

In Munich stays at times a commission from the Harvard University. As far as I have been informed this commission through interrogations of sovietrussian emigrants, mainly new ones tries to obtain a most exact picture of the conditions in the Soviet Union. The commission disposes over great financial means, which according to my informations will be used as follows: 70% for the russian emigration, 20% for the ukrainians and 10% for the moslems. The persons interrogated get a list of about 500 questions. For the answering of such a list is paid a daily salary of 20 DM.

At the beginning a lot of emigrants were eager to come into connexion with the commission, because every DM 20.-- is welcome to most of them. But soon it was known in Munich that the commission consisted chiefly of old russian emigrants from the Kerensky-group. Kerensky-group ~~meant~~ to the emigrants here means old socialdemocrats and socialrevolutionists. As that was known a lot of announcements for interrogation were withdrawn - in spite of the 20 DM.

Underneath I will come back to this point once more. Here I only want to mention, that an interrogation like this probably never will give an exact picture of the conditions in the Soviet Union or the emigrants here. After the german capitulation hundred thousands of peoples from the east were delivered up to the Soviet Union, most against their own will, and the rest, which succeeded to escape deliverance, has grown very careful. They scarcely tell the truth to anybody unknown to them, even not to the members of the Harvard commission. Only one, who knows the soviet mentality from own experience, and who possesses the confidence of the emigrants will be able to perceive the true kernel of all their often rather fancyful stories. The same commission is also often mentioned in connexion with a russian national committee officially founded and protected in Munich by Americans. Mr. Kromiady, the leader of the russian group of solidarists has been charged to unite the russian emigration groups and to arrange a congress of all the Russian emigrants in Munich. These attempts have until now been without success. To begin with Mr. Kromiady excluded not only the monarchistic group as reactionaries from this union but also the Russian socialdemocrats as preparators of bolshevism. But as the financial means for this committee mainly was given by the Harvard commission i.e. by socialdemocrats, they answered their excluding from the committee by withdrawing the means and Kromiady's attempts failed.

The new emigrants from the Soviet Union probably know better than anybody else how things are really going on in their home-countries. They have grown up with the bolshevik system. All those born after 1914 know only this system. Every other way of thinking and feeling and working are completely unknown to them - or were unknown to them until the second world-war.

They have been brought up in accordance with bolshevik principles and know so to say from the inside these principles and their effect upon the human mind. The workman knows all about life in the factories, about plan and norm and Stakhanov, the farmer knows all about life in the Kolkhoz, the official knows how works soviet burocratism, the officer knows how is physical and mental training in the army, etc. Many of them know something about the resistance against the soviets and something about concentration-camps, as many of them have relatives in such camps. All of them know the tricks of soviet propoganda. Whatever tune is touched they know allmost at once which effect is intended.

Persons coming from abroad to the Soviet Union surely may observe this and that but they will never be able to understand the whole complex of feelings, perceptions, resentments, created in the mind of millions of peoples and also they will never understand the reciprocity of these complexes, consciously created and the political development of the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union nothing happens accidentally. The least order, may it concern economics, religion, education, law, means something and is a link in the great plan. But only those who have grown up within the system really understand this. Foreigners can only understand with help of their intelligence, but all their nerves will never grew agitated as they do by a sovietrussian himself, who experiences everything not as single happenings but in connection with former or future happenings. Out of hundred thousands foreigners perhaps one is able to understand what is really going on in Soviet Russia.

Also the so called old emigrants do not really know the conditions in their former home-country. The Russia they know don't exist any longer. From an agricultural country it has changed into an industrial one. Also the Russian soul of which the old emigrants are speaking so much, doesn't exist. The deep religiousness and the inclination to mysticism have given way to a materialism incomparable to any materialism until now existing. And even the human being itself has after 30 years of bolshevik training changed so much that there is almost no bridge of understanding between him and the old emigrants. Even the language has changed. It has adopted such a lot of technical and marxistic-political expressions, that it to the old emigrants seems a sort of slang. Bolshevism itself the old emigrants only know as a theory. The

bolshevic practise, which begins in the infant-school they don't know at all.

Therefore if one wishes to get an exact picture of the bolshevic practise and of the conditions in the Soviet Union as they have developed under bolshevic reign, the best way to get this picture is to interrogate the new emigrants. In so far the Harvard commission now in Munich is on the right way. But it seems to be a failure when this commission consists only of old emigrants. I said before there is scarcely any bridge of understanding between old and new Russian emigrants. The old emigrants grew frightened when they meet the new ones, because the new ones not at all resemble the picture of the Russian people which they have closed up in their hearts. After the first meeting the old emigrants despise the new ones. They despise their behaviour, so different to the behavior of western people, they call them newcomers criminals, because they don't understand them. The Russians, as they remember them don't exist any longer.

On the other side the newcomers, who are no criminals at all, but the fruits of the bolshevic system through 30 years feel no sympathy for their former countrymen. To them the old emigrants, especially the social-democrats and socialists are the same peoples that once prepared the way for bolshevism in Russia. They regard them as responsible for all what has later happened there, and so they have no confidence in them at all. Apart from this the new ones also don't understand the language of the old ones. When the old ones begin to speak about Russia as it was the new ones only shrug their shoulders and the words mean so little to them as the words of an African Negro to an Eskimo. Also the newcomers feel the despise of the old ones and they regard this despise all the more unjust because, as I have said above, they regard the old ones as responsible for the bolshevic system in Russia and themselves completely innocent of the development of their own personality as well as of the personalities of all their soviet contemporaries.

Therefore a commission consisting of old Russian emigrants will not succeed in its work.

As I have mentioned before the new sovietrussian Emigrants have no confidence in the old emigrants with one only exception of those old emigrants who found their way into the german camps of prisoners of war in order to help and support their new countrymen, who had just been taken prisoners. In spite of bad weather and dirty roads and typhoid fever and lots of difficulties they found their way to their helpless countrymen. They pleaded to the german government and the military authorities for better treatment of the sovietrussian prisoners of war, they protested against

the liquidation by the SS. They saved the lives of a lot of poor prisoners of war, and as to sovietrussians one action is much more worth than ten thousands of words, these old emigrants and what they did to help in a despairing situation will never be forgotten. But to the other ones, who only came with words and often even with reproachs a confidence can scarcely be built up, and at least only through years.

The same can be said about the relation to the polish emigration. The polish emigrants like to proceed as experts on everything concerning Russia. But also the polish emigrants don't know Soviet-russia. The new emigrants know that the polish government did a lot to help the old russian emigration. But like the old russian emigrants also the polish officers and scientists and former members of Prométhé speak quite another language than the new emigrants. And no actions complete their words. Therefore it is very difficult to establish connections or confidence between the new russian emigration and the polish emigration.

The newest experiences in soviet russian matters have without doubts the Germans. Through 4 years of war they came into the most close connection with sovietic affairs and peoples and to them soviet citizen for the first time in their life could speak openly about what they had at heart. But even of those hundred and thousand of Germanish whom they came in connection only a very few had remainèd to whom the new emigrants gained true confidence. They only completely trust in those, who like some old emigrants showed their will to help the helpless by actions and not only by words. To the new emigration from the Sôviet Union the German situation looks like that: 1) the great mass of the German population was and still is influenced by the national-socialist propaganda and regards everybody from the east as their inferiors. 2) One grupp of Germans mainly officers and politicians are still - like the old russiana emigrants - thinking of Russia and the Russians as they were before 1914. Like th old emigrants they think the new emigrants are criminals and the "real" Russians as they rememver them are still existing somewhere. They cannot and will not understand, that bolshevism has transformed everybody living inside the borders of Sovietrussia. Or they think when they can only bring back to Russia the few thousands of old emigrants living in Europa and America, these old emigrants will be able to establish the old conditions. They forget that the 200 Millions now living in Russia also will fight for their position. 3) Another group of persons was during the war very friendly to every sovietrussian they met. On purpose they sought for the company of peoples from the east and very demânstratively they showed such peoples their sympathy. But this sympathy, so heartily shown during the war, has now turned into hatred, because these sympathizers were German communists

and this was the only reason for their sympathy.

4) At last there were a few Germans who met the sovietrussians as human beings and helped and supported them as such ones, and the new emigrants trust in these Germans will last for ever. Here a mutual sympathy developed, independent of politics, capitulation and what else has happened.

Concerning the western powers the new emigration from Soviet-russia would be very glad if also a relation of confidence and sympathy could develop for instance between themselves and Americans, but until now this had not happened. The reasons are different. To come into connection with the new emigrants the Americans have used different methods. They try to establish connection by means of old Russian emigrants. This method usually fails. Other times they do it by means of Germans, but usually such Germans, who don't possess the confidence of the new emigration. Sometimes also Americans try themselves to talk to some emigrant or other, but such talks also usually are a failure, because the American partner in most cases knows very little about the theme he is speaking about. So an important Turkestanian emigrant some time ago was invited to the leader of the information service at Bad Nauheim. "You are a Turkestanian?" asked the American, "Yes", "Then you speak Persian?" "No, I speak Turkestanian". Afterwards this American tried to find out Turkestan on a map of Russia and searched for it in the Caucasus mountains.

Another Turkestanian was invited to the representative of the Associated Press. "What are you?" the American asked. "I am a Turkestanian". "What is that?" The Turkestanian tried to explain but he was interrupted. "I understand you are a turkish Russian" "No, I am no Russian at all." "To me you are all Russians". After such talks the new emigrants go home very disappointed, thinking, is that all what the rich and clever American people knows about the Sovietunion.

By almost all Americans the new emigrants have met in Germany they have found the same innocence. Often they sometimes also find a good will, and then good-will and innocence in company leads to the most curious results. So has the YMCA in Munich with the help of two Tartars founded a sort of muslim YMCA called INSAF. One of the Tartars is a former soviet army general a nice man but of no eminent intelligence. For this INSAF statutes have been written, which are the most wonderful composition of Christian and Moslem doctrines, practical American psychology like Dale Carnegie and bolshevik perceptions.

Lots of such examples could be quoted. Almost daily things happen which must give the emigrants from the Sovietunion the impres-

to compare what he learned and heard and saw with the standards of other countries he found all was quit right in the Soviet Union, and if suddenly somebody had appeared and had told him to fight for freedom and religion and culture and all such things he would have laughed at him. And if he ~~xxxx~~ had tried violently to destroy the soviet institutions he would have defended them. And he believes like that thinks everybody brought up in the Soviet Union. The uniform education and life also create a uniform will to defend everything connected with this life, because, as it is said above, there is no possibility of comparison. The Soviet citizens are mentally a unity. He - as a Turkestanian - was just such a product of bolshevic education as was any Russian, or Ukrainian or Georgian neighbour. But although it was forbidden even at home, to make some national turkestanian propaganda, he soon began to notice that he in some way or other and in spite of the same education was not just like his neighbours. And they noticed it too, he understood. And he and the other no-Russians also soon felt that their Russian neighbours thought themselves better than them. This vague feeling of the not-russians, that they are not really Russians and the feeling that the Russians consider themselves as inferiors is, as I said before, the only weak point of the bolshevic system.

If once a foreign power should be compelled to enter the Soviet Union she would in the South as well as in the West every where first meet not-Russian peoples: the White-Ruthenians, the Ukrainians, the Georgians, the Aserbeidjans, the Turkestanians etc. And if the foreign power says, she comes to fight against bolshevism, the greatest part of this people will defend this system, because they don't know any other one. But if this power says, she has come to help to defend the rights of the different not-russian nations, these peoples will do nothing to defend the Russians.

Since the first world war it was vaguely known to all not-russian peoples of the Soviet Union, that the Germans had then supported the national movements of the Ukraina, Georgia etc. and therefore the predominant number of soviet prisoners of war of not-russian origin was a great demonstration of all not Russian peoples against their oppressors and also the reception of the Germans in the Ukraina, the Crimea and by the tribes in the Caucasus mountains was such a demonstration. Had the Germans practised such a policy as was expected by the not-Russian nations and had they restored to these nations the rights and the freedom assured to them in the Soviet constitution but never practised by the Soviet rulers, the Germans had probably won the war with Russia. But as soon as it was known that the Germans had no intention to bring national freedom to the not-russian nations, the war in

*Turkestanian are own interests
opposite to those of Russia
Soviet*

From D.