialen Wertsystemen, darunter auch im Sprachsystem, vollzogen. Die unlängst noch gültige Norm wurde durch die Negation der Norm ersetzt, und heute ist eine dritte Etappe im Anzug — die Negation der Negation, um in der Sprache der Dialektik zu reden. Neue Schichten gelangen zur Erkenntnis, daß sie von nun an Besitzer der Hochkultur sind. Die Ideologen dieser Strömung (Gor'kij sowohl wie Weingart) brandmarken mit Leidenschaft das Eindringen der Unkultur und Gaunersprache in die Schriftsprache, sie ziehen nachdrücklich eine Grenze zwischen den Begriffen „demos“ und

„vulgus“, alle beide räumen dem klassischen Erbe und der Überlieferung den ersten Platz ein, alle beide entlarven die romantische Idealisierung der Volksmundarten und alle beide halten zugleich die Bedeutung des Volksliedes für die Sprachkultur in hohen Ehren. Weingart verwirft entschieden die These, als ob „Wortschatz und Phraseologie der ‚bürgerlichen‘ öchischen Vorkriegs-Schriftsprache ihre Ausdruckskraft dermaßen erschöpft hätten, daß sie weder zum Sprechen noch zum Schreiben zu gebrauchen sei“. Ähnliche Erklärungen hört man in Rußland. Ich zitiere einen ehemaligen Arbeiter und nunmehrigen Direktor eines der größten Moskauer Werke namens Bodrov: „Die russische Sprache ist farben- und bilderreich, grell. Die Klassiker machten aus ihr einen vollkommenen Gebrauch; wozu dann noch herumklügeln. Wir bedienen uns ja der alten, unter dem Kapitalismus geschaffenen Maschinen; sie bedienen uns, und so mag sich der Teufel darum kümmern, daß sie kapitalistischen Ursprungs sind. Dasselbe gilt von der Literatur. Nimm alte Worte und lege in sie neuen Inhalt. Und die alte Sprache wird ausgezeichnet dem Sozialismus dienen.“

Freilich ist in Wirklichkeit eine neue Maschine der alten bei weitem vorzuziehen, es handelt sich aber nicht um den hinkenden Vergleich. Es handelt sich darum, daß Form und Bedeutung mechanistisch nicht voneinander getrennt werden dürfen! Die umsichtige Mariette Šagin'an hat richtig erkannt, daß „das Schicksal des Wortes nicht das Wort selbst, sondern der Zusammenhang bestimmt“, sie hat richtig „den Prozeß der neuen Umdeutung der Worte“ in den Vordergrund gestellt. Ein heutiger Moskauer Leitartikel wäre einem Zeitungsleser um 1900 nicht nur seinem Inhalte, sondern auch seiner Sprache nach beinahe unverständlich. Die Umschichtungen in der Semantik der Wörter und Sätze sind derart tiefgehend, daß die Befürchtungen des Dichters Sel'vinskij, „die Ideologie der einen sozialen Schicht, in der sprachlichen Eigenart der anderen ausgedrückt, würde falsch klingen“, vollkommen grundlos sind: die Negation kann unmöglich eine mechanische Rückkehr zum status quo ante bedeuten. Die Fachpresse verkündete bereits „die Notwendigkeit des Kampfes mit den Versuchen der entstellten Auslegung der Artikel von Gor'kij, nämlich mit jenen Puristen, die durch ein generelles Verbot der Wortschöpfung eine Abtötung der Sprache anstreben“. Es handelt sich nicht um die Aufhebung, sondern bloß um die Regulierung der Neuerungen, um den Kampf mit der planlosen, anarchis-

schen Willkür in der Sprachschöpfung. M. Šagin'an befürchtet eine Unterbrechung der Tradition der „großen und mächtigen russischen Sprache“, die, von mannigfaltigsten lokalen und fremdsprachigen Mitteln gesättigt, wie ein Schwamm den Essig fremdartige Tatarismen eingesaugt und sie glücklich verdaut hat. Der Flußlauf wird jedoch von einer Schleuse nicht unterbrochen, sondern nur zweckmäßig ausgenützt, meinen die Befürworter der Planwirtschaft in der Sprache und verweisen auf Hegel, der die Freiheit als Selbstbegrenzung deutet.

Die Sprachdiskussion hat die verschiedensten Kreise der russischen Gesellschaft mitgerissen, sie hat die dringendsten Probleme der Sprache zum Gegenstand einer lebhaften Erörterung gemacht. Das Verständnis für sprachkulturelle Fragen stieg beträchtlich, das Interesse für sie wurde rege. Die nächste Etappe dürfte ihre systematische, konkrete, praktische Bearbeitung sein. Die Bedeutung dieser Diskussion geht jedoch über die Grenzen der russischen Sprache hinaus. Sie hat auch in den literarischen Kreisen der entferntesten Sowjetrepubliken einen Widerhall gefunden. Ihre methodologische Bedeutung ist vor allem für das kulturelle Leben der ukrainischen und weißrussischen Sprache wichtig, bei aller Besonderheit ihrer historischen Voraussetzungen.

Die ukrainische und weißrussische Schriftsprachen fristeten im Rahmen des zaristischen Rußland ein elendes, schweres, nahezu illegales Dasein. Die Revolution hat mit einem Male alle künstlichen Dämme und Zwangsmaßnahmen aufgehoben, die die Entwicklung beider südwestlichen Zweige der ostslavischen Sprachwelt hemmten. Mehr als das, sie hat diese beiden Sprachen, ähnlich wie die anderen, vor kurzem noch von der Zensur nicht anerkannten oder wenigstens einer wütenden Zensur unterstellten Sprachen des gewesenen russischen Imperiums, in eine besonders günstige, bevorzugte Lage gestellt. Es sei darauf hingewiesen, daß in den weißrussischen Städten der Analphabetismus unter der Bevölkerung im Alter bis 50 Jahren und in den Dörfern bis 45 Jahren vollständig getilgt ist und daß die Zahl der weißrussischen Bücher, die jährlich vom Weißrussischen Staatsverlag herausgegeben werden, mehr als ums Zehnfache die Gesamtzahl der Publikationen übersteigen, die vor der Revolution in weißrussischer Sprache erschienen sind.

Es ist kein Wunder, daß in der ukrainischen und weißrussischen Aufbauarbeit, die sich erst vor kurzem vom zaristischen

Druck erholte, in der ersten Zeit öfters ein starker Hang zur Los-
trennung von der russischen Kultur und namentlich von der
russischen Sprache zum Ausdruck kam. Der großmächtige russische
Chauvinismus fand seine dialektische Antithese in den lokalen
Chauvinismen, namentlich im ukrainischen und weißrussischen
kulturellen Separatismus. Jedem unvoreingenommenen Beob-
achter des Sowjetaufbaues war es aber klar, daß diese zentri-
fugalen Strömungen seinem Pathos durchaus fremd sind und
folglich scheitern müssen, da die nationale Grenzziehung in der
Union nicht dazu vorgenommen wird, um das eine Volk vom
anderen zu trennen, sondern im Gegenteil, um sie enger aneinander
zu fügen und um ihr kulturelles Wachstum zu beschleunigen. In
den breitesten Gesellschaftskreisen Weißrußlands und der Ukraine
begann ein heftiger Kampf gegen die Schädlingarbeit der weiß-
russischen, ukrainischen und russischen Chauvinisten, die zwischen
den genannten Völkern des Sowjetlandes künstliche Barrieren
errichten wollten. Dieser Kampf fand allgemeinen Beifall und gab
Anlaß zu einer Reihe neuer planmäßiger Maßnahmen auf dem
Gebiete der Sprachkultur. Entschieden wurden alle Schritte ver-
urteilt, die zur Provinzialisierung und Absonderung der weiß-
russischen und ukrainischen Sprachkultur und zu ihrer Los-
trennung von der russischen Kultur führten. Folgerichtig entlarvt
wurde die Beweisführung all jener Theoretiker, die um die ein-
zelnen slavischen Sprachen der Union chinesische Mauern er-
richten wollten. Zwecks gegenseitiger Annäherung der
nationalen Kulturen dieser drei eng verwandten Völker wurde
beschlossen, die Fragen der Rechtschreibung, der wissenschaft-
lichen und technischen Terminologie, der Wörterbücher und der
grammatikalischen Lehrbücher einer Revision zu unterziehen.

Der weißrussische Nationaldichter Jakob Kolas hat einsichts-
voll die Fragen der Rechtschreibung unter den Gesichtspunkt ihrer
sozialen Funktionen gestellt und die Forderung nach ihrer Ver-
ständlichkeit für die Vertreter verschiedener Mundarten hervor-
gehoben. Die ersten konkreten Maßnahmen sind bereits verwirk-
licht. Der Gebrauch der Anfangsbuchstaben ist unifiziert und ein
gemeinsames System der Interpunktion ist gebildet. Die Frage
der Internationalisierung der Grundlagen der Interpunktion
wurde nach der Anregung des schwedischen Sprachforschers
Lindroth auf den jüngsten internationalen Linguistenkongressen
lebhaft erörtert, und der vorerwähnte Versuch ist der erste prak-
tische Schritt in dieser Richtung. Ein wesentlicher Erfolg ist eben-

falls die Vereinheitlichung der Wiedergabe der Fremdwörter in der Rechtschreibung aller drei Sprachen. In den Grundlagen der Transkription dieser Wörter kam der nämliche gesunde Vorrang des funktionalen Gesichtspunktes über den genetischen zum Ausdruck, der für die Wissenschaft der UdSSR überhaupt und namentlich für den Kampf gegen chauvinistische Abweichungen (z. B. in der Frage der Ukrainisierung des Nordkavkasus) kennzeichnend ist.

Höchst belehrend ist in den Arbeiten der Teilnehmer der neuesten Reform der Rechtschreibung, des Weißrussen A. Aleksandrovič und des Ukrainers A. Chvyl'a, die Entlarvung der chauvinistischen Beweggründe ihrer Vorgänger, die von allem Gebrauch machten — von den mundartlichen Archaismen (z. B. Diphthonge der südwestlichen Mundarten des Weißrussischen), von lateinischen Buchstaben, — nur um eine größtmögliche Unähnlichkeit mit der russischen Schrift zu erreichen. Aleksandrovič hat recht, indem er in den Plänen der Latinisierung der weißrussischen Schrift „die höchste Stufe der gegenrevolutionären Tätigkeit erblickt, da eine derartige Reform erstens die weißrussischen Massen auf lange hinaus in einen Zustand des vollständigen oder teilweisen Analphabetismus versetzt und zweitens einen verhängnisvollen Abgrund zwischen der weißrussischen und russischen Kultur geschaffen hätte.

Überhaupt läßt sich in der Frage der Latinisierung ein bemerkenswerter Stimmungsumschwung in der Sowjetöffentlichkeit beobachten. Unter dem Zarismus und dessen kolonialisatorischer Russifizierungspolitik verwandelte sich das russische Alphabet in den Augen der nationalen Minderheiten in ein verhaßtes Symbol der Unterdrücker. Diese Gedankenverbindung überlebte die ersten Revolutionsereignisse, und das kulturelle Erwachen der nationalen Minderheiten stand daher in vielen Fällen, namentlich bei den Völkern der moslimischen Tradition, in einer engen Beziehung zur Lateinschrift. Die Symbolik hat ein zähes Leben, letzten Endes verlöschen aber auch Symbole. Und schon sind in der amtlichen Moskauer „Pravda“ neue Schlagworte aufgetaucht: „Es ist unbegreiflich, warum diejenigen, die sich für die Beibehaltung des für die jakutische Sprache bereits vorhandenen, mit dem russischen gemeinsamen Alphabets aussprechen, Nationalisten und Chauvinisten seien, während diejenigen, die für die Annäherung an das Alphabet der Franzosen und Italiener kämpfen, als Internationalisten gelten. Das Gerede über den Missionscharakter des russischen

Alphabets wird unter den Verhältnissen der proletarischen Diktatur zu einem unsinnigen Geschwätz ... Wer und wozu hat es nötig, daß die Lateinschrift eine internationale Schrift werden soll? Welche Vorzüge hat das lateinische Alphabet vor dem russischen, in dem gewaltige Kulturwerte des Sowjetlandes geschaffen sind? ... Und wäre es nicht einfacher, beispielsweise für das Schrifttum der Völkerschaften unseres Nordens das russische Alphabet als Grundlage zu nehmen, um den Werktätigen dieser Völkerschaften die Besitzergreifung vom Schrifttum der beiden Sprachen, der heimischen und der russischen, zu erleichtern?" (3. Februar 1934). Bei der Ausarbeitung eines Alphabets für die Völker der UdSSR ist „öfters das russische Alphabet verwendbarer und als Grundlage des neuen Schrifttums besser angebracht als das lateinische. Und darin ist keine Spur von Gegenrevolution, darin ist kein Fußbreit Zurückweichens vom Internationalismus. In der Tat, ist denn grundsätzlich das lateinische Alphabet irgendwie mehr international als das russische, dessen sich ein bedeutender Teil der Werktätigen der UdSSR, der Vorhut der internationalen sozialistischen Revolution, bedient?" (17. Februar 1934). Der Krieg dem russischen Alphabet wird hier geradeheraus zum „schädlichsten Unsinn, der einer objektiv gegenrevolutionären Grundlage nicht entbehrt“, erklärt, weil das eines der kennzeichnenden Schlagworte der chauvinistischen Reaktion ist, die in Kulturfragen und namentlich in den Fragen der Sprache und des Schrifttums die Forderung aufstellte, sich um jeden Preis nach Westen zu orientieren. Die Frage ist klar, zugespitzt und grundsätzlich richtig gestellt. Gegen die generelle Latinisierung sprechen wirtschaftliche Gründe sowohl wie die Interessen einer breiten und spontanen Aufklärung der Massen, schließlich auch die charakteristischen Lauteigentümlichkeiten des Großteils der Sprachen der Union (z. B. der Gegensatz der weichen und harten Konsonanten, der höchst unvollkommen und unpraktisch von der Lateinschrift wiedergegeben wird). Was die Latinisierung einzelner Völker der Union anlangt, so ist es zwecklos, erstens die kleinen Völker und zweitens die Völker nahverwandter Sprachen von den nachbarlichen Kulturquellen abzuschneiden.

Die ukrainische Rechtschreibung bedurfte keiner wesentlichen Änderungen, bedeutend radikaler ist die durchgeführte Reform der weißrussischen Rechtschreibung. Es wurde eine Reihe unsinniger orthographischer Kniffe beseitigt, deren einziges Ziel die Herbeiführung einer künstlichen Entfremdung zwischen der weiß-

russischen und russischen Schrift war. Vor der Reform wurde z. B. die Weichheit eines Konsonanten vor einem darauffolgenden weichen Konsonanten eigens bezeichnet, obwohl diese Weichheit eine äußerlich bedingte ist und folglich zur Unterscheidung der Wortbedeutungen nicht dienen kann. Die einzige Daseinsberechtigung dieser Orthographie lag in der Maskierung der nahen Verwandtschaft zwischen dem weiß- und großrussischen Lautbau: das Wort *svel* wird z. B. in beiden Sprachen gleich ausgesprochen (*s'v'el*), geschrieben wurde es aber verschieden. Neben grundsätzlichen Vorteilen brachte hier die Reform, wie dies schon Z. B'adul'a verzeichnete, eine nicht geringe Ersparnis an Satz und Schrift. Die Reform steht auf einem festen, methodologisch einwandfreien Unterbau, freilich aber ist das, wie die Reformatoren selber betonen, nur der erste Schritt, auf den weitere Vervollkommnungen folgen werden. Der Ausgangspunkt der Reform ist der, daß man die Einheitlichkeit der methodologischen Schriftgrundsätze hinsichtlich der verwandten und ähnlichen Sprachen anstreben müsse — gleiche Sprachstrukturen müssen nach Möglichkeit durch identische orthographische Mittel wiedergegeben werden. Diese Regel ist nicht neu: sie liegt ebenfalls der Arbeit an der Schaffung und Koordinierung der Alphabete für die türkischen Sprachen der UdSSR zugrunde.

Immerhin sind auch in der heutigen weißrussischen Rechtschreibung, um einen Ausdruck des weißrussischen Satirikers Krapiva zu gebrauchen, Spuren von „irredentistischen Pockenarben“ geblieben. Von den beiden Zeichen für den Laut *i* hat die russische Schrift nach der Revolution den Buchstaben *i* abgeschafft und den Buchstaben *u* verallgemeinert, umgekehrt bedient sich die weißrussische Schrift für die Wiedergabe des gleichen Lautes des Buchstabens *i*. Diese lediglich orthographische Verschiedenheit hat keinen Sinn, sie erschwert nur zwecklos den breiten Kreisen der weißrussischen Leser die Lektüre der russischen Bücher und den russischen Lesern — die Kenntnis der vielversprechenden weißrussischen Literatur.

Außer des unseligen schülerhaften Entwurfes der Latinisierung der jakutischen Schrift gibt kein einziges orthographisches System durch verschiedene Zeichen äußerlich bedingte, kombinatorische Varianten eines Phonems wieder. Diese Varianten spielen keine differenzierende Rolle, ihre Verschiedenheit ist funktionslos. Die Schrift ist streng funktional, das ist ein System von Zeichen, die der Unterscheidung der Bedeutungen dienen,

darin liegt sein grundsätzlicher, notwendiger Unterschied von der phonetischen Transkription, die die kleinsten Lautschattierungen festzuhalten bestrebt ist. Ein besonderes Zeichen der weißrussischen Schrift zur Wiedergabe des unsilbigen *u* ist ein orthographisches Monstrum, ein Produkt der unzulässigen Verwechslung zwischen Schrift und phonetischer Transkription: das unsilbige *u* und *v* sind im Weißrussischen kombinatorische Varianten des einen Phonems, — vor einem Vokal wird es als *v* realisiert, unter anderen Verhältnissen als unsilbige *u*. Die ukrainische Rechtschreibung gibt vernünftigerweise beide äußerlich bedingten Varianten durch den Buchstaben *v* wieder, den gleichen Weg hätte auch die weißrussische Schrift gehen sollen.

Die russische wie die ukrainische Rechtschreibung folgen dem einen Grundprinzip — sie sind bestrebt, die Einheitlichkeit des Morphems in der Schrift zu erhalten. Dieses Prinzip, wie wir es aus der Psychologie wissen, erleichtert bedeutend den Prozeß des Lesens und Schreibens, sowie das Erlernen des Lesens und Schreibens. Die weißrussische Rechtschreibung verletzt dieses Prinzip in gröbiicher Weise. Um die Einheitlichkeit des Morphems in der Schrift zu erhalten, verzichtet die russische Rechtschreibung mit Recht auf die Wiedergabe der kombinatorischen Veränderungen der unbetonten Vokale und geht folgerichtig vom betonten Vokalismus aus. Russisch schreibt man z. B. *voda*, weißrussisch aber *vada*, obwohl der unbetonte Vokal in diesem Fall in der russischen Hochsprache dem Laut *a* viel näher als in der Mehrzahl der weißrussischen Mundarten ist. Die Reform der weißrussischen Rechtschreibung hatte teilweise von der Wiedergabe der kombinatorischen Veränderungen der unbetonten Konsonanten abgesehen, ohne jedoch die erforderliche Folgerichtigkeit an den Tag gelegt zu haben. Die weichen Korrelate der Konsonanten *l* und *d* werden im Weißrussischen als *c'* und *dz'* realisiert. Die Silbenpaare *ty-ti*, *dy-di* wird der Weißrusse als *ty-ci*, *dy-dzi* lesen, weil *l* und *d* in seiner Sprache fehlen. Wozu dann diese Assibilation in der Schrift wiedergeben und dadurch die Morphemseinheit maskieren, das Lesen weißrussischer Texte durch Russen und Ukrainer erschweren und durch die Anwendung der Gruppe *dz'* statt *d'* unnötige Mehrausgaben verursachen?

All diese kritischen Bemerkungen verfolgen lediglich das Ziel, die Wissenschaftlichkeit und Zweckmäßigkeit der weißrussischen Schrift zu heben und die künstlichen orthographischen

Barrieren zwischen den drei slavischen Völkern der Sowjetunion zu beseitigen, ohne dabei die phonologische Eigenart der weißrussischen Sprache auch im geringsten zu schädigen.

Ein Mittel zur vorsätzlichen gegenseitigen Entfremdung der einzelnen slavischen Völker der UdSSR war die künstliche Absonderung ihrer wissenschaftlichen und technischen Terminologie gewesen. Infolge dieser unseligen Entfremdungsarbeiten wurde die russische wissenschaftliche Literatur den breiten Kreisen der jungen weißrussischen und ukrainischen Leser fast unzugänglich, und, umgekehrt, war der Einflußkreis der beträchtlichen Errungenschaften der ukrainischen und weißrussischen Wissenschaft auf den engen nationalen Rahmen beschränkt. Sonderausschüsse der Ukrainischen und Weißrussischen Akademien der Wissenschaften bemühten sich mit einem Eifer, der eine bessere Verwendung verdiente, aus der heimischen Terminologie alle Termini auszumerzen, die aus dem Russischen entlehnt waren, obwohl diese Wörter längst in der Ukraine und in Weißrußland tiefe Wurzeln geschlagen hatten. Mehr als das, sie schafften auch Termini ab, die, ohne aus dem Russischen entlehnt zu sein, in irgendeiner Weise an die entsprechenden russischen Bezeichnungen erinnerten. In Ungnade fielen auch Termini, die ins Russische aus der ukrainischen Tradition, die in Moskau im 17. und im Anfang des 18. Jhs. herrschte, eingegangen sind. Für Begriffe, die im Russischen durch internationale, etwa lateinische Termini wiedergegeben werden, wurden hausbackene Wörter erfunden, und zwar unter dem Vorwand, daß „diese Termini keine Internationalismen, sondern Europäismen sind, dem Ukrainischen aber steht es keinesfalls an, an europäischer Beschränktheit zu kranken.“ (weißrussische Wörterbücher ersetzten durch eigenes Machwerk selbst Wörter, wie absolut, Architekt, Automobil, Internationale, Kollektiv, Kommunismus, Periode, Proletariat, Revolution). Hatte sich aber im Russischen ein heimischer Terminus eingebürgert, so wurde ad hoc eine umgekehrte Theorie herbeigezogen: „Die ukrainische Sprache, die ukrainische Kultur sind europäisch, daher können und müssen sie sich in ihrer Entwicklung nach Europa orientieren.“ Schwerfällige, nichtsnutzige und dem Uneingeweihten wenig verständliche Neologismen wurden geschaffen; die Puristen rodeten Russismen aus und spickten an deren Stelle das Wörterbuch mit Polonismen, Bohemismen, Germanismen; schließlich wurden Volkswörter in neuer, ungewohnter terminologischer Bedeutung aufgetischt — aber die duftigen Wörtchen wollten sich

nicht fügen, sie hatten keine Lust, richtiggehende abstrakte Termini zu werden und auf ihren Gefühlsbeisinn oder auf ihre dorfmäßig-alltägliche Färbung zu verzichten. So wurden beispielsweise im Weißrussischen Namen der Dorfgeräte gleichzeitig als Termini der Fabrikindustrie verwendet.

Ein Ausweg aus dieser Sackgasse war der Beschluß über die Unifizierung der wissenschaftlichen und technischen Terminologie der Völker der Sowjetunion. Die Arbeit ist begonnen, und unter diesem Gesichtspunkt sind schon beispielsweise in der Ukraine die folgenden terminologischen Wörterbücher revidiert worden: das praktische Wörterbuch der Produktionsterminologie, die Wörterbücher für Botanik, Landwirtschaft, Biologie, Physik, Zoologie, Mathematik, Nationalökonomie, Chemie, Geographie, Bergbau, Verkehr, Medizin und Geschichte.

Der erbitterte Zweikampf zwischen zwei Weltanschauungen beschränkte sich nicht auf das Gebiet der Terminologie, er erfaßte den gesamten Wortschatz. Ein Sprachforscher, der den Wortschatz der heutigen ukrainischen Prosaschriftsteller und Dichter mit dem vollständigsten ukrainischen Wörterbuche der Vorkriegszeit zu vergleichen versuchte, mußte zum Ergebnis gelangen, daß Hrinčenos Wörterbuch auch nicht 50 Prozent der Wörter enthält. Und wie viele Wörter haben überdies ihre Bedeutung geändert. Noch großzügiger ist die Umwälzung, die sich nach der Revolution im Leben der weißrussischen Schriftsprache vollzogen hat. Im raschen Tempo überwinden beide Sprachen ihre einstige provinzielle Abgeschiedenheit. Ein mächtiger Hebel ist in dieser Hinsicht die reichhaltige Übersetzungsliteratur der letzten Jahre: Klassiker und Zeitgenossen, Prosaschriftsteller und Lyriker, westliche und russische Autoren. Die rasche Urbanisierung der beiden Republiken, der quantitative und qualitative Aufschwung des ukrainischen und weißrussischen Proletariats, der rege Wechselverkehr zwischen einzelnen Teilen der Union, — all das sind Umstände, die von vornherein alle archaisatorischen Versuche an der Sprachfront zum Mißerfolg verurteilen. Was können sie dem mächtigen Andrang der Gegenwart entgegenstellen? Die archivalischen Vorräte des altukrainischen bzw. des weißrussischen Schrifttums? Oder die literarischen Anfänge des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, die, mögen sie auch überaus glänzend gewesen sein, wie etwa die Dichtung Sevčenkos, dennoch immer im allgemeinen Anfänge bleiben? Oder am Ende „die ursprüngliche Einfachheit

und Frische der Bauern-, Handwerker- und Fischerrede“, die den Führer der weißrussischen Archaisten, den Sprachforscher Nekraševič, begeistert?

Die einen Archaisten haben die kulturelle Entwicklung der Gegenwart einfach verschlafen, die anderen waren vorsätzlich bestrebt, die Bewegung nach rückwärts umzuleiten. Sie waren bereit, die abgestorbenen herrschaftlichen kulturellen Einflüsse der vergangenen Jahrhunderte den heutigen demokratischen kulturellen Einwirkungen vorzuziehen, Polonismen waren ihnen lieber als Russismen. Den Russismen erklärten sie den unversöhnlichen Krieg und verbannten grimmig nicht nur wirkliche Entlehnungen aus dem Russischen, sondern auch autochthone weißrussische Wörter, Wendungen und syntaktische Verbindungen, die auffällig den russischen ähnelten; derartige Wörter strichen sie in den Wörterbüchern, derartige Formen — in den Lehrbüchern der Grammatik. Beispiele gibt es nicht wenig. So empfahl z. B. der weißrussische Lexikograph Lastovski, diejenigen Wörter zu meiden, die ihrer Bedeutung und ihrer Lautzusammensetzung nach mit den russischen identisch sind¹⁾. Ähnliches finden wir in den „Abriß aus der ukrainischen Syntax“ von S. Smerečyn'skyj, wo selbst Formen der Wortverbindung, die das Ukrainische an das Russische annähern, unter Zweifel gestellt werden.

Die Sprache, die von den Archaisten erdacht wird, ist eine Flickfleckdecke aus Museumsraritäten, Neubildungen nach alter Art, mundartlichen Seltenheiten und ununterbrochenen Polonismen. „Wir kennen diese fremde Sprache nicht“, reagieren die Kinder in einer ukrainischen Humoreske auf einen derartigen antiquarischen Volapük. Die heutigen Führer des ukrainischen öffentlichen Lebens antworten aber auf den zwecklosen Kampf der Archaisten gegen das Gespenst der „Moskalismen“: „Es gibt kein Moskau mehr, kein altes vorrevolutionäres Gefängnis der Nationen des zaristischen Rußland. Es gibt ein neues Moskau — einen Mittelpunkt der Union der sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken, einen Mittelpunkt der Anziehung der fortschrittlichen Menschheit, ein Symbol des Kampfes um die endgültige Ausrottung der Knechtschaft.“ (aus einer Rede Postyševs im Dezember 1933). Diesen kulturpolitischen Standpunkt hat schon im Jahre 1927

¹⁾ So wurde das seinem Ursprunge nach gemeinslavische Verbum *havaryc'* wegen dem entsprechenden russischen *govorit'* aus dem weißrussischen Wörterbuch gestrichen und durch die Onomatopödie *z'uz'ukac'* u. ä. ersetzt.

Majakovskij im Gedichte „An unsere Jugend“ genau und scharfsichtig entworfen. Statt der Sprachpolitik der Archaisisten, einer Politik der Zwietracht zwischen Brudervölkern, wird enge sprachliche und kulturelle Annäherung und Wechselseitigkeit verkündet, die jedoch keineswegs die Eigenart der nationalen Form antastet.

Synonyme differenzieren und bereichern die Sprache, und das vom ukrainischen sprachwissenschaftlichen Institut neulich vorbereitete Wörterbuch der Synonyme interessiert sich in erster Reihe bereits nicht für ihre Genealogie, sondern für die Funktionen dieser Synonyme in der Sprachganzheit. Es bedarf keiner Vorbehalte, daß Wörter allgemeiner Verbreitung von einer Literatur für den breiten Bedarf vor rein lokalen oder im Absterben begriffenen Wörtchen vorgezogen werden. In der Frage der dialektischen grammatikalischen Doppelformen, die in die schriftsprachliche Norm als gleichberechtigte Varianten zugelassen waren, wurde nun der grundsätzlich richtige Gesichtspunkt festgelegt, daß „diese Parallelismen in vielen Fällen die Schriftsprache nur überladen und ihre normale Entwicklung hemmen“. Es wurde eine entsprechende Unifizierung vorgenommen, namentlich wurden dabei Provinzialismen beseitigt, die „die ukrainische Schriftsprache künstlich von der russischen trennten“, entsprechend werden auch archaische Dubletten abgeschafft und als einzig normativ die gangbarsten Formen anerkannt¹⁾.

Die Revolutionsepoche, die ursprünglich die Norm der russischen Hochsprache zerrüttete, hat letzten Endes die Forderung nach einem einheitlichen und allgemein gültigen Sprachkanon aufgestellt, und zwar mit einer unbeugsamen Entschlossenheit und Beharrlichkeit, die den vorhergehenden Entwicklungsstadien, die sich durch liberale Dehnbarkeit und Flüssigkeit der Sprachnorm auszeichneten, vollkommen fremd war. Die gleiche Epoche, die erst die zentrifugalen Kräfte der ukrainischen und weißrussischen Sprache entliesselte, hat in der Folge vollkommen neue Methoden der Übereinstimmung der drei ostslavischen Hochsprachen der Sowjetunion gefunden, Methoden, die sowohl den wissenschaftlichen Forderungen der modernen Linguistik als auch den Interessen des nationalen Kulturauschwungs sowie den Aufgaben der wahrhaften internationalen Zusammenarbeit ent-

¹⁾ So werden z. B. die Doppelformen *babiv, vidomostiv, soncevi, try musi, dvi slovi, vedu pionerky* in der ukrainischen schriftsprachlichen Norm zugunsten der Formen *bab, vidomosteĭ, sonc'u, try muchy, dva slova, vedu pionerok* abgeschafft.

sprechen. Bei aller Verschiedenheit des sozialen Gehalts der großen französischen Revolution und ihrer Kulturpolitik entdecken wir in ihrer Sprachgeschichte ein analoges dialektisches Verfahren, das bereits von Ferdinand Brunot in seiner Geschichte der französischen Sprache während der Revolutionszeit betont wird: der ursprüngliche Prozeß der hemmungslosen Zerstäubung wandelte sich kraft der Schaffung eines Gemeinschaftsgeistes in einen Prozeß des engsten Zusammenschlusses um.

Čechische Slavistik nach fünf Jahren

Von Vilém Mathesius

Fünf Jahre sind verflossen, seitdem wir aus Anlaß des Prager Slavisten-Kongresses die čechische Slavistik an diesem Platze einer kritischen Untersuchung unterzogen haben. Die nahenden Tage des II. Slavisten-Kongresses, der diesmal in Warschau zusammentrifft, mahnen uns, daß es wieder an der Zeit wäre, die augenblickliche Lage der čechischen Slavistik kritisch zu beleuchten. Es ist wahr, daß in der kurzen Frist von fünf Jahren keine durchgreifenden Umwandlungen haben darin stattfinden können, aber sichtbare Veränderungen müssen dennoch durch den bloßen Rhythmus der Zeit zustande gekommen sein, und das so verschobene Bild muß das von uns vor fünf Jahren gezeichnete entweder bestätigen oder widerlegen. Damals haben wir darauf hingewiesen, welch ein großer Schaden es war, daß bei der Neuorganisation der čechischen Slavistik in der Nachkriegszeit neben den drei Altmeistern des Fachgebietes, Zubatý, Polívka, Vlček, keine führenden Forscher in mittleren Jahren vorhanden waren, die der Disziplin in den veränderten Verhältnissen neue Bahnen hätten weisen können. Seit der Zeit sind alle die drei markanten Persönlichkeiten dahingegangen — Vlček 1930, Zubatý 1931, Polívka 1933 — und die so geschaffene Situation kann unser früheres Bild der čechischen Slavistik keines Schiefsehens und keiner Übertreibung zeihen. Abgesehen von Arne Novák, in dem Künstlernatur und der Wissensdurst eines Forschers um die Vorherrschaft streiten, sehen wir in der čechischen Slavistik auf allen drei Universitäten an der Spitze tüchtige Arbeiter, aber keine wissenschaftlichen Führer, welche der Forschungsarbeit weite Ziele

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DOCUMENT C

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Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 81st CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Communists Subsidize Teaching at Columbia University

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 5, 1949

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, Plain Talk magazine for April 1949 contains an article by one Arthur P. Coleman entitled "Munich in the Academy." It is a story of his experience at Columbia University. For 20 years, from 1928 to 1948, Dr. Coleman taught Slavic languages and literature at Columbia in New York. Last summer he resigned his position because the university, with the approval of General Eisenhower, its president, accepted a subsidy from the puppet Polish regime in Warsaw which inaugurated a policy of similar endowments from Soviet satellite states.

Mr. Speaker, it seems incredible that Ike Eisenhower, a great American, should permit the pollution of the minds of the students at one of our leading educational institutions by accepting these endowments so that Communist propaganda may be advanced under the guise of academic freedom.

But here we have the personal narrative of a reputable teacher, with a distinguished record who would not sacrifice his independence and who refused to knuckle-under to fellow-travelers on the faculty at Columbia. Today, Mr. Speaker, he is paying a heavy price for his refusal to sell his academic birthright. More power to him and to Plain Talk for its determination to smoke out the Red rats in our institutions of learning. The fight must go on. I insert the article under my permission to extend my remarks:

IT HAPPENED TO ME AT COLUMBIA—MUNICH IN
THE ACADEMY

(By Arthur Prudden Coleman)

This is a personal story. Like all things we know best, it happened to me. I am tell-

ing it to prevent others from learning what I did in as painful and expensive a manner. What happened to me occurred at Columbia University. It may, and unless steps are taken, it will happen to others elsewhere. I do not exaggerate when I say that the independent character of American university education is endangered. I am therefore telling my story while there is still time.

It is one of the tragedies of our time that personal testimony regarding the infiltrative techniques of totalitarianism has often come after the event, when it was too late. With this knowledge I speak now, when democratic counterforces in American education can still accomplish a good deal. But before protective measures are considered it is important to know what happened to me.

Who am I?

For 20 years, from 1928 to 1948, I taught Slavic languages and literature at Columbia University in New York. The department of which I was a member ranks fifth chronologically among such American centers. Under the influence of its founder, the late John Dyneley Prince, a distinguished linguist, one-time Governor of New Jersey and American diplomat, this Slavic department resisted all Soviet blandishments. It was a free department, devoted to the interests of independent American education. In October 1945 Mr. Prince died; his intimate friend, Nicholas Murray Butler, universally respected scholar and president of the university, suffered declining health.

It was at this time that rumors spread among the faculty that the Slavic department was being slated for expansion. In time, the members of our department were assembled at a luncheon and introduced to the new executive officer, Prof. Ernest J. Simmons, of Cornell University. This was a change and it was evident that we could expect overnight, as it were, to be transformed from a solid and sound Slavic department to the most advanced, as a peculiar terminology which is fashionable would have it.

What is Professor Simmons like? One can perhaps achieve some insight into the personality of this advanced academician if he is aware of certain of his administrative regulations. At this point it is necessary to mention only one: Professors in his department must clear all visiting speakers in their classes with his office.

He writes well and undoubtedly receives admiration in some quarters for a sentence like this: "The difference between the Soviet realist and the bourgeois realist is essentially a difference between faith in life and

lack of faith." Or this: "Soviet literature has scarcely begun to realize its vast potentialities, but its present vitality, positive affirmation and soaring faith give promise of a great future." He has written a good deal in this vein, and so it is no surprise that in these same admiring circles he has come to be known as an expert on the Soviet Union. The fact that he is deserving of such a mantle of distinction is perhaps best indicated by occasional revelations of the professor of which even the best informed authorities on the Soviet Union are unaware. Speaking before a large section of the Modern Languages Association in December 1946, he revealed the absence of concentration camps in the Soviet Union. His latest gambit is an attempt to correlate the pacifism of Tolstoy with the new Stalinist peace front. All in all, the professor is a most learned gentleman and, obviously, quite deserving of the recognition he has won as an authority.

This may all seem humorous to the reader but the activities of Professor Simmons were quite unfunny to those who recognized what they meant in terms of independent American education. He began slowly, quietly. He established an important precedent, which was to be useful later. The first step was persuading Columbia to accept \$7,500 a year from Benes' Czechoslovakia for the Thomas G. Masaryk chair of Czechoslovak studies. (At present, according to the recently published report of the former acting president, Dr. Frank Fackenthal, the amount provided by Communist Dictator Gottwald is now \$22,500 a year: this on a departmental budget of approximately \$60,000.)

With the grant from Czechoslovakia accepted by the trustees, Simmons boasted to me that he had great plans for our department, hinting broadly that promotion, a new office, research grants, all these were in store for me. I also understood quite clearly that reverse treatment would be forthcoming if I did not cooperate with the new plans.

One day he waxed expansive.

"You know, Arthur, I want more. I'm already in contact with the Polish Ambassador. The Yugoslav is favorable. I also hope to obtain a grant from Hungary. With these in tow, I'll go after \$100,000 from the U. S. S. R. Then we'll really have a department."

Soon I heard that Simmons was attempting to obtain a Soviet visa. He did receive one; his expenses were paid by the Rockefeller Foundation through the American Council of Learned Societies. He sailed in June 1947.

Just before he left, however, Simmons recommended to the President that he reject an offer of \$1,200 from an American businessman in Georgia. The grant was offered to aid an anti-Soviet Polish writer, whom I proposed, to give a series of lectures at Columbia's summer session for the benefit of students in Polish. On Simmons' recommendation, Columbia refused this grant.

Privately, Simmons told me that he was opposed to the acceptance of such money his reason was that it might embarrass the Russian Institute and the Slavic department in their efforts at a cultural rapprochement with the Soviet Union. I, of course, was unable to follow such reasoning, but in all such matter, I am proud to say, the record shows that I have always been pretty dumb.

But let no one say that Simmons totally lacked fairness. For example, before he made the adverse report on the \$1,200 gift he informed me that he had telephoned Polish Ambassador Winiewicz in Washington, and that Winiewicz had courteously agreed to contact Warsaw for their opinion of the Polish refugee I had in mind—a well-known anti-Communist.

I am understating my reaction when I say that this amazed me; that the executive officer of the Slavic department of an American university should feel it necessary to ask Warsaw and its secret police to pass on the reliability of a Polish refugee before this same American department head would O. K. his appointment.

It would have been better for me academically, and financially, if I had been pleased instead of shocked. Stalinist heat began to be turned on me soon after Simmons returned from the U. S. S. R. (house guest of Ambassador Smith, full use of diplomatic pouch, etc.) in September 1947.

At any rate, soon after this, a well-known fellow traveler said to me: "What Ernie (Simmons) now needs is a sharp denunciation in the Soviet press. Since he has been the only American professor this past summer to obtain a Soviet visa, his pro-Soviet statements will not gain so wide a credence as they would if he were to be denounced in Moscow."

And even this came to pass.

Moscow attacked Simmons. Mrs. Simmons ruefully told me: "They owe a great deal to Ernie."

It was time to act. With the aid of a number of other Slavists, those with unbroken records of resistance to Soviet cultural aggression, I succeeded in persuading the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages, which I founded in 1941, and of which I still am national secretary-treasurer, to vote at their fifth annual meeting on the proposition that all national officers be required to swear to a non-Communist affidavit before being allowed to assume office.

The present text of the affidavit reads:

"I am not a member of the Communist Party or affiliated with such party. I do not believe in, and I am not a member of, nor do I support, any organization that believes in or teaches the overthrow of the United States Government by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods."

This is a simple oath and, frankly, I do not see how anyone devoted to this country could possibly object to subscribing to it.

The Bulletin of the above Association, making public the fact that its national officers had formally sworn to such an affidavit, was published on March 15, 1948. Two copies of the Bulletin went as usual to Moscow, by air mail, and arrived there in advance of publication date. Shortly after, the Polish Embassy in Washington canceled an order for a wholesale lot of my books on Polish literature.

The rest of the story I shall transcribe from my diary, which was kept carefully, on a day-to-day basis.

May 4, 1948: Simmons told me, while riding downtown in a taxi to Laurence Duggan's Institute of International Education, that after a lull of 1 year, the Polish Ambassador had suddenly invited him to a swell lunch, and had informed him that he was ready to grant a large sum to Columbia for Polish studies. I was stunned as I attempted to observe the amenities at the subsequent meeting attended by the Czechoslovak cultural attaché as well as by a sprinkling of Soviet sympathizers. * * * Returning home I told Mrs. Coleman: "I guess the CP'ers have got me, and I'll have to resign before I get out of this." My wife said that she had been wanting to go to work. (Note; She has had to since.)

Later in May (undated): Simmons said that he had gone to Washington, at the request of Acting President Fackenthal, that after consulting the State Department, and that they had not objected to the grant. Also he had consulted Ambassador Winiewicz as to who was to be invited to become Adam Mickiewicz Professor of Polish Studies. The Ambassador wanted Professor Manfred Kridl of Smith College, whom Simmons hardly knew. Kridl, for the record, had easily obtained a Polish visa during the past summer, and had returned praising the Communist regime.

May 20: Ambassador Winiewicz brought the first check for \$10,000 to Acting President Fackenthal today. * * * I did not attend Simmons' cocktail party for Winiewicz. * * * Ernie said that I missed a good time.

May 28: I left for Indiana University where the Polish consul general in Chicago, not guessing the step I was contemplating, greeted me on behalf of Ambassador Winiewicz in Washington," and asked for my help in persuading a certain American university of note to accept a similar subsidy from Warsaw. He said that this task would be easier now, since they could use the name of incoming President Eisenhower to convince officials of the pure motives of the Polish Ambassador in his support of Polish studies in the United States. * * * My growing resolve to fight back was strengthened by the statement of the son of a former professor under Hitler to the effect that if German professors had fought nazism hard enough in the early days, fewer of them would later have died in the concentration camps. My own situation was no doubt somewhat smaller in scope, but unless each individual fights back in his own

situation, the problem becomes enlarged soon enough. My determination to fight Simmons was fixed. I would let the Columbia administration decide for or against his appealing policies. I was to supply all the information I had available.

June 3: Simmons told me that Kridl, whose English is not good, was to lecture in English next autumn on recent Polish literature, correcting mistakes which had crept in during the thirties. I knew that this meant the usual anti-Fascist line. He said also that he hoped I would arrange a large meeting at which the ambassador would speak, and a fine banquet at which the new set-up could be announced appropriately. This meant that I was to exploit my popularity as an exponent of the Polish Christian tradition to bring a large group of New York Poles to do under my lead what they previously refused to do: listen to the ambassador, a man whom 99 percent of them recognized as a representative of the Communist government of Poland. I said nothing to Simmons, but my Irish was mounting fast.

June 10: Met President Eisenhower at a reception for professors and alumni who have performed conspicuous service for Columbia's endowment drive. * * * I wish I could tell the general how his name and that of Columbia have already been used in the Soviet-satellite drive against free American Slavic studies.

Later in June (undated): Depressed to learn that President Eisenhower thinks it not unwise to allow a Communist organization to hold a meeting in a Columbia building, this in response to a protest by the daughter of a large donor to the university.

Still later in June (undated): Further depressed to learn that President Eisenhower in a letter to the editor of the Polish-language Everybody's Daily (Buffalo) confirmed the act of his predecessor in accepting a 3-year grant of \$30,000 from Bierut's regime.

June 30: Provost Jacobs received a delegation of protest from the Polish-American Congress, stating that Columbia was not able to accept their position, and would definitely initiate the new Warsaw-supported program in the autumn. * * * I wrote my resignation. * * * This letter of protest was addressed personally to President Eisenhower in the hope that I could somehow convince him that it was unwise to let the Communists subsidize instruction in our Slavic department. * * * Over the week end I pondered why I must sacrifice the fruits of 20 years of teaching, but when I heard Ike speaking to hundreds of American war heroes, scattered among the thousands who listened to his inspiring words, telling them, with his wonderful dynamism, to give, if necessary, their lives for their country, I thought to myself: "Yes, Ike; I'm ready to resign for my country."

July 9: Provost Jacobs received me cordially, informing me that President Eisen-

hower had carefully considered my case. He was, nevertheless, determined to go ahead with the Polish grant; I could terminate my service at my own pleasure. I stated that I was sorry to go and would stay, (1) if the courses by Professor Kridl were withdrawn; (2) if the \$10,000 already accepted were devoted to the purchase of needed scientific instruments for the devastated universities of Poland; (3) if President Eisenhower would investigate Stalinist infiltration at Columbia. These were rejected and I walked out determined to fight publicly the prostitution of American Slavic departments by means of Communist subsidies.

For my efforts to help keep American education free, I have been rewarded with the following: Threat of a libel suit, slanderous epithets, abuse, and worse. I have been investigated again and again. A Federal personnel officer told me that the publicity which my case received has made it difficult for me to get admitted to Government service (United States Government service, lest the reader has forgotten). The dean of a great eastern university denied me mailing privileges. In Prague I have been called a

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Communist agent; in Wisconsin it has been said (oh, these smear campaigns) that I was motivated by a desire to have a free trip to Poland. Ad nauseam.

As for financial rewards (since the great Stalinist myth is that anticommunism pays big dividends), I need only note that this year my income tax will be 10 percent of what it was formerly. I have already spoken of my wife's necessary excursion into the business world.

One point needs to be expressed explicitly. Most American universities perpetually need additional funds, nor is this to their discredit. Adequate staffs must be maintained, new courses must be added, new talent must be attracted to the universities. In view of this state of affairs, Communist offers of subsidy may be difficult to refuse now that so well-known an organization as Columbia has set a precedent. That is the danger. It must be fought. It can be fought only by those who are willing to conduct a full-fledged fight against the spread of such monied Communist infiltration.

That is why I tried to make my contribution to this democratic, antitotalitarian fight. Was I wrong?

DOCUMENT D

THE COMMONWEAL, December 31, 1948, published the following appeal:

"THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR FREE RUSSIA"

New York, N.Y.
December 8, 1948

The Committee is created to bring spiritual help to the Russian people and all the nationalities of Russia in their fight for the establishment of human rights and democratic freedoms in their fatherland, so that the great moral and social values that gave inspiration to the Russian Revolution may be revindicated and preserved, as the American and French peoples preserve the heritage of their Revolutions.

Despite all violence and totalitarian crimes of the Communists in Russia and Europe, we are wholeheartedly committed to saving the old friendship of the Russian and American peoples and their collaboration for the benefit of both those nations and of humanity.

Humanity is living in a deep anxiety engendered by the repeated violent overthrow of the national governments of different countries by the Communist minorities. Only the liberation of the Russian people from the chains put upon them by Communist dictatorship can save us from this growing menace.

During the war all classes of the Russian people and of all nationalities within Russia met the challenge of the Hitler onslaught with indomitable courage. Many expected that after the victory freedom would be restored in Russia. But Russia is still suffering in her chains, and millions of her sons are slowly perishing in the concentration camps.

Should this enchained Prometheus, the Russian people, free himself and should this liberation entail the convulsions of a revolution, we are convinced that the American people will in no case permit anybody to exploit this immense crisis to spoil the heritage of Russia.

We believe in a future democratic Russia and demand that the integrity of her frontiers and the freedom of Russia to determine the forms of her political, economic and social life in the frame of democracy shall be strictly respected by the nations of the world.

According to our information on the internal processes and trends in Russia, if the dictatorship were overthrown, the popular masses would there demand that the future democratic system include some fundamental reforms which we could sympathetically welcome as steps toward social freedom and justice in Russia:

(1) The suppression of the Communist dictatorship will be followed by free elections. The state will secure the free use of printing and radio facilities to every regular democratic party for the purpose of securing them equal opportunity in the free elections.

(2) Heavy industry will remain state property, administered with the participation of free labor unions.

(3) The peasants will be granted the right to establish private farms, without prejudice to the national agricultural productivity.

(4) A Bill of Human and Civic Rights and Freedoms will be accepted immediately. The right of assembly and association will be proclaimed among the inviolable rights of the citizens. Religious liberty will be granted, and freedom of religious education assured. The Uniates, one of the most cruelly persecuted among religious groups, will be given permission to regain their Church and to take possession of their places of worship.

(5) Real political and cultural autonomy within the framework of the Russian Federation will be granted to the nationalities of the border regions of Russia.

(6) Every policy of entanglement and intervention in the internal affairs of neighboring states such as Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Finland will be immediately abandoned.

(7) Foreign policy would be based on friendship with the United States, Britain and France in the framework of the United Nations.

Trends such as these fit creatively in the democratic and peaceful world order.

It is our belief that in all democratic countries groups will gladly form to support this purpose of aid to the Russian people, and will join with this committee to establish one greater movement. We will welcome the participation of Russian democratic exiles who share our program and who yearn for the liberation of their country and the establishment therein of a true democracy, as of others in America who are concerned for this great end.

For the Committee: John Broderick, Philip Burnham, Nathan Chanin, Boris Gourevitch, Charles Gouverneur Paulding, Albert Simard, Eugene Spectorisky."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE COMMONWEAL

I read in No. 12 of THE COMMONWEAL, December 31, 1948, the program of the "American Committee for Free Russia". It is created to bring spiritual help not only to the Russian people but also to "all the nationalities of Russia in their fight for the establishment of human rights and democratic freedoms in their fatherland, so that the great moral and social values that gave inspiration to the Russian Revolution may be revindicated and preserved, as the American and French peoples preserve the heritage of their Revolutions."

Because this program includes also the nationalities of "Russia", I ask that concerning that, program, you let the voice of these nationalities be heard. I am speaking in behalf of the Promethean League of nationalities oppressed by Soviet

Moscow. For more than a quarter of a century this League has defended the right of self-determination of Armenians, Azerbaijanians, Buriats, Cossacks of the Don and Kuban, Georgians, Ingrians, Karelians, Komi, North Caucasians, Tartars of Crimea and Idel-Ural, of the Turkestanian nations, of the Ukrainians, and White Ruthenians. It has sympathized also with the Siberian movement. The League now is defending the Baltic nations, also, and all nations behind the Iron Curtain having accepted the name: Promethean Atlantic Charter League.

I wholeheartedly support the program's economic points (2, 3) regarding the heavy industry, the agrarian question and (4, 7) concerning the interior and the foreign policy. Although I do not question the goodwill of the persons who have signed the program, in my opinion the other points, however, indicate that they have not grasped clearly the true meaning of the "Russian Revolution" and the double-edged character of Russian Communism today, that it is simultaneously an international movement and a continuation of the chauvinism and imperialism of old Tsaristic Russia.

My remarks are confined to six basic problems raised in the program of the Committee: (1) The "Russian Federation" plan and the questions it raises in regard to the non-Russian peoples of the present Soviet Union, (2) the principle of the "integrity of the frontiers of Russia", (3) the discrimination against the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union, and (4) the meaning of the terms: "Russia and Russians", (5) the revindication and preservation of the "heritage of the Russian Revolution" and (6) the aims of the non-Russian nationalities.

1. Russian Federation. Frankly, to me, point 5 ("Real political and cultural autonomy within the framework of the Russian Federation will be granted to the nationalities of the border regions of Russia") represents morally and politically an injustice in its plan to force, without consulting their will, a "Russian Federation" upon non-Russian nationalities now within the boundaries of the Soviet Union.

(1) Let us recall and evaluate the historical facts as a background for this point. After 1919, the majority of these non-Russian peoples established independent Democratic National Republics with socialist governments, applying immediately for membership in the League of Nations. The Russian Communist Republic recognized their independence, and later by military aggression, overthrew these legally established governments, replacing them with ficticiously independent states (like the present Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia) and enforcing on them since 1924, the so-called "Soviet Union". Occupied after bloody war with the Red Army, these nations, believing in international justice and morality, sent their democratic governments and representatives of all democratic parties to Western Europe, in exile. These subjugated nations manifested by repeated rebellions, their will to independence, their fidelity to democratic ideals and the League of Nations. Their legal governments in exile, their national committees and their emigrants collaborated actively in the Congresses of the League of Nations and in all international democratic organizations in Western Europe, until World War II. After its outbreak and during the Stalin-Hitler alliance, they adhered immediately to the cause of the Western Allies by the public declarations in Paris, 1939, by the Ukrainian Prime Minister, A. Shulguine, and the venerable Socialist leader, N. Jordania, legal president of Georgia. The role these nationalities played through their underground and through partisans in the hinterland of the German front line after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, is well-known. It

forced Stalin later to sign the Atlantic Charter and even to make "concessions" to the national feelings of the non-Russian nationalities in the Soviet Union.

After nearly one-third of a century of constant struggle against Communist and Nazi dictatorship, after this long fight for democracy and self-determination—a fight which they felt gave them claim to American aid and sympathy—American citizens have in point five presented these non-Russian nationalities with a program which includes:

- (a) A denial to all these peoples of the right to self-determination.
- (b) A discrimination regarding equality of sovereign rights between Russians and the non-Russian nationalities. The Russians are the "master race"; the non-Russians, the "under-dogs", to be content with "political and cultural autonomy".
- (c) A denial of basic American ideas expressed in the Declaration of Independence, in the principles of Wilson, by the Atlantic Charter, and by the Statutes of the UN.
- (d) A moral recognition of the "Russian Lebensraum" created by aggression, international crimes and complete disregard for treaty obligations—methods similar to those which have caused the makers of the German and Japanese "Lebensraum" to be tried by international tribunals in Nuremberg and Tokyo.

It is astonishing that, though there is some Communist influence in the Indonesian movement, their right to self-determination against Dutch aggression is usually defended in American public opinion. This right is denied non-Russians within the Soviet Union, in spite of their century-old adherence to democratic principles.

(2) Point 5 of the program of the "American Committee for Free Russia"—which seems to have become the "American Committee for Discrimination against the non-Russian nationalities—is even less just than the present Constitution of the Soviet Union, whose fictitious principles I am suddenly compelled to defend against American democrats.

It was "political necessity" in the eyes of the Russian Communist dictatorship to preserve decorum before world opinion by including in the Soviet Constitution, article 13, which states that the "Soviet Union is a federal state formed on the basis of voluntary association", and article 17, according to which "to every Union Republic is reserved the right freely to secede from the Soviet Union". Thus even the Russian Communists granted, theoretically, rights of full self-determination to non-Russian nationalities, but American democrats have not found it necessary to consult these peoples about their will or their wishes. They have denied them the right of full self-determination, limiting it to "real political and cultural autonomy" within an arbitrarily instituted "Russian Federation".

(3) As "The Commonweal" is a Catholic organ, may I state that I, as a Catholic, am deeply shocked, because this point contradicts the position of the Church, as expressed October 15, 1918, by Pope Benedict XV, who, to welcome the resurrection of Poland to full independence, said: "It is our fond hope that at the same time all other nations, non-Catholic nations included, that have hitherto been subject to Russia, may be allowed to decide their own lot and develop and prosper according to their native genius and their own individual resources". There has to be taken in consideration also the Peace Plan of Pope Pius XII, wherein it is stated that "a fundamental postulate of any just and honorable peace is an assurance for all nations, great and small, powerful and weak, of their right to life and independence".

II. Integrity of Frontiers. (1) It is difficult for me and my associates to understand how the Committee could rationally include in its program the principle of integrity for "Russia's" frontiers against the background of contemporary affairs: the dissolution of the British Empire (India, Pakistan, Burma, Egypt, etc.), the transformation of its remnants into a voluntary Commonwealth, the case of the Philippines, and the restoration of independent Israel. All of which not only demonstrates the creative power of the national idea in today's world, but also puts into proper focus the "demand" for Russian integrity.

(2) Again we drop somewhat below the level of the present legal status of the non-Russian nationalities. The Soviet Constitution, less touchy about the integrity of her frontiers, reserves, however theoretic it may be, the right to all nations to secede.

(3) This point of integrity is the more deplorable because by it the American Committee silently recognizes even the annexation of the Baltic states into "free Russia"—an international crime the fruits of which have not yet been recognized by the U.S.

(4) If such integrity principles, introduced in political programs, provide silent sanction of international crimes, there soon will appear "integrity demands" for the German, Italian, and Japanese Lebensraum, all created with methods well-utilized by Stalin and predecessor, Ivan the Terrible.

III. Discrimination against non-Russian Nationalities. I oppose also the discrimination against non-Russian peoples living within the Soviet Union, which point six of the program implies.

(1) The point demands immediate abandonment by the future "Russia" of all policies of entanglement and intervention in the internal affairs of neighboring states, such as Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Finland—regarding such policy apparently as political crime, though the same methods if applied against the non-Russian nationalities are considered lawful. The authors of the program do not realize that this "abandonment" can be achieved only if the right to full self-determination is secured for the non-Russian nationalities, too.

Why are Poles, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Czechoslovakians, and Finns granted complete self-determination when non-Russians within the Soviet borders may have only "political and cultural autonomy?" Why this double discrimination? Why are the rights of the non-Russian nationalities defined not only as less than those of the Russians, but as less than those of other people now behind the Iron Curtain?

(2) Both double discrimination and the "integrity" principle must be considered against the background of historical fact. And the fact is that only since 1854 with the capitulation of Shmyl has Russia controlled the Caucasus; Catherine II divided the Ukrainian Hetman State into Russian Governments and the last Hetman, Razumovsky, lived until 1802; and Lithuania, now within the "unchangeable" boundaries of the Soviet Union, has been there only since the partition of Poland—and so forth for the rest of these peoples. That their past has not been forgotten nor their rights resigned is demonstrated (a) in the Soviet Constitution, which theoretically dismembers "Russia", (b) by the legal national governments which still function in exile, and (c) by partisan warfare in the Soviet Union under the leadership of the Ukrainian partisan army (UPA).

(3) The points mentioned show an underestimation, perhaps a misunderstanding, of the national idea among non-Russian peoples in old Russia and in the Soviet Union. In old Russia as in the Soviet Union not only classes, but also nations have been oppressed and exploited. These nations have defended their dignity against Russian oppression and exploitation through their aspirations for national self-determination. The national idea expresses not only their will for political freedom, but also is merged with ideas of social justice and religious revival.

It is rarely understood or realized in America, but these non-Russian nationalities in their fight for liberty, are spiritual children of Ireland, whose history has influenced them profoundly. Ireland is their moral leader. To enslave the non-Russian nationalities permanently, one must first quench the Irish spirit.

Israel, newly independent, has become a guarantee for the realization of our rights, and we believe that in due time Israelites, as part of their historical mission, will foster our cause and defend us against unjust discrimination.

IV. Meaning of the terms: "Russia" and "Russians". I object also to the Committee's use of the terms "Russia" and "Russians", a use misleading for America who are rather unfamiliar with Eastern European history. After 1920 the term "Russia" was limited to the "Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic", now one of the 16 Republics in the Soviet Union. It is then at least inexact to include the other supposedly free republics in the modern term "Russia", giving to it the territorial meaning of old pre-World War I, Tsarist Russia. The misuse, with "integrity of frontiers" and discrimination against the non-Russian nationalities, is part of a new variation on the old song of Russian imperialism, "unity and indivisibility", cloaking an old principle: might over right.

Such antiquated terminology is excusable in popular use, but a political program, necessitating knowledge of history and politics, should at least be worded accurately. Do Irish, after all, or Americans, like to be called Britishers?

Russian imperialists, of course, will appreciate this terminology, which, including non-Russian nationalities in "Russia", negates their right to self-determination. But does this terminology bring spiritual aid and comfort to democrats—non-Russian and Russian alike?

V. The Heritage of the Russian Revolution. When will Americans at last understand that in non-Russian countries of the old Russian Empire revolutionary ideals differed from "the great moral and social values that gave inspiration to the "Russian Revolution"? That in reality the "Russian Revolution" happened only on territory ethnographically Russian? That in non-Russian territories, the revolution was primarily an "Anti-Russian Revolution"? When will Americans finally see that these non-Russian nationalities regard as the "heritage of their anti-Russian Revolution their right to self-determination and to human freedom." For these moral and social values the non-Russian peoples are fighting now: "That they may be revindicated and preserved as the Americans and French have preserved the heritage of their Revolutions".

VI. The Aims of the non-Russian Nationalities. To avoid misunderstanding about the ultimate aims of the non-Russian nationalities, let me state clearly that these nations (represented in exile by Social Democrats, Social Revolutionaries, Christian and Radical Democrats), are not chauvinistic nationalists—they are not isolationists, and they are well aware of national interdependence in modern life.

They have considered for the future, possible unions of their nations into higher forms in keeping with their economic, cultural and political interests, without forgetting the UN or the future world government, which someday, let us hope, will rule our small star with just and equal laws for all nations. "Balkanization" is not their aim, but rather an organic construction in which the non-Russian nationalities can participate voluntarily in Unions—the United States of Europe, or the Intermarium, or the Black Sea Federation, or the Islam Union, or the Siberian Federation, or a federative union with the Russian nation.

But underlying these plans is the realization that only the free will and decision of these nations can build lasting Unions. Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo give witness to the fate of unions based upon coercion, violence, and brutal oppression. Therefore, the Committee's proposed "shotgun wedding" of the Russian and non-Russian nationalities in a "Russian federation" will surely fail.

It is further to be understood that non-Russian nationalities, when they have achieved their full rights will assist through all possible means (free ports, facilities, etc.) to assure the economic recovery of what it is hoped will be a friendly Russia. For, although our opinion about the "heritage" of "Russia" differs from those of the authors of the program, we are sincerely friends of the Russian people. We pray the Lord that they may learn of the fate of empires from those of the past, especially those built by Turkey, Austria, and England; that they may develop toward us the attitude proper for a Christian nation in its relations to its neighbors. The sooner the Russians frankly and honestly recognize the rights of the non-Russian nations they now oppress, the sooner they will find a common language with their neighbors.

The determined and persistent national revolution behind the Soviet frontiers and behind the Iron Curtain, the struggle for self-determination, is one of the great international problems, a problem which can be approached only on the basis of the Soviet Constitution and solved only through honest fulfillment of the principles granting the right of full self-determination to the non-Russian nationalities.

We thank sincerely these distinguished American citizens for their interest in the Soviet Union, but non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union, having received no spiritual help, have been reduced to sad reflection:

Are American principles as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, in Wilson's ideals, the Atlantic Charter, really only lip service, and must we despair that they will with honesty be applied to us?

Are we, the non-Russian nations, to suffer the discrimination which afflicts the Jew and the Negro in some southern states? Has "Jim Crowism" extended into U.S.A. foreign policy to deny self-determination to non-Russian nations, even to those—the Ukraine and White Ruthenia—which the UN has recognized?

Roman L. Loci.

DOCUMENT E

H. CON. RES. 94

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

APRIL 17, 1951

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin submitted the following concurrent resolution;
which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the American people have long accepted the basic principles set forth in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 in the following words: “* * * that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men,—deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness.”; and

Whereas the American people believe these principles are universal and apply to all men everywhere, at all times, and under all forms of government; and

Whereas these principles flow from certain essential truths, among which are—

That the Creator is the Author of every human being and the Source of his rights and that neither the state nor any other human agency has jurisdiction to exploit any human being or violate his rights;

That the state is a servant to mankind and not its master and may not pervert its administrative and police powers so as to make of them a weapon to violate human rights or to terrorize the people;

That there is a brotherhood of all men but only under the Fatherhood of God; and

Whereas communism wears a humanitarian cloak and poses as the messiah of social justice but in reality has given rise to the most reactionary regime of our time based on barbarism and slavery as a result of its immoral doctrine founded in malice setting man against man, class against class, and all men against God; and

Whereas communism thrusts itself beyond civil government and political philosophy, claiming the whole man, denying all spiritual values, denying his inalienable rights, and seeking to transform all human beings created by God in His Image into soulless biological units, to be fitted into a military and economic machine designed for world revolution; and

Whereas communism, although not native to Russia, was adopted by a small, ruthless Bolshevik minority which by treachery, deceit, brutal force, and terror subverted and destroyed the freedom gained by the Russian people in their democratic revolution of February 1917; and

Whereas imperialist communism, from the base of its dictatorship

in Russia proper, did later occupy by brutal military aggression the proclaimed Democratic National Republics of the independent Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, Kuban Cossack, Georgian, Armenian, Azerbaijanian, North Caucasian, Finno-Karelian, Tatar, and Turkestanian peoples; and

Whereas imperialist communism has in crass disregard of the wills of these peoples enforced on them the unnatural structure of the Soviet Union, as later on the Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Moldavian, West and Carpatho-Ukrainian peoples, and tyrannizes all of the afore-mentioned peoples, together with the Bashkirs, Uzbeks, Kirgizes, Buryat Mongols, Chuvashes, Dagestans, Kabardinians, Komis, Maris, Mordovians, North Osetians, Tatars (Volga), Udmurts, Yakuts, Abkhazes, and Kara-Kalpaks, under a regime of colonialism and inhuman exploitation; and

Whereas imperialist communism, during and after World War II, applied genocide on the peoples rebelling against its dictatorship and annihilated the Volga German Republic, the Crimean Tatar Republic, the Chechen Republic and the "autonomous Region of Karàchev", scattering their population over the Asiatic Arctic; and

Whereas imperialist communism is systematically applying to all the non-Russian nationalities, both within the Soviet Union and without the Soviet Union, Stalin's Russification program, aiming at the destruction of all national organisms and their cultural peculiarities by creating one Soviet nationality, with one Soviet language and one Soviet culture; and

Whereas communism after consolidating its imperialist gains succeeded until recently by means of false propaganda, deceit, police-state methods, and hermetically sealed frontiers, in keeping the non-Soviet world largely ignorant of the plight

of these non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union and, in turn, keeping the peoples within the Soviet Union in ignorance of the true nature of conditions existing outside its borders and particularly of conditions in the democratic world; and

Whereas communism has taken the lives of tens of millions of human beings in the Soviet Union (notably the liquidation of about five million Ukrainian peasants in 1932-1933 and the Lidice-like massacre of Ukrainians in Vinnitsia in 1937-1938) including a vast number of the members of its own armed forces (other than in the late war), and has enslaved the peoples—

by robbing them of their farms and transforming them into landless agricultural robots;

by chaining workers to their factories and transforming them into homeless industrial robots;

by depriving intellectuals of freedom of creative work and thought and transforming them into voiceless ideological robots;

by submitting vast numbers from all classes, both men and women, old and young, workers (industrial and white collar), peasants, and intellectuals, to the subhuman conditions of concentration camps in uninhabitable areas and transforming them into a nameless host of more than fifteen million state slaves;

by the uprooting and dispersal of minority groups;

by practicing genocide upon national groups, including the Jewish population, within the Soviet Union and making the Soviet Union a burial ground of nations; and

Whereas communism is in the process of destroying the institution of the family in the Soviet Union by an enforced collective way of life, by inordinate control and indoctrination of

the children, and by setting members of the same family against one another through fear and terror; and

Whereas communism is in the process of destroying religion in the Soviet Union by fostering atheism, by ridiculing and persecuting the sincere religious expression of the people, by perverting religious instincts in the hearts of the young, by murdering the representatives of religion, by destruction of places of worship and the abolition of religious institutions (as the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the 1920's and the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1945), by tolerating only religious services subservient to the state, and by deifying the leader of the Red regime; and

Whereas imperialist communism has by force and deceit conscripted into the Soviet Army overwhelming numbers of peace-loving non-Russian peasants, workers, and intellectuals whose genuine anticommunist and anti-imperialist sentiments have been amply demonstrated by numerous acts of self-determination, revolts, and resistances (such as: 1918–1920—the courageous defense of the independent Ukrainian National Republic against Trotsky's Red Army; 1926—the Georgian revolt for independence; 1928–1930—the upsurge of Ukrainian “Titoism” led by Skripnik and others; 1937—the plan to overthrow the imperialist Communist regime led by Marshal Tukhachevsky, General Yakir, Colonels Prymakiv and Kryvoruchko; 1938—the spontaneous creation of the independent Carpatho-Ukraine; 1941—the heralded declarations of Ukrainian independence in both Lviv and Kiev at the outbreak of the Red-Nazi conflict; 1941–1942—the willful mass surrender of over two million Soviet Ukrainian troops to fight for the independence of their homeland; 1943–present—the extensive underground re-

sistance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, cooperating with the Lithuanian, Slovak, and Polish undergrounds, against the Nazi invaders and now against the Communist imperialists, achieving a deep infiltration into the multinational Soviet Army) ; and

Whereas communism by making false and appealing promises, in an atmosphere of ideological black-out in the Soviet Union, perverts the patriotic fervor of a certain number of young idealists, who have a genuine desire to serve their respective peoples, and exploits it for an antihuman conspiracy; and

Whereas communism in order to extend still further its tyranny concentrates its efforts on promoting artificial hostile feelings between the friendly and peace-loving peoples within the Soviet Union and the people of the United States and of other free nations whose basic aspirations as human beings are identical, and who have no real conflicting interests; and

Whereas imperialist communism not satisfied with the early subjugation and exploitation of these millions of people in the Soviet Union has already forced Marxist-Stalinist tyranny on the more recently free and independent nations of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and initially Yugoslavia which still follows the Communist ideology, and in the words of the United States Supreme Court Justice Jackson in the recent case of American Communications Association versus Douds (339 U. S. at page 429), "The international police state has crept over Eastern Europe by deception, coercion, coup d'état, and terrorism and assassination."; and communism has conquered China and is in the process of attempting to subjugate Korea, Tibet, Viet Nam, and Malaya, and seeks eventually to enslave free men everywhere with the openly professed aim of establishing the World Soviet Union; and

Whereas agreements made by any one or more of the free nations with the Communist regime that now enslaves the peoples within the Soviet Union strengthen materially and morally the position of said regime, weaken the resistance to Communist tyranny, and dim the hopes of these peoples for liberation; such agreements with said regime being used by it only to its advantage for the purposes of accumulating additional strength and to the disadvantage of every other country seeking honorably to compose differences with it; it being one of the prime techniques of communism to disregard truth and honor and to ignore agreements whenever opportune; and

Whereas, in contrast to the treacherous fifth columns that operate in the free countries of the world to enslave them to imperialistic communism, there exists among these non-Russian peoples, who constitute about one-half of the population of the Soviet Union, an active and extensive underground system led by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which, if offered the encouragement and positive aid of the free peoples of the world, will enable them to liberate themselves and overthrow the imperialist Communist tyranny and help place mankind on the path of peace instead of plunging it into the holocaust of a third world war; and

Whereas past tragic mistakes in the policies of certain of the free nations, including that of the United States, toward the Communist regime in the Soviet Union and a failure fully to understand the true nature, extent, and the enormity of its aggressive designs have substantially contributed toward placing said Communist regime in a position where it now is a clear and present danger to world peace and the free progress of mankind compelling the United States and other

free nations again to undertake a vast program of armament expenditures; and

Whereas, while we rearm with reluctance and would prefer to devote our energies to peace, we are determined to defend our freedom; and

Whereas rearmament alone coupled with an attempt to compose differences with the Communist regime by treaties and agreements leaving undisturbed said regime and its present enormous conquests of aggression will, over a period of years, place a crushing burden of armaments upon the free world that eventually could well, of itself, destroy freedom; and such agreements and treaties would tend to stabilize said regime in its conquests and give a benediction to a way of life that has declared war on all human nature under its control; and

Whereas the world cannot long continue to exist half slave and half free: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring)*, That the Congress of the United States hereby
3 reaffirms the historic friendship of the American people with
4 the different peoples within the Soviet Union—the millions
5 of Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Georgians, Lithuanians,
6 Latvians, Estonians, and the other non-Russian peoples
7 between whom and the American people there are innumer-
8 able ties of kinship, and concerning whose mutual aspirations
9 for democracy, liberty, and justice there has always been
10 an alliance; that the American motives for these aspirations

1 and this alliance lie deep because the United States of
2 America was founded and has been built largely by the
3 oppressed peoples from all countries.

4 SEC. 2. The Congress of the United States, on behalf of
5 the American people, solemnly pledges that the common
6 struggle against imperialist communism in which this Nation,
7 together with other free nations, is now engaged is not
8 directed against those who have been misled by communism
9 through no fault of their own but against those who have
10 misled them; that those who have unwittingly served the
11 small clique in control of the Communist regime or in coun-
12 tries captive to it should not fear vengeance, provided they
13 break off with communism; and that the American people
14 recognize the right of the non-Russian peoples within the
15 Soviet Union and of the countries now held captive by said
16 Communist regime to bring to justice their oppressors who
17 are leading them into another world war that will mean
18 destruction of many more millions of lives and of many cities,
19 homes, and the countryside within the Soviet Union.

20 SEC. 3. (a) The Congress of the United States hereby
21 expresses the firm conviction of the American people that the
22 non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union have the right
23 of self-determination (including the right of any of the nations
24 within the Soviet Union to determine its own form of gov-
25 ernment and also the right to form a free federation of

1 whatever choosing), based on the free and effective expres-
2 sion of popular will, namely, that no nation can be deprived
3 of territory by force and that no nation can keep territory by
4 force, and, by free election, to be governed by their own
5 consent.

6 (b) It is further expressed to be the firm conviction of
7 the American people that these non-Russian peoples as well
8 as the Russian people within the Soviet Union have the right
9 to the basic freedoms for which they have long struggled and
10 for which in World War II they together with other people,
11 shed their blood, among which freedoms are—

12 (1) the right of peasants to their own land, to
13 work it as they see fit, and to dispose of the fruits of
14 their labor as they see fit;

15 (2) the right of workers to select freely the type
16 and place of their employment, and to obtain equitable
17 wages and decent working hours and conditions through
18 the organization of their own truly independent trade-
19 unions;

20 (3) the right of intellectuals to freedom of scientific
21 and artistic creation, to freedom of cultural intercourse
22 with the whole world, and to the establishment of edu-
23 cational, scientific, and cultural institutions, independent
24 of state control;

1 (4) the right of political prisoners of all classes to
2 immediate liberation and aid in rehabilitation;

3 (5) the freedom of religion, of speech, of thought,
4 and of the press, and freedom of each national group to
5 use its own language and kind of alphabet;

6 (6) the right of the people peaceably to assemble,
7 to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects,
8 against unreasonable searches and seizures;

9 (7) the right of the people to life, liberty, and pri-
10 vate ownership of property; the right of an accused to a
11 speedy and public trial in accordance with principles
12 of law and justice;

13 (8) the freedom of movement within the country
14 and of travel abroad and upon the high seas, together
15 with the freedom to engage in commerce and pursuits of
16 private enterprise and in all peaceful activities;

17 (9) the freedom of families from the Communist
18 way of life and from undue state interference and control,
19 and of parents in the education of their children;

20 (10) the freedom of the armed forces to defend the
21 legitimate interests of the Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian,
22 Georgian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and other
23 peoples within the Soviet Union, the right and obligation
24 of the armed forces to protect the people from the Com-
25 munist tyranny, and the freedom of the armed forces

1 from being used and augmented by the Communist
2 tyranny into an aggressive force both against its own
3 people and against peaceful nations.

4 SEC. 4. To give meaning to their historic friendship for
5 the multiple national peoples within the Soviet Union, the
6 Congress of the United States hereby expresses the strong
7 hope of the American people for an early liberation of the
8 Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, Georgian, Lithuanian, Latvian,
9 Estonian, and other peoples within the Soviet Union from
10 their Communist enslavement. To assist in bringing about
11 that liberation at the earliest possible date, the President
12 of the United States is hereby requested—

13 (1) to make no further agreement and no commit-
14 ments to the present Soviet regime that would tend in
15 any way to maintain, stabilize, or further extend its
16 power over the enslaved peoples of the Soviet Union;

17 (2) to formulate a new and stronger foreign policy
18 which, among other things, recognizes the essentially evil
19 nature of the Communist regime bent on the destruction
20 of the United States and of the free world and takes
21 cognizance of the paramount imperialist character of
22 said regime in its enslavement of over eighty million
23 non-Russian peoples occupying the broad peripheral
24 area of the Soviet Union from the Baltic to the Black
25 Sea to the Far East Pacific.

1 (3) to explore the methods whereby our represent-
2 atives in the United Nations may urge that body to
3 assist the Ukrainian, Byelo-Russian, and other peoples
4 within the Soviet Union who resist serving as cannon
5 fodder in the imperialist ventures of the Kremlin, to
6 obtain liberation from their present enslavement and ex-
7 change for their present representation in the United
8 Nations a true representation that can work for, rather
9 than obstruct and undermine the efforts of all peoples
10 of the world, for the first time in human history effec-
11 tively to lay down a true foundation for lasting peace
12 and the undisturbed permanent coexistence of peoples;

13 (4) to explore methods whereby the American
14 people through their Government, and by private means
15 with Government assistance and otherwise may offer
16 material aid and moral support to active fighters now
17 struggling for the liberation of the Ukrainian, Byelo-
18 Russian, Georgian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and
19 other peoples within the Soviet Union and people in the
20 Communist-dominated countries.

