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History of the Cossacks

by

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. . . The Cossack Don is like a weight on our legs and from it there is no access to the seas for us. We will have done with it, we will take the Cossack assembly-goers in hand and only then will we, Russians, soar on wings. . . . Then indeed our commerce will grow, and only then will no dam hold the aspirations of our state to the expanse of the seas. We will build our own seagoing vessels, and they will bear our banners through all the seas. And such fame will shine over our Russian land as could not be ever conquered by the sword. And only then will our power increase so that it is sweet for the heart to dream of it. . . .

Words of the Muscovite Minister of Foreign Affairs under Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, Ordyn-Nashchekin. From Stepan Zlobin's book *Stepan Razin*, Moscow, Soviet Writer Publishing House, 1951.

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I. *Introduction*

THE FREE PEOPLES of the world know very little of the Cossacks, of their origin, history, present status, of their true strivings, of their struggle for national freedom and independence. What is known in the West about the Cossacks is much in error, since it comes chiefly from the narrow and arbitrary official history of Tsarist or Soviet Russia or from other sources inimical to the Cossacks, sources which for one reason or another are personally interested in concealing from the Western world a true picture of the Cossacks, their real status, their constant and steadfast aspiration for a rebirth of freedom and the national independence of their homeland, Cossackia.

As is well known, Moscow has always carefully concealed its true aims directed toward the conquest and enslavement of other peoples. Even in earlier times it strove to separate its prison of peoples from the rest of the world by an iron curtain, behind which it has concealed this dreadful enslavement and oppression. Moreover, every Moscow ruler has attempted to present the history of the subjugated peoples in a disadvantageous light in order to strengthen its claim to sovereignty over them. The whole propaganda apparatus of Moscow, its historians, scholars, diplomats, have tried in the past and are now trying to paint the condition of the enslaved peoples of the USSR in a guise favorable to the Kremlin lords.

Today, when the Western world is beginning to recognize the threat of Moscow's imperialism in its current

Bolshevik form, all peoples of the free world should more closely acquaint themselves with the true condition of the peoples oppressed by Moscow, their hopes and aspirations; they should also come to know better these natural allies in the struggle against the Communist menace of frightful enslavement of the entire world.

Among the peoples imprisoned by Moscow are also the Cossacks, who were the first to recognize the essence of Bolshevism and to come forward in the unequal struggle against it. The Cossacks have suffered enormous human and material losses in this struggle, but nevertheless are firmly and steadfastly carrying on their dedicated fight for freedom, not only their own, but also of all freedom-loving mankind.

Until now the West has largely drawn its information on the Cossacks from non-Cossack sources, the majority of which have attempted to present the Cossacks in an unfair and false light, either completely denying the existence of a Cossack problem in Eastern Europe or representing it in a distorted, often deliberately complex form so as to mislead Western political thought and public opinion and to prevent the problem from being placed on the agenda of vital Eastern European issues awaiting solution. This misinformation always comes directly or indirectly from Moscow or from other enemies of the Cossack people and its freedom.

Now the Cossacks will speak for themselves in the firm hope that the truth will help toward a more correct understanding of the Cossacks and of Cossack problems, which are an integral part of the fundamental problems in Eastern Europe.

II. *The Origin of the Cossacks*

THE COSSACKS are a completely separate and independent people who have since ancient times inhabited their own Cossack territory in Eastern Europe. In 1948 they observed the millenium of their official historical existence, according to data of Byzantine, Iranian, Arabian and even Russian historians.

The Cossacks inhabit the lands between the Azov, Black and Caspian Seas, between the northern slopes of the Caucasus and the lower and central parts of the Don, Volga and Ural (Yaika) Rivers. This country of the Cossacks—Cossackia—even in olden times was called the "gateways of peoples." Through it at different periods passed various peoples and tribes of Asia en route to Europe: the Scythians, Huns, Khazars, Sarmatians, Alans, Goths, *polovtsy*, Pechenegs (Patzinacs), Turks and others. On it has been waged the ancient struggle for possession of these highly strategic lands between Asia and Europe. One people replaced another, the victor supplanted the vanquished. But in this process not all disappeared or left these broad and fertile steppes. Many stayed, settling, intermingling with the native, ancient Slavonic population. It is from this mixed stock that the fully original, independent and highly freedom-loving Cossack people emerged. They officially appeared in the historical arena at the end of the ninth century. After the Khazars were routed in the region of present-day Krasnodar by the Cossack leader "Kasak" or "Kazak," the Cossack people were united in 948 into one

state named *Kazakiya* (Cossackia), a fact attested to by the Byzantine emperor and historian Constantine Porfirogenitus.

We intentionally cite data from non-Cossack, foreign—including even Russian—historians so that we cannot be suspected of partiality, subjectivity or distortion of historical facts.

A great many such sources, Arabian, Iranian, Indian, Byzantine, Russian, tell of the antiquity of the Cossack's origin, including the "Code" of the Byzantine Emperor Leo the Philosopher in 858, "Code of the Byzantine Patriarch Photius" and of the Byzantine Emperor Michael III. The latter, according to the well-known Czech professor of ancient times, Dr. Prikryl, sent the holy brothers Cyril and Methodius to the Cossacks. Many Russian academicians also confirm the ancient origin of the Cossacks, for example Academician I. K. Taubert in his book *Drevnie i Azovskie izvestiya* (Ancient and Azov News) published by the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1732, and Rigelman in his *Istoriya Donskikh kazakakh* (History of the Don Cossacks) written in 1778 upon commission of the government, the first such history in the Russian language.

Right up to 1835 all subsequent Russian historians, basing their works on historical research and data, unfailingly spoke of the Cossacks as a separate people, different from the Russian. Of these chroniclers of Russian history special mention should be made of Karamzin, Tatishchev, Pogodin, Linberg, Ustryalov, Polevoi, Saveliev, Kramer, Rait, Lyubensky, Solinyak, Oznobishin and the most recent Russian historians Shmurlo, Tkhorzhevsky, Svatikov, and others. Until 1835 all textbooks on Russian history recommended for Russian schools also spoke of the Cossacks as a separate people. Even the official *Voenno-Entsiklopedicheskii slovar* (Military Encyclopedia), pub-

lished in 1834 in St. Petersburg, says literally, in Volume VI, page 372: "The ancient origin of the Cossacks, as a people, is lost in the semihistorical times of our fatherland," i.e., before Kievan Rus invited the rule of the Varangians in 862.

The persistent propaganda of the Russian government that the "Cossacks are flesh and blood of the Russian people" dates from the year 1835. In that year the government of Nicholas I commissioned the historian Bronevsky to write *Istoriya Donskovo Voiska* (History of the Don Host), which expounded the new "theory" that the Cossacks had their origin in fugitive serfs of the Moscow realm. This history then became the basis for the ukase "Administrative Regulations for the Don Host," transforming the Cossacks from a people to the status of a "military class."

Neither Bronevsky himself nor his followers ever cited any historical evidence in support of their version, being guided solely by their desire, as Bronevsky admitted, "to please the government. . . ." A great number of later Russian scholars and historians have recognized the absurdity of this theory. Outstanding among whom are the well-known Academician E. Oznobishin, the historians Shmurlo, Tkhorzhevsky and Svatikov (who wrote the major work *Rossiya i Don* [Russia and the Don]).

To show the complete absence of foundation for Bronevsky's theory that the Cossacks originated from fugitive Russians, we will briefly quote pre-Bronevsky Russian historians.

Academician I. K. Taubert, on page 74 of his *Ancient and Azov News* published in 1732, writes:

> The Cossacks have always been respected as a brave and strong people. According to Constantine Porfirogenitus, they were already known in 948 and lived close

to the Caucasian Mountains. Polish writers publish various unfounded fables concerning them. But these show only a base hatred of this brave people. The Poles particularly reproach them with the fact that they consist of fugitive people. Although it is indeed true that the Cossacks have always taken in Russians, Poles and others who have sought asylum with them, this fact is not sufficient to prevent the Cossacks from being respected as an ancient and . . . fairly well-established people.

Professor A. Sanders in his *Istoricheskii ocherk Kavkaza* (Historical Essay of the Caucasus) devotes much space to the Cossacks and confirms Academician Taubert's data, adding that Nestor, too, in his chronicle, recounts that the Kievan Prince Mstislav campaigned in 1022 against the *kosogi* (Cossacks). This same information is confirmed in the ancient *Kievskii letopis* (Kievan Chronicle), in *Sinopsis Kievskii* (Kievan Synopsis) composed by the Kievan Metropolitan Ignati Gizel, and also in the *Letopis* (Chronicle) of Hegumen Feodosi on pages 185, 186 and 351.

In his *Ancient and Azov News* (pages 46-48) I. K. Taubert states:

The Kievan Prince Mstislav had his residence in Tmutorokan, where he had subjected the widely dispersed Cossacks, and then in 1023 sent them together with the Khazars against his brother Yaroslav. Then the Cossacks again detached themselves and left the service of the Kievan princes, but in 1064 Prince Rostislav succeeded for a time in again reducing the Cossacks to obedience.

The *Pervaya Novgorodskaya letopis* (First Novgorod Chronicle) also speaks of the Cossacks as of a specific

people, mentioning them in 1223 and earlier, on pages 99, 145, 186.

That the Cossacks were a completely separate and independent people even under the Golden Horde is reported by contemporaries who in those times visited the Golden Horde, particularly William of Rubruck (1253), John de Plano Carpini (1246), Nikifor Grigora and Georgi Pakhimera (Pokhimera). Pakhimera, who died in 1308, writes in his *Sochineniya* (Works), Volume I, page 235:

> General Noga has subjugated all the peoples living on the northern shore of the Black Sea and has set up a special state in those regions. The *kosogi* (Cossacks), *chigi, alany* and others have intermingled with the Tatars, accepted their customs, way of life, language and dress and have served in the Tatar troops and have raised their might to the highest degree of fame.

A member of the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, E. Oznobishin, in his historical work *Donskie kazaki* (The Don Cossacks) printed in *Donskie vedomosti* (Don Gazettes) Nos. 81-91 for 1876-77 states that in 1261, at the request of the Cossacks and upon recommendation of the Byzantine Patriarch, a Don or Sarsk eparchy for the spiritual nourishment and service of the Cossack Christians was set up under Khan Khais Berka.

There are scores of other historical documents, particularly materials dealing with the participation of the Cossacks in the Kulikovsk battle of August 8, 1380, when the Cossacks before the battle presented the Muscovite Dimitri Ivanovich with two icons: Our Lady of the Don and Our Lady of Grebenskoe. At the same time the Tatars accepted Mohammedanism and under Khan Mamay open unfriendliness began to be shown the Cossack Chris-

tians, part of whom as a result moved to the upper Don region. The Archimandrite Antoni, by the way, wrote in his *Slovo izvestie* (Chronicle):

> There, at the upper reaches of the Don, are a Christian people of warriors, called Cossacks, who have miracle-working icons in their churches, who joyously meet the great prince with these icons and with crosses, in congratulation for liberation from the enemy. . . .

All travelers who visited the Cossacks' country again unanimously speak of the Cossacks as a separate people distinct from the Muscovites. The German traveler S. Herberstein, who in 1549 visited the Don, Moscow and Kiev, wrote in his *Zapiski o moskovskikh delakh* (Notes on Muscovite Affairs) of how the Cossacks are a specific people, speaking a mixed Slavonic and Tatar language, professing the Greek faith and conducting church services in the Slavonic language. The Venetian Joseph Barbaro, who lived in Azov more than sixteen years, in 1436 wrote of the Cossacks as a people speaking a Tatar-Slavonic language. The French scientist and hydraulic engineer who built the canal in the capital of Don in Cherkassk in 1800-1802 and who wrote the work *Coup d'oeil philosophique sur le pay occupe par les cossaques* (A Philosophical Glance at the Country Occupied by the Cossacks), confirms this: "Even in the eighteenth century the Cossacks spoke a Tatar-Slavonic language, and the customs, habits and dress of the Cossacks is little different from the Tatar."

Hundreds of additional testimonials of foreigners who visited the Cossack Land and who mentioned the Cossacks in their works as fully independent, completely distinct from the Great Russian, Muscovite people could be cited. For brevity's sake, however, we refer our reader to the

major work of the Russian historian S. G. Svatikov, *Rossiya i Don* (Russia and the Don).

It should be emphasized that the first Russian historians unfailingly wrote, until 1835, of the Cossacks as of a separate and extremely ancient people.

The Russian historian, Tatishchev, reports in his *Leksikon* published in 1793 that the Cossacks were already to be found in the Khazar Empire in the ninth century and together with them accepted Christianity.

Karamzin, "the father of Russian history," asserts in Volume IV of his work *Istoriya Rossiiskovo gosudarstva* (History of the Russian State) that the Cossacks originated from a merging of the Azov Slavs with the ancient steppe dwellers who spoke a Slavonic-Tatar language with a sprinkling of words of the Turks, Caucasian mountaineers and others and adds: "In any case, the Cossacks are older than the Batu invasion. These knights lived by their own communes, not recognizing Polish, Russian or Tatar authority over them."

The early academicians and scholars of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, beginning with I. K. Taubert, Rait, LeClerc and others also wrote of the Cossacks as of an ancient and distinct people.

Subsequent Russian historians, ethnographers, archeologists and scholars wrote in the same vein. Of these Ustryalov, Everst, Bolotov, Professor Zhukovsky, Professor Rait, Professor Lyubensky, Professor Zyablovsky, Kramer, Pogodin, Sredievsky, Bogomolov, Klyuchevsky, Kostomarov and a great many others should be mentioned.

Even the textbooks of Russian history intended for use in Russian schools before 1835 always wrote of the Cossacks as of a separate people. Thus, for example, we read in Professor Ustryalov's text, *Russkaya isoriya* (Russian History), Volume I, page 235:

> The Cossack people grew out of a fusion of peoples of various tribes. They are composed of remnants of the ancient *polovtsy*, the Azov Slavs, *cherkesy*, migrants from the Caucasus, Tatars, Lithuanians, Poles and so on. The wonderful mixture of tribes is reflected in the characteristics of the Cossacks, in their language, in their very way of life. Their faces to this day express something Asiatic. Their language is made up of Tatar, Russian, Turkish, Polish and other words.

The *kollezhskii** counselor and member of an order, Aleksei Popov, director of schools under the Don Host, wrote *Istoriya o Donskom Voiske* (History of the Don Host) in 1812 in Novocherkassk. Part I, printed in Kharkov at the university printing shop in 1814, bears the censor's notation: "Printing is permitted. Kharkhov. 1813, May 31. Professor Gavriil Uspenski [censor]." In this work Popov says:

> Since olden times this Host-Republic has been called Cossack and the land of the Cossacks *Kazakiya* (Cossackia), because in the Persian language (*midiiskii*, dialect) Cossack means Scythian, according to Pliny [a writer of the first century B.C.]. Constantine Porfirogenitus who reigned in Constantinople from 775 through 797, also attests to this, as does the Arabian historian Abul-gasi-Baga-dar-Khan.

The Byzantine emperor and historian Constantine also called the Cossack country *Kazakiya* or *Kasakiya*. The Russian ethnographer Professor E. Markov also confirms this quite convincingly in his work *Ocherki Kavkaza* (Es-

* *kollezhskii:* "first part of the component title of some classes of civil petty officials in Russia before the Revolution. *Kollezhskii sovetnik. K. assessor. K. registrator.*" (Ushakov)

says of the Caucasus). On page 13, by the way, he writes:

> That the Cossacks are generally speaking the legitimate heirs and successors of the ancient steppe dwellers is obvious not only from their historical role but even from their very name. There is no difference in this name–*kazak*–and the tribes of the ancient *kosogi*, written *kasagi* in the Nikonovsky roll, *kosogi* in the Sofiisky, who roamed the shores of the Azov Sea at the beginning of Russian history.

This is confirmed also by the German scholar, Professor A. Sanders, in his work *Kaukasien geschichtlicher Umriss* (Caucasia: Historical Study), citing in addition evidence on the independent origin of the Cossacks as a separate people and quoting the *Statut Genuezskikh kolonii* (Statute of the Genoese Colonies) on the Black Sea, published in 1449 under the title *Liber juris republike Genevsis* (Free Law of Republic of Genoa). . . .

The first Russian historian of the Cossacks, General Rigelman, who on commission of the Russian government in 1778 wrote *Istoriya o Donskikh kazakakh* (History of the Don Cossacks), writes:

> Spending quite a long time in my post among the Dons, I was always closely observing, listening attentively, trying to grasp the meaning . . . and although Cossacks are known to the whole world for their ancientness and more even for their bravery in military affairs, yet few know when and from what people they originated in this place. . . . They consider themselves by nature not of Russian stock. They believe actually that they have only become Russianized, living under Russia, but not Russian. And therefore they never call themselves Muscovites, do not even like anyone who

calls them *moskal** and answer: "I am not a *moskal,* but a Russian only by law, and not by nature". . . .

Not without reason does the Russian Professor Zyablovsky say in his work *Zemleopisanie Rossiiskoi Imperii* (Descriptive Geography of the Russian Empire), Volume VI, published in 1810: "The Cossacks are the descendants of an ancient tribe of bellicose Slavs." And N. Polevoi wrote definitely in the *Moskovskii telegraf* (Moscow Telegraph) Nos. 17 and 18, in 1830:

> The Cossacks should not be considered part of ancient Rus. Only language and faith have drawn them close to Russia. . . . The Malorussians [Little Russians, or Ukrainians], Belorussians, Cossacks and others are not Russians; they are some sort of nationality apart.

A. Pynin in *Istoricheskii Vestnik* (Historical Messenger) for 1902, page 735, writes:

> The chronicle has not noted the earliest establishment of the Cossacks, but the most recent historians are inclined to trace their origin back to the Tatar period and [to believe] that the Cossacks came into being very early.

The most recent Russian historians, such as Shmurlo, Tkhorzhevsky and Svatikov, do in fact quite specifically recognize the antiquity of Cossack origin.

Cossack historians who have done research on the history of the Cossacks also reach this conclusion and assert that the Cossacks by no means are descended from fugitive

* *moskal:* "(prerevolutionary, scornful). Chauvinistic nickname applied by inhabitants of the Ukraine and Belorussia to the Russians, to representatives of the Moscow state, and also to soldiers." (Ushakov)

Muscovite or other people but have their ancient origin in the ancient Slavs who fused with various tribes that passed through the Cossack areas.

Beginning with the Cossack historian V. D. Sukhorukov, whose works were removed and banned by the Russian government of Nicholas I and who himself was exiled first to the Caucasus and then to Finland, and ending with the most recent Cossack historians, I. F. Bykadorov, Dr. S. A. Fedorov, T. M. Starikov, S. V. Boldyrev, G. V. Gubarev and others, all have quite clearly shown the completely separate origin of the Cossacks, having found the Cossack historical birth certificate. These historians based their work on historical facts, using both Russian and foreign historical sources.

Even such a writer as General P. N. Krasnov, who devoted the bulk of his books to the greatness of Russia, considers the Cossacks a separate people, not Russians. In his *Istoricheskie ocherki Dona* (Historical Essays of the Don) published in 1944, he writes:

> To say that we are Russians, implying by this the concept Great Russians, would be incorrect, because the Cossacks themselves consist of various nationalities. Among the peoples of Russia there are branches: Great Russians, Ukrainians [or Little Russians, as they were earlier called], Belorussians and there are also Cossacks. . . .

The Cossacks have always clearly and distinctly recognized their political and social apartness from other peoples, including the Great Russians. They have never considered themselves part of the Great Russian people or its Moscow state. Instead they have always sharply contrasted themselves with the Russians, with Rus. The Moscow state itself, which arose considerably later than the

Cossack state institutions, recognized the complete independence of the Cossack people. Moscow carried on all dealings with the Cossack republics through the so-called ambassadorial office, or ministry of foreign affairs. In the Moscow state ambassadors and citizens of the Cossack republics enjoyed full immunity on a level with other foreigners and were not subject either to Moscow's authority or to the Moscow courts.

The Cossacks have been distinguished by a high national consciousness, an awareness of their own Cossack nature, of their own laws, customs, habits, traditions. At the same time there has been no such thing as a "Russian consciousness" among the Cossacks since this on the whole never did exist for there was only the Moscow consciousness of a single Great Russian people. Russia, as such, entered the historical arena only in the first half of the eighteenth century, when Peter I, after conquering Cossackia and the Ukraine, renamed the Moscow Kingdom the Russian Empire. Russian consciousness could take shape only after this time, and even then primarily among the ruling class. The Cossack national mass always opposed itself to the Russian, a fact confirmed not only by Russian historians but also by publicists, writers, scholars and others. The reasons for this opposition are to be found not only in the political and socio-economic differences between the Cossacks and Russians but also in the different nature, in the different extraction and in the different character and psychology of the Cossacks and Russians.

It is just these factors which can explain the Cossack's sharp rejection of Bolshevism and their uncompromising struggle with it at a time when the Russian people on the whole not only accepted Bolshevism but even became its buttress and hotbed among the other peoples. If the Cossacks were of the same extraction as the Russians, they should have merged with the Russians after their two hun-

dred years of forced stay as part of Russia, after their systematic Russification—as the Novgorodians, *pskovichi*, *vyatichi* and other Russian tribes merged.

The Cossacks did preserve their Cossack national identity, their national ideology, their psychology, their nationality consciousness, thier own national character, their internal world, a world different than that of the Russians, their way of life, their traditions, their peculiarities of character, completely different from the character of the Russian people.

We accordingly dwell on analysis of the fiction that the Cossacks come of fugitive Russian stock as well as on the absurdity of the idea that the Cossacks are some sort of class of the Russian people. History and life itself have decidedly toppled these notions. After the Revolution of 1917, the Cossacks by their free will restored their own state organizations—Republics—uniting them in one allied state, called by us *Cossackia.*

III. *The Myth that the Cossacks are of Fugitive Russian Extraction!*

ABOVE WE HAVE pointed briefly to sources largely written by Russian historians, ethnographers, academicians and scholars which attest to the fact that the Cossacks are an ancient, completely separate people who have their origin in a fusion of ancient Azov Slavs with various other tribes, beginning with the Khazars, *polovtsy*, Pechenegs and ending with Caucasians and Tatars.

Now we will examine the "theory" that the Cossacks spring from fugitive Russians, and we will point out that it does not stand up under any criticism and that objective Russian scholars themselves rightly and truthfully doubt it.

The "theory" that the Cossacks originated from fugitive Russians dates from 1834. It was the prerequisite, a "basis" of sorts, for the government of Emperor Nicholas I to publish in 1835 the "imperial ukaze" entitled "Administrative Regulations for the Don Host." This ukaze converted the Cossacks from a people to the status of a "military class." It was promulgated in one of the dark ages of Tsarist Russia, when Nicholas I clothed all Russia in uniform, when the notorious *arakcheevshchina** raged with its terrible methods of administration and its so-called *arakcheev** settlements, the prototypes of contem-

* *arakcheevshchina:* "System of savage militarism in administration. [From the name of a favorite of the epoch of Alexander I, Arakcheev, organizer of so-called military settlements.] (Ushakov)

porary concentration camps, *spetsposeleniya* (special settlements) in the USSR.

The "theory" belongs to Bronevsky, who, as previously mentioned, wrote his *History of the Don Cossacks* on assignment of the Tsarist government. Bronevsky simply remade the Cossack history already set down in the manuscripts of the Cossack historian Sukhorukov. Sukhorukov's manuscripts were removed by the police, and he himself was exiled to the Caucasus and then to Finland. Bronevsky wrote solely from the viewpoint of instructions given him by the Tsarist authorities, as he himself admits in the foreword to his "history": "For us the main thing is to please."

And by transforming the Cossacks into fugitive Moscow peasants Bronevsky did please, not only Nicholas I and the Russian nobility, but also the then Russian governmental circles which zealously disseminated this "theory" within Russia and also throughout the world, displaying the Cossacks as a harmful and dangerous caste, as "tramps and robbers."

Bronevsky borrowed his "theory" from Polish historians. It was advanced with the obvious political aim of destroying the idea of the independent origin of the Cossack people, thus strengthening the "basis" for Russifying the Cossacks, for depriving them of all remnants of their former sovereignty and for dissolving them in the Russian sea.

Russian official historians subsequently developed Bronevsky's "theory" to the ultimate expressed in Klyuchevsky's definition of a Cossack—"in the Moscow Kingdom the Cossacks were called homeless vagrants, farm hands and day laborers in the peasant households"—and in Ilovaisky's "a Cossack is a thief and a vagrant."

This "theory" has for almost a hundred years been earnestly and painstakingly drummed not only into Rus-

sians and Cossacks but also into the public opinion of Europe. This "theory" was created in order to knock the historical weapon from the hands of the Cossacks in their struggle for survival of their own national freedom and life. For the predatory aims of Tsarist policy it was necessary to show that the Cossacks originated from fugitive Russian serfs and criminals in order to justify making serfs of and assimilating the Cossacks, a policy which had been pursued for many years.

Yet Russian historians cite no documents, no historical data in confirmation of Bronevsky's "theory," because these materials indeed speak authoritatively against such crude falsification of Cossack history.

Official Russian historians consider that the Cossacks emerged only at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their basis for this assertion is, they say, that only at this time is there the first written document concerning the Cossacks headed by Sary-Azman; until that time, they state, the Cossack territories were empty. But the Russian historians cite no data as to why they consider these Cossacks Russian fugitive criminals and not people of another race or another people.

However, Bronevsky himself states that at the end of 1480 a 16,000-man Cossack force smashed a large Mongolian army near the Azov. Where did such a large Cossack force come from if, also according to Bronevsky, the Cossacks appeared only after 1549?

Everyone well knows that in the sixteenth century the borderlands of the Moscow Kingdom were separated from the Don by hundreds of versts of the Wild Open Country (*Dikoe Polye*) where, again according to the same Russian historians, all sorts of dangerous robber bands of various tribes roamed. Russian fugitives would of necessity have been subjected to great danger and risk to get to the "empty and unpopulated Don" had they

travelled this long route, where there were neither people, shelter, nor food, where at any moment they might become victims of wild animals, nomad Tatars, hunger or cold.

Apropos, at that time there was no particular reason for Muscovites to flee to the Cossack territories. Serfdom came later, after Boris Godunov and the Code of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. The peasantry still could move from place to place and enjoyed comparative freedom. Moreover, the Russian peasant found a more familiar environment toward the northeast, where Russian colonization was indeed later directed, than he did in the complete anxiety and peril of the south.

Logically, it is simply unthinkable that the Cossacks, with their high spiritual, civil and psychological qualities, were born of Russan fugitive peasants, much less criminals. The difference between the qualities of the Cossacks and the peasant is enormous and strikes the eye at first glance. It is impossible to assume that some muzhik from Kaluga or Ryazan, finding himself in the Cossack steppe, could immediately become a Cossack horseman or could turn into a skillful and warlike sailor, for which the ancient Cossacks were noted.

The Cossack state administration and social structure, based on direct popular sovereignty, true democratic principles and the participation of all Cossacks in political life, could in no wise have been born of Moscow stock, since this system was alien and repugnant to the Muscovites, incompatible with their outlooks, convictions, habits, way of life. It is also impossible even to think that Moscow fugitives after coming to the Cossack Land immediately renounced their own slave habits and psychology, which was completely alien to the Cossack, and acquired an ability for organization, a feeling of self-respect, love of freedom, courageousness, bravery, valor

and other Cossack qualities which are inherited only over the course of many generations.

The well-known Russian historian, archeologist and academician, E. Oznobishin, writes on the question of the origin of the Cossacks:

> The fable told by Bronevsky of fugitive Muscovites who formed the Cossacks has no foundation and does not stand up under criticism. In the fifteenth century, at the time when according to Bronevsky the Cossacks emerged on their Cossack territories, serfdom still did not exist in Russia, and anyone could move from one place to another. To assume that the fugitives were criminals only is also without foundation. There would have had to be such a quantity of crime committed that a large body, thousands, of criminals organized, having somewhere encountered each other, agreed to flee somewhere to some unknown country, to unknown peoples and, after making an appearance in the Cossack Land immediately displayed great intelligence, keen-wittedness, courage, managed to acquire weapons, formed a sound society with ruthless criminals and administered by the whole people, and with intelligent and literate people who could write to the tsars. All these postulates of Bronevsky and his followers are a fantasy and it can be definitely said and demonstrated that Moscow fugitives could only make an appearance on the Don when they were convinced that they would find shelter and defense there, that is, only a long time after the emergence of the Cossacks, after the peasants were turned into serfs and after the schism in the church; at another time the fugitives from Russia made an appearance in the Cossack Land only singly

We do not deny at all, however, the penetration of individual Russians into the Cossack territories. But on the

basis of historical data we assert with complete certainty that this could have come about only after they were convinced that there, among the Cossacks, they would find shelter and defense, would find an organized society which might not turn them back. Indeed, it was a distinguishing trait of the Cossacks that they never turned back anyone who came to them for shelter and defense. But many such people of other nationalities too have joined the Cossacks, a fact clearly born out by some Cossack names: Grekov, Tatarkin, Kalmykov, Cherkesov, Cheremisov, Bashkirov, Gruzinov, Murzin, Gorsky, Tatarinov, Persiyanov, Persidskov, Lyakhov, Zhidkov, Zhidyonkov, Evreinov, Nogaev, Serbin, Mordivnov, Mordvintsev, Moldovanov, and so forth.

All these elements from different races and tribes quite voluntarily, without any kind of compulsion, have been assimilated by the Cossack people, giving vitality to and cementing the biological strength of the Cossack people, as is occurring at the present time with hundreds of emigrants who are voluntarily going to the USA and there are being assimilated by the American people.

Actual historical data of ancient historians definitely indicate that the Cossack territories have never been empty and in general could not have been, because at various times influxes of ever new peoples rolled through them into Europe. It was on the Cossack Lands that the savage skirmishes of tribes and peoples fighting for possession of the Cossack expanses took place. The high burial mounds and graves scattered over the Cossack steppes indicate that Scythians, Sarmatians, *alany*, Goths, *kasagi* and others lie there.

The Cossack Lands were never empty. On the contrary, there were times when they were crowded to overflowing. Here life seethed more intensely and dramatically than in the quiet, drowsy forests of the north. The Cos-

sack Lands were simply in no need of an influx of new human forces, since there were many of their own peoples who lived there and made this region fertile.

Down to the present a great many names have been preserved in the Cossack Lands, in Cossackia the country of the Cossacks, which by their origin clearly attest to their existence long before the Tatar invasion: the Mius, Khoper, Aksai, Tor, Aidar, Kurman, Sal, Kalmius and other rivers which irrigate these lands. This demonstrates the uninterrupted continuity of the population which preserved the names of rivers, localities, articles of every day use and so forth, transmitting them by word of mouth.

This fact again demonstrates that the Cossacks came into existence by birth from local, indigenous elements and not from a regeneration of fugitive Muscovite peasants and criminals, that the Cossacks could not have emerged as a result of Muscovite colonization, since historical, ethnographic, psychological and other data are against such an assertion of the official Russian historians.

The "theory" of V. Bronevsky and his followers was created to eliminate the Cossacks as a people and to lower them by "imperial ukaze" to the status of a "military class."

The Russian outlook on the origin of the Cossacks could have been conceived only by people who did not want or did not have the opportunity to study these questions more profoundly; by people satisfied with an official "theory" invented in the name of political expediency, a theory diligently drummed into the heads of the Russians from school days.

If the Cossacks were made up in the south of Russian fugitives and undertook, according to Russian historians and Russian politicians, the voluntary mission of "defense of the borders of Mother Russia," then why did Cossacks not make an appearance in the vicinity of Lithuania, of the

Lithuanian knights? It was also necessary to guard the borders there in the age-old struggle with the quite strong and warlike neighboring peoples of the West. Why did not Cossacks set themselves up in the countries of "Baltic" Rus, because these borders were subject to frequent invasions by the Normans? Why did the coastal Russians, like the Novgorodians and others of the best seafarers, passively endure these inroads, even pay tribute at a time when the Cossacks, under more difficult conditions, not only did not pay tribute to the Turks, who had a state more powerful than that of the Normans, but themselves threatened the walls of the Turks' cities and even of their capital Constantinople. Why did not Cossacks form in the northeast or in the north, where the Russian also went to escape the oppression of his rulers, where there were also tribes hostile to him and where defense of the borders was also required? Why did the Moscow government have to send soldiers from the center for this defense? And, finally, why in all the course of history and throughout the whole vast Russian empire do we not encounter even a hint of the character traits and way of life by which the very concept of Cossack is defined?

The Russian academician E. Oznobishin thus describes the Russian people's attitude toward the struggle with the Novgorod and Pskov republics:

> The invasion and subjugation of Novgorod was accompanied by violence and murders reminiscent of the time of Batu. The Muscovites, who were accustomed to obeying the personal authority of their princes and boyars, viewed with horror the Novgorodians who dared deal critically with this authority. At a time when thousands of Novgorodians fell under the Muscovite swords, when thousands of prisoners sent to Moscow died of hunger and cold, when all the property of the

> Novgorodians was plundered or burned and wives and daughters were raped—at this time of general destruction of the brother Slavs, the people of Moscow rejoiced in indescribable rapture, prayed from the heart at public services, and were sincerely glad that the Novgorodians and their unruly self-government had been eradicated by the stubborn prince and that henceforward the Novgorodians, when approaching the person of the Moscow grand prince, would have to prostrate themselves and not call themselves something other than serfs of the Moscow tsar. With the destruction of the popular assemblies of Novgorod not only the simple Muscovite people rejoiced but even the Muscovite clergy took a most vital part [as does now the Moscow Patriarch, wearer of communist decorations] and tried to strike the most sacred and intimate chords of the Novgorod heart.

The characterization is very vivid and accurate. The question presents itself whether there are traits here which make it possible to assert that the Cossack people—freedom-loving, themselves free and respecting the freedom of others, founded on genuine principles of popular sovereignty and faithful to these principles through the vicissitudes of their many-centuries-old history—were flesh and blood of that Russian people who from the Tsar and Patriarch to the simple people rejoiced at the destruction of Novgorodian popular sovereignty by methods of infinite cruelty, murders, plunder, destruction and rape reminiscent of the time of the Batu invasion. And do we not find in the terrible and crushing defeat of the Cossack people by the Moscow Bolsheviks a repetition of what the Russian scholar Oznobishin so vividly portrays?

The Great Russian people, a hybrid of Slavs and tribes of Finns, *vesi*, *muromi* and others at the lowest stage of

development and without even domiciles, absorbing the shamanism, fanaticism, damnation of these nationalities in all manifestations of their internal content, are first and foremost extremists; extremists in indolence, in sedition, in religious and philosophical precepts, in seeking universal truth, with the legendary town of Kitezh.

All philosophical and religious, social and other systems transplanted to Great Russian soil have degenerated without fail into mutilated forms. We are living witnesses of what the socio-economic doctrine of Karl Marx, which came from the West, has been transformed into—into complete fanaticism, into planetary robbery, from which the creator of Marxism himself would have recoiled in horror.

Christian sectarian movements also born in the West have been changed on Great Russian soil into the fanatical, mystical *khlysty* sect with its repugnant scenes of sexual license. In the sixties of the last century a representative of this sect, Kondrati Selivanov, went even further and founded the sect *skoptsi**. In the eighteenth century the Dukhobor doctrine was also brought from the West to Great Russia, where it immediately took twisted, fanatical forms, and a representative of these sectarians, Pokirokhin, proclaimed himself Christ and his descendants also hereditary "christs."

In these several examples we intentionally wanted to show the difference of the national soul of the Cossacks and the Great Russians, because the nature of the national soul is nowhere so clearly to be seen as in religious and socio-political concepts. By highlighting the examples cited, we wanted to say that in the Cossack country, Cossackia, where various sects have also existed, the Cossacks do not know fanaticism like the Great Russian deformed aberrations. In this enormous and decided difference be-

* *skoptsi:* sect practising castration (Smirnitsky)

tween the two worlds, the Cossack and the Great Russian, even to consider the Cossacks the product of Great Russians is to run counter to what is obvious, to logic and to common sense.

The assertion of the Russians that, having fled to the Cossack Lands to escape the oppression of the boyars and tsars, the Russian carried away with him a passionate love for Mother Russia, trying to guard and extend its borders, is an equally honeyed fable. Is there any intrinsic logic in this primitive lyric? Is it possible to carry away a passionate love toward the penal prison from which one has fled? Is it possible to strive to expand the borders of this prison and to guard its walls? A parallel from the present involuntarily intrudes. Leaving the terrible Soviet prison, breaking away from the horrible Soviet unbearable life, delivered from the awful Communist terror, being in the free world, will these people who have personally experienced the Soviet regime guard and extend the borders of this Soviet empire? No and again no!

During all their centuries-old history the Cossacks have been noted for their special love of freedom, awareness of their national dignity and the dignity of the person of each member of the Cossack people. The Cossacks have never acknowledged slavery, have not reconciled themselves to violence, arbitrariness, bondage. And despite two centuries of attempted genocide through Russification, in school, at church, in the army and in daily life, they have not lost their awareness of self, have not been deprived of the will to Freedom and Independence.

The difference between the two worlds, the Cossack and the Great Russian, was clearly shown at the time of the Revolution of 1917. In the Revolution the Cossacks saw, in contrast to the Great Russians, an opportunity not for robbery, plunder and anarchy but for the people to ob-

tain the right to direct their own fate and to organize their life as they saw fit.

Most of the Cossacks did not accept Bolshevism, but saw in it the threat of a new and still more terrible enslavement and oppression than Tsarism. They stood with weapon in hand against this world evil and have fought it down to the present.

In addition, the indisputable historical fact should be noted that the Cossacks from the very first days of the Revolution displayed their steadfast aspiration to revive and establish on the age-old Cossack Lands, in their country, Cossackia, their own life, built on the ancient principle of broad popular sovereignty which entered the flesh and blood of each conscious Cossack with the milk of his Cossack mother.

IV. *The Myth that the Cossacks are a Class*

THE COSSACKS were first spoken of as a class in 1835, when by "imperial ukaze" of Nicholas I the Cossacks were transformed from a people into a "military class," according to the "Cossack Drill Regulations," a separate kind of weapon, "an irregular cavalry," subordinate, like all non-Russian combat units, to the "Administration of Irregular Troops." As is well known, at that time Nicholas I drove all Russia into "Arakcheev uniform" and gave everyone a military haircut, as during and after the war Stalin dressed almost all citizens in new uniforms, not excepting even the youth.

In reality a special "Cossack class" was never established in Russia. The reforms of Catherine II defined four classes: nobility, clergy, middle or merchant class and peasantry. Each class had definite rights and privileges granted or established by the regime and legally fixed by it. In the reign of Catherine II the Cossacks had already been subjected to Russia and were part of it, but they were not singled out as a special Cossack class by the reforms and statutes which introduced classes into Russia.

Professor Desnitsky, who played an important role in Catherine II's "Legal Commission" which introduced classes, wrote of the Cossacks:

> There are different peoples in Russia. These people go by two names: some are called Cossack Hosts, others

are said to be non-nomad peoples. The Cossacks are soldiers, merchants and *orateli* (farmers) and have their own clergy.

And in reality the Cossacks could not, even from the formal point of view, be a class, since they themselves had all the indicated classes: nobility, clergy, merchant class, farmers. Neither science nor history yet knows an instance of classes within a class itself, as some ill-starred Russian politicians want to represent the Cossacks or even to define them.

Never in any state has any class governed its own continuous historical territory, lived compactly on one and the same territory without the presence of other classes, or had its own state entity, as have the Cossacks. Nor has any class claimed independent state existence. Classes aspire only to a privileged position in the state. The Cossacks, however, as we know, have had their own statehood, have fought and continue to fight for its revival.

The period of the existence of separate independent Cossack republics and their unification into one Union demonstrates that the Cossacks considered themselves a separate people, by special legislation wiping out the classes and class preference introduced by the Tsarist regime.

As life has shown and as history demonstrates, Peter I could destroy the boyar class and the *streltsy* (special regiments) caste but even with his Draconian measures could not destroy the Cossacks. Similarly, Lenin and Stalin destroyed the caste of Tsarist officers, destroyed classes and strata, but could not destroy the freedom-loving Cossack people.

After 1936, following all sorts of measures of destruction and annihilation, the Soviet regime had to recognize in its classless society the presence of the Cossacks and, of

course, not as a class or stratum but as a separate national group.

Down to the present time not a single stratum or class of the former Russia has been able to raise its voice or to attempt rebirth. All have been fully and completely destroyed and have passed into history. But the Cossack people, even after terrible years of destruction, expulsion and dispersion by the Soviet regime, continue unfailingly to fight for their own life.

History demonstrates to us that only a strong, independent, compact and conscious people can survive such serious evil times as have fallen to the lot of the Cossack people, but under no circumstances can castes, strata or classes survive. As is well known, the Cossacks were and are in the Soviet Union the most oppressed people, the people most without rights, because they have been and are the most uncompromising fighters against Soviet aggression and Bolshevik tyranny.

There has never been among the Cossack people the requisites for creation or formation of separate strata. Each Cossack was a free and equal person even when the Cossacks were part of Tsarist Russia. There was no division in the free Cossack communes into poor or rich, learned or unlearned; all were equal and identical in social and governmental relations. The Cossacks did not know the concept of caste, stratum or other kinds of social, community or other differences. Each Cossack, regardless of his property or educational qualifications, was equal to any other in rights and in all other activities.

In the Cossack people's consciousness there could never be place for the concept of dictatorship, despotism or violator of the community's, much less the people's, will. Each Cossack was viewed and judged as a person fully and wholly free and independent, and this excluded any exploitation of man by man, his bondage, a slave status.

And this was so even in those remote times when serfdom, the right to hold a man as property which was at that time even formally legalized, existed throughout enlightened Europe.

With such strong and healthy principles of genuine popular sovereignty, with such democratic social principles as an integral part of the Cossack nature, life and activities, the inequality which would have resulted in strata and castes among the Cossacks could not arise.

Not without reason were quite a number of foreigners who visited the Cossacks, and came to know their way of life and their social structure, enthusiastic about them. As an example, the Dutch Vice Admiral Cruz writes in his memoirs:

> The Cossacks love their system and their Cossack way of life because each of them has a chance to participate in it and they do not want to change it for any other kind of system.

Even Russians who came in contact with the Cossacks say the same thing. General Korsakov-Dundukov, former chief of staff of the Don Host, in 1861 says:

> As a citizen, each Cossack considers himself with some basis as incomparably higher than all others in Russia. The election principle maintained among them as well as their other liberal principles in the ordering of their life form the basis of Cossack existence and have developed in the Cossack people a feeling of personal dignity and independence. The election principle is one of the important rights which the Cossacks value extraordinarily. The rank-and-file Cossack takes pride in the village elections and assemblies with his right to vote equal to that of the former commanders of his regiment, officers,

and generals, if they are citizens of the same *stanitsa* (village) as he.

The well-known Russian *narodnik* (Populist) and revolutionary, N. P. Ogarev, after visiting the Don, wrote in the magazine *Polyarnaya zvezda* (Polar Star):

> The Cossack race produced a very favorable impression on me. There was something free and independent, original in it. I did not see cowed faces among them. Here one feels . . . a people a little more independent.

The Russian writer R. Fadeev wrote the same thing in his *Pisma s Kavkaza* (Letters from the Caucasus) in 1865: "The Cossack takes pride in his name, in his Cossack consciousness and does not want to be anything other than a Cossack."

We are again intentionally citing not only foreigners but Russians themselves, so as to emphasize the objectivity of our description of the Cossacks, their national, social consciousness, by which they have from olden times been distinguished from other peoples.

V. *The "Privileges" of the Cossacks*

THE FALSE VIEW that the Cossacks have enjoyed great and special "privileges" as part of former Russia has been disseminated down to the present in the Russian community, and through it also in part among other foreigners. This view and this conviction were inculcated in the Russian peasant and worker to create in them a hostile attitude toward the Cossacks as toward a privileged part of the population in Russia.

We will now examine the question whether the Cossacks had privileges in former Russia. But before speaking of privileges, we will establish the term "privilege" itself to avoid introducing unnecessary confusion in this concept.

The right granted to some advantage is called a privilege. Someone grants some right to some advantage or other, which he himself possesses, to someone; these advantages set the one to whom the grant is made off from the people and conditions surrounding him.

The process of the phenomenon of privilege as some lawful norm is included in this. At the same time, however, a natural right and independent gain are not considered and cannot be considered privileges. The right of everything living to air, for example, is a natural right, indisputable, without any reservations. Such a right can only be limited or taken away forcibly, but no one can grant it, because man is not the source of this right. To breathe the air, to enjoy the product of one's labor, to live and cultivate one's land by the sweat of one's brow,

to live as a people on its own territory, to develop its own forms of social and political life, to develop and live one's own life—all this is not a privilege.

The very science of law says that the one who enjoys a privilege is always the object of an alien law. The one who enjoys a natural or customary right is the very subject of law.

In everyday, man-in-the-street language the distinction between these two essentially different concepts is frequently not made. The concepts of right and of privilege are confused. The questions and concepts of Cossack rights and of so-called "Cossack privileges" are so confused. Some even deliberately confuse these concepts when speaking of the Cossacks.

It has never occurred to any conscientious observer acquainted with the everyday and community organization of Cossack life, with their genuine rather than the officially promulgated history, to call the obvious distinctive characteristics of the Cossack people some kind of "privileges." Of course no one calls the distinctive characteristics of any independent people privileges.

There are in reality no "Cossack privileges." There are simply Cossack national peculiarities and rights, the remnants of the autonomous rights of a once completely independent and free Cossack people preserved even to 1917. Moreover, the Cossacks themselves created all these national manifestations of the everyday, social, community and even legal order in olden historical times when they were completely independent and were not forcibly included in what was at first the Moscow Kingdom, later the Russian Empire. In addition, these distinctive characteristics are completely different from and even opposite to the social and daily order of the Russian people, a fact attested to clearly by Russian historians, scholars of both old and recent times (Karamzin, Kostomarov, Polevoi,

Ustryalov, Pudavalov, Soloviev, Oznobishin, Rigelman, Taubert and others, as well as the most recent Russian historians Tkorzhevsky, Shmurlo, Svatikov and others).

The Cossacks have never been granted rights and privileges by anyone but have possessed their own national rights, rights inherent in every other people. What are deliberately or because of lack of understanding considered "class interests" or "privileges" in reality are in essence the Cossack people's rights which the Cossacks had before their annexation to Russia. And all the rights which the Cossacks possessed before the Revolution of 1917 were but pitiful remnants, still preserved fragments of the great national rights which in the course of centuries of free and independent life the Cossacks had enjoyed, having asserted them with their blood and then with the labor and efforts of many generations and which the Russian Tsars later curtailed or completely took away from the Cossacks, forcibly and unlawfully. The Russian Tsars did not dispense any privileges to the Cossacks but, on the contrary, took their primordial rights from them.

This came about over a long period of time, beginning with the forced annexation of the Cossacks and their territory to Russia, first as a state autonomy (1708-1721), then as an oblast autonomy (1721-1775), then the "transition period" (1775-1835), and after this as an oblast of Russia "by special administrative regulation," right up to 1917 when the Cossacks restored their violated national right and actually restored their state independence in 1917-1921.

It was just these fragments and remnants preserved from the great and complete state rights, deliberately called "privileges" by the enemies of the Cossacks, which made it possible for the Cossacks more quickly than anyone else and quite painlessly to revive the organization of their internal life after the Revolution of 1917.

The Cossacks have never had any "privileges" or other "marks of monarchic grace." The Cossacks have had no "privileges" obtained from somewhere above, from the Russian authorities or their representatives. None of them granted the Cossacks anything. The values of a rightful or material nature which the Cossacks have in reality possessed were gained or created by the Cossacks themselves at the time of their free state existence. And what the Cossacks themselves created or acquired has always been and remains their right, and not a privilege.

The Russian Tsars indeed not only never granted or conferred any privileges on the Cossacks but, on the contrary, they constantly limited, curtailed and destroyed the Cossack people's rights. The great values which the Cossacks created in their democratic republics, achieved by blood, were destroyed and plundered by the Tsars, who then willfully portioned the Cossack Lands out to their own favorites and noblemen, behaved on the Cossack territories as though on their own serf estates, engrafting there the officious bureaucracy of the nobility. This was the true state of affairs with the so-called "Cossack privileges." And everything that was not plundered or taken away but remained in the hands of the Cossacks is thoughtlessly or deliberately called "Cossack privileges," "Tsarist grants," "marks of monarchic grace" and so forth by some who are not acquainted with Cossack life and facts about the Cossacks.

If we speak of privileges as such, only one instance of privileges has taken place in Cossack life in Russia. This was the Tsarist privileges granted to the Cossack nobility which was newly created by the Russian tsarist government itself and which grew out of those Cossack senior officers (*starshiny*) who were lured by the tsar's bait, dangled in order to stratify the hitherto united Cossack national monolith. The Cossack nobility was in fact privi-

leged in comparison not only with the Russian peasantry but with the body of the Cossacks. In class benefits it was on a footing equal to that of the Russian nobility.

But for the Cossacks themselves the privileges of the Cossack nobility were the same violation of the Cossack's right as all the other "marks of monarchic grace." In defiance of the centuries-old and deeply engrained equality of rights for all Cossacks, they attempted to destroy the Cossack national unity and equality of rights. In addition, again in defiance of the Cossack order of life, they took away from all Cossacks to the advantages of the newly-created nobility sizeable pieces of Cossack territory which were, in the Cossack concept, the property of the whole Cossack people.

However, such privileges were never accepted or recognized by the Cossacks and therefore they were immediately eliminated by the Cossack legislative organs, the Military *Krugi* (Circles) and *Rada* (Assembly) set up in 1917.

The Cossacks have also never received from anyone the privileges to their own lands. These lands have belonged to the Cossacks from olden times, by right of their original habitation, by right of settlement and cultural development of them, by right of the centuries-old defense of their own Cossack Lands.

VI. *Allotments of Cossack Land*

In Tsarist Russia the Russian intelligentsia knew a great deal about many foreign countries but it knew almost nothing of its own Empire, of the peoples inhabiting it, of their true history, of their way of life. As a result, the majority of the Russian intelligentsia have had very false and biased notions of the peoples populating the former Russian Empire, and of the Cossacks in particular. Such stagnant concepts of other peoples have not served and will not serve mutual understanding between these peoples but, on the contrary, this moldering inertia can only further alienate one from the other, making the gulf between them even greater.

An example of such stagnation is the legend of the enormous allotments of lands of the Cossacks, a legend diligently disseminated by ill-wishers of the Cossacks even today on the pages of the Russians emigre press.

Because of the special structure of Cossack political and social life, they have never recognized private ownership of land. The land was recognized as the community property of all the Cossacks living on it.

With the annexation of the Cossacks to Russia, the Tsarist government many times interfered in this deeply engrained practise of Cossack land tenure. But the Cossacks decidedly defended their system of land tenure, rightly seeing in this interference a pernicious effect on their internal national life, on the destruction of their community solidarity and unity.

But all the Tsars, in defiance of the will and desire of the Cossacks, lavishly portioned out the Cossack communal land to their favorites, and later to the new Cossack nobility created by them. This willful freehandedness with another's property gradually introduced serfdom with all its dark sides to the Cossack territories. The lands given this nobility were not at the Tsars' expense but at the Cossacks'. Even in the reign of Alexander II such impudent disposition of the Cossack lands, as well as the increase in the Cossack population, was showing signs of the impending economic change for the worst which was ever on the increase right up to the Revolution of 1917.

Even in the epoch of the so-called "great reforms" of Alexander II the size of the Cossack allotments of land had been reduced to such an extent and the expenditures for equipping Cossacks for military service and for their own service had increased to such an extent that the obvious ruin of the Cossack economies and at the same time a considerable worsening of the financial condition of the Cossack Hosts began, not to mention the economic impoverishment of the Cossack *stanitsas*, in which at this time the remnants of village self-government had begun to be wiped out, and the conversion of the Cossacks into serfs of the state, the militarization of their administration, as well as the persecution on the education of the Cossacks and the legal deprivation of their individuality. Symptoms of the crisis setting in were the agitations among the Cossacks and the acute economic disasters that compelled the Tsarist government to urgent measures to avoid a repetition of Cossack uprisings such as those of Stepan Razin, Emelyan Pugachev, Kondrati Bulavin and others.

In addition, the Cossack Hosts, in contrast to all other oblasts and gubernias (provinces) of the Russian Empire, paid from their own military funds the cost of all admin-

istration, both legislative and executive, the treasury, the expenses of schools, hospitals, roads, public services, expenses of military and officers' schools, of military institutions, expenses connected with the *nakaznoi** ataman appointed by the tsarist government, of his staff, the cost of the Cossack artillery, the privileged and the reserve batteries, local military garrisons, privileged officers, their pensions and the pensions of officials, etc. (Svatikov, *Russia and the Don*) This situation compelled the delegate at the plenary session of the State Duma, V. A. Kharlamov, chairman of the Cossack faction in the State Duma, to say:

> I ask, where, in what country is there such a situation that an individual part of the population, a part of the state must entirely and fully maintain itself, bearing at the same time the enormous burden of government? (*Don Chronicle*, Vol. I)

At the same time the Cossacks had to do military service, in accordance with the "imperial ukazo" of April 17, 1875 with their own equipment and on their own horses. The service term was twenty years: from the ages of eighteen to twenty-one in training, from twenty-one to thirty-three in the combat ranks, and from thirty-three years of age to thirty-eight in the reserves, but definitely in full readiness with all equipment and horses.

As a result of this difficult and abnormal situation, the healthy and capable Cossack man was home only "on leave" and the whole burden of work at home and in the field fell on the Cossack woman. By the time she was forty she was already old because of the arduous labor. Because Cossack families were notable for their size, particularly for the number of males, these military burdens were

* *nakaznoi ataman:* "(prerevolutionary)—ataman of the Cossack host by appointment, in distinction to the elected, military ataman." (Ushakov)

more than the Cossack families could bear. The families were obliged to equip each Cossack of military age not only with his own horse but also with three complete sets of uniforms, boots, clothing and all military belongings, including his own saber.

Despite Cossack institutions, it was ordered by Tsarist ukaze that from 1869 generals be assigned six land portions, staff officers four, and junior officers two, in addition to their personal portion. Consequently at the beginning of the twentieth century the Tsars liberally distributed the Cossack communal lands, which did not belong to them, to officials and nobles. For example, in the Don Host Oblast, of the total area of 15,020,442 dessiatines (dessiatine equals 2.7 acres) the communal lands held by the *stanitsas* were only 9,316,149 dessiatines, while the lands held by the nobility were 4,569,598. In addition, more than 900,000 dessiatines of Cossack lands were given by the Tsarist government in the Don to horsebreeders to breed horses for the Russian cavalry. Moreover, for these lands a rental of three kopecks was paid into the military coffer by the Tsarist government, while the government itself collected three rubles a dessiatine from the horsebreeders and the actual rent per dessiatine in the *stanitsas* near the breeding farms was eighteen rubles.

By the beginning of 1914 the population of the Cossack Lands had considerably increased, and the land allotment of the Cossack in many *stanitsas* was at such a level that numerous Cossack families were not able to equip their members for military service. In many *stanitsas* the allotment had even fallen to three or four dessiatines. An allotment of from seven to nine dessiatines was held only in densely populated *stanitsas,* where the soil was less productive. But there were frequently crop failures in them which caused many a Cossack famine.

Moreover, when in 1906 the Cossack faction in the

State Duma introduced a resolution on aiding starving Cossack regions stricken by crop failures, murrain among the livestock and even epidemics, the Duma refused to help. Yet the Cossacks were at that very time saving the Russian Empire from devastation and chaos. Such are the facts, such the reality.

It is interesting that even the Russian staff Colonel-General Medvedev, who did research on the economic situation of the Cossacks as commissioned by the Tsarist government, established that the Cossack carried a burden seventy-three times greater than that of the Russian peasant. Such is the true picture of the rich land allotments of the Cossacks.

VII. *Tolerance Toward Those of Different Opinions, Absence of any Hostility Toward Other Peoples and Absence of Racial Discrimination.*

THE COSSACKS are tolerant toward anyone who thinks or believes differently than they do, toward any representative of another people, race, or religion. This attitude results from the fact that the Cossacks have since olden days come in contact with the influences of various cultures, different faiths and with many poeples.

Even when intolerance toward those of another faith reigned in European countries, in the country of the Cossacks, Cossackia, each could profess the religion which answered his spiritual inquiries and concepts. No one was forced to pray to God according to an established form and to be without fail of that faith which the authorities acknowledged. Religion was acknowledged by the conscience of each individual citizen.

At a time when a man's ears were cut off, nostrils torn out and he was burned at the stake for crossing himself with two fingers in the Moscow Kingdom, in the Cossack Lands each could pray as he thought best, each could sing God's praises and believe in Him as he saw fit.

The same is true in socio-political thinking, to the extent it then existed. Each was guaranteed free will, the manifestation of his own thought and his own views. The free human person was respected as nowhere else, and slavery, the exploitation of man by man, was punished

severely. This consciousness was based on the strong freedom-loving character of the Cossack.

In just the same way the natural human rights, man's dignity, his right to existence were recognized for each people. Not a single foreigner, not a single representative of another people was insulted in the country of the Cossacks if he was loyal to the socio-political structure of Cossack life. Whether Kalmyk, or Turk, Tartar or Greek, Moldavian or Pole, Turkestani or Persian, all were recognized and respected as individuals.

There was no contempt for or discrimination against any race or people. These attitudes were completely alien to the Cossacks.

Attempts of the enemies of the Cossacks to affix to them the label of anti-Semites or pogromists are useless. These feelings were offensive and alien to the Cossacks.

While the Cossacks were masters of their own Cossack Lands there were no limitations or prohibitions relating to any people, including the Jewish people. Jews became Cossacks too, as did the representatives of other people. Such Cossack names as Zhidyonkov, Zhidkov, Evreinov speak for themselves.

Jews were prohibited from living on Cossack Lands by an "imperial command" of May 22, 1880 published in the *Polnyi Svod Zakonov* (Complete Code of Laws), Volume LV, No. 60970. This was not a measure of the Cossack authorities but of the Russian Tsars.

Enemies of the Cossacks try to explain the participation of Cossack military units in the liquidation of the pogroms in former Russia as an anti-Semitic demonstration of the Cossacks, an interpretation which does not correspond to reality at all. Indeed Cossack troops acted to defend the terrorized Jewish population from the robberies of the unruly mob when the Russian authorities and Russian troops were unable to defend them. For example, such was

the case in the pogrom in Rostov, May 10, 1883, when the Russian garrison was unable to cope with the pogromists and summoned Cossack units to put them down.

The radical intelligentsia of the end of the nineteenth century recognized the Cossacks' situation as very difficult and serious. The well-known attorney on political affairs, barrister A. A. Olkhin, wrote:

> Poland, the Cossacks, the forgotten Jew groan,
> Our long-suffering plowman groans. . . .

VIII. *The Cossacks as a People*

We have examined briefly the origin of the Cossacks and have shown the groundlessness of the "theory" that the Cossacks are of fugitive Russian extraction as well as the absurdity of calling the Cossacks a class or of considering them recipients of special privileges in the former Russia. We will now discuss the position taken by those who attempt to deny the Cossacks the right of calling themselves a distinct people in the modern understanding of this phrase.

Enemies of the Cossacks who do not recognize the Cossacks as a separate people assert that the Cossacks do not possess all of the characteristics encompassed within the concept "a people." Language, religion, territory, and customs have been included in the formal criteria which have hitherto determined this concept. Let us see to what extent these criteria are constant and unconditional and whether on the basis of these criteria, which do not stand up under criticism, it is possible to deny or admit the right of one or another large group of individuals to the name "a people."

Moreover, the Cossacks unquestionably measure up to three criteria indicated above. They have their own Cossack territory, their own Cossack usages, their own Cossack customs and, we add, their own Cossack traditions, their own Cossack character and their own Cossack psychology and ideology.

Enemies of Cossack freedom, the champions of a "one

and indivisible Russia," say that the Cossacks have the Russian language in common with the Russians (far from all do), and that they therefore not only cannot call themselves a separate people but also can not think of existence separate from the Russian people.

But is this common language a strong and indissoluble bond and necessary evidence that all those who speak one and the same language must without fail live under one government?

Of course not! The Americans, who not only speak one and the same language as do the British but the majority of whom are descendents of British colonists and in a very great deal identical to the British, consider themselves a separate people and live their own free life, having created an enormous state which is now the leading factor in the countries of the free world.

The Swiss, who by origin and by language are Germans, Italians and French and who consider themselves a separate people, live in direct proximity to their kindred peoples. The Belgians are considered a separate people, although it has not been long at all since they set up their own national life. But by language the Belgians in part belong to the French, and in part to the Netherlands. In just the same way the Austrians are considered a separate people, but they speak German and enjoy German culture.

From the morphological point of view, Dutch is a German "dialect." However, a people which has become detached from the German root and which has set up its own state and created its own culture speaks and writes in this "dialect."

In almost all South American countries except Brazil the peoples speak Spanish but are not Spaniards, as the Brazilians, who speak Portuguese, are not Portuguese. The Arabian peoples have a single Arabian language but

are divided up into various peoples with their own states.

The Rumanians, who have adopted the language of the ancient Dacian colonists of the Roman Empire but who are considered a separate people, do not have their "own" language.

The Irish have lost their language, as have the Cossacks, but they are considered by all to be a separate people and they have their own state.

These examples quite clearly show that language is by no means an indispensable condition for the establishment of a people or for the right to the name "people."

Nor is religion such a condition. The German people are Catholics and Lutherans, while the Spanish, Portuguese, French and Italians in the most part belong to the same religion but each of them is a completely independent people with its own state. The identically Hindustani people of northern India, solely for religious reasons, have set up their own independent state, Pakistan, or as they themselves call it, the Islamic State, and consider themselves a separate people.

Territory is also not an absolute guide to identifying a people. Everyone considers the Jews a completely independent people, but for almost two thousand years they did not have their own territory and acquired it once more only with creation of the state of Israel.

It is customary to consider the gypsies a people, but they do not have their own territory.

These facts graphically demonstrate that none of the above-mentioned criteria are by any means exact, nor do they determine the concept of "a people."

An endless dispute concerning the establishment of these criteria has been going on among scholars even down to the present. And just as life itself does not stand still but proceeds at its own natural pace, registering its own evolution and perfection, so science also displays unquestiona-

ble progress in all its branches and again and again makes new investigations and discoveries. The process of separate peoples emerging out of "their historical nonexistence" is unfolding before our eyes. How many new and hitherto completely unknown peoples have appeared on the historical stage and how many of them have won for themselves the right to a place in the sun, the right to their national freedom! Moreover, it is not normal and it is completely illogical to assert that any group that has not come to light as a separate people, that has not yet succeeded in winning itself a place in the sun, does not have the right to claim the name "a people," to aspire to its own life.

Scholars of recent times quite definitely assert that all the identifying marks of a separate people cited by us are conditional, that not one of them is an essential of separate nationality, because all are extremely frail and not one goes deeply into the historical, much less the prehistorical, past. Scholars depict a people not as something fixed once and for all but as a continuous process of formation during which individuals struggle for existence and for continuation of their kind.

Russian scholars who have engaged in the study of ethnology and who can in no wise be suspected of sympathizing with self-determination (Professor Milyukov, Bitsili and others) join in making this assertion. They also believe that everything by which it has been customary to define a people—language, religion, territory, customs—is flexible and that these aspects can be separated one from the other, that the kinship of separate peoples cannot be determined by the fact that they speak related languages, because nationality exists only in a process, it is not eternal and motionless but, on the contrary, is changing and developing all the time.

These scholars recognize that the independence, the

separateness, of each language is the result of politics and culture, not of philology, of origin. This is why a large number of Cossack historians have good reason to assert that the Cossack forefathers had their own Cossack language, which as a result of a large number of political and other conditions was supplanted by the literary language of the ruling Russian people, as the original language of the Irish was supplanted by the literary language of the English people reigning over them.

As is well known, during more than two hundred years as part of Russia the Cossacks were subjected to constant and intense Russification not only in school, church and the army but in all branches of everyday life. The Tsarist authorities drove out with a red-hot iron every display of national distinctness of the Cossacks, who were deprived of the opportunity to develop their own peculiar traits, their language, their literature, their culture.

As a result, the Cossacks do not have the "language argument" as the foundation of their "nationality" rights, an argument on which the enemies of Cossack freedom so strive to lean when advancing their own "arguments," which have already been repudiated not only by science but by life itself.

But just what is basic and important in the contemporary concept of "a people," of nationality? The well-known scholar Durkheim defines a nationality as "a human group, the members of which on ethnical or purely historical bases, or for some other reason, want to live under one and the same law, want to establish one state." Further, he says: "Among civilized nations the basic principle and the basic, strong foundation for their existence and further development is the common will."

The Cossacks indisputably are a large human group which for many and long centuries has lived under one Cossack law, has established its own Cossack structure of

social and national life and which for many years now has been unfailingly striving to revive its freedom by its inexorable will.

The Cossacks have repeatedly displayed this common will, and it has never died in them. This is vividly borne out by the undeniable historical fact that as soon as the chains which fettered the Cossacks fell away, the Cossack people immediately displayed their free will by reviving their own statehood, by manifesting their desire to live under their own Cossack laws, within the framework of their own Cossack state, Cossackia. And what is more, for this free will the Cossack people struggled for more than three years against the new Moscow-Bolshevik aggression, defending their reborn freedom.

The Cossack people registered their free Cossack will in basic laws they passed—in the Constitutions in which the Cossack people quite distinctly stated that they understand and view themselves as a separate people, a fact confirmed by paragraphs 46 and 47 of the Basic Laws establishing a *national* flag and a *national* hymn.

Yes, the Cossacks are a separate people. Life has never fused the two peoples, the Cossacks and the Russians. On the contrary, these two national types have always been opposed, and their difference is always stressed.

The Cossacks themselves discard the historical, cultural and anthropological inquiries on separate nationality: they state "we don't need this." It is enough for us that the specific, special national identity of the Cossack, the special, precisely national stamp of the national soul of the Cossack is absolutely clear. For us it is enough that we ourselves recognize our separate nationality and that we have adequate basis for doing so.

The Cossacks are a people who created their own statehood, who for many centuries defended it, until it was broken up, destroyed by the force of external circum-

stances; a people who instantaneously restored this statehood by lawful popular will after a two-century interruption; a people who grew up in circumstances of a centuries-old struggle and, by their nature highly disciplined, who created an unusually colorful history. This people is rightfully defending and will steadfastly defend its national identity, its national freedom, in which it rightfully has taken and will continue to take pride.

Cossack awareness of national identity was formed long ago and on it rests the uninterrupted struggle for freedom and national revival.

This circumstance has resulted in the Cossack people's unequal fight against Bolshevism. It has guided the Cossacks resisting Soviet tyranny and because of this Cossack awareness of identity the alien and odious Communist authorities have moved, dispersed, oppressed the Cossacks. At the time of an uprising the Communist authorities gave in their press the reasons for persecution of the Cossacks:

1. Ideology of bourgeois nationalism
2. Local Cossack nationalism
3. Kulak *samostiinost** (independence)
4. Ideology of Cossack chauvinistic *samostiinost*

(Newspaper *Molot* [*hammer*], *Rostov*, December 22, 1932)

* *samostiinost:* "Bourgeois counterrevolutionary movement in the Ukraine which attacked under the flag of national self-determination." (Ushakov)

IX. *The Cossack Territory*

THE COUNTRY of the Cossacks, Cossackia, lies in the southeast of Europe. On the west it is bordered by the Ukraine, on the north by Russia, on the east by Turkestan, on the south by the Caucasus. Its area is 870,000 square kilometers, or about that of prewar Germany and France combined.

By virtue of its political, military-strategic and economic position, Cossackia has exceptional importance. It occupies the central place in the organic belt of non-Russian peoples. All one-and-indivisible Russian groups have and do realize this circumstance. As a consequence it is precisely they who are categorically opposed to a revival of Cossack statehood, seeing in it the chief blow to any great-power and imperialistic lust for creation of a single and indivisible Russia.

The most fleeting glance at a geographical map of Eastern Europe will give an adequate notion of the geopolitical significance of the Cossacks' territory. With the Cossacks' country as part of Russia, Moscow not only rends the ring of non-Russian peoples around its center but also sets up here its starting point for re-annexation of those territories and peoples which might fall away as a result of future events. At the same time, in such a position Russia retains an outlet to the south Azov, Black and Caspian Seas, gains access to the Caucasus and Turkestan and encircles the Ukraine from the southeast and east in a horseshoe, threatening its independent existence.

Statistics of 1939 give the population of Cossackia as 12,350,000. Taking into consideration the great increase of the Cossack population during the succeeding fifteen years, this number must now be considerably greater, despite the constant terror and frequent transfer out of the Cossack population to the northern oblasts of the Soviet Union, where about 2,000,000 Cossack deportees are to be found.

The territory belonging to the Cossack people is occupied in the main on the basis of the right of original occupation, on the basis of cultural and economic development of it by the Cossacks and, finally, on the basis of the right of conquest. Reading the historical chronicles dealing with the history of the Cossacks, you see the uninterrupted bloody wars of the Cossacks for the right to their own Land, for its freedom and independence. Over the centuries they have had to defend their Lands from the neighboring peoples, being in a state of full military preparedness even during peacetime. Only in 1870, in the Don, for example, were measures for military guard of the *stanitsas* and transport abolished. The Cossacks warred against the Crimean khanate alone for 240 years, until 1782, and against the Nogai Tatars until 1790.

The territory of the Don was already fixed at the very beginning of its existence. This was the basin of the Don River, except its upper reaches, and the basins of the rivers Buzuluk, Khoper, Ilovlya, Medveditsa, Sal and Manycha, while to the right the Chir and Donets Country, lying behind the River Don to the south, was uninhabited: until 1784 hordes of Nogai Tatars, with whom the Cossacks were almost constantly at war, occasionally roamed this area.

To the West the Cossack border extended to the river Kalmius and moved on far beyond this little river. Only at the beginning of the eighteenth century did the Don

Cossacks first clash with the Zaporogites (Zaporog or Dnieper Cossacks) on the banks of the Azov Sea because of land ownership. The demarcation of the Dons from the Zaporogites occurred in 1746. This demarcation of territory remained inviolable up to the very beginning of the Revolution when, on August 7, 1918, a treaty was signed between the government of the Ukraine and the Cossacks on mutual recognition of the state independence of the Ukrainian and Cossack peoples. Largely the same border as that of 1746 between the Dons and Zaporogites was established. This 1918 border coincided in the West with the boundaries of the Land of the Don Host under Tsarist Russia. The treaty made fast all the negotiations and friendly relations of these two newly established states.

In addition to this treaty recognizing the sovereignty and independence as well as the established borders between the Ukrainians and Cossacks, the following agreements were subsequently signed:

September 5, 1918: "Treaty on the joint regulation of questions pertaining to the Donetz Basin."
September 5, 1918: "On the transport of passengers, freight and coal and such things."
September 7, 1918: "On transmittal of rolling stock etc."

As for the northern border, the Moscow governmental colonization to the south very quickly approached the borders of the Cossack Lands. Between the Moscow and Cossack Lands lay hundreds of versts of so-called Wild Open Country separating the Cossacks from the Muscovites. The border of the Cossack territory to the north extended to what is now the city of Voronezh, not far from where the well-known Cossack monastery—the Borshevsky Troitsky Monastery—was, and to the north-

east at the "shatsky vorot" (Shatsky Gates) where a second famous Cossack monastery, the Cherniev-Nikolsky, was to be found on the river Tsna. There were Cossacks even farther north of this border, but they were not compact settlements and this territory was not recognized by the Cossacks as lands of the "Cossack Jurisdiction—Cossack State," stretching there to the area east of the Don, north of Voronezh.

Not until the reign of Boris Godunov at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century was there an energetic advance of the Moscow State into the Wild Open Country and the first open clashes with the Don Republic.

Indeed, only in 1586 were the Muscovite cities of Livna, Elets and Voronezh founded, in 1593 Voluiki and Oskol and in 1643 Userd, between Voronezh and Volyuki, on the river Tikhaya Sosnya. These cities were for more than a hundred years, until Peter I's conquest of the Don, the extreme southern cities of Muscovite Rus bordering the Cossack Republic.

Further demarcation between the Don and the Muscovite Kingdom took place forcibly and bloodily when the Free Cossacks came to blows in earnest with autocratic, serf-owning Muscovy. Moreover, the Moscow Kingdom was not so much in need of new lands for governmental colonization as of warring against the free, republican, democratic structure of the Cossack republics. The autocratic Peter I, then still Tsar of the Great and Small and White Russias, and the Ataman Kondrati Bulavin, elected president of the Cossack Republics, measured each other's strength. . . . Moscow won.

Besides the resultant loss of state and political independence, the Cossacks were deprived of a million dessiatines of their ancient territory. The upper reaches of the north-

ern Don were sliced off for the Voronezh Province. In the west the Cossack lands along the Aidar River were given by Tsar Peter I to the Ukrainian settlers of the Ostrogorsky Regiment, while the lands along the Donetz River went, with the Bakhmutsky saltworks, to the Bakhmutsky Province. But even with such annexations and indemnities the bulk of the Cossack Lands remained in the undisputed possession of the Cossacks, which neither the Tsarist or even the Soviet authorities have been able to destroy.

Even the present *Soviet authorities consider the Cossack Lands* Cossack territory, although in the USSR they are not formally detached either in a separate Union or Autonomous Republic of the Soviet Union.

Thus, in the geopolitical survey of V. Kotelnikov, *Don, Kuban, Terek* put out by the Central Committee of the Komsomol's *Molodaya Gvardiya* (Young Guard) in Moscow in 1950 (220 pages), the principal Cossack oblasts are considered separate, Cossack territories: the Lands of the Don Cossacks, the Cossack Kuban, Cossack Stavropol, Terek.

The country of the Cossacks includes the compact, territorially, economically and politically related regions of the European Cossacks: the Host-republics of the Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan, Ural and Orenburg.

The First Supreme Cossack Parliament, which the elected deputies of the local Cossack parliaments attended, was held on January 5-10, 1920, in Ekaterinodar in Kuban. The Host-Republics voluntarily united into one federated Cossack Republic, which was given the ancient name of Cossackia, as the Byzantine Emperor and historian Constantine Porfirogenitus called the Cossack territory.

In the Soviet Union the Cossack Lands are divided into several krais and oblasts: the Krasnodar Krai, the Stav-

ropol Krai, the Grozny Oblast, the Rostov Oblast, the Astrakhan Oblast, the Volgograd Oblast, the Gurev Oblast, the Chkalov Oblast and part of the Donetz Oblast.

In addition to these krais and oblasts, a large number of Cossack okrugs have been included in the neighboring oblasts. Thus:

From the Voroshilovgrad Oblast: the raions Stanichno-Lugansk, Teplovsk, Starobelsk, Bokovsk-Antratsitovsk, Krasnodon, Popasyansk, Voroshilov, Golubovsk.

From the Voronezh Oblast: the raions Liskinsky, Rosshansk, Kalachev, Talovsk.

From the Balashov Oblast: the okrugs Khopersk, Borisoglebsk, Balashov.

From the Saratov Oblast: the okrugs Engels, Ershovsk.

From the Northern Ossetian ASSR (Autonomous Socialist Soviet Republic): Mozdok, the stanitsa Arkhonsk with the raions Gilzedonsk, Orzhidnikievsk, Ardonsk.

From the Adygei Autonomous Oblast: the stanitsa Maikop, with the city of Maikop, raions with the Cossack stanitsas Giaginsk, Shovgenevsk, Dukmasovsk, Krasnogvardeisk.

From the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast: raions with the Cossack stanitsas Kirovsk in the stanitsa Ispravna, Khopersk, Kuibeshovsk, Nikolaevsk, Ovechkinsk, Kholodno-Rodnikovsk, Sovkhozsk.

From the Kabardinsk ASSR: raions with the Cossack stanitsas Prokhladensk, Prikamsk (in the stanitsa Soldatsk), Tersk, Maisk, Sovetsk, Leksinsk.

Note: The oblasts, rais, okrugs and raions indicated are according to the new administrative division of the USSR into election districts by ukaze of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR of January 13, 1954.

The borderline of the country of the Cossacks roughly approaches in the west the city of Zhdanov (former Mariupol), runs along the river Kalmius to its sources,

north to the Dolya settlement, then fifteen versts west of Makeevka, then runs between Gorlovka and Ordzhonikidze in the direction of Voroshilov, hence northeast to the river Aidar near Veselogorsk, along the Aidar to its mouths, north in the direction of Voluiki, from Voluiki to Korotoyak, thence to Anna, east to Aleshki, then south of Pavlova, Saratov to the Volga. It then runs along the Volga to the river B. Irgiz, east along it to its sources, thence north to the city of Buzuluk, from Buzuluk east to the most southern course of the river Belaya, then to Magnitogorsk, the city Kartaly, then south to the city of Orsk, southwest to Martuk, Uil, Aktana and along the shore of the Caspian Sea to Zhiloi Kos. Then the boundary runs along the Caspian to where the river Terek runs into it, along the Terek to its tributary the Malka, along the Malka to its sources, then on west to the Mikoyan Shakhar settlement, through the Marukhsk pass to the Marukh Mountains, from the Marukh to Pshish and west to the Black Sea north of Adler. Then it follows the bank of the Black Sea to the Kerch Strait, runs along the shore of the Azov Sea to the city of Zhdanov (former Mariupol).

X. *The Cossack Administration*

THE COSSACK HOST-REPUBLICS possessed their own legislative and executive power. The supreme authority belonged to the Parliament (*Krug-Parliament* or *Rada*) and its elected organs. This authority was indisputable and entirely sovereign. The national authority of the Host-Republic was such that the Cossack people obeyed it not only from fear but also from conscience, viewing it as their own elected authority which served and defended their interests. Anyone who became a member of the Host-Republics recognized this authority implicitly.

National power in the Cossack Land originated in the freely expressed will of the people. Sovereignty resided in a general people's assembly, the parliament which bore the peculiarly Cossack designation of *Krug* (Circle) or *Rada* (the Host's Circle or the Host's *Rada* in Kuban).

The Cossacks were innate republicans, deciding all questions collectively. To execute their decisions they freely elected all the necessary officials.

Whether a group of people in a stanitsa or society came together to occupy and settle a new territory, to fish, to extract salt, to transport goods, to have a joint holiday or even to visit friends—they invariably jointly elected a head, the "vatazhnyi ataman" (field ataman) and the executors of his commands, the *esauls* (captains). In the field army, all persons—the field ataman, his captains, colonels, *sotniks* (lieutenants) or any official person—were elected by the free will of the whole field army.

The whole country was governed by the Cossack popular assembly, the Circle (*Krug*), and all "little Cossack cities" (stanitsas) unquestioningly obeyed the Circle. In olden times it was believed necessary to have a full meeting of the Circle once a year; the rest of the time only Cossacks living in the capital of the Host and the stanitsas near it took part.

Attendance at and voting in the Circle were left to the discretion of each Cossack. He could attend the Circle or not, vote or not. But in either case he had to strictly obey the decisions made in the Circle and could not exempt himself because of absence or lack of knowledge.

The Circle was unrestricted in its right to elect and to replace all elected persons and organs of the Host and to judge and punish perpetrators of major crimes against the Host-Republic.

In olden times, any adult Cossack could take part in the Circle. Juveniles up to sixteen and a half years of age were not admitted. "Vyrostki" (from sixteen and a half to eighteen years) and "maloletki" (eighteen-year-olds who had already taken the oath to the Host) could attend but not vote; they thus could become acquainted with the Cossack order and the Cossack republican organization.

Foreigners, including Russians from the Moscow Kingdom, were not permitted in the Circle, although they could listen at some distance to what was being discussed. "Work people," "sneak bargemen" who came from Russia to work in the Cossack Land also could not attend because they were considered outsiders, not citizens of the Cossack Republic.

The Circle decided all matters pertaining to the Cossack Republic: elections of the ataman-president, his assistants, administration, declaration of war and conclusion of peace, dispatch of troops, reception of ambassadors, election of Cossack ambassadors to the neighboring peo-

ples, including Moscow, elections and replacement of all national and military administrative officials, reception into the Cossacks or into Cossack citizenship, expulsion from Cossack society, issuance of credentials, of passports, to go abroad ("military travel credentials"), permission to the stanitsas for a loan of new lands on the territory of the Cossack Land, issuance of the appropriate credentials for founding new "small towns" or stanitsas, trial of all crimes against the Republic, as well as of major criminal offenses affecting the interests of the whole Host, decision on disputes between individual stanitsas, and so forth.

The Circle's decisions required no confirmation and could not be appealed, because the Circle-parliament expressed the will of all and no one could oppose this will.

For disobedience the Circle imposed extremely severe and drastic punishments, even to the extent of burning down a rebellious stanitsa or mass extermination of those who committed crimes against the Host-state. Thus did the Circle assert its sovereignty. Sometimes it passed a resolution against an individual who had disobeyed—pronounced him *pemyi* (the word *penya* means a fine), a proclamation which meant that the person was outside the law, that anyone could with impunity rob or even kill him.

The elected president and supreme representative of the Host-republic was the ataman. His authority included disposition of all military forces, management of all high administration, diplomatic relations, etc. He had the right to take the initiative in all matters within the competence of the Circle. The ataman was elected for one year, but actually usually governed for as long as he pleased the Circle. If the Circle rejected a proposal of his, the ataman considered this vote an act of distrust and resigned.

The ataman was obliged to be in the capital. If he left to personally head the field army, a temporary deputy

was elected in his place, and the military ataman took the title field ataman. If the ataman journeyed to some neighboring country at the head of a Cossack mission, a temporary deputy was also elected in his place. Thus continuity of the supreme representation of the Host-republic was preserved.

The *esauls*, who were actually ministers and who executed the decrees of the Circle in the administrative, judicial and other fields, were the ataman's assistants.

All foreign affairs were under the command of the *dyak* (clerk or official) of the Host—the minister of foreign affairs—a sort of general secretary who enjoyed special esteem among the Cossacks.

In civil affairs the Host-republic was divided into small towns or stanitsas, from which the larger administrative units, the okrugs, were created.

Much as in the Host, all the stanitsas' affairs were decided by the stanitsa circle or gathering. It elected the stanitsa's ataman and esauls, courts, clerks, and so forth. It passed judgment in all matters except the most important criminal offenses and crimes against the Host. Persons and organs elected also served for one year. The whole organization of the Host from top to bottom bears a clearly expressed republican character. Both in the local communes and in the Host as a whole all matters were decided by a general meeting of citizens. All authorities elected, even the military organization, bears this same character to the end of the eighteenth century. The Circle stipulated the contingent of troops to be sent into the field. And the "field army" itself elected its field ataman, senior officers (*starshina*), colonels, *sotniks*, *khorunzhie* (cornet—Cossack junior officer), and so forth.

XI. *Socio-Political Structure of Cossack Life, the Cossack Character and Psychology.*

THE COSSACKS have been well known from olden times as a freedom-loving people. According to Byzantine, Arabian and Persian historians, as early as the tenth century they had created on their Cossack Lands, by their own intelligence and everyday experience, their own Cossack state structure of life based on the principles of genuine and broad democracy or, as the Cossacks themselves call it, popular sovereignty.

The whole Cossack people strictly observed and carefully guarded these principles from any encroachment either from within or from without. As we have pointed out in the preceding chapter, all the directing and executive organs of Cossack authority were elected by and accountable to the people in the person of its supreme organ, the Host's Circle-Parliament or *Rada*. Anyone who violated these principles, who tried to replace or to change them for forms alien to the Cossacks was severely punished.

When despotism and tyranny raged, at a time when there was slavery even in the enlightened West, the Cossack Lands were islands of true human liberty, equality and genuine fraternity. In behalf of these ideals and of Cossack national freedom and independence, the Cossacks fearlessly waged the unequal struggle even with their powerful neighbors, with sacrifices in wholeheartedly de-

fending their sacred right to their free life in accordance with their Cossack laws and ways.

Consequently the Cossacks at that time were in the eyes of all peoples synonymous with genuine freedom and liberty, synonymous with the free human individual and his dignity.

So it was until the Muscovite Tsar Peter I forcibly subjugated and annexed the Cossacks to the Moscow Kingdom, which was later renamed the Russian Empire, or Russia.

Under Russia the Cossacks had a painfully difficult time. From national and oblast autonomy, their Cossack Land was lowered to the status of ordinary "oblasts, by special administrative regulation." From a free and independent people the Cossacks were reduced from 1723 by "imperial command" to the status of so-called "Cossack military service people," later, from 1835, to a "military class," and in 1875 to a "Cossack class." The Russian authorities tried to make the free, fully separate Cossack people into fugitive Russian serfs, "thieves," robbers" and, finally, *opritchniki* (Tsar's special guard of courtiers), *nagaeshniki* (wielders of whips).

For two hundred years the Russian government tried—in the schools, in the churches, in the army, in everyday life—to indoctrinate the Cossack with these concepts, to Russify him with the one definite and obvious aim of bringing the free Cossack down to the consciousness and psychology of a downtrodden serf with no rights, down to the level of the Russian muzhik, to extirpate from the Cossack's consciousness his free nature, his Cossack geneology, to tear him away from democratic forms and practices, to erase all this from his memory and to make him an Ivan oblivious of his kinship.

But none of these schemes were crowned with success, as was so clearly demonstrated by the Revolution of 1917

when the Cossacks certified, by their inexorable will to revive their freedom and national independence, that nothing could eradicate in them their passionate craving for freedom and for their own Cossack statehood, which they revived before anyone else and more fully than other non-Russian peoples. And the Cossacks not only reestablished their violated rights but also for more than three years, with weapon in hand, defended the Cossack Power restored by them.

All this was possible only because the principles of popular sovereignty, the principles of true democracy—for which the Cossacks had always fought furiously, without sparing their own lives, knowing that in the past each Cossack was a free citizen of the Cossack state with full rights—were firmly ingrained in the consciousness of the Cossack people. And neither the Tsarist nor the Soviet authorities have been able to stamp out this consciousness. The Cossacks have steadfastly preserved their forms, forms which are different from the Russian, their distinctive psychology and national awareness, a fact we have adequately pointed out in the previous chapters.

XII. *The Historical Fortunes of the Cossack People and Its State.*

Long ago the "father of Russian history," Karamzin defined the Don Host, the principal home of all Cossacks, as an independent republic. Until 1835, when the Tsarist government of Nicholas I "turned" the Cossacks into a military class and the geneology of "Russian fugitives" was ascribed to them, all subsequent Russian historians so defined it, as have recent Russian historians who have studied the history of the Cossacks.

As early as 1923, on the eve of liquidation by the Soviet authorities of the Cossack Soviet Republic created by it on April 9, 1918 as a counterbalance, as a diversion, the Russian historian S. Tkhorzhevsky wrote in the historical symposium *Russkoe proshloe* (The Russian Past), No. 3, Petrograd:

> The Don Host, the Home of the Cossacks, had until 1708 all the markings necessary for a state: its own non-derivative power, its own territory, its own people and the right of international relations.

Tkhorzhevsky documents that the Moscow state also viewed these Host-republics as separate, fully independent states, carrying on all relations with them through the ambassadorial office (ministry of foreign affairs) and having in Moscow a Cossack embassy which was shown the same courtesies as other foreign embassies and which en-

joyed the same extraterritoriality as other embassies. Similarly, Cossack citizens in the Moscow state were not subject to the Moscow organs and the Moscow court.

Another recent Russian historian, S. G. Svatikov, in his major work *Rossiya i Don* (Russia and the Don) published in 1924, on page 600 confirms this even more extensively and with good foundation:

> In 1917-21 the Don and all Cossacks displayed a high degree of their national awareness and state conception, because of which the Don Cossack Republic which replaced the general Russian national power was so easily and quickly organized.

This Russian historian, who devoted some time to the study of the history of the Cossacks and their mutual relations with Russia, breaks the political history of the Cossack people down into these principal periods:

1. Until 1720 (in reality until 1708), the Don and its Cossacks are a fully independent, sovereign state, a republic.

2. After 1720 (1708) until 1917, the Don and other Cossack Hosts are provinces of Russia, and the Cossacks its subjects.

3. From 1917 through 1921 the Don and other Cossack Host-republics again become states, again republics, uniting in one allied Cossack power, in accordance with Decree I of the Supreme Circle on January 10, 1920.

4. Since 1921 the Don and other Cossack Hosts have again been forcibly annexed to what is now Soviet Russia.

This same historian, S. G. Svatikov, makes a subdivision of the time of so-called national autonomy when in 1708, after the subjugation of the Cossacks by Peter I and annexation of them and their territory to the Moscow state, the Cossacks retained their republican organization. Al-

though compelled to take an oath of loyalty to the Moscow Tsar, the Cossacks retained their democratic, republican organization and enjoyed wide autonomy, at first even conducting an independent foreign policy. The Circle was still the master of the Land of the Cossacks, except that the ataman elected by it had to be a person satisfactory to the Tsar. Until 1718, when a Foreign Collegium was established, relations with Moscow were, as before, under the command of the ambassadorial office and later of the Foreign Collegium which replaced it until March 3, 1721.

On March 3, 1721 Peter I directed: "The Cossacks are to be under the command of a Military Collegium." This date is juridically decisive. The Cossacks lost their national autonomy, the Cossack people and its territory ceased to be a state and became a Russian province, which long retained its autonomies.

Historian S. G. Svatikov breaks up the period when the Cossacks were part of Russia into individual years in accordance with the changes which ensued in the relations of the Cossacks to Russia.

1. The time of oblast autonomy from 1721 through 1775. During this period the Circle turns into an "assembly of elders [*starshin*]." The aristocratic government of the *starshiny* is suppressed by the autocracy of the ataman who has little by little been transformed into a kind of "Cossack duke." A situation is created whereby, for example, Ataman Danil Efremov, appointed to the Don by the Tsarist authorities, obtains consent to transmit authority by heredity to his son Stepan (1753-1772). The latter clashes with the central authorities. Catherine II defeats the autocratic ataman, as well as Pugachev, defender of Cossack freedom.

By ukaze of February 15, 1775 a Host's Civil Government is established, some rights are given to the *starshiny*,

and partial Russian imperial law is introduced. Autonomy in certain parts exists until 1835.

2. The above described situation exists from 1775 through 1797.

3. 1797-1800. Restoration of oblast autonomy by Paul I, purely on caprice, despite the innovations of Catherine II.

4. A transitional period from 1800 through 1835. It is marked by Cossack disturbances and by investigations of the bureaucratic committee set up in 1819 to work out "regulations" for the Host.

5. 1835-1917 when the Don and all other Cossack Hosts became Russian "oblasts by special administrative regulations."

The one-time free citizens of the Cossack republics were transformed into a service army of the Arakcheev settlement type, although somewhat less severe. All authorities, once elected, from top to bottom, now were everywhere appointed, with the exception of the stanitsa ataman, whose candidacy did have to be confirmed by the rulers. All the so-called "privileges" were reduced to nothing.

The reign of Alexander II's "epoch of the great reforms" brought the Cossacks destruction of the elective administration, replacement of the stanitsa assembly by a mere gathering of householders (1870), and then by some *desyatidvornye* (units of ten farmsteads) and restriction even of stanitsa self-government.

Alexander III's reign brought the Cossacks intensification of the disciplinary power of the authorities over the Cossacks and *outside of military* service an almost complete destruction of stanitsa self-government.

Nicholas II's reign retained the order established under his father in 1894. The voting rights of the Cossacks dur-

ing the elections to the First and Second State Dumas were reduced even more by the law of July 3, 1907.

The Cossack deputies in all four State Dumas, having their own special Cossack faction from Monarchists to socialists inclusive, distinctly, clearly and steadfastly raised the question of Cossack self-government, of the Cossack service, but the Host's Circle was not revived.

The February Revolution immediately permitted the Cossacks to establish power in the localities, beginning with Circles, elected atamans and an elected government. This came about solely by the will of the Cossacks themselves.

As a consequence of the Revolution of October 25 (November 7), 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, the Cossack governments proclaimed the Cossack lands an independent state. This action was confirmed by the Circle-Parliament (*Rada*) on December 10, 1917 and legalized by Cossack representatives elected by the people.

XIII. *Economic Resources of Cossackia*

THE TERRITORY of Cossackia, as we have indicated above, is bounded as follows: on the south—the Black Sea and the Caucasian Mountains; on the west—the Azov Sea and the Ukraine; on the north—Russia; and on the east the Caspian Sea and Turkestan.

Thus Cossackia is flanked by three seas and is watered by the following rivers: the Don along its central and lower reaches, the Volga along its lower and partly its central reaches, the Ural (Yaik), the Terek and the Kuban, with their tributaries in these regions.

The geographical location of Cossackia is an extremely favorable one. It is close to one of the most important world routes connecting the Atlantic Ocean, through Gibraltar and Suez, with southern Asia and the Far East. Through Cossackia runs the water route connecting five seas of Eastern Europe—the Azov, Black and Caspian Seas with the Baltic and White Seas—via the Volga-Don Canal.

The sea routes from the Cossack ports Tuapse, Novorossisk, Rostov-on-Don, Volgograd, Taganrog, Yeisk go to all corners of the globe.

The material resources of the Cossack territories and their economic potentials are extremely extensive and rich. Until 1917 the whole Cossack Krai was predominantly agrarian. Now more than fifty per cent of the population work in industry.

In quantity of agricultural produce and its delivery to

the present Soviet Union, according to Soviet statistics themselves, Cossackia occupies first place in the USSR. More than fifty different agricultural crops are produced on the Cossack territories. These areas are the principal producers and suppliers of grain, particularly of high-quality wheat, corn, barley, rye, sunflower seeds. They also produce and supply rice and cotton, especially since construction of the Volga-Don and the Nevinnomyssk Canals uniting the Kuban via the Bolshoi Yegorlyk and Manych Rivers to the Don, and construction here of irrigation systems.

It is interesting that in 1952 the Rostov Oblast alone (lower Don) produced a gross grain harvest of more than fifty-six million tons, and in 1954, according to Soviet organs, about seventy million tons. The rich and even more fertile Kuban produced a still larger amount.

Among the important branches of Cossack agriculture are stock raising, tobacco and wine grape cultivation, truck gardening, and melon cultivation. Moreover, the Cossack Stavropol Krai alone produces half of all the USSR's fine wool and is the principal supplier of meat products.

It should be noted that Cossackia is the only section of the Soviet Union where medicinal- and attar-producing plants are grown. These plants, which occupy enormous farms, provide sage oils, coriander oils, lemon basil, lavender and other substances. The extraction of volatile oils in Cossackia now entirely covers the demand of the pharmaceutical, food and perfume industries of the USSR.

It is naturally extremely difficult in a short survey and under existing conditions to describe with figures in hand the economic condition and potential of Cossackia. Before 1921 the country of the Cossacks undoubtedly had its own definite economic physiognomy, its own well-known completeness, a fact which tsarist officials were unable to

deny. But the Cossack-Bolshevik war of 1917-1921 disrupted the country's economic life. Then came the period of Bolshevik occupation—at first complete disorganization and devastation of the country, followed by the Soviet "planned economy," under which its official role in relation to Soviet Russia, the role of a ruthlessly exploited country, has been imposed on Cossackia. The whole economic life of the Cossack Land has been completely subjected to the aims and tasks of the Kremlin and does not now have self-sufficient significance. Incidentally, the Bolsheviks provide very few statistical data, and those given are difficult to verify; therefore we will cite only some general economic data about Cossackia, in the past according to Tsarist statistics and in the present according to Soviet sources.

As is well known, a country's economy and its potential depend not only on its resources but also on its geographic position. For Cossackia the geographic position is extremely favorable as is also true of the hard-working and enterprising population, qualities for which the Cossacks have always been noted. Being on three seas, Cossackia can communicate by water with the whole world. Its total area is 1/54 of the populated surface of the whole globe. The basins of the Cossack rivers—Don, Volga, Ural, Terek, Kuma, Kuban—and their tributaries traverse the Cossack territory in all directions, and construction of the Volga-Don and Nevinnmyssk Canals has enhanced this position. Thanks to the general disposition of the steppe rivers and the direction of their flow, the Cossack territories, which are the southeastern bridge from Europe to Asia, acquire geographic unity as one of the prerequisites of economic unity.

Cossackia is rich in forests and steppes, a combination of vast economic significance. The third important element—the mountainous southern region—runs to the

northern slopes of the Caucasian ridge with all its natural resources, useful minerals, sources of water power, medicinal waters and so forth, thus rounding out the general picture of the Cossack country as a component part of one whole.

The position of Cossackia is also extremely interesting from the point of view of commercial geography. The Cossack Lands lie in an area where four "spheres" of world trade meet—the Russian "sphere," the European "sphere," the British "sphere" and the American "sphere" —that is, where worlds whose completely different internal conditions necessitate large-scale mutual exchange meet. The role of Cossackia in the exchange process can be viewed either as active, as a counteragent, or as passive, as an area through which world trade will pass.

The geographic position of Cossackia is exceptionally well suited to either role. Actively, the Country of the Cossacks can supply its riches to the European and British spheres. Convenient water routes make this possible. The same waterways also connect Cossackia with the American sphere. Cossackia's supplies of grain and every kind of raw material will be needed in a great number of industrial products.

The "passive" role of Cossackia in the process of world trade can be viewed not only as a component part of one or another trade system but also as an intermediate zone where all trade system cross. And since four fifths of the goods in international trade are transported by water, the location of the Cossack Lands at the southern seas is an enormous advantage for very large-scale transit. This importance has increased greatly with opening of the Volga-Don Canal in 1952. Cossack ports like Rostov-on-Don, Volgograd, Tuapse and Novorossisk have acquired importance as international ports on a world-wide scale.

The Black and Azov Seas, and now even the Caspian

Sea, are connected with the Atlantic Ocean by the Mediterranean Sea. Thus Cossackia has water connections with all world commercial centers. All routes from the north, northwest and northeast of Europe to Turkestan, Persia, India and Pakistan run through Cossackia.

In view of the industrious and enterprising population, Cossackia's grain production, its natural resources, good geographic position and the historical traditions of the freedom-loving Cossack people are a healthy foundation for and a strong guarantee of the vitality and capacity for growth of the Cossack democratic republic of Cossackia.

The Cossack Krai, rich with resources and economic potential, now ravaged by the Bolsheviks and their experiments and strangled by the inhuman Red terror, after its liberation will, of course, seek abroad the necessary capital for economic reconstruction and development. And there is no doubt that sound, creative capital, knowledge and enterprise will find in Cossackia a favorable field of investment and activity.

The climatic conditions of Cossackia are not the same all over, a fact which also has its advantages: it makes possible development of various aspects of the economy, since different climatic conditions result in a great variety of vegetation.

Soil conditions of the Cossack Lands are also highly varied.

The country of the Cossacks has the richest black earth in the world. Formerly the whole economy of Cossackia was primarily based on exploitation of its vegetative resources. Extraction of mineral resources was secondary. Only the Soviet authorities have paid attention to them and are exploiting them at a furious pace for their own ends, which by no means include satisfying the vital needs of the Cossack people.

The distribution of vegetative resources is related not

only to climatic but also to soil conditions. This combination of factors divides the Cossack country into three main regions: 1) the dry steppes of the east, where stock raising is predominant, 2) the quite moist center, the foothill and highland southwest—the realm of agriculture—and 3) the northwest with its highly developed mining industry and the southeast with its oil industry.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the basis of the Cossacks' economic prosperity. With their abundant agricultural productivity the Cossack Lands have occupied and continue now to occupy a prominent place in the world, not to mention their importance in the economy of Tsarist or Soviet Russia. The Cossacks are primarily indebted to their land, its quantity and quality, as well as to the exceptional industriousness of the people, for this position.

In 1914 the area sown to the chief crops (wheat, barley, corn, rye) was equal to that of all Czechoslovakia (142,000 square kilometers) and considerably greater than the areas of such states as Bulgaria, Portugal and Hungary. Moreover, in 1914 the harvest of wheat, barley and corn alone amounted to a third of the yield of all European Russia at that time. In that year the Cossack Lands produced 12.5 per cent of all grains, 39.2 per cent of the wheat, 37.1 per cent of the barley, 29.2 per cent of the corn, 50 per cent of the sunflower seeds, 55 per cent of the tobacco of high quality, 75 per cent of the fine wools, and 65 per cent of the fish caught in European Russia. In 1916 there were 25,215,000 head of livestock in Cossackia.

However, it is necessary to direct special attention to the fact that this development of crop cultivation and stock raising was achieved under the grave political and military conditions of life in Tsarist Russia, where, according to the Russian historian Professor Svatikov (*Russia*

and the Don) the Cossacks had been turned into "half-serf slaves," when the Cossack had to give almost twenty years of his life to the service of Russia, to expanding and guarding her borders. This service, according to the accurate calculation of the Russian colonel-general of staff, Medvedev, cost each Cossack more than a thousand gold rubles, which could not but economically stifle the Cossack economy.

Nevertheless, the agriculture of Cossackia in the world grain market was not so small that it was not reckoned with. It was not without reason that up to 1914, when the markets in Eastern Europe were still free, "one rain in the Kuban already had an effect on prices on the Chicago exchange with its trade in hundreds of millions of poods of grain." (Engineer V. Beisug, *Ekonomicheskii ocherk Kazachikh Zemel* [Economic Survey of the Cossack Lands])

The Cossacks achieved this much at a time when there were almost no agricultural schools or experienced agricultural managers, and without experiment and demonstration agricultural stations. They achieved it only by labor, persistent labor even into the sleepless nights during the harvest season, only by Cossack callouses.

But despite the absence of adequate agricultural knowledge, guided only by love of their land and of labor, the Cossacks even in bygone times, in 1914, could harvest from the 13,040,000 dessiatines of tilled land 650,000,000 poods of grain, of which 237,000,000 poods went into foreign markets.

Now, as a consequence of intensive and completely senseless exploitation of the Cossack Lands, as a consequence of the use of modern improved agricultural machinery and of driving the slave kolkhozniks, the Soviet authorities get considerably more grain and count the country of the Cossacks the principal base of agricultural

production in the whole USSR. The importance of this area was recognized at the Nineteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the USSR not only by the Kremlin's deputies in the Cossack Lands—Ignatov, Iselev, Grishin and others—but even by the chief speaker, G. Malenkov.

Animal husbandry also plays an important role in the economy of Cossackia, the principal supplier of meat and meat products in the present-day Soviet Union. The Kuban alone—as secretary of the Krasnodar Krai Committee, Ignatov, said at the Nineteenth Congress in October 1952—produced that year 100,000 centners more butter than in 1940, 250,000 centners more cheese, 1,000,000 centners more fish, 33,000 tons more meat, 130,000 tons more milk, 200,000,000 more cans of various foods, 25,000,000 more tons of cotton, 119,000,000 more eggs, etc., and of wheat alone, 23,000,000 more poods. The Cossack Stavropol Krai is first in the USSR in head of sheep and produces half of all the Soviet Union's fine wool. In 1949 alone 10,000,000 meters of textiles were made from Stavropol wool. (V. Kotelnikov, *Don, Kuban, Terek,* Moscow, 1950)

Cossackia has almost a monopoly of tobacco-growing in the USSR. In 1917 more than 24,000 dessiatines were sown to tobacco in the Kuban, and the harvest was more than 2,000,000 poods. The 1917 tobacco harvest of the Kuban alone, leaving out the Don and Black Sea region, was as much as Turkey and Germany combined had produced before the war. The tobacco plantations in the Cossack Lands have now been considerably expanded. The tobacco industry of one city, Rostov, produced a third of all the tobacco output of Russia. Moreover, we were speaking only of high-quality tobacco.

Truck gardening and melon-growing are also important branches of Cossackia's agriculture. The largest *sovkhoz* (state farm) in the USSR, the "Sad-gigant," is

located on the southern outskirts of the *stanitsa* Slavyansk in the Kuban, and the extremely large grain *sovkhoz* "Gigant" is in the lower Don.

The Cossacks have long been famed for their fruit orchards, which bear the most varied fruits, beginning with cherries, plums, apples, pears, apricots and peaches and ending in the south with quince, cornels, limes, nuts, mulberries, almonds, figs, tangerines, lemons, *pomerantsy* (wild oranges), medlars, and including olives and tea.

Recently industrial gardening has been started and special fruit canneries have been set up.

It is difficult to say accurately what returns the Cossack gardens have yielded. It is only known that the harvest and drying of wild pears in one Kuban raion earned up to 2,000,000 gold rubles for the population of the nearby *stanitsas*. Wild pears—2,000,000 gold rubles? Given proper care, using all the knowledge of modern agricultural science, many millions would have been received from Cossack gardening.

Although in 1917 the melon-growing area was very small in comparison with that of grains in the Cossack Lands, it totalled more than half the territory of Belgium. In 1916 gross income from melon-growing amounted to 150,000,00 gold rubles. Scores of millions of poods of watermelons and muskmelons from *stanitsas* near rail lines were shipped to Russia, mostly to Moscow and Petrograd.

Viniculture and wine-making play an important role. The total area devoted to vineyards was about 50,000 dessiatines, with a harvest of more than 80,000,000 poods of grapes. More than 4.000,000 gallons of wine were made.

In the Don, viniculture is especially prevalent in the *stanitsas* Tsimlyansk, Konstantinov, Romanovsk, Razdorsk-on-Don, Starocherkassk with their many *khutors*. The peculiar soil and climatic conditions have produced

special varieties of grapes used largely in making champagne. Grape harvests are very large, reaching from twenty to twenty-six and even thirty-two tons a hectare.

The following champagne wineries process the grapes: in Rostov the first mechanized winery in the USSR, then in Novocherkassk, in Millerovo and a winery on the *sovkhoz* "Rekonstruktor."

In addition, especially famous are the vineyards of the Terek Cossacks and the Black Sea region, where the Abrault-Durceau wines are well known, where the varieties "Pino-franc," "Poitrougiser," "Reisling," "Sauvignon" and others brought from France were planted and became fully acclimated. Here champagne as well as table wines are produced.

Special attention should also be directed to crops producing vegetable oils: sunflower, southern hemp, mustard, rape, flax and others.

In 1917 in the Kuban alone 357,500 dessiatines were devoted to sunflowers, and the yield was more than 25,000,000 poods.

The total area sown to flax in 1911-1915 was 71,119 dessiatines, with a harvest of 2,500,000 poods. This yield was one of the highest in the European countries.

Hemp was planted on a mere 12,925 dessiatines, which produced more than 500,000 poods. Although occupying little of the Cossacks' space, this area was double that in France, fifteen times more than that in Belgium and fifty times more than that in Austria.

Of the 43,000 dessiatines sown to mustard in all of Tsarist Russia, about 35,000 dessiatines were sown in the Cossack Land.

Because of the absence of accurate data during the last years of Tsarist Russia, it is difficult to say how much oil was obtained from all the oil-bearing plants. But it is known that in addition to satisfying the needs of the local

population it was possible at that time to send more than 6,000,000 poods into the domestic market of Russia and to export more than 1,000,000 poods.

According to 1912 data, the Kuban alone supplied forty per cent of the output of sunflower seed oil in all of the former Russian Empire.

Although hog raising has not played an important role in the Cossack economy, according to the census of 1916 there were more than 2,000,000 pigs on Cossack territories. There was an especially large number, 931,000, in the Don. In recent years a large number of otdels of the Kuban–Armavir, Ekaterinodar, Tomansk and Yeisk– have begun to engage in industrial hog raising. (G. Karev, *Kazache delo* [Cossack Affairs], No. 2)

Not until the years immediately preceding the war was commercial production of poultry begun on a small scale somewhere in the Kuban. Otherwise the Cossacks raised poultry "samotyokom" (on their own) and no importance was attached to it. Almost all fowl were consumed by the local population. Nevertheless, the Cossacks were able to throw "up to 4,000,000 poods a year" of eggs into the market beyond their borders (*Donskaya letopis* [Don Chronicle], Vol. I), with a monetary value of approximately 8,000,000 gold rubles. However, this output was supplied only by the *stanitsas* close to railroads.

Livestock raising in the Cossack Lands has played and continues to play a role important for all of the USSR. The first-class horse breeding and sheep raising, widely practiced in the eastern parts of the Don and Stavropol regions, are particularly notable. Don horses, notable for their excellent qualities both in cavalry and in agriculture, are especially famous.

In concluding the review of the agriculture of Cossackia, the rapid spread of a large number of new crops should be mentioned, particularly rice, cotton, castor

oil, coriander, sesame, peanuts, and citrus plants. Among the latter there are now large orchards of lemon and tangerine trees. The Japanese tangerine "unshia"—seedless tangerines—and other varieties like the "Clementin" and the very productive "shivamikan," which bears up to 4,000 pieces of fruit per tree, are grown. In the orchards in the Black Sea area of the Kuban oranges and wild oranges are grown, as well as wild oranges whose bitter-sour fruit goes into the manufacture of volatile oils, essences and marmalades. Grapefruit has also become well established.

It is interesting to note that Cossackia today occupies second place, after Bulgaria, in the extraction of rose oil.

Industry

The industrial development of the Cossack Lands began quite recently. Today this industry has reached vast extents and has been included in the overall Soviet plan, which serves exclusively the political interests and affairs of the Kremlin.

The Cossack Krai is also very rich in natural resources. Among these the most important are coal, chiefly high-quality anthracite, oil, iron, manganese and a large number of other useful minerals.

In coal extraction Cossackia occupies one of the first places in the present-day Soviet Union. Even after part of the western Don—mainly the Donbas region with the cities of Yuzovka (Stalino), Makeyevka, Gorlovka and others—was torn away in 1923 and annexed to the Soviet Ukraine, the importance of Cossack coal production not only did not drop but even increased greatly because of the expanded exploitation of the coal fields to the east and southeast.

It was long believed that the coal fields ended near the mountains of Shakhty. But it has now been established

that rich coal beds extend to the east and southeast far beyond Shakhty. Now new pits are already being worked there. The new coal-bearing areas together with the old make up the vast region called the "Greater Donbas" (V. Kotelnikov, *Don-Kuban-Terek*, Moscow, 1950).

Coal mining was begun by the Cossacks themselves, even before Peter I's conquest of the Don. True, the work was done more primitively. After annexation of the Land of the Don Cossacks to the Muscovite State, Peter I on April 19, 1709 visited what was then the capital of the Don, Cherkassk, where he ordered that the heads of the principal leaders of the defense of the Free Don headed by the Host's Ataman K. A. Bulavin be impaled on spears in front of the meeting place of the Circle-Parliament. Then Peter visited the western Don, where he saw the development and extraction of coal by the Cossacks. He sent a sample of Cossack coal to the famous "Gallery of Curiosities" *(kunst-kamera)* in Petersburg (now the Geological Museum of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR). The specimen bore the notation: "This mineral will be very useful not for us but for our descendants."

The *stanitsa* Aleksandrovsk on the little river Grushevka was the first industrial location for coal mining in the Donbas. Here the enterprises of the Cossack Dvukhzhenov, who as early as 1790 delivered coal to various Black Sea ports, including Taganrog were famed.

The Aleksandrovsk Grushevski *stanitsa* became at first well known and later even famous. By the middle of the last century, that is, sixty years after the commencement of the Cossack Dvukhzhenov's activity, there were already fifty-seven mines in operation around the *stanitsa*. Since that time the extraction of coal has unfailingly increased. The Grushevsk mining district close to the capital of the Don, Novocherkassk, became one of the most industrial regions of former Tsarist Russia, and the *stanitsa*

Aleksandrovsk Grushevski became a city, renamed by the Soviet regime Shakhty. The enormous building of the administrative offices of the "Rostovugol" (Rostov Coal) Combine is located in it.

In the eastern Donbas, particularly in the Sulin (now Krasny Sulin) Raion, coal is to be found together with iron. Part of the coal mined here goes on the spot into production of metal for needed manufactured goods, primarily machinery.

It is in Sulin that gigantic locomotive construction and tube rolling plants are to be found.

The area occupied by coal fields in the Cossack Donbas alone is more than 8,000 square versts (verst equals 0.6629 miles). In its total coal reserves the Don is second only to such countries as the USA, Canada, China, Germany, Russia, and England with Ireland.

The rich deposits of coal and iron have occasioned the development of a metallurgical industry in the Don too, constituting in Tsarist Russia a sixth of such industry in all Russia. With it came also the coke and coal tar industry for which Donetsk, Makeyevka, Gorlovka and other places of the Cossack Donbas are noted.

The rapid growth of the coal industry, and with it also the increase in population, compelled the authorities to set up a special administrative unit. the Stalino Oblast, which the Bolsheviks have included in the Soviet Ukraine, while at the beginning of 1954 the eastern section of the Cossack Donbas was made the Kamensk Oblast with the city of Kamensk as its center—renamed from the *stanitsa* Kamensk, the former center of the Donets Okrug of the Don.

Recently iron ore, combustible gases, mineral waters, medicinal muds, common salt, iodine are among the useful minerals found in the Taman Peninsula of the Kuban. The deposits of iron ore in Taman are very large.

In addition to these iron fields in the Kuban there are iron ores of up to 60-75 per cent iron content between the rivers Labaya and Belaya, and some localities of the Batalpashinsk Otdel have magnetite of the same quality.

Arsenic pyrites are to be found in the upper regions of the Kuban. Near the Gubsk, Perepraven and Khamketinsk *stanitsas* there is manganese ore, and in a number of districts of the Don there are still unexplored deposits of bog iron ore.

There are copper, silver, lead, zinc, mercury, manganese, and iron ores, graphite, pyrites, native sulfur and many other useful minerals in the Kuban foothills.

If the vast iron ores of the northern area of the Ural and Orenburg Cossacks—on the southern slopes of the Ural mountain range—is added to this, a picture of the simply untold wealth of the Cossack Lands will rise before us.

Maikop and Grozny oil, known to all the world, should be added to these riches. In quality, Maikop oil is the best in the USSR. It is a light type of oil with an extremely high benzene content. Soviet aviation uses primarily gasoline produced from Maikop oil.

Maikop oil is the most recent to have been discovered, only in 1907-08, almost without any prospecting. Now the black frames of oil towers rise even in the *stanitsa* gardens, in the Cossacks' yards and gardens and are quite unexpectedly encountered even in the forest.

In 1928 a pipeline ran from Grozny-on-Tuapse through the Maikop oil districts. The "black gold" ran to the sea, directly into the oil tankers. And today the Kremlin, not the Cossacks, makes a profit on it in the world market. The oil extracted from the bowels of the earth of the Cossack Lands by the persistent labor of the Cossack people is not today serving the Cossack economy but the aims of the Kremlin occupiers.

In Terek the first to begin development of the so-called Grozny oil were the Cossacks. More than four hundred years ago the first *stanitsas* of the Volga Cossacks came here. These Cossacks founded the city of Terek, or Terki, at the mouth of the Terek (in those days there was neither a city of Grozny, nor oil fields). The Terek River was for more than three hundred years the natural boundary between the Cossacks and the Caucasian tribes with whom they lived in amity until the Russians began the Caucasian war.

Here on the little river Neftyanka the Cossacks in olden times extracted oil with buckets, in a primitive way. Wells were dug at the oil sources. At the bottom of the wells barrels were placed, and when they were full, the oil was bailed out of them with buckets. The output rose from year to year. Thus did the Cossacks obtain oil not only for their own use but also for fortresses built here, in particular for the Grozny fortress completed June 22, 1818, which in 1870 became the capital of the Terek Cossack Host. Meanwhile, the first kerosene refinery in the Northern Caucasus was built by the Cossacks in Mozdok.

After 1855 the oil-bearing slopes of the river Neftyanka were rented from the owners of the land—the Terek Cossacks—by a certain Chikalov, then by Mirzoyev, later by a merchant from the city of Vladikavkaz, Kireyev, and, finally, by an enterprising lawyer, Akhverdov, who believed that the extraction of oil was considerably more profitable than the practice of law. Thus was the first industrial company, "Akhverdov and Co." established, an enterprise which right up to the Revolution played a principal role in the Grozny oil fields. (V. Kotelnikov, *Don-Kuban-Terek*, Moscow, 1950)

In 1893 the first well was drilled, and in December, at a depth of 120 meters, oil was struck. The stream of oil spurted twenty meters higher than the pipes, "black gold" spread over the earth. The workers, frightened by the unprecedented spectacle, ran off to the side. Not even the industrialists had expected such an abundance of oil. At first they too lost their heads. Then soldiers were summoned, and with their help 150,000 poods of the valuable liquid were collected. But how much ran into the ground?

The oil resources were indeed remarkable, but were exposed literally to rapacious plunder. Hundreds of thousands and millions of poods spread over the ground, the volatile substance evaporated into the air.

But within twenty years after the commencement of industrial exploitation, the Grozny region was already producing an eighth of all the oil extracted in tsarist Russia.

In 1914 the oil production of the Cossack Lands ranked fourth in the whole world, exceeded only by that of the USA, the Baku-Fergana region of Azerbaidzhan and Mexico.

Having occupied Cossackia, the Soviet regime has for more than thirty years been trying to expand oil production and to exploit the Cossack "black gold" for their own interests and ends.

For all their impecuniosity and lack of monetary reserves, the Bolsheviks in 1928 found it possible to spend 45,500,000 gold rubles on construction of the Grozny-Maikop-Tuapse oil pipeline, calculating that its cost would be repaid in four years. The first two years even, as far as is known, fully justified their hopes. From this fact alone it can be judged what a powerful, commanding force the Cossack people would have had if they had succeeded in liberating and reviving their Cossack motherland, Cossackia.

Moreover, we are not even speaking at all of the new discoveries of oilbearing sources in the region east of the city of Gurev where the river Ural flows into the Caspian Sea.

An oil processing industry has also been developed in the Cossack oil regions, an industry producing kerosene, gasoline, benzol, lubricating oils, residual oil, cosmetics. In addition, there are plants which manufacture equipment for the oil fields of the whole Soviet Union.

A scientific-research oil institute is located in the city of Grozny itself.

The fishing industry has played and continues to play one of the largest roles in the economy of Cossackia. Cossack fisheries have been famed far beyond the borders of Russia. They are concentrated primarily in the Astrakhan region, the lower reaches of the Don, Kuban and Ural. In quantity and quality of fish caught, the Cossack Land occupies first place in the USSR.

Among the industries, the largest agricultural machinery factories and plants in all the Soviet Union should be noted above all. These are the grandiose plant-giants "Rostselmash" (Rostov Agricultural Machinery) in Rostov-on-Don, the gigantic tractor plants in Volgograd and Chkalov, the electrical machinery plant in Novocherkassk, etc. They produce a large part of the agricultural machinery, tractors and combines of the Soviet Union.

Extremely large locomotive plants, machine tool plants, mining equipment plants, road building equipment plants, winnower plants, boiler plants, including uniflow boilers, power-shovels and a large number of plants and factories of other branches of industry, such as tobacco and food are located in Rostov-on-Don, in the cities of Shakhty and Volgograd. A textile combine with the highest capacity in the whole USSR is located in the city of Kamyshin.

The production of cement in Cossackia has no little significance in the whole Soviet Union. The Novorossisk region on the Black Sea, with its grandiose plants, supplies an important part of the USSR's cement output.

Of the numerous cities of Cossackia, the following large and important cities should be mentioned: Rostov-on-Don, Volgograd, Novocherkassk, Shakhty, Taganrog, Donetsk, Makeyevka, Chistyakovo, Kalach-on-Don, Kamyshin, Chkalov (Orenburg), Uralsk, Astrakhan, Grozny, Armavir, Stavropol, Maikop, Tuapse, Novorossisk, Krasnodar, Kropotkin, Tikhoretsk, Yeisk, Novoshakhtinsk, Volzhsk, and others.

Important ports are Rostov-on-Don, Novorossisk, Tuapse, Astrakhan, Volgograd, Kalach-on-Don, Tsimlyansk, Sea formed after construction of the Volga-Don Canal, a sea which is 170 kilometers long and an average of more than 20 kilometers wide.

In Novorossisk and Tuapse there are the largest elevators in Europe as well as meat storage plants, a fact which demonstrates that the Cossack Lands are not only one of the chief suppliers of grain, meat, fruit, tobacco products for the USSR but an extremely large quantity of these products and of oil are exported abroad from this region.

There are large shipyards in Rostov-on-Don and Volgograd, and fishing fleet yards in Yeisk and Astrakhan.

More than five hundred different industries are concentrated in Rostov-on-Don alone. Even in a city so rich in secondary and higher institutions of learning as Novocherkassk there are twenty-nine plants, including a plant for main line, high speed electric locomotives which are now being supplied to the whole USSR.

The Cossack Lands are rich and famed for thier celebrated health resorts, known even beyond the borders of the USSR.

The health resorts on the land of the Terek Cossacks

are particularly famous. They grew out of the old Cossack *stanitsas* famed from olden times for their "acid waters" and "hot waters."

These are first and foremost the waters known as early as the sixteenth century in the *stanitsa* Goryachevodsk, in 1830 renamed the city of Pyatigorsk from the nearby Pyati Mountains. Academicians Gyuldenshtett (1773) and Pallas (1793) wrote the first detailed description of the "acid and hot water" springs of the Goryachevodsk *stanitsa*.

Mineralny Vody was so named in 1875 from the *stanitsa* Kumsk. Scientists and specialists who have made investigations throughout the Pyatigorsk and Mineralny Vody region have come to the conclusion that in the reserves and variety of mineral resources the Pyatigorsk Raion has no equal on the globe. (V. Kotelnikov, *Don-Kuban-Terek*, Moscow, 1950) The only National Scientific Research Institute of Balneology in the USSR is located in Pyatigorsk.

Zheleznovodsk is the most northern city of the mineral water health resorts, as is Mineralny Vody.

The Essentuki waters, which are about twenty kilometers west of Pyatigorsk, were established and grew from the Cossack *stanitsa* Essentuki, and they are known throughout the world for their medicinal alkaline and salt springs.

Kislovodsk, the second largest health resort of the USSR, also grew out of the Cossack *stanitsa* Kislovodsk. And even now, according to Soviet sources, "the melodious sounds of an accordion or chorus performing the old songs of the Terek Cossacks are to be heard at these resorts" (*Ibid.*, p. 166).

Kislovodsk operates as a year-round resort. The excellent climate and the valuable mineral springs create all the conditions for continuous treatment of the sick. Its mi-

raculous and famous "Narzan" waters, which bring back people's strength, attract large numbers of the sick and healthy. Over forty of the more than a hundred large mineral water sanatoria are located in Kislovodsk.

There are other famous health resorts of the Cossack Krasnodar Krai along its Black Sea coast, where a special resort zone forty kilometers long and five kilometers wide has been marked out. Here the potent mineral springs with their high sulfur content, the warm-water sea, the mild climate and the abundance of sunshine are the backbone of the famous cities of Sochi, of Matsesta, of Khosta.

This "sky-blue coast" is famed throughout the USSR, and hundreds of thousands of health resort visitors and tourists from all parts throng to it.

Here, in the Krasnaya Polyana Raion, Borzhom water springs of the Narzan type of Essentuki waters have been discovered, and in Staraya Matsesta iodo-bromide springs have come to light. The importance of these health resorts is growing literally with each year.

All railroad and highway connections of the present-day Soviet Union with the Caucasus pass through the territory of Cossackia. The routes from the west and south to Turkestan and Siberia also pass through it.

The main routes from Moscow to the Caucasus run from the railroad junction Povorino through Volgograd to Tikhoretsk and on through Krasnodar or Armavir or from Liska through Millerovo, Novocherkassk, Rostov-on-Don, Tikhoretsk and on. Similarly, routes from the Ukraine to the Caucasus all pass through Cossack territory from Makeyevka through Taganrog or Zverevo-Shakhty-Novocherkassk-Rostov. Similarly the railroad lines from the south and west of the USSR to Turkestan and Siberia run through the Cossack Lands, passing through the capital of the Ural Cossacks, Uralsk, or the capital of the

Orenburg Cossacks, Orenburg, which has been renamed Chkalov by the Bolsheviks.

The principal railroad lines of Cossackia are the following: Makeyevka-Taganrog-Rostov; Valuiki-Starobelsk-Lugansk-Zverevo; Liska-Boguchar-Chertkovo-Millerovo-Shakhty-Novocherkassk-Rostov-Tikhoretsk-Kropotkin-Armavir-Pyatigorsk-Grozny; Povorino-Volgograd-Salsk-Tikhoretsk-Volgograd-Morozovsk-Glubokaya-Rostov; Balashov-Kamyshin-Ilovlinsk-Volgograd; Morozovsk-Tsimlyansk-Kuberle; Rostov-Bataisk-Salsk; Bataisk-Azov; Kushchevsk-Yeisk; Yeisk-Pavlovsk; Kushchevsk-Konevsk-Timoshevsk-Krymsk-Novorossisk; Primoro-Akhtarsk-Timoshevsk-Krasnodar; Novorossisk-Krasnodar-Kropotkin-Stavropol-Petrovsk-Divnoe and Blagodarnoe; Armavir-Kurgannaya (Maikop)-Tuapse-Sochi-Adler and on to Sukhumi in Georgia.

Not long ago the economically and strategically important railroad line Grozny-Kizlyar (Caspian Sea)-Astrakhan was built. An extension of this line from Astrakhan to Gurev (Chapaevsk) is now already built, which will make it possible to connect these southern regions with the Curev-Kandagach-Orsk lines to the southern slopes of the Ural Mountains, as well as connecting Kandagach-Sol Iletsk with Chkalov and Uralsk.

An important railroad line is Astrakhan-Nizhny Baskunchak-Krasny Kut and thence to Ershov, Uralsk, Sol Iletsk and Chkalov. This line has a direct connection with Astrakhan-Volgograd.

Still another important line is under construction which will supplement the southern network of Cossackia's railroads: this is an extension of the Rostov-Tikhoretsk-Kropotkin-Stavropol-Divnoe line communicating with Astrakhan.

In addition to these railroads, which have great economic importance to the Cossack Lands, main highways

also pass through this territory and not only unite the cities and other important points of Cossackia but also play an enormous role as transit routes to the Caucasus and the East.

Waterways should also be added to the communication routes. With completion of the Volga-Don Canal joining five seas, the Cossack territories have become a particularly important juncture of the many waterways traverse the area and connect the Black, Azov, Caspian, White and Baltic Seas.

In addition to river navigation, sea navigation has been intensively developed: Volgograd-Rostov-Novorossisk-Batum; Rostov-Taganrog-Novorossisk-Tuapse-Sochi, as well as Rostov-Istanbul and Novorossisk-Istanbul. On the Caspian Sea: Astrakhan-Makhachkala-Baku and thence to Persia to the ports of Pekhleva and Bender-Shakh, as well as Astrakhan-Gurev (Chapaevsk) and Astrakhan-Fort Shevchenko on the Turkestan shore of the Caspian Sea.

In addition, there is direct steamship service, Moscow-Volgograd-Rostov-on-Don and Volgograd-Rostov-on Don, as well as navigation on the Don or Tsimlyansk Sea and the inland ports on the Azov Sea (Azov, Taganrog, Yeisk, Primoro-Akhtarsk, Temryuk, Taman) and on the Black Sea (Anapa, Novorossisk, Gelendzhik, Zhdubga, Tuapse, Lazarevskaya, Sochi, Adler).

Human Resources

Even while part of Tsarist Russia, the Cossack Lands stood in first place in the ordering and the condition of popular education in the whole former Russian Empire. There was an extremely low percentage of illiterates. Moreover, schools, hospitals, roads and so forth were set up and maintained exclusively at the expense of the local Cossack budget from Cossack funds, at a time when

schools in the rest of former Russia were maintained at the expense of the general budget of the Empire, from the general coffers of the Empire.

Percentage wise the number of schools on the Cossack territories was far greater than in the rest of former Russia. And if the tsarist government had not imposed limitations and obstacles to the establishment of new schools in the Cossack cities and *stanitsas*, the number would have been even greater and illiteracy would have completely disappeared, as actually happened when the Tsarist fetters binding the freedom and will of the Cossacks fell and when freedom returned. After the Revolution of 1917 and restoration of Cossack statehood, despite the bitter struggle of the Cossacks against the Bolshevik aggression, despite the war which was begun and which continued for more than three years against the Bolshevik authorities, a secondary school or at the very least a higher primary school was set up in each Cossack *stanitsa*. Not even the most remote Cossack *khutor* was without a primary school.

The Cossack Lands have maintained this situation even during the terrible Bolshevik occupation. There are more than forty-five institutions of higher learning on the Cossack territories: eighteen in Novocherkassk, the capital of the Don, seven in Rostov-on-Don, eight in Krasnodar, the capital of the Kuban, four in Stavropol, five in Volgograd, three in Chkalov. In Rostov-on-Don alone there are thirty-nine different scientific-research institutes.

In the present-day city of Novocherkassk more than twenty thousand students are studying in the various institutions of higher learning. Hundreds of professors and doctors of science, hundreds of candidates of science are working here in the *vuzy* (institutions of higher learning) and scientific-research institutes. In the spring of 1953

Novocherkassk turned out four thousand engineers, agronomists, veterinarians, teachers, physicians, and others. More than thirteen thousand pupils are studying in twenty-two Novocherkassk schools. (*Literary Gazette*, March 13, 1954).

But what is particularly important and significant is that "almost all young people who have graduated from institutions of higher learning, who have become specialists, unfailingly rush to their native localities or return to their native lands, which raised and educated them," a fact attested to even in Soviet conditions by V. Kotelnikov, author of the geographical-economic book *Don-Kuban-Terek* published in Moscow in 1950.

This shows that the young people of the Cossack Lands strongly love their native country, as did their ancestors, unfailingly care for it and are ready to exert all their efforts and use all their knowledge for development of their Cossack Motherland. These young people, despite the dreadful conditions of Soviet occupation, preserve their love of their native Cossack Land.

At the same time this circumstance is an even greater guarantee of the full development of the economic and cultural life of Cossackia, after it has been liberated from the enslavement and oppression of the Soviet regime.

Anyone who vigilantly follows the life and events in the Cossack Lands cannot help but note that the people's interest in their own Cossack problem, in study of and familiarization with their past has grown enormously, which has in turn led to a great increase in the cultural and scientific forces of the Cossack people, to the appearance of a great many books devoted to the past history of the Cossacks, to collection of records of Cossack culture and of its people's creativity. Evidence of this is the publication in six large volumes of Professor Listopa-

dov's collection of 1,800 Cossack folk songs, *Pesni donskikh kazakov* (Songs of the Don Cossacks), or V. Kotelnikov's book *Don-Kuban-Terek*, which acquaints readers with the country of the Cossacks.

In concluding our brief survey of the economic condition of Cossackia, we come to the following clear conclusions:

1. In size—870,000 square kilometers—the country of the Cossacks is far from being in last place, exceeding even such countries as France or Germany, or England taken together with Italy.

2. In population, Cossackia, with its 15,850,000 occupies a place which many other countries could envy.

3. In amount of cereal crops harvested, particularly wheat, the Cossack Lands occupy an enviable position among even the largest agricultural countries of the world.

4. In number of livestock raised, the Don alone occupies a more important place than Denmark, Belgium or Holland and produces almost as much livestock as Italy.

5. In fish caught the Cossack Lands even before the war yielded only to five countries in the whole world.

6. In tobacco production the Kuban alone with the Black Sea region, in other words, the present Krasnodar Krai alone, surpassed Turkey and Germany combined.

7. In coal reserves the country of the Cossacks yields only to the USA, Canada, Germany, China and Britain with Ireland.

8. In oil extraction the country of the Cossacks in 1914 occupied fourth place in the world and it is still a very significant resource.

9. In agricultural output Cossackia has been and is an important supplier not only for the Soviet Union but also of other countries.

10. The industry of Cossackia has a vast potential not

only in raw materials but also in the production of various finished and semifinished goods.

11. In its geographic-trade position Cossackia has been foreordained to an extremely favorable position: a bridge between West and East.

12. With their medicinal and mineral springs and famous health resorts, the Cossack Lands occupy an exceptional place both within the USSR and far beyond its borders.

Taking into account at the same time the industrious and enterprising population of Cossackia, the abundance of its agricultural output, the natural resources, the exceptionally good geographical position, as well as the historical traditions of the freedom-loving Cossack people and their unfailing aspiration for liberation of their motherland from Russian occupation and for revival of their own nationhood, we reach the objective conviction that these are the important requisites, the firm foundation and the indisputable guarantee of the vitality and vital capacity of the Cossack democratic republic of Cossackia.

Now all the riches of Cossackia and all the labor of its people go into the bottomless pit of the "planned economy" of the Kremlin, which, pumping out all the resources of the country of the Cossacks, sends them to subsidize its fifth columns throughout the world to seize new territories and peoples, to constantly threaten all freedom-loving mankind.

Consequently, it is in the interests of the countries of the free world to help the Cossack people again find national freedom so that their economy may serve their own interests and their resources be made available to the free world market,

XIV. *Geopolitical and Military-Strategic Position of Cossackia.*

The country of the Cossacks—Cossackia—even in olden times had an extremely important, and frequently decisive, geopolitical and strategic position in Eastern Europe. The correlation of forces and of decisive factors in Eastern Europe has changed, depending on who has been master of this territory, the Cossacks or their neighbors, or to which sphere of influence it has belonged. Not without reason do many historians call the country of the Cossacks the key to equilibrium in Eastern Europe.

Long before the coming of our era, in the epoch of the great transmigration of peoples and tribes, the territories of Cossackia for many centuries served as a geographical corridor through which ever new waves of different tribes and peoples passed from Asia into Europe. Because of these circumstances the Cossack Lands have been immortalized in history as the "crossroads of the history of peoples."

It was precisely on the spacious lands of Cossackia, on the geographical border between Europe and Asia (in the concepts of the ancient historians and geographers Herodotus, Strabo, Fukidor, Maskaveikha, Nikita Pagiogonsky, Constantine Porfirogenitus and others) that the very ancient civilizations of the world collided: Phoenician, old Grecian, Roman, Byzantine, steppe. The local indigenous population intermingled with the many tribes and peoples that passed through the "crossroads of the history

of peoples." It was precisely this mixture that laid the foundation for the Cossack people, a fact so clearly and definitely shown by the incontestable data of Arabian, Persian and Byzantine historians, by excavations made in these areas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, by extremely ancient church documents (for example, the Roman "Muchenikoslov" [Book of Martyrs]) as well as by a large number of historical and archeological scientific works.

The expanses of Cossackia have seen *kimmereitsy*, Scythians, Alans, Huns, Goths, *avari*, Khazars, ancient Bulgars, Pechenegs and many other peoples. Down to the present time many ancient names of localities, rivers and even articles of every-day use have been retained in the Cossack Lands. The origin of these names quite definitely attests to their existence long before the Tatar invasion, thus clearly indicating the continuity of the population, which preserved the names of localities, rivers, articles of consumption and so forth by transmitting them by word of mouth.

In the period from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, from the moment of the appearance of the Pechenegs and right up until the downfall of the powerful reign of Tamerlane, Cossackia was the arena of the savage and bloody skirmishes of the local population with the tribes and peoples struggling for mastery of these expanses, which had an enormous and quite exceptional political and strategic significance. Only thanks to the seizure and subjugation of Cossackia, which already had existed separately on a state-autonomous basis, could the Golden Horde set up one of the powerful states of those times, a state covering enormous areas of Europe and Asia.

After the utter defeat and collapse of the Golden Horde, the local Cossack population again became the competent master of the expanses of its motherland Cos-

sackia. It did not permit further penetration by other peoples, peoples who not only brought with them terrible destruction but who also seized these territories and enslaved the peoples inhabiting them.

For centuries Cossack, *polovetski*, Tatar and Turkish blood flowed copiously on the Cossack Lands. With selfless courage the Cossacks fought the successors of the Golden Horde, hindering them in every way and preventing alien peoples from conquering their lands. After the final destruction of the Golden Horde, the Cossacks set out to defend their expanses against the new and highly dynamic expansion of the powerful Ottoman (Turkish) Empire, which tried to consolidate itself on the Cossack Lands, an area that would open up the boundless expanses of Eastern Europe and would make possible the spread of Islam.

The Cossacks were an impressive force defending Eastern Europe, and Christian culture as well, preventing Islam from becoming firmly established in Europe. The Cossacks always ranked themselves among the European peoples. They recognized the community of interests and their own mission in defense of Christian culture in the East of Europe, considering themselves knights of the steppe fighting against the "unbelievers" for the Christian faith. At the most critical moment of European history, when the deadly danger of Mohammedan domination threatened from the southeast, the Cossacks, by their active and decisive participation in the battle against the Turks near Vienna (September 12, 1668), defended Christianity and the freedom of the peoples of Europe, according to King Jan Sobieski.

The Cossacks were in reality a strong bulwark against which were dashed fierce waves of warlike Asiatic peoples rushing into Europe and bringing destruction to it and its Christian culture. The Cossacks were the strong

vanguard of Christianity and European culture in the East of Europe.

When the Muscovite Tsars encountered the Cossacks with their extremely rich expanses in the path of their predatory expansion in the south, they immediately comprehended the vast importance of the Cossack Lands, as is so pointedly expressed in the words of Ordyn-Nashchekin, Minister of Foreign Affairs under the Muscovite Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. The tsars used every possible means to gain possession of the Cossack territories: flattery and deception, lies and perfidy, bribery and coercion and, finally, crude physical force. Much blood was spilled and many Cossacks were sacrificed in this fray.

Not until Muscovite Tsar Peter I did Moscow succeed, with the aid of other peoples subjugated by it, in conquering the Cossack Lands and in subjugating them to the Moscow state, at first with the rights of a national autonomy, and later as an "oblast by special administrative regulation." Only after the seizure of Cossackia was the Muscovite Kingdom renamed the Russian Empire, having become a great, aggressive power. In its subsequent conquests and enslavements of other territories and peoples it used the first-class Cossack military forces and the very rich resources of the Cossack Lands.

For the more than two hundred years of their forcible enslavement by Tsarist Russia, the Cossack people unfailingly struggled against their oppression and enslavement. They promoted mass people's movements, headed by the famous atamans Stepan Razin, Kondrati Bulavin, Yemelyan Pugachev, Efgraf Gruzinov, as well as countless revolts and protests against their enslavement. All these efforts demonstrate that not for a minute did the Cossacks cease struggling to restore their freedom and nationhood, that they were by no means satisfied with their position as the enslaved in the Russian Empire.

And in reality just as soon as the revolution broke out in 1917 the Cossacks immediately and before any other non-Russian peoples of Tsarist Russia (except the Finns and Poles) legally and democratically, by general popular will, announced their national independence from Moscow-Russia. Moreover, at a time when the main significance and importance of the Revolution for the Russian (Great-Russian) people lay in the solution of social questions, for the Cossacks and for other peoples enslaved by Moscow the Revolution was first and foremost a *nationality revolution:* they saw in it the opportunity for deliverance from Moscow slavery and despotism, from alien dependence, and for restoration of the national freedom which had been forcibly taken from them.

But the new Russian regime in the person of the Bolsheviks, which had barely consolidated itself, could in no wise reconcile itself to the loss of the in every way highly valuable Cossack Lands and began a war with the revived Cossack state.

For more than three years the Cossack people fought with weapon in hand for their national freedom, for the inalienable right to their own life. But, unsupported by the free world in their just strivings, they became victims of Moscow imperialism, now operative in the form of Bolshevism. Having first subjugated the Cossacks and later other peoples who had separated from Russia after the Revolution, the Kremlin was again enabled to carry on its subsequent expansion and aggression.

It is characteristic that the importance of the country of the Cossacks, Cossackia, was perfectly well recognized by the actual organizer of the Red Army, Leon Trotsky. More than once he called for the most bitter fight first of all against the Cossacks and pointed out that the Cossack front, on which even on January 1, 1919 almost three quarters (1,160,000 soldiers) of the whole Red Army was

concentrated, was more important than the German front, that it was decisive in "conquest of the revolution and consolidation of Soviet power." (L. Trotsky, *How the Revolution Was Fought* and the book *Civil War: 1918-1921*, Moscow, 1928)

Indeed, as soon as the Bolsheviks succeeded in breaking the resistance of the Cossack people, as soon as they succeeded in occupying the Cossack Lands, they managed very easily and quickly to break the resistance of all other peoples who had liberated themselves in 1917-1920. This became possible only when, after the efforts of more than three years, they managed to destroy the excellent and for them the most threatening Cossack forces, and only when the Bolsheviks took possession of territories so important geopolitically, militarily and strategically as the Cossack Lands.

This is a completely indisputable fact, which is very clear from all the memoirs of participants in the events of 1917-1921, not only those written by Bolsheviks but also those by Russians of the White Army, not even to mention the works of Cossacks.

Special attention should be directed to the fact that the great importance of Cossackia because of its geopolitical position, military-strategic significance and economic importance is quite well recognized not only by the Bolsheviks but also by all partisans of a one and indivisible Russia abroad. That is why both strive, come what may, to retain the Cossack Lands as part of the USSR or as part of the future Russia.

They know perfectly well that so long as the country of the Cossacks, Cossackia, is part of Russia-USSR, the latter has not yet lost its importance, its role, as an empire: it can always count on reannexing the territories and peoples which may break off from USSR-Russia as a result of coming events. With the Cossack Lands as part

of Russia, the strategic north-south axis of the Russian Empire is preserved. Russia then controls the outlets to the Azov, Black and Caspian Seas, has access to the Caucasus and Turkestan, and encircles the Ukraine in a horseshoe from the north and southeast, constantly threatening its independence and thus forcing it either to join the Russian sphere of influence or to conduct a foreign policy acceptable to Russia. Under such circumstances Russia would not lose its hope of reviving a "one and indivisible" Empire, always a possibility once it would grow strong and as soon as conditions would be favorable.

If Russia loses Cossackia, it loses once and for all these approaches to the southern seas, the Caucasus and Turkestan, and a tight front of non-Russian peoples from Finland, the Baltic states, Belorussia, the Ukraine, Cossackia, and Turkestan is formed against it. With the Cossack Lands as part of Russia, Russia breaks this closed front and separates all the mentioned territories from one another.

The partisans of a "one and indivisible" Russia believe that the important "imperial strategic axis" on which a Russian Empire is contingent passes through Leningrad-Moscow-Volgograd-Rostov-on-Don. So long as Russia retains this axis, it will never lose its importance as an Empire. It was on precisely this axis that the Germans were held during the Second World War, as was Napoleon in 1812.

It is in the realization of the Volga-Don Canal, which connects five seas of the Soviet Union and which has great political and military importance, that all supporters of Russia as an empire see the strengthening of this axis.

That is what explains the terrible attacks and protests of all partisans of a "one and indivisible" Russia against the aspirations of the Cossack people to get back the national freedom and state independence forcibly taken from them

by the Bolsheviks. That is what explains the almost identical objections and aspirations against Cossack freedom both in the Kremlin and among Russian great-power advocates abroad.

Everything said above distinctly demonstrates that Cossackia, the "crossroads of the history of peoples," included in any Russia fully guarantees the physical and economic power of the Russian Empire, creating a subsequent threat to the independence not only of the neighboring peoples but also of the whole world. Revival of the democratic Cossack republic of Cossackia means, if not the complete destruction of Moscow imperialism, in any event its physical weakening, economic impoverishment, loss of important strategic and political positions. It means Russia reverts to its ethnographic borders with a chance at long last to concern itself with the economic and social needs of its own people within its own natural borders, where all the makings for so doing exist in adequate measure.

Inclusion of Cossackia in the USSR-Russia gives Moscow colossal political, strategic, economic and other advantages.

Only after thoroughly sizing up all aspects of the significance of the territory of Cossackia can it be quite definitely asserted that solution of the Cossack Problem by itself will have decisive importance not only for the future of the Cossack people but also for the subsequent peaceful and free development of the peoples of Europe and Asia.

When the Cossacks were complete masters in their Lands, when they disposed all their human and material forces, the state of affairs today existing in Eastern Europe was different.

Solution of the Cossack Problem by reviving the national freedom of the Cossack peoples will bring the Cos-

sacks the desired life for which they have long waited, a life based on principles of genuine democracy, the right to live by their own Cossack laws in the spirit of their Cossack order and way of life, traditions, the spirit of Christian culture. At the same time it will create all the prerequisites for removing the Kremlin's constant threat to the peace of the whole world and for creating firm foundations for peace and for the peaceful coexistence and cooperation of all peoples.

Revival and establishment of Cossackia is dictated by the real and vital interests of the neighboring peoples, especially those of Ukraine, the Caucasus and Turkestan, to guarantee their free existence in the future.

The common, joint struggle of all peoples now enslaved in the Soviet Union against Soviet despotism, the identical goals of national freedom and the strong awareness of common interests in preserving the freedom attained are healthy requisites for creating mutual understanding and close cooperation on the principle of equality, the free dealing with the free.

XV. *Military Tradition of the Cossack People*

THE COSSACKS have been famed since olden times as valiant warriors exceptionally distinguished by bravery and prowess in all military operations. The Cossacks have invariably retained these traits even down to the present.

Cossack troops were organized in special independent formations from the time the Cossacks were first annexed to the Moscow state. They were gradually put on the same footing as the rest of the military units of the Russian Army. However, down to the Revolution the Cossacks managed to preserve the specific organization of their regiments.

Cossack regiments were formed on a territorial basis, just as they had been when the Cossacks were fully independent of the Moscow state.

Individual Cossack *stanitsas* provided men for individual regiments of all lines.

Before the Revolution the Ataman of all the Cossack Hosts, who from 1827 on was an heir of the tsar, headed the military administration of all the Cossack Hosts.

At the head of each Cossack Host stood the Host's appointed ataman, in whom high military and civil authority on the Host's territory was concentrated. By "imperial command" he *could not be a Cossack*, because a Cossack ataman, even if most devoted to the tsarist regime, was considered unreliable, capable of tearing the Host from

Russia, as Ataman Efremov had done under Catherine II.

The Hosts' staffs, which were run by atamans of the okrugs or otdels in the Kuban, were the organs of high military administration. The lowest echelons were the *stanitsas*' atamans elected by a *stanitsa* gathering.

Cossack military duty was based on *universal service.* The Cossacks had to present themselves for service with their own equipment, clothing, even food for the first fourteen days, and mounted on their own troop horses.

Cossack service began at eighteen years of age and continued for twenty years, after which the Cossack was still enrolled in the home guard.

After the age of twenty, the Cossack was in the combat training category. For the following twelve years he was in the combat ranks, where he spent the first four years of his so-called "active service" in front line units, the second four years in second line units, the last four years in third line units.

Upon completion of the twelve years' service in the combat ranks, all Cossacks were enrolled in the reserves for five years. During this period the Cossacks were used to replace losses in the combat units and to form the necessary new military units.

The Host's home guard was composed of all who could bear arms.

In the former Russian army the Cossacks had their own completely separate cavalry, artillery and infantry units, which were included as the fourth regiment in each separate division. From this one fact it can be seen that almost twenty-five percent of the whole tsarist army was Cossack.

In time of peace in 1914 there were three Gvardeisk, seventeen Don, eleven Kuban, six Orenburg, four Terek, four Ural, one Astrakhan, four Baikal, three Siberian,

one Semirechensk and one Amur Cossack cavalry regiments, that is, fifty-five regiments or fourteen divisions of cavalry alone.

Cossack infantry units, particularly the so-called *plastunskie* battalions made up of Kuban Cossacks, enjoyed great renown also.

At the very beginning of the war of 1914-1917 the above-mentioned front line Cossack regiments were brought together in special Cossack divisions.

In addition, fifteen divisions were formed from the Cossack second line cavalry regiments and eight divisions from the third line.

Attention should also be drawn to the fact that to bolster the spirit and fighting morale in the ranks of the Russian army, each army corps had a separate Cossack regiment, for which purpose sixteen second line regiments and thirty third line regiments were formed.

Counting *only the Cossack cavalry in the Russian army* during the war years 1914-1917, the picture is this:

Cossack cavalry regiments front line	14 divisions
2nd line	15 divisions
3rd line	8 divisions
Attached to Russian army corps	12 divisions
Total*	49 divisions

All Cossack military units were subordinate to the Minister of War. The Cossack Otdel of the Chief of Staff managed the affairs of the Cossack troops.

According to Professor General Golovin, who for many years studied the history of the Russian army and published a number of works on this question, the Cossacks were in every way the best units; not only did they

*Note: Information taken from the *Bolshaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (Great Soviet Encyclopedia), Volume XXX.

have the largest number of men who had distinguished themselves and been decorated, but all the most difficult military operations fell to their lot and were successfully executed. In addition, the percentage of Cossacks who surrendered was at a very minimum, and there were no deserters at all. It is of interest that the first soldier to receive the Cross of St. George in the war of 1914-1917 was the Cossack Kuzma Kryuchkov, and the first officer to receive the officer's Cross of St. George was also a Cossack, Sergei V. Boldyrev.

As already mentioned above, during the war of the Cossacks with the Soviet regime, the Bolsheviks sent an extremely large number of their troops against the Cossacks, having more than 1,160,000 soldiers on the Cossack Front, of whom 165,000 were officers and non-commissioned officers of the old tsarist army. (*Civil War: 1918-1921*, Moscow, 1928, Vol. II, pp. 78-87 and 93-94)

It is commonly known that of all the peoples of former Russia the Cossacks offered the most resistance to the Soviet regime, warring against it bitterly for more than three years and suffering colossal losses. Thanks to this fact, the Cossacks were indeed subjected to the greatest oppression and persecution by the Bolsheviks, and the Cossack Lands were distributed among the neighboring oblasts. Even the Soviet Don Republic (April 9, 1918) and the Kuban Soviet Republic (April 20, 1918) were destroyed after the Bolsheviks occupied the Cossack Lands.

The four-volume book *Tragediya Kazachestva* (Tragedy of the Cossacks) based on Cossack and Soviet documents and published in Prague in 1933-1938, recounts in detail the physical, military and material struggle and effort of the Cossacks in the fight against the Soviet regime.

After the limitations were removed from the Cossacks

(April 20, 1936) and with the commencement of World War II, the Bolsheviks began to set up special Cossack units which were brought together in separate divisions and corps.

During the last war among volunteer units of peoples of the USSR serving in the German Army, the Cossacks were the most numerous, with well over 265,000 soldiers.

XVI. *Revival of the Cossack State in 1917-1921*

DESPITE DREADFUL RUSSIFICATION and oppression in Tsarist Russia, at the beginning of the Revolution of 1917 the Cossacks had succeeded in preserving some remnants of their former statehood. Thanks thereto they revived comparatively easily and without any internal excesses their complete internal independence, even under the Provisional Government. A favorable circumstance also was the fact that the idea of reviving their lost freedom had never died in the Cossacks and Cossack intelligentsia, that in addition to having remnants of former Cossack statehood they firmly recognized they were set apart from Russia and the Russian people. Even in the State Dumas they had their own Cossack factions, to which literally all Cossack deputies belonged—from the extreme Right to the socialists. It is characteristic that the Poles were the only others who had their own faction in the State Duma; all others of the non-Russian deputies belonged to the all-Russian political parties.

It should be emphasized that the Cossack people saw the Revolution not as an opportunity to solve one social problem or another, to replace one alien regime with another, to plunder and rob. They perceived the meaning and significance of the Revolution as obtaining their lost right to rule themselves and freely to decide their own fate. That is why the Cossacks definitely did not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian

people, decidedly did not enter into their class struggle, leaving them to resolve all these questions as well as their form of administration for themselves.

The Cossacks distinctly recognized that their task lay not in the struggle for one or another "*all-Russian government*" or "*all-Union government*" but in the struggle for emancipation and liberation of their own native Cossack Lands, in restoration of their own national life, in defense of their right freely to decide their fate and the fate of all their krais as, and only as, they saw fit.

The Cossack people's will to freedom was firm and unshakeable. Not the dreadful, inhuman violences of Tsar Peter I, his gallows, spears with Cossack heads impaled on them, devilish torture in the Muscovite torture chambers and on the blocks, nor torment in the so-called "special secret offices" and "sections" could suppress it. Nothing could break the proud, unbending Cossack will toward the ancient aspiration to live a free life based on principles of broad Cossack popular sovereignty.

The Cossacks, along with other peoples of tsarist Russia, immediately set forth on the road to complete self-determination and restoration of their Cossack national independence. The Cossacks were unfailing participants in all manifestations of the will of these peoples, unfailingly defending their inalienable right to freedom and statehood. Representatives of the Cossack people participated in the first congress of all the peoples of former tsarist Russia in September 1917, and the congress unanimously resolved to hail the revival of Cossack national freedom.

At a time when there was a "deepening" of the "great and bloodless" revolution in the center of Russia, when Russia was plunged into the abyss of chaos and anarchy, the Cossacks revived their centuries-old forms of state organization despite having spent two hundred years as

part of the Russian state. They began this restoration at the very opening of the Revolution and carried it through without any internal disputes, without any kind of internal struggle, but by the nation-wide will of all the Cossacks. They accomplished it without any kind of blessing or sanction whatsoever from the outside or from the former center of Russia where the Provisional Government was then located.

Within a very short period the Cossacks revived all their institutions of authority: the Circle-(*Rada*)-Parliament, the Ataman-President, the Government, the Constitution, flag, hymn, emblem, army, laws and courts.

Thus, not only did the Cossack people proclaim their right, they immediately began to exercise it. Moreover, they did so quite legally, freely expressing their will at the free, general, direct and secret elections which were repeatedly conducted. Consequently the reborn state was based on the clear and definite principles of democracy.

We will not dwell on the manifestations of Cossack popular will at the many congresses, conferences and assemblies which popularly elected delegates attended and at which this unfailing Cossack will to freedom and revival of its Cossack statehood was more than once expressed. We will point only to the *indisputable nation-wide desires of the Cossack people during the elections of their national representatives to the Cossack parliaments* (Circle and *Rada*). All these elections assured a broad, sound and genuinely popular representation, with everyone of both sexes who had attained the age of twenty participating in the elections.

Nor did a single Cossack assembly, congress or conference, no matter how broad its representation, usurp the sovereign will of the Cossack people. All contributed in every way to working out detailed conditions for general popular elections to the legally constituted Cossack par-

liaments and to guaranteeing the peaceful, free and inviolable conduct of the elections themselves.

Such universal, equal, direct, secret and free elections were held in the Don just eleven weeks after the Russian Tsar's abdication from the throne (March 1, 1917), that is, on May 19, 1917. As a result of these elections, seven hundred deputies of the Host's Circle-Parliament were elected from the *stanitsas*, cities and military units still at the front. It is characteristic that all the work of this parliament was strongly bound up with the tradition of the former free parliament destroyed by Tsar Peter I, a fact most clearly and accurately set forth at the opening of the Circle's session by the words of its chairman, M. P. Bogaevsky, professor of the secondary school in the city of Kamensk: "I declare the session of the Host's Circle which was broken up by the Muscovite Tsar Peter I *to be continuing*. . . ." This parliament, which met from May 28 through June 19, 1917, considered itself the fully empowered, sovereign ruler of the Don, declaring its own right independently to decide all questions of Cossack life (*Don Chronicle*, 1924, Vol. II, p. 112). Despite the existence of the Provisional Government as the central supreme authority in the new Russia, this parliament revived all attributes of its sovereign Cossack authority without any sort of permission or sanction from the Russian government. The Circle-Parliament elected a Government and a Host's Ataman-President, General A. M. Kaledin, proclaiming that he bore all authority within the Don.

It should be noted that during this period none of the non-Russian peoples except the Finns and Poles announced their complete break with Russia. Many had dreams of creating a new Russia on broad federative principles. There were such sentiments among the Cossacks too. At its session of May 28–June 19, 1917 the Host's Circle-

Parliament passed a draft law on federation with Russia, which was proposed to the Provisional Government, but which the latter rejected (*Ibid.*, Vols. I and II).

It was precisely because of the possibility of setting up such a federation that the Cossack regiments in Petrograd took part in suppressing the first armed revolt of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd in the middle of July, 1917, when all the Russian military units located there, including the guardsmen, definitely refused to advance to suppress the armed revolt of the Bolsheviks. The Cossacks suppressed the revolt of the Bolsheviks, suffering a great many casualties. But even after all this the Provisional Government "as a token of its thanks" refused to recognize the Cossacks' draft law on a federative structure for the "new Russia." There was nothing left for the Cossacks to do but to continue along the path of complete restoration of their sovereignty.

When the Provisional Government was replaced by a new Russian regime in the form of the Bolsheviks, Ataman-President A. M. Kaledin and the Host's government proclaimed the complete national independence of the Don, an action fully confirmed by the Circle-Parliament formed December 10, 1917. Not only the Cossacks themselves but also objective Russian historians, particularly an expert on Cossack-Russian relations, a Russian professor, S. G. Svatikov in his major work *Russia and the Don*, pages 2-6 and 576-579, consider that the date of the rebirth of the Cossack state. The Bolsheviks also recognize it in many books dealing with events at that time. They corroborate it in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, Volume XXX.

Accepting the vast importance of the Cossack Lands, the Soviet regime, although still not firmly established in Russia itself, started a war against the new Cossack state organizations which had proclaimed themselves demo-

cratic republics. So the Cossack-Bolshevik war that continued for more than three years began.

At the end of February, 1918, the Bolshevik forces succeeded in occupying almost all Cossack territory, but the mass popular uprisings of the Cossacks that broke out everywhere quickly reliberated the Cossack Land from the Bolshevik forces.

On April 28–May 5, 1918 a "Circle for Saving the Don" was convoked. The freely elected delegates from the *stanitsas* and cities again expressed the authentic Cossack popular will and restored the state independence trampled by the Soviet regime. This Circle-Parliament passed the Basic Laws–Constitution, chose the Ataman-President, formed a Cossack Government and organized a Cossack Army.

When all Cossack territory had been liberated by the valiant Cossack forces without any aid whatsoever from the outside and the enemy had been thrown back beyond its borders, on August 1, 1918 the third free, nationwide, secret and equal elections of delegates to the Great Host's Circle-Parliament were held. The Circle met on August 15, 1918 and passed and confirmed the new, expanded Constitution. That it was based on firm principles of democracy is clearly demonstrated by Paragraph 1: "The Great Don Host is an independent state founded on principles of popular sovereignty"; Paragraph 2: "The supreme and lawfully constituted authority in the Don Host belongs to the Host's Circle."

This parliament restored literally all organs of sovereign Cossack authority: parliament, ataman-president, government, army, finances, flag, emblem, hymn, laws, courts, and so forth. These measures were carried out consistently, quite legally, by the free will of the elected representatives of the Cossack people. No one can question that they expressed the will of the Cossack people.

















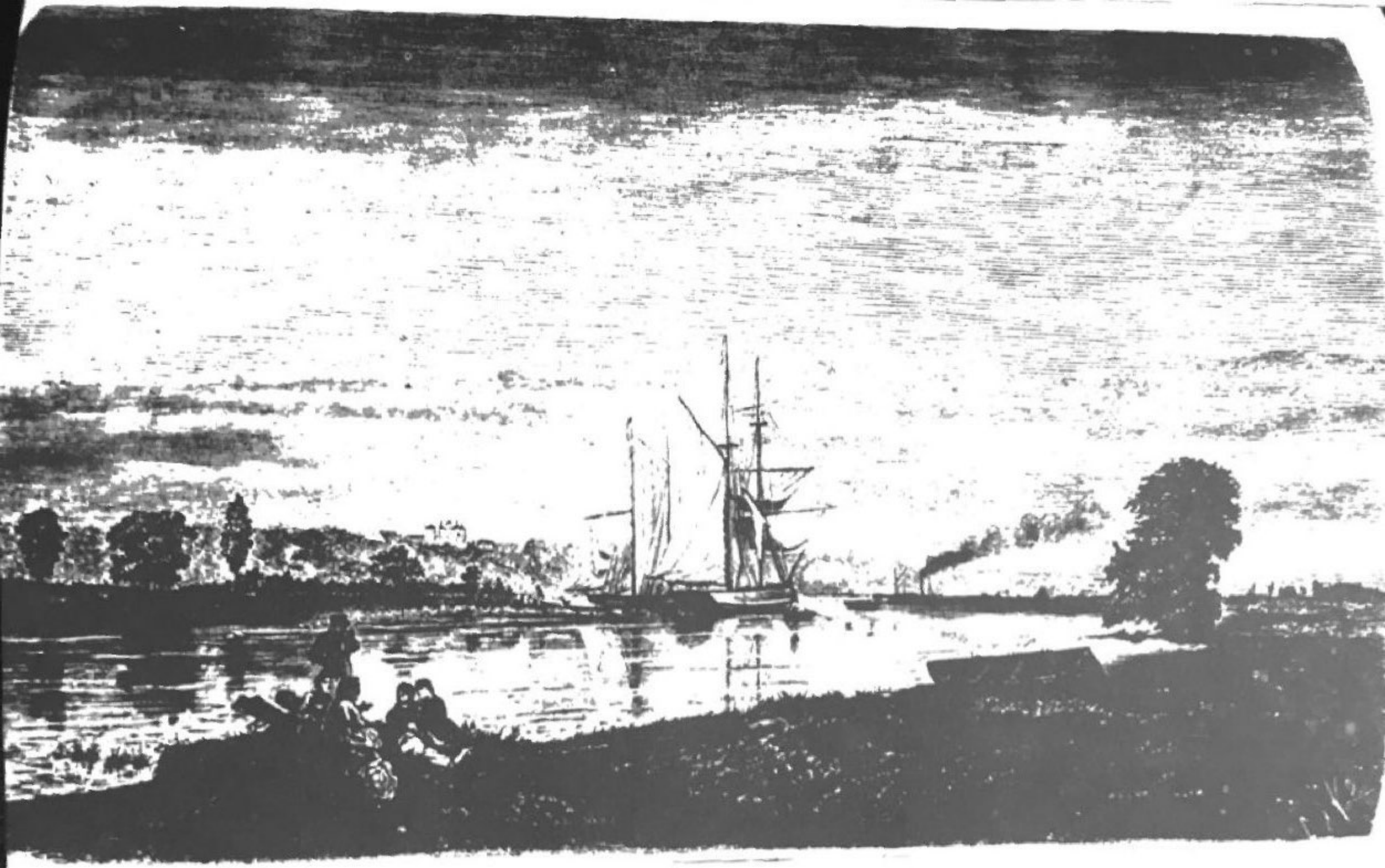
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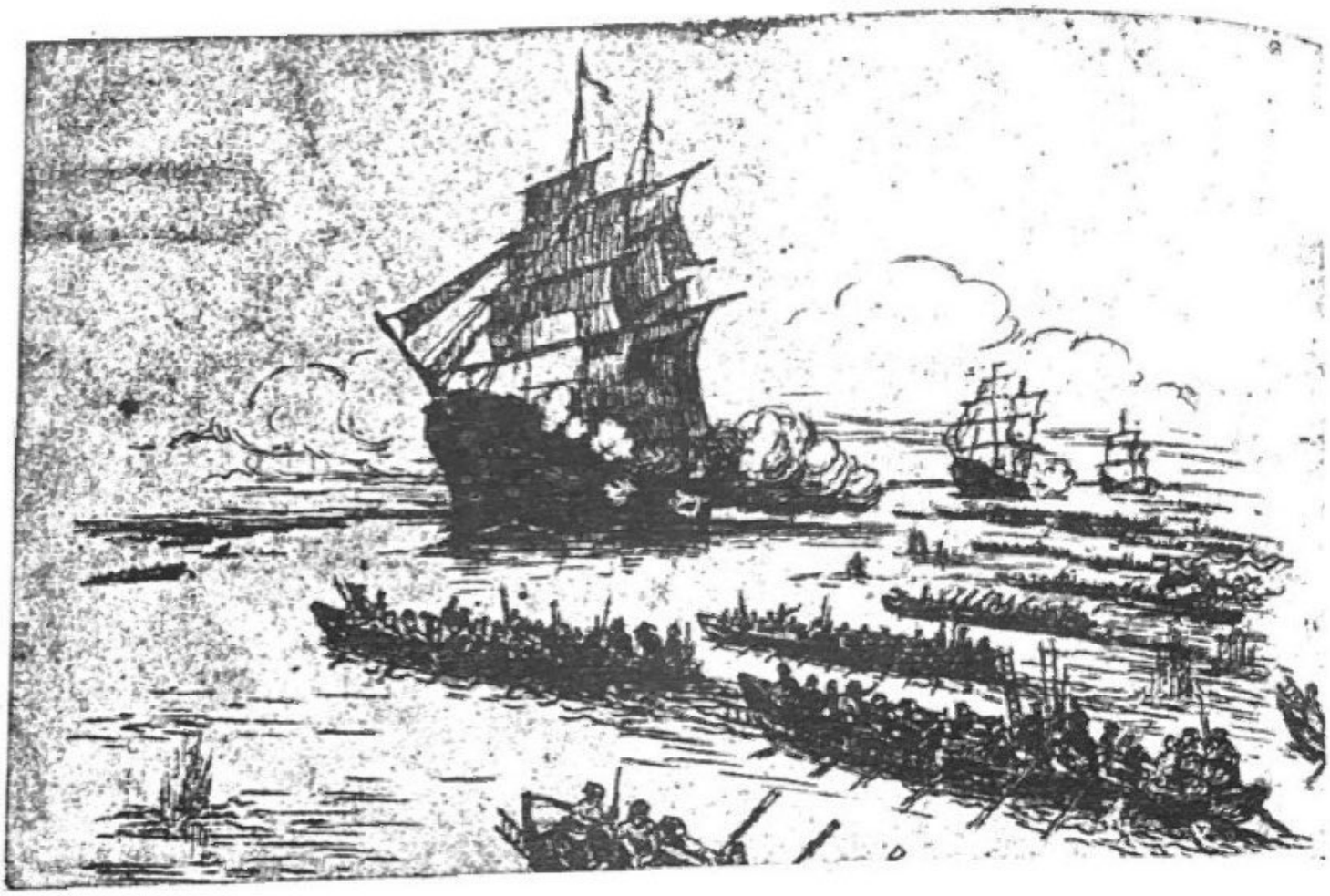
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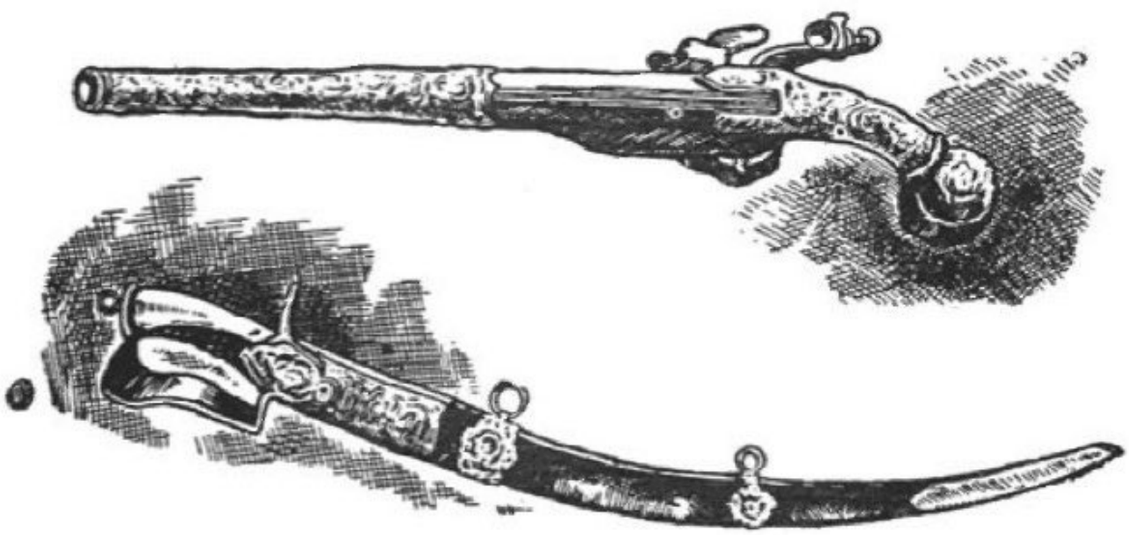

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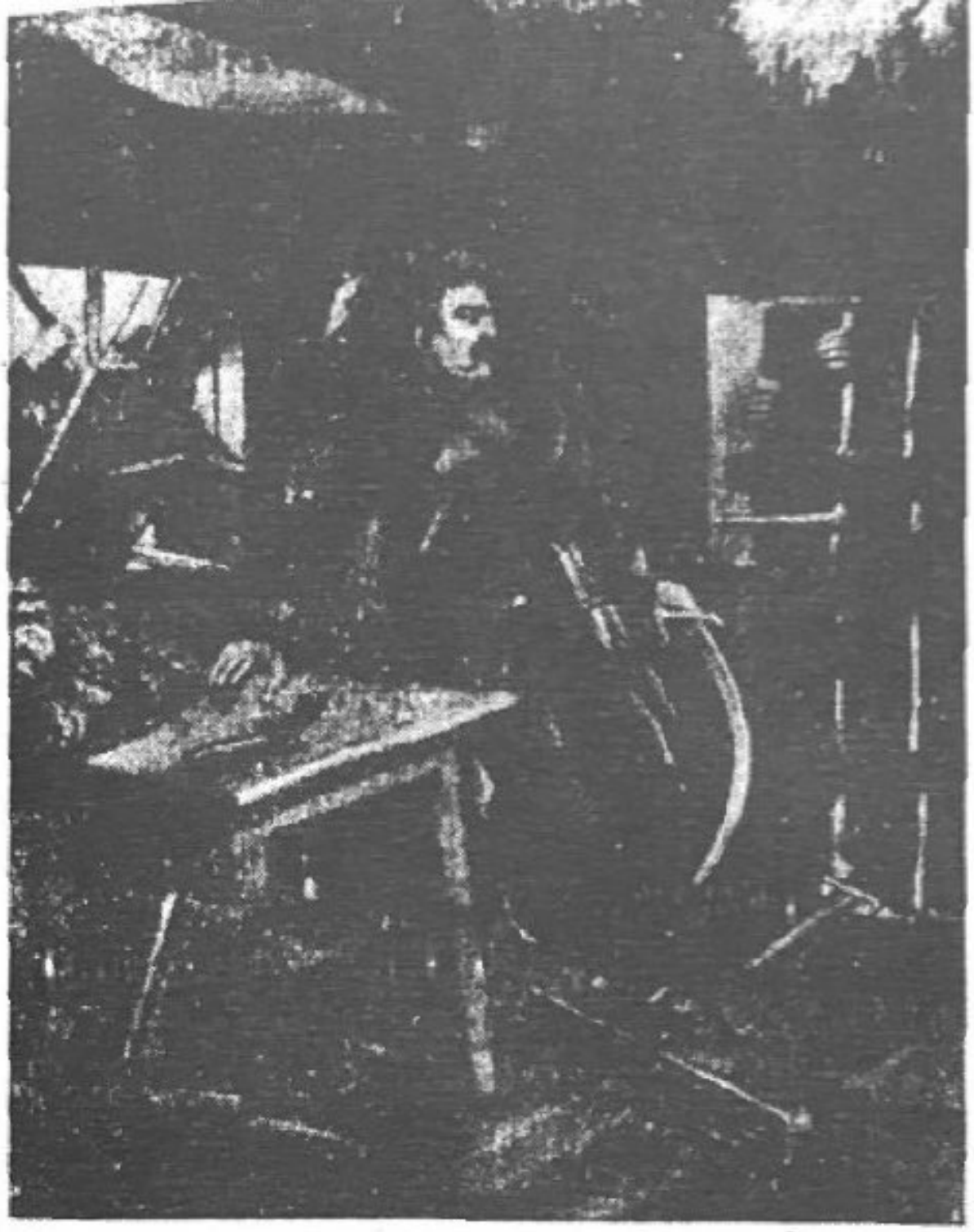














COSSACKIA

It must be mentioned that the Cossack forces fought not under a Russian but under their own flag against the Bolshevik aggression, against the attempts of the Soviet regime to reconquer the Cossack Lands; they fought not for restoration of the old or a "one and indivisible Russia," but for the right to live in their own Cossack state. Scores of thousands of Russian emigrants who fled to the Cossack Lands from their own people and who saved their lives by so doing saw this with their own eyes. It is interesting that at that time none of them openly came out against "Cossack *samostiinost* [independence]" which at that time was what saved them.

At the end of April, 1917 the Kuban Host's *Rada*, which also elected its Cossack organs of power, Host's Ataman and Government, met in the Kuban. As early as September 24, 1917, that is, even before the rise of the Bolsheviks to power in Russia, the second session of the *Rada* proclaimed the Kuban a republic under the designation Kuban Krai, also passing the first constitution of the Kuban Krai, according to which the Kuban Krai Government and the Host's Ataman were at the head of the executive authority.

On October 25 (November 7), 1917 the Bolsheviks seized power in Petrograd, then the center of Russia, while on October 26 the Kuban Government announced that it took upon itself absolute authority within the limits of the Kuban Krai. This decision of the government was ratified by the Kuban Krai *Rada* on December 22, 1917.

Subsequently, in January, 1918 there were universal, secret, equal and direct elections of deputies throughout the Kuban to the Krai Legislative *Rada*. On February 16, 1918, this *Rada* proclaimed the Kuban the independent Kuban People's Republic.

General elections to the Kuban Krai Legislative *Rada*

were again held after the liberation of all the territories of the Kuban from Bolshevik occupation. At its session of December 5, 1918 the *Rada* passed a new, broader Constitution for the independent Republic.

There were just such universal and nation-wide expressions of popular will in other Cossack Host-Republics too.

It is characteristic that during these years the little song "Yablochko" was very popular among the Russians. It included this couplet:

And Kuban kicks up a row to the waters of the Terek:

I'm a Republic, like America. . . .

While struggling against the foreign enemy for their freedom and national independence, the Cossack people at the same time demonstrated their steadfast aspiration for complete unification of all the revived Cossack Host-Republics, for fusion of their compact territories into one whole, into one allied power. This aspiration was expressed from the very beginning of the Revolution and began even then to be realized in the form of the Council of the Union of Cossack Hosts, and later the Southeastern Union, the Don-Caucasian Union, the Union of the Don, Kuban, Terek, of urban and steppe peoples, in the creation of the First Supreme Circle-Parliament in Ekaterinodar (Krasnodar) in January, 1920 (*Don Chronicle*, Vol. II).

True, the Russians placed a great many obstacles and intrigues in the way of this unification. The White Russians even resorted to having officers of the White Russian Army murder the Chairman of the Kuban Krai Legislative *Rada*, N. Ryabovol, in Rostov-on-Don on June 26, 1919, immediately after he had opened the Conference of the Southeast on the subject of unification of all Cossack state organizations into one Union.

But despite all the obstacles and intrigues of the enemies of the Cossack people, the First Supreme Cossack Circle-Parliament, composed of fifty deputies from each Cossack state organization of the Host-Republics regardless of size of population, met in the capital of the Kuban at the beginning of January, 1920.

There was no precedent in Cossack history for this all-Cossack parliament. Both Red and White Russians feared unification of the Cossack Republics. Each took every measure to prevent this unification. Headquarters of the White Volunteer Army under the command of General Denikin attempted to frighten the Cossacks by stating that the allies would cease to deliver arms to the Cossacks directly but would supply them only through General Denikin, who had no wish to see such a unification of the Cossacks.

The Bolshevik authorities and its agents also followed most attentively what was going on in the Cossack Lands, observing with very great alarm the preparatory work on organization of one Cossack State. Of course it was not pure accident or coincidence that the general attack of all Soviet forces for breaking through the Cossack front was set by the Bolshevik headquarters for the day of the beginning of the work of the Supreme Cossack Circle—January 5, 1920.

Headquarters of the Russian "White" Volunteer Army headed by General Denikin, which was located within the borders of the Cossack Lands, tried in every way, directly and indirectly through its agents, to prevent unification of the Cossack state organizations into one Cossack Union, into one Cossack Power, as began clearly to be shown before the convocation of the Supreme Circle.

But neither the machinations of the "Whites" or the "Reds" were successful.

On January 10, 1920 the Supreme Cossack Circle in

Ekaterinodar confirmed the draft of the Union Cossack Constitution, with minor amendments:

> We, the elected representatives of the Don Host Circle, the Kuban Krai *Rada* and the Terek Great Host Circle, have gathered in Ekaterinodar to organize the decisive struggle against the Bolsheviks and to rid our territories of them, to defend our homes from destruction, to establish domestic tranquility and to guarantee freedom and law, take in our hands the Supreme authority in affairs common to the Don, Kuban, Terek and we establish the following condition concerning the Supreme Circle:
>
> 1. The Supreme Circle is the fully empowered representative of the state organizations of the Don, Kuban, Terek and sets itself the tasks:
>
> a. Establishment of a union Cossack state composed of the above-mentioned territories with expansion of the borders of the union state by inclusion within it of new oblasts on the foundations of the union constitution and according to the free will of the population of these oblasts.
>
> b. Creation of a union authority.
>
> 2. The union constitution which is to be drawn up will come into force at the moment of its acceptance by the Supreme Circle.
>
> (*Vestnik Verkhovnovo Kruga* [Herald of the Supreme Circle], No. 1, January 12, 1920, Ekaterinodar, and *Tragediya Kazachestva*, Paris, Vol. IV, 1938)

The attack of the Bolshevik armies which had been begun was broken by Cossack forces that dealt the Reds knock-out blows.

The first session of the Supreme Circle lasted from

was from February 15 through March 6, 1920. The January 5 through February 1, 1920. The second session Supreme Circle broke the Cossacks' agreement with the White Volunteer Army, headed by General Denikin, on joint struggle against the Bolsheviks.

It is typical that during the second session the Bolsheviks held a so-called "First All-Russian Congress of Working Cossacks" in Moscow on February 17-20, 1920, at which Lenin and Kalinin gave the main speeches and Trotsky sent special greetings from the front. The Congress was, of course, organized to raise doubt among the Cossacks and to lessen the significance of the convocation of the Supreme Circle and its decisions (Lev Trotsky, *Kak vooryzhalas revolyutsiya* [How the Revolution Gained Strength], Vol. II).

General Denikin, in his memoirs *Ocherki russkoi smuty* (Survey of Russian Discord), Volume V, pages 292-294, says:

> The Cossacks believed it possible to decide the question of building their common regime independently and unilaterally. On January 5 the Supreme Circle met in Ekaterinodar; it set about establishing a Cossack independent union state. . . . The idea of an independent union Cossack state prevailed in the Circle.

And the Bolsheviks state that the Cossack people

> in 1917-21 fought under the slogan of Cossack independence [*samostiinost*]. The Cossacks were a special nation with peculiar traits of economic life and political structure. . . . The sovereign organ in the Cossack oblasts, which brooked no interference by the central Russian authorities, was to be the host's circle and the host's government. . . . This alienation of the outlying

districts from the revolutionary center and the attempt to oppose reactionary-federalist and *samostiiny* (independent) ideas to Bolshevik agitation culminated in the creation, with the knowledge of the Allies, of a Union of Cossack Hosts. The Don, Kuban, Terek, Stavropol, Astrakhan and Union of Caucasian Mountaineers joined this Union.

(*Great Soviet Encyclopedia,* Vol. XXX, pp. 622-630. Also in V. Lenin, *Sochineniya* [Works], Vol. XXI)

The Bolshevik regime, reckoning with the fact that the Cossacks had revived their independent Host-Republics and were courageously defending their freedom from Soviet aggression, tried to weaken the Cossacks from within by the diversionary creation of a so-called Don Soviet Republic which was proclaimed, in accordance with the instructions of Lenin and Stalin, on April 9, 1918. (V. Kotelnikov, *Don-Kuban-Terek,* Moscow, 1950, pp. 33, 48; *Great Soviet Encyclopedia,* Vol. XXX; Lev Trotsky, *Kak vooryzhalas revolyutsiya* and also his *Kak srazhalas revolyutsiya* [How the Revolution Was Fought]; also in a large number of other sources)

In exactly the same way a so-called Kuban Soviet Republic was proclaimed by the Bolsheviks at the end of April, 1918 (V. Kotelnikov, page 111 and other sources).

Documentary data and the texts of the constitutions passed by the Cossacks have been published in a large number of books, primarily: *Don Chronicle,* Volume I, 1923, pp. 301-316; *Byulleten Verkhovnovo Kruga* (Bulletin of the Supreme Circle), Nos. 1-17, publication of the Chancery of the Supreme Circle, Ekaterinodar, 1920; *Arkhiv russkoi revolyutsii* (Archive of the Russian Revolution), Vols. V, VI, XVI, Berlin, 1925; and others.

All these completely obvious and indisputable historical facts already established in the rich historical literature of that day quite clearly upset the attempt of the enemies of Cossack freedom who are vainly trying to tell cock-and-bull stories about how "Cossack *samostiinost*," the notion of the rebirth of the Cossack State of Cossackia, was conceived only abroad and practically "at the initiative of foreign circles inimical to Russia." All these unscrupulous methods of the partisans of a "one and indivisible Russia" were fabricated only to discredit in the eyes of the public opinion of the free countries of the West the aspiration of the Cossack people toward revival of their freedom and their state. The historical facts themselves show definitely and without any ambiguity that the Cossacks revived their completely independent state-republics after the Revolution of 1917 and later, in January, 1920, united them into one Union Cossack State which we call by the ancient name of Cossackia.

It should be especially emphasized that in so doing the Cossacks showed themselves to be a nationally conscious people who had fully expressed themselves. They revived their state not by arbitrary means, not by the coercion of one or another party or group of the people but entirely by the free will of the whole Cossack people in repeated general elections, without any shocks or complications.

It is not likely there is another people on the territory of the former Russia or present-day Soviet Union who could boast of such a national build-up of their authority as the Cossacks, who legally created their Constitution, their Cossack regime, all the attributes of the state regime (laws, government, army, finances, emblem, flag, hymn and even their senate). Unquestionably in so doing the Cossacks showed themselves to be a nationally conscious

people, and in practice they demonstrated they could set up their state during the difficult conditions of war against the Soviet regime.

We must note with special emphasis that the revival of Cossack statehood was not the result of the aspirations of some one Cossack group or party alone, or even of a combination of such groups and parties, but literally of the nation-wide will of the whole Cossack people. There were no objections at all to this will, not even from those Cossacks who became partisans of a "one and indivisible Russia" only abroad, after being influenced here by the reactionary section of the Russian emigration. At home all of them, including even recent leaders of the so-called Russian Cossacks (General I. A. Polyakov, General V. G. Naumenko, N. N. Turoverov and others), quite voluntarily and without any compulsion took the oath established by the Circles and the *Rada* "to serve the weal of their Cossack fatherland," as a symbol of which they kissed the Holy Gospel and Holy Cross. No one has yet freed them from the oath they took.

In passing it is necessary to note, moreover, that the Kuban never manifested any sort of desire to join the Ukraine or to be a constituent part of it. Even in the emigration not a single definite, pronounced group of Kuban Cossacks would be found who had quite definitely declared their wish to join the Ukraine, although such attempts have repeatedly been made by some Ukrainian groups.

From the very beginning of the Revolution, the idea of creating one union Cossack State was basic and dominant in all actions of the Cossack representative and state organs.

As early as October 20, 1917 (the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, Volume III, also attests to this) a Southeastern Union was organized from the Don, Kuban, Terek,

Astrakhan, free peoples of the steppes and mountaineers of the Northern Caucasus. Ural and Orenburg immediately joined it.

This idea constantly lived in all unanimous decrees both of the Don Circle and the Kuban *Rada*. It was indeed the Kuban that persisted most energetically in realization of this idea, especially in its decrees of November 14, 1919 and in its sessions of December 31, 1919, January 7, 1920 (*Tragediya Kazachestva*, Vol. I, pp. 25, 106-108; Vol. II, p. 295; Vol. III, pp. 5-13, 65-77; Vol. IV, pp. 41-78).

The notion of incorporation of the Kuban has arisen only in the heads of certain Ukrainian politicians abroad, particularly in recent times. This notion, strictly speaking, is in no wise different from the notion of a "one and indivisible Russia," because the aspiration to a "Unified Ukraine" to include alien, non-Ukrainian territories is in no wise different from the aspiration of the Russian great-power advocates. Such a notion in reality does irreparable damage to the idea of creation of a free Ukraine, discrediting its moral-political bases. Indeed one can't accuse the Russian great-power advocates of imperialism if in the final analysis one is himself aspiring to just such imperialism, before one's own state has even been set up.

XVII. *The Soviet Occupation of Cossackia*

In the book *Don-Kuban-Terek* V. Kotelnikov writes that the "Don Soviet Republic as well as the Kuban Soviet Republic joined the RSFSR," but he does not mention at all that these republics set up by the Bolsheviks themselves were the first which the Soviet regime liquidated, destroyed in 1923 when it destroyed the very name Cossack in an ukaze of July 18, 1923.

The reason for this was the fact that after the Soviet authorities occupied and applied terrible measures of pacification to them, the Cossacks did not become reconciled to the alien regime. They constantly carried on an open struggle with it, "*trying to throw off the Bolsheviks under the banner of the samostiiniks who gained* recognition abroad for Cossack independence. . . ." (*Great Soviet Encyclopedia,* Vol. XXX, p. 636)

> Cossack White guardsmen [who were located and] based abroad strove all the while to organize plots, bands and an active struggle against the Soviet regime in the Cossack oblasts. They were especially active until 1924. . . . and later in 1926, 1930, 1932-1933 during the collectivization. . . . (*Ibid.*, pp. 643-644)

Thus, according to the testimory of the Bolsheviks themselves, the Cossacks constantly sought to organize an active struggle under "the banner of Cossack *samostiinost,*" which unfailingly provided the impulse and dynam-

ics of this struggle, and in 1923 the Bolsheviks decided to part with the Cossacks once and for all, destroying the Cossack Soviet Republics and abolishing the Cossack name in the USSR.

However, even these drastic measures could not kill the idea of their own state in the consciousness of the Cossack people, a fact mentioned by the German Juergen Thorwald, who was in the Cossack Lands during the German occupation in 1941-1943 and who in 1952 wrote his book *Wie sie verderben wollen.* He certainly cannot be suspected of sympathizing with the "Cossack separatists," because his book is clearly Russophile. On pages 112-117 he says:

> The Cossack consciousness of their national independence was not dead. Only in 1934 did a special Soviet unit succeed in breaking the last resistance of the Cossacks. . . . Hope for independence spread with great fire upon the approach of the German forces. It was at the center of attention of all Cossacks. . . .
>
> Simultaneously with their organization of Cossack military detachments, they set up their own Cossack administration, which functioned very well. The Cossacks ordered their own life and economy in accordance with their traditions and wishes. They elected their atamans and officials. . . .

Thus, thanks to the firm Cossack will, thanks to the clear Cossack striving, as a consequence of the inflexible will of the Cossacks themselves, the Germans were forced to recognize the right of the population of the Cossack Lands to order their lives as they saw fit. Thus were the Cossack voluntary units set up, in size the largest of those of all the peoples of the USSR, and in valor, courage and uncompromising struggle against the Bolshevik tyr-

anny they were considered first class, surpassing even crack German units.

It was precisely under the pressure of the unfailing Cossack strivings and Cossack will that the declaration of the German government recognizing the Cossack's right to state independence appeared on November 10, 1943. The Cossacks were the first people of the USSR who managed to gain this recognition.

Of course, under this kind of pressure the Soviet regime was compelled as early as April 20, 1936, after all the terrible repressions of the Cossack people, to remove "all formerly existing restrictions on the Cossacks," and the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party "to recognize as completely intolerable the failure to take account of the peculiarities of the Cossack way of life and the application of coercive measures in the struggle with Cossack traditions."

After the war, particularly after 1951, the Soviet regime was again compelled to change even more its policy toward the Cossacks. It began by publishing concocted "open letters from the Cossacks" to I. Stalin (*Pravda*, August 26, 1952 and later), and then to his successors, Malenkov, Khrushchev, Kosygin and Brezhnev.

The towns and villages of the Stavropol Krai, the former Black Sea Province, the Volgograd, Chkalov Orenburg and other oblasts first de-Cossackized by the Tsarist and later by the Soviet regime are being renamed Cossack *khutors* and *stanitsas*. A great many books are being published on Cossack history, on the geography and the economy of the Cossack Krai. Collections of Cossack folk songs and a large number of Cossack art works "awarded Stalin prizes" are being put out. Holidays of Cossack folk song, dance and sport are being instituted. Amateur folk contests are being conducted. More and more workers in the fine arts and sciences are appearing.

As is well known, the Bolsheviks are very practical people and profound realists, primarily reckoning only with reality. They would certainly not expend their men and means on such a matter to no purpose. They are doing so only because they throughly understand that the Cossacks even now are a great, strong, real factor which even the Soviet regime is compelled to reckon with, attempting to exploit them for their own ends in the coming events.

The Soviet regime would not have displayed its misgivings on the "manifestation of bourgeois nationalism" among the Cossacks, would not have persecuted it, would not have concealed its manifestations if there were no Cossacks in the USSR, if these Cossacks did not have an inexorable will toward their own freedom, toward deliverance from Soviet slavery.

This quite patently demonstrates that despite all the dreadful shocks, regardless of all the terrible adversities and hardships, the Cossack people, even in their unbearable present enslavement, live, and their will to freedom has not been killed but also lives. Cossack strength has not ebbed, the spirit of liberty and freedom has not been destroyed.

All this should give Cossack patriots scattered in foreign lands the indestructible faith in the vitality of the Cossack people and at the same time new strength in their holy struggle for their freedom, for the bright future of Cossackia. At the same time it calls for good will and an open mind in understanding the Cossack national cause.

XVIII. *The Cossacks as a Group*

The attempted destruction of the Cossacks was carried out in accordance with a premeditated plan from the very first stages of the seizure of the Cossack territory by the Bolshevicks. Although it assumed various forms, the application of genocide to the Cossacks amounted in practice to an attempted complete elimination.

The motives for cruel and repressive action of this type were primarily political and economic. No small part was played by a desire to revenge the suppression by Cossack units of the first armed uprising of the Bolsheviks in their attempt to seize power in Petrograd (Leningrad) on July 3-5, 1917, and also because of the bitter armed resistance of the Cossacks, who refused to recognize Soviet rule and declared their state independent.[1]

From the beginning of Bolshevik rule in Russia, exceptional significance was attached to the establishment of a Communist dictatorship in Cossack territories, as is fully attested in Soviet sources.[2] Lenin's closest collaborator, Trotsky, in the newspaper *V puti* (On the Way) issued at the front, drew attention in the issue of April 28, 1919, to the importance of the Cossack territories, and called upon the Red Army to speed up their conquest. He wrote:

> The southern front is the Cossack front. The Don is the home of counter-revolution. Revolt after revolt is flaring up on the Don. And now, when our armies have approached the northern Donets and the Manich, a

kulak-Cossack revolt has again flared up in their rear. . . . Not only the fate of the Don, and not only the fate of the Cossacks, but the fate of the whole revolution is being decided on the Don front. This is not a question of the Don but of the whole of Soviet Russia.[3]

In his book, *The Defeat of Denikin*, Marshal Egorov defined the task of the Bolsheviks in the Cossack territories as follows: "The ultimate aim of the Red High Command was the complete elimination of the counter-revolution in the south, the liberation and annexation of the territories, i. e., the sources of food, raw material, and fuel without which the Soviet Republic could neither continue the struggle nor maintain its existence."[4]

It must be kept in mind that the armed campaign of the Bolsheviks to seize the Cossack territories continued even despite the fact that the Cossacks and the states created by them in the form of democratic republics did not constitute a threat to the Bolshevik regime in Soviet Russia. This fact is shown by the decree of the Council of the Union of Cossack Forces dated November 22 (December 6), 1917, sent to the Council of Peoples' Commissars, which stated:

Par. 1. The Cossacks seek and demand nothing for themselves outside their own oblasts, but at the same time, guided by the democratic principle of self-determination, they will not tolerate any regime other than their own in their own territories; this regime is to be formed by free consent of the local inhabitants without any external or outside pressure.

Par. 3. The Cossacks protest against any introduction of troops from other areas into the Cossacks oblasts without the consent of the Army or Krai Cossack Governments.[5]

The Don and Kuban Cossack governments also reported these assurances to the Council of People's Commissars and repeatedly related them during the three-year defensive struggle of the Cossacks against Bolshevik aggression. Nevertheless, the Bolshevik command aimed at the complete elimination of the Cossack formations which were defending their own territory and political rights. Marshal Egorov has stated: "The Red High Command had the following primary problem to solve: which objective should be selected in launching the decisive campaign on the southern front—manpower, that is, the Don Cossack Army, or territory? The Red High Command decided to aim at manpower."[6]

This objective of the Bolshevik High Command, the elimination of Cossack manpower, involved harsh and inhuman methods of waging war. Practically all captured Cossacks were shot. The civil population of the occupied territories was subject to mass elimination, particularly of intellectuals, officers, clergy, and other leaders. Special "operational threes" executed the flower of the population as "enemies of the revolution" and "enemies of the people," without trial or investigation. At the same time foraging detachments operated everywhere, stealing food, livestock, foodstuffs of all type, and even household goods. Everyone who resisted was shot on the spot.[7]

However, this mass terrorism was kept within limits during the period of Cossack armed resistance. In view of the widespread resistance to the Bolshevik forces, the Communist leaders decided to follow a policy of differentiation among the Cossacks. By proclaiming the formation of puppet Cossack Soviet republics, the Soviet leaders attempted to play off one section of the Cossack population against the other and to develop class hatred among the Cossacks.[8] It was for this reason that the Bolsheviks formed the Don,

Kuban, Terek, Black Sea, and Stavropol Cossack Soviet Republics.[9] The Bolsheviks kept the mass terrorism and violence against the Cossack democratic republics in check until the end of the war, when the whole of their territory was occupied. Meanwhile, they continued to steal grain, livestock, and food without mercy. In their attempt to win over even an insignificant number of Cossacks, particularly of the poorer classes, the Bolsheviks tried to play on the political feelings of the mass of the Cossack people. When the free Cossack democratic states of the Don, Kuban, and Terek formed a federation,[10] the Bolsheviks also formed a federation of their puppet Soviet Cossack republics.[11]

When the Red hordes finally occupied the whole territory of the Cossack areas, unbridled and limitless terrorism, violence, and slaughter of the Cossack leaders reached their full dimensions. Entire farm households and even villages were destroyed; schools, churches, and public buildings were burned down. At the same time there began an indiscriminate seizure of grain, livestock, poultry, and other foodstuffs, and execution of all who resisted. The result of these acts by the Communist leaders was a famine in 1920-23 from which people died by the thousands. Cheka units, supported by Red Army units in case of large-scale uprisings, worked their will on the population throughout the entire area. Inhabitants were not permitted to leave their homes without special permission. All administrative posts were occupied by newcomers, sent by the Bolsheviks from the Central Russian provinces.[12]

Terrorism and violence did not cease until the middle of 1923, when the leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party came to the conclusion that they had succeeded in pacifying the Cossacks, and liquidated the Cossack Soviet republics which they had formed. They even banned the use of the word Cossack.[13] As a result of a series

of administrative reorganizations, one third of the Cossack territories were taken over by neighboring non-Cossack oblasts.[14]

In addition to repression, economic pressure was applied, which created conditions in the Cossack oblasts inevitably involving the gradual physical destruction of the Cossacks. In 1920-21 this pressure was implemented by so-called foodstuff distributions. Foraging detachments sent out from local centers, searched barns and houses, and requisitioned grain, potatoes, livestock, and poultry. The slighest failure to provide the quantities specified for contribution to the food distribution became the pretext for complete confiscation of property and deportation of an entire family.

With the period of the New Economic Policy (NEP) there came an end to the first stage in the genocide against the Cossacks, and a breathing space during which there was a lessening of terrorism, although the Cheka and GPU continued to operate.

The relative breathing space of the NEP years did not last long: in 1927-28 there was a purge of the Soviet administrative, Party, and economic machinery. All officials who during the NEP years had advocated the revival of agriculture were either removed or reduced in rank, expelled from the Party, and in some cases arrested by the GPU-NKVD. Preparations for the complete collectivization of agriculture began. The oblast and krai committees were reinforced by tested Communists appointed as special representatives of the USSR Party Central Committee. The raoin party committees in particular were reinforced and enlarged.

One of the preparatory measures taken was a purge of agricultural specialists, who were accused of maintaining contacts with the kulaks, corresponding with relatives abroad, entertaining ideas of bourgeois nationalism, and so on. Many Cossack specialists, including foresters, topo-

graphers, geodesists, engineers, and geologists were removed. The majority were brought before the GPU units and sent to concentration camps.

After careful preparation, the Soviet authorities embarked on a new form of pressure against the agricultural population in the shape of compulsory grain deliveries and the compulsory formation of collective farms.

The campaign for deliveries in the form of a foodstuffs tax, which was one of the methods used to force the peasants to join the collective farms, was aimed at collecting not only grain and livestock but also other agricultural produce. It led to bitter resistance on the part of the Cossacks on the one hand and a number of measures on the part of the Communist Party leaders on the other. Many oblast officials were removed from their posts and tried. Many Cossacks were arrested by the GPU and the NKVD.

The pressure of the Soviet authorities against the Cossack population was so strong in the Don and Kuban territories that in many places disorders broke out. The Politbureau sent one of its most reliable divisions, the 14th Moscow Rifle Division, to assist the GPU, the militia, and the Red Army units in the North Caucasus Military District.[15] In 1929 the resistance of the Cossacks to the plundering of the Soviet authorities increased still further, despite an intensification of terrorism and other pressure on the part of the Soviet administration. The atrocities of the Soviet authorities caused all classes of the Cossack population to unite and evoked both sympathy and support from Cossack members of the Communist Party and from Soviet government bodies.

The Bolsheviks now responded with still more terrorism, arrests, confiscations of property, and trials. The local newspapers openly called on the authorities to take such action, and the central newspapers even praised the newly invented "lever to influence the Cossack kulaks."[16] As a

matter of fact, there were by this time practically no kulaks among the Cossack population; they had already been annihilated. *Pravda* reported on December 7, 1929, that in one Cossack district alone, 234 kulaks, 200 middle peasants and 400 poor peasants had been arrested in a single day. On the previous day the local newspapers had reported that Cossacks in the village of Temirgoevsk in the Kuban who had not surrendered their grain had been deprived of "sofas, tables, chairs, crockery, and even spoons."

In 1930 the central Soviet press began a campaign for full-scale collectivization, particularly in the Cossack territories, and called for deportation of all kulaks and the confiscation of their entire property.[17]

The plenum of the Party Central Committee on January 5, 1930, passed a decree on full-size collectivization laying down various schedules for collectivization. The Soviet Union was divided into three zones. The first zone included the Don, Kuban, Terek, Astrakhan, and Ural Cossack territories, where full-scale collectivization was to be completed by the spring of 1931. The Cossack population and its territory were thus to become the first experiment in collectivization.

The decree was approved by the Sixteenth Party Congress in January 1930, when implementation of full-scale collectivization in the Cossack territories was already at its height and when hundreds of thousands of Cossacks, regardless of sex, age, or even wealth, had become its victims. It should be noted that although the decree on full-scale collectivization was passed by the plenum of the Party Central Committee on January 5, 1930, collectivization had already begun in the Cossack territories on December 6, 1929, and that special squads of persons who were politically tested, armed, and trained in preparation for carrying out the operation had been sent out two months before the decree was

passed, another indication that the measures taken by Soviet authorities for the large-scale liquidation of the Cossacks were both premeditated and planned.[18]

There is a wealth of material on the years of collectivization which testifies to the crimes committed by the Soviet regime, and many documents have appeared in the Soviet press published in the Cossack territories. The krai newspaper *Molot* (The Hammer), published in Rostov-on-Don, gives surprisingly frank daily accounts of this Soviet barbarity, which was called in the Soviet jargon the "internal front."

Reinforced by selected, tested, and well-armed Communists from Moscow, known as The Twenty-Five Thousand, the Soviet administration set to work to implement the plan for full-scale collectivization. The NKVD, which had been reinforced, also intensified its efforts.

The Soviet authorities used their tested methods of threats, repression, and force. Simultaneously, the delivery machine stepped up its extraction of foodstuffs, in order to compel the Cossacks to enter the collective farms. To bring pressure on the population, the Bolsheviks selected dozens of individual farms, from which all property was confiscated and handed over to collective farms, while the owners and children were deported to the North or to Siberia. Usually Cossacks respected and trusted by the people were selected for this purpose.

The so-called women's revolts, actions taken by women against the inhuman measures of the Soviet authorities which doomed families to starvation, were a characteristic phenomenon of the times. A wave of such uprisings took place. But they did not stop the NKVD, who were no less cruel in their treatment of women than of men. After a women's revolt in the Labinsk district of the Kuban, the NKVD surrounded the village at night and arrested hun-

dreds of men and women. A show trial was hastily organized in the town of Armavir and the organizers of the revolt were sentenced to execution.[19]

Even seed grain was confiscated and taken to elevators, from which it was sent on instructions from Moscow to various towns or abroad. Only in isolated villages was it possible, because of the absence of roads, to save the grain.

While compelling many Cossacks to work on the collective farms for a starvation wage, the Bolsheviks established strict control over the collective farm workers to prevent them from "stealing socialist property." People were sentenced to death for the loss of a sack of corn or a sheaf of wheat.

In order to reduce resistance to the measures taken by the Soviet regime, the NKVD assembled more than 60,000 Cossack youths in the south of the Kuban alone, loaded them into freight cars and dispatched them to construction sites elsewhere, without adequate clothing, in the winter of 1931. The young people, formed into labor battalions, were compelled to work twelve hours a day for a starvation ration under forced labor conditions during a severe winter, at building roads and in granite quarries. The terrible epic of these unfortunate young people has been described in detail by one of the survivors, A. Osink, in an essay entitled "How They Destroyed Us." According to him, only 15% of the 60,000 young people survived.[20]

In 1930-31 a further cruel attack upon the population of the Cossack territories was launched by the Communist Party. The most savage methods were indiscriminately used to compel everyone to join the collective farms. Individual farms were stripped of their produce. The struggle of the Cossacks for their existence, for bread and freedom, their protest against unrestrained mass terrorism, united the entire population. The Soviet newspapers themselves, including the local newspaper *Molot* (The Hammer), testified as

follows to the unity of the Cossacks: "Our enemies are still so strong that on a number of kolkhozes they have seized all the most important posts and have influenced not only part of the kolkhozniks but also the unstable elements among Communist and Komsomol members."[21]

In response, the Soviet regime strengthened the Party and administrative machinery in the Cossack territories and took the most drastic steps to plunder the Cossack population by imposing increasingly high rates of delivery on the Cossack farms and even on the collective farms. As a result a terrible famine, artificially induced by the Bolsheviks, broke out in the autumn of 1932. It is characteristic that the Bolsheviks not only took no steps to save the starving population from death, but even denied the very existence of the famine. It was only seven years later that the Cossack writer Sholokhov publicly mentioned the tragic famine among the Cossacks in a veiled manner, when he took advantage of the celebration of Stalin's 60th birthday to mention the forbidden theme of the famine of 1932-33: "In 1933, the leaders in the district, on the pretext of combating sabotage on the kolkhozes, deprived them of grain. All the grain, including that paid as an advance against labor days, was withdrawn. A famine began on the kolkhozes."[22]

Sholokhov's article had of course been inspired by the leaders of the Party Central Committee, at a time when the authorities were seeking support from the old martial traditions of the Cossacks to increase the fighting capacity of the army and raise the morale of the whole population and had even gone so far as to revive the Cossack cavalry formations in the Red Army. It was now the policy to place the entire blame for the famine on local authorities, in order to absolve themselves from the odium of having deliberately destroyed the Cossacks.

A Western diplomat who had visited the Cossack territories during the famine reported on it later as follows:

The dimension of the famine can be judged by figures given us by the local population:

In the village of Labinsk, 10,000 inhabitants remained out of 24,000, in Ilinska 1,500 were left out of 3,000 and in Dmitrievka 2,000 out of 6,000. The villages of Izobilnaya, Sredne-Igorlytskaya, Kamenogrodskaya gave the impression of being almost completely dead.

In Ekaterinodar (Krasnodar) we were told that not less than 40,000 people had died of starvation since the beginning of the year out of a population of 230,000. In Stavropol only 90,000 remained out of a population of 140,000. Some villages had died out completely, others were half dead, and there is a certain percentage not yet overtaken by the famine. But it may be assumed that by the autumn the proportion of dead villages will have increased significantly.[23]

At a time when the population of the Cossack territories were dying of starvation, foreign ships were continuously being loaded with wheat in the ports of Rostov, Yeisk, and Novorossiisk, to be dumped abroad by the Bolsheviks. The money realized was used for the industrialization of the Soviet Union and to subsidize the fifth columns of the Communist Party in the free world and its subversive activities.

The Politbureau of the Party Central Committee dispatched a special commission consisting of Kaganovich, Mikoyan, Yagoda, Kosarev, Shkiryatov, Yurkin and Gamarnik. Simultaneously further divisions of the Red Army and NKVD were dispatched to strengthen the operational forces.[24] On November 2, 1932, the punitive forces arrived in Rostov-on-Don, from which center they launched a new operation to eliminate "Cossack sabotage."

In November 1932, *Molot*, the official organ of the Soviet regime in the area, began full-scale propaganda on the

necessity and importance of "the struggle on the internal front." It declared: "The enemy has decided to test the strength of the Soviet regime. He wants to feel whether the Soviet authorities can withstand sabotage or not. . . . We may be told that our measures are excessively cruel."[25] A merciless purge began, and long lists of persons tried and deported were published. Tortures and executions by the NKVD authorities were further intensified. The most serious crimes from the point of view of the Bolsheviks were bourgeois nationalism, local nationalism, kulak independence, and petit-bourgeois anarchic attitudes.

New measures taken by the Soviet regime included the blacklisting of entire villages. In such villages all commerce was halted; all produce and goods were removed; all taxes, levies, loans, and imposts were forcibly exacted; all medical aid was forbidden; all contact with neighboring villages was cut off; and a curfew was established. Such villages were surrounded by the NKVD and Red Army detachments, and a local state of emergency was declared. Some such villages had many thousand inhabitants.

In the middle of December 1932 the Communist press admitted that despite "excessively cruel measures" the Cossacks continued to resist. During the whole of January and February 1933, the press continued to wax indignant because the "organized kulak-Cossack sabotage" has not been broken.

A mass deportation of inhabitants from various villages now began. One after another the villages of Poltavskaya, Meshkovskaya, Uruskaya, and Umanskaya perished, all their inhabitants being deported to northern Siberia, where not more than 20-25% are reported to have survived. The main text of the order for the deportation of the inhabitants of Poltavskaya was as follows:

Order of the Commandant of the Village of Poltav-

skaya in the Slavyansk Raion, North Caucasus District, December 17, 1932:

The presidium of the North Caucasus District Executive Committee of Soviets has decreed on December 17, 1932, that:

In consequence of the fact that the village of Poltavskaya, which has been blacklisted, and despite all the steps which have been taken, has maliciously sabotaged all the economic measures of the Soviet authorities and is obviously under the control of the kulaks, all inhabitants of the village (individual farmers and collective farmers) are to be deported with the exception of citizens who have proven their loyalty to the Soviet regime during the civil war and in the struggle against the kulaks. . . .

The soviet of the village of Poltavskaya is to be dissolved for obvious connivance at kulak sabotage against sowing and grain deliveries. A command is to be organized which will be guided in its operation by a state of emergency in order to carry out the deportation, to establish firm revolutionary order in the village, to ensure that the deportation progresses smoothly and to preserve property and buildings which are abandoned, fields under seed and means of production.

The order ends with the following warning:

I warn the population of the village that the strictest punitive measures both of an administrative and legal nature, including the supreme measure of social defense —execution—will be applied to violators of this order, particularly to persons observed to carry out anti-Soviet agitation, disseminate provocative rumors, spread panic, damage or destroy property or production. Signed: Kabaev.[26]

Many Cossacks fled from their homes in despair, organized partisan detachments and took vengeance on the Soviet authorities for tormenting them and for the death of their families. During the whole of January and February 1933, and even later, the local press was filled with reports of sabotage and armed attacks by "gangs of bandits." Even the air force was used to liquidate them.[27]

The year 1937 brought renewed annihilation of the population of the Cossack territories. Again a great wave of mass arrests took place in all towns, villages, and farms, the Bolsheviks having decided to destroy completely "all existing and even potential opposition elements." A thorough purge of Party, Komsomol, and professional organizations of the Soviet administrative apparatus, public institutions, and also of industry and agriculture was effected, to rid them of "suspect, unreliable, and unstable elements" and "potential spies." This new operation was called a struggle against enemies of the people, despite the fact that senior officials of the NKVD themselves claimed that the Cossack counter-revolution had died down.

In 1937-38 all the prominent Cossack Communists, who for nearly 20 years had been leaders of krai and oblast Party committees, were liquidated. Such prominent Cossack Communists as B. M. Sheboldayev (secretary of an oblast committee), Larin (chairman of the Rostov Oblast committee), Syrtsov (former president of the RSFSR), Kashirin (commander of the North Caucasus Military District), Ivdokimov (former secretary of the Stavropol [Ordzhonikidze] Krai committee and replacement for the executed Sheboldayev), Pivovarov (chairman of the krai committee of the same krai), Ryabokon (who had replaced Yevdokimov as secretary of the Stavropol Krai committee but within a few months had become an "enemy of the people"), Sergeyev (who had replaced Ryabokon), and Fed-

orov, who followed Sergeyev. All were accused of local nationalism and of participation in counter-revolutionary organizations whose object was to secure the withdrawal of the Cossack territories from the Soviet Union and restore their independence.[28] These Cossack Communists had been overtaken by the same fate as those who in 1918-21 had believed in the sincerity of the Bolsheviks and had established the Cossack Soviet Republics. At that time 169 prominent Cossack Bolsheviks headed by Sergeant Major Mironov had been shot because they had attempted to protest against the liquidation of the Cossack Soviet republics carried out by the Party Central Committee at the end of the civil war.[29]

It has been reported by a former Soviet Army officer that within the Communist Party itself a powerful opposition movement had arisen which in 1936, during the discussion of the new draft constitution, demanded that the North Caucasus area populated by Cossacks and mountain tribes become a Union Republic with equal rights. The reactionary and imperialist group, headed by Stalin and Molotov, then destroyed the "insurgents" and divided up the district itself into tiny areas in order to weaken its resistance. Out of it were created the Stalingrad and Rostov oblasts; the Krasnodar and Stavropol krais; the Autonomous republics of North Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Chechen-Ingushetia, Dagestan, and Kalmykia; and the Karachi, Adygei and Chekessk oblasts.[30]

The new wave of arrests among the Cossack population at the beginning of the war with Germany formed the next stage in the annihilation of the Cossacks, when the dictators again carried out a routine operation "to root out anti-Soviet elements" among the Cossacks. This operation rounded up many thousands of Cossacks to die in the dungeons of the NVKD.

The almost total extermination of political prisoners by the NVKD during the retreat of the Soviet Army in the summer of 1942 must also be mentioned. There is no way of knowing the precise number of those who died, but it is certain that in a number of large cities such as Rostov, Stavropol, Krasnodar, Armavir, and Maikop many prisoners were executed in their cells after the retreat of the Bolsheviks. In the village of Nevinnomyskaya in the Kuban, more than 10,000 bodies were found in secret mass graves.[31]

The deliberate murder of members of special battalions formed of Cossacks from various concentration camps must be considered a special type of genocide. Without proper arms or equipment, these battalions carried out various types of work in the front lines, where they dug trenches and anti-tank defenses, or, equipped only with rifles, were thrown against German tanks. There are eye-witness accounts of the death of many thousands.[32]

Finally, a mass murder of the Cossack population took place after the return of the Soviet forces to the Cossack territories in 1943, when the remaining inhabitants were accused of collaboration with the Germans. All officials of the local administration who had worked with the German occupation forces, including workers in the arts and interpreters, were executed. All heads of local economic organizations, school teachers, doctors, and other medical personnel were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. All who had done any kind of work whatever for the occupation forces, such as laundering, cooking, or working in the German stores, were sentenced to five years.[33]

The military operations in the USSR in 1941-44 gave many Cossacks the opportunity to escape to the West from the Communist dictatorship. However, the long arm of the Party Central Committee and the NKVD overtook them even there. Several tens of thousands of Cossacks and mem-

bers of their families were forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union, where many perished.

Genocide and mass terrorism, the inevitable concomitants of Communist despotism, have resulted in the death of many hundreds of thousands of Cossacks.

Yet, the Cossacks have survived as a nation. They, God willing, will continue to survive.

Notes

[1] *Donskaya letopis* (Annals of the Don), Vol. I, Belgrade, 1923, pp. 301-06; Vol. II, Belgrade, 1924, pp. 245-48; S. G. Svatikov, *Rossiya i Don* (Russia and the Don), Vienna, 1924, pp. 2-5, 576-79.

[2] *Grazhdanskaya voina, 1918-1921* (The Civil War, 1918-1921), Vol. III, Moscow, 1928, p. 136.

[3] L. Trotsky, *Kak vooruzhalas revolyutsiya* (How the Revolution Armed Itself), Vol. II, Moscow, 1925, Part I, p. 173.

[4] A. I. Egorov, *Razgrom Denikina* (The Defeat of Denikin), Moscow, 1931, p. 10.

[5] *Kazachya tragediya* (The Cossack Tragedy), Part I, Prague, 1933, p. 41.

[6] A. I. Egorov, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

[7] P.N. Krasnov, "Vsevlikoe Voisko Donskoe," (The [State Entitled] "Supreme Army of the Don"), *Arkhiv russkoi revolyutsii* (Archive of the Russian Revolution), Vol. V., Berlin, 1926, pp. 189-312. The name "Supreme Army of the Don" was the official title of the Cossack state located on the Don. Its first constitution declared, "The Supreme Army of the Don is an independent state, based on the principles of people's rights." (*Donskaya letopis*, Vol. I, Belgrade, 1923, p. 301.) Its parliament was the "Circle of the Army of the Don" *(Donskoi Voiskovoi Krug)*. The Kazan Cossacks called their parliament a "Rada;" the other Cossack states used the term "Circle."

[8] *BSE*, 1st ed., Vol. XXX, Moscow, 1937, pp. 605-45; 2nd ed., Vol. XV, Moscow, 1952, p. 115; 2nd ed., Vol. XXIII, 1953, p. 578; V. Kotelnikov, *Don-Kuban-Terek* (Don, Kuban, Terek), Moscow 1950, pp. 33-48, 111; V. I. Lenin, *Sochineniya* (Works), 4th ed., Vol. XXVI, Moscow, 1950, pp. 393, 443.

[9] *BSE*, 2nd ed., Vol. XXIII, Moscow, 1953; 1st ed., Vol. XXX, Moscow, 1937, p. 630.

[10] *Vestnik Verkhovnogo Kruga*, Ekaterinodar, 1920, Vol. I, No. 37; *Byuleten Verkhovnogo Kruga*, Ekaterinodar, 1920, Vol. I, No. 17; *Tragediya kazachestva* (The Tragedy of the Cossacks), Part I, Prague, 1933, pp. 25, 106-08; Part II, Prague, 1934, p. 295; Part III Paris, 1936, pp. 5-13, 65-77; Part IV, Paris, 1938, pp. 41-50, 129-41, 306-08, 320-23, 448-50.

[11] *BSE*, 2nd ed., Vol. XXIII, Moscow, 1953, p. 587; 1st ed., Vol. XXX, Moscow, 1937, pp. 624 ff.; M. N. Korchin, *Donskoe Kazachestvo* (The Don Cossacks), Rostov-on-Don, 1949, pp. 217-33.

[12] *Donskaya letopis*, Vol. I, Belgrade, 1923; Vol. II, Belgrade, 1924.

[13] Decree "O stroitelstve sovetskoi vlasti v kazachikh oblastyakh" (On the Establishment of Soviet Authority in the Cossack Oblasts), March 25, 1920; decree "Ob unichtozhenii slova i nazvaniya kazak" (On the Elimination of the Word and Title Cossack), July 18, 1923. See V. Kotelnikov, *Don-Kuban-Terek* (Don, Kuban, Terek), Moscow, 1950, p. 48; S. V. Boldyrev, *Kazachy istoricbesky kalendar* (Cossack Historical Calendar), Cleveland, 1955, p. 16; *Kazagiya*, Bratislava, 1933, No. 3, pp.

15-19; *Kazacha zemlya*, Prague, June 1, 1929, p. 3. Additional information in *Kavkazsky kazak*, Belgrade, issues for 1933; *Volnoe Kazachestvo*, Prague; and similar journals.

14 Decisions of the All-Union Central Executive Committee, April 4, 1921; March 7, 1923; October 17, 1924; June 16, 1925; March 1, 1926; May 14, 1928; July 23, 1928; September 25, 1937. See Sulkevich, *Administrativnoe i politicheskoe stroenie SSSR* (Administrative and Political Structure of the USSR), Moscow, 1926; *Volnoe Kazachestvo*, Prague, 1928, No. 16, pp. 9-11; *Kazache edinstvo*, Prague, 1928, No. 8, p. 3. The last two sources are based on *Zemelny Kodeks RSFSR* (The Land Code of the USSR), Moscow (no date), and *Lesnoi Kodeks RSFSR* (The Forest Code of the USSR), Moscow (no date).

15 *Rul*, Berlin, August 11 and 17, 1928; *Volnoe Kazachestvo*, 1928, No. 21, p. 24.

16 *Ekonomicheskaya zhizn*, Moscow, October 8, 9, and 10, 1928; *Pravda*, Moscow, October 13, 15, and 17, 1929.

17 *Pravda*, Moscow, January 25 and 31, 1930.

18 *Molot*, Rostov-on Don, December 6, 1929.

19 *Kazachy vestnik*, Prague, June 1, 1943.

20 A. Osinko, "Kak nas unichtozhali" (How They Destroyed Us) pp. 12-48, manuscript in possession of the author.

21 *Molot*, Rostov-on-Don, 1932, No. 253.

22 *Stalin, I. V.: Sbornik statei k 60-letnomy yubileyu* (J. V. Stalin: Collected Articles in Honor of His 60th Birthday), Moscow, 1940, p. 239.

23 *Chasovoi*, Asniéres-sur-Seine, France, June, 1933, No. 106, p. 6.

24 V. Solovev, *Zapiski sovetskogo voennogo korrespondenta* (Notes of a Soviet War Correspondent), New York, 1954, pp. 57-82.

25 *Molot*, Rostov-on-Don, November 1-14, 1932. *Molot*, the chief Soviet press organ in the Cossack areas, carried stories practically every day citing the "crimes" for which the Cossacks were punished. The issue of December 22, 1932, listed such crimes in large type, as follows: "(1) for the ideology of bourgeois nationalism; (2) for local nationalism; (3) for kulak independence; (4) for the ideology of nationalism and chauvinist independence; and (5) for petty bourgeois instinctive attitudes."

26 *Chasovoi*, Asniéres-sur-Seine, France, October, 1933, No. 100/111, pp. 8-12; *Molot*, Rostov-on-Don, December 20, 1932. This issue also reports on deportation of the inhabitants of Poltava, Medved, Urup, Uman, and other stanitsas. Such stanitsas were not small villages or settlements, but involved populations of tens of thousands; Uman for instance had 30,000, Poltava 27,000, etc. Deportation was carried out in cattle cars in the depth of winter, just before Christmas.

27 D. N. Eremenko, *op. cit.*, Prague, 1938, pp. 109-22.

28 A. Uralov, *Narodoubiistvo v SSSR* (Genocide in the USSR), Munich, 1952.

29 Lukovkin, *Sovetskoe kazachestvo* (The Soviet Cossacks), Rostov-on-Don, 1925, pp. 163-68.

30 Az-Maikop, "G. A. Tokaev on the Cossacks," *Kazachy vestnik*, Munich, 1951, No. 93, p. 3.

31 *Kazachya lava*, Berlin, 1944, No. 18, p. 3.
32 A. Viktorov, "Assimilation of Remote Areas," *Rossiisky demokrat*, Paris, No. 1/19, 1950.
33 *Kazachy klinok*, Simferopol, 1943, No. 20; *Golos Kryma*, Simferopol, 1943, No. 94.

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