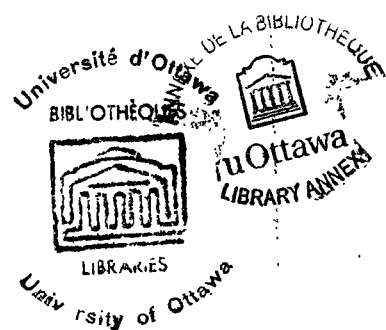


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THE IDEA OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

by George V. Rimek, B.A.

Thesis presented to the Faculty of
Political Science of the University
of Ottawa as partial fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Political Science.



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CURRICULUM STUDIORUM

George V. Rimek was born June 2, 1930, in Prague, Czechoslovakia. He received the Bachelor of Law and Political Science degree from the Charles University of Prague, in 1949.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the field of ideas and factors which were instrumental in the development, and which brought about the existence of the Idea of Russian Imperialism. The most important contribution of this study lies in that it proves that the Idea of Russian Imperialism, embodied in the masses of the Russian population, became, in the sense of Rousseau's General Will, a paramount factor and an absolute ruler of Russia, whose supreme goal has always been world domination. Whoever in Russia opposed the Idea, or was by the Idea considered incapable to support efficiently its aims, was swept away. And above all, Russia, the Russians and Russian Imperialism became fused in the Idea. In order to survive, the Russian rulers had to demonstrate their ability in pursuing successfully such imperialistic policies that were bringing nearer to reality the Russian dream of world conquest.

Following this Introduction which brings forward the main aspects of the problem, Chapter I gives a detailed account of the development of Russian Imperialism during the early periods of the Russian state. Geography, religion, psychology - these were among the most important contributory factors in providing the Russians with an extreme love for "Holy Mother Russia", and with a fanatical belief that it is a mystical destiny and a holy mission of Russia to dominate the world. Grand Dukes of Moscow became the executive instrument of Russia - the Idea - and their task was to realize this ultimate goal of Russian Imperialism.

Filofei's doctrine of Moscow being the third and last Rome gave the Czarist Imperialism a meaning, definition, direction and explosive power, as well as a necessary screen for hiding its true imperialistic ambitions. Russia was, in accordance with this doctrine, chosen by Divine

Providence to fulfil its messianic mission in creating a true Christ's Kingdom on this earth, under the rule of its Czar, the "only true Christian ruler". As long as the Czarist regime was able to keep on expanding Russian power and territories, it was supported by the Idea, but when its policies caused Russian humiliation and defeat, the rule of Czarism was over.

Chapter II describes the new executive instrument of the Idea of Russian Imperialism, the Bolshevik Party. Through its rule and the use of Bolshevism which promises the realization of a perfect classless society on this earth by means of Russian power and influences, Russia, so far, has achieved a great many successes in its ambition toward the supreme goal - world domination. This study proves that the Idea will tolerate Bolshevism only so long as it will be capable of expanding Russia. Any serious humiliation of Russia will inevitably result in the destruction of the Bolshevik rule.

Chapter III draws similarities and parallels between the Czarist and Bolshevik Imperialism and demonstrates that, since both regimes are actually servants of the same master - the Idea, their aims are the same, although the doctrines and some of the methods have changed. De Custine, Marx and Engels, who described and attacked Czarist Imperialism more than a century ago, are, de facto, attacking Bolshevik Imperialism of today. In order to stay in power, the Bolshevik rulers have realized that they have to continue in the imperialistic policies of the Grand Dukes, Czars and Emperors of Russia. Similarities and parallels between Czarist and Bolshevik Imperialism are, therefore, inevitable.

The Conclusion gives a brief review of the fundamentals of Russian Imperialism.

CHAPTER I

IMPERIALISM OF CZARISM

I.- ORIGINS - PRE-MOSCOW PERIOD (9th-13th CENTURIES)

1. Contributory Factors

(a) Geography

Russian historians have as yet thrown little light upon the origin and development of the Russian state.¹

They agree, however, that the Russian State originated in the ninth century in the wide area between the Baltic Sea in the North, the Black Sea in the South, the Carpathian mountains and river Vistula in the West. To the east there was a vast, boundless plain, little above sea level spreading for two thousand miles to the mountains of Central Asia. While the northern region was inhospitable because of its extremely cold climate, inaccessible virgin forests and treacherous swamps, the southern fertile region was swept from time to time by bands of roaming horsemen from the dry steppes of Central Asia who, in search of pasture for their flocks, regarded settled colonies as objects for plunder.

The history of Russia, from its very beginnings, has been one of everlasting struggle; on the one hand for survival against Nature in the North and Man in the South and on the other for expansion of its might. In this struggle the Russians developed through infinite suffering and

¹ Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, The Spirit of Russia (London: Allen and Unwin Ltd. second Edition, 1955), Vol. 1, p. 9.

sacrifice a character of toughness and patience.²

(b) Psychology

The geographical position of Russia prevented its inhabitants from contact with the outside world, especially Europe, and contributed to the building up of a psychology of mysticism, a fanatical faith that led the Russian people to do anything for the glory of "Holy Mother Russia". This faith is one of the main sources of the Russian ambition to overtake the world. In accordance with it, no task is impossible for Russia, and the more difficult a task is, the more glory and power it will bring to Russia when it is achieved - and no task is more difficult to achieve, no dream further from reality, than the domination of the globe by one nation. And in the depth of every Russian soul there has been a steadfast belief that no other nation but Russia can reach such a goal. A difficult problem of organizing the immense Russian territory has been expressed in the structure of the Russian soul, the landscape of which corresponds with that of Russia, the same boundlessness and reaching into infinity.³ And in a similar way, any idea dealing with the expansion of Russia, that is to say with Russian imperialism, cannot be bound but must inevitably lead all the way towards infinity, which is world domination. While in the West there is conciseness, everything

2 M. Philips Price, "Russia Through The Centuries, (London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1943) p. 13.

3 Nicolas Berdyaev, "The Origin of Russian Communism" (London: The Centenary Press, 1937), p. 3.

bound, formulated, and arranged into categories, the Russians fell a victim to the immensity of their country. Russian historians explain the despotic character of Russian government by the necessary organization of the boundless territory. "Russia is not a State, but a World."⁴

Russia has always been Eurasian in character. It has been constantly in contact with Asiatic peoples, fighting them most of the time in order to survive their domination and to brake their yoke. By doing so it also protected Europe against invasion from Asia as the famous Russian historian Kluchevsky stated: "We remained the rear-guard of European civilization," and characterized the Russian social order as "too Europeanized in comparison with Asia and too Asiatic in comparison with Europe."

(c) Religion

The growth of every great Empire has been inspired by some dominating ideas. The Russian Empire was founded on the belief that it had received from God the task of defending the true Faith, of continuing the work begun by Constantine the Great and commissioned by him to the Byzantine Empire."⁵

Christianity came to Russia from the Byzantine Empire with its Greek Orthodox church during the tenth century. Here again is one of the influences which caused Russia to differ from Western Europe. Byzantine theocracy, based on Caesaro-papism - the identification of secular with religious power - was a most powerful and suitable instrument to the needs of Russian expansionism.

4 Old Russian proverb, quoted by John Gunther in "Inside Russia Today" (Harper, New York, 1958), p. 169.

5 Nicolas Zernov, Moscow the Third Rome, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937), p. 33.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Russian Orthodox Church came to personify Russia itself, - the religion and the nationality being almost undistinguishable. The Russian Kingdom developed into a powerful, totalitarian state, where the Czar was the head of everything, including the Orthodox Church and was even "responsible" for saving the souls of his subjects.

The ornamental Christianity of the Greek rite captivated the souls of the rough but naive and impressionable Russians and brought them in contact with their first civilizing influence. There remained, however, in the Russian soul a strong natural and pagan element, linked with the immensity of the Russian boundless plain. In the typical Russian soul there have always been two opposing elements - the primitive natural paganism, deism and animism of boundless Russia and an Orthodox asceticism, taken from Byzantium.

The religious formation of the Russian mentality developed several stable attributes: dogmatism, asceticism, the ability to endure sufferings and to make sacrifices for the sake of its faith, of the Russian Orthodox Church and ultimately of the Czar, and a reaching out to the transcendental in relation to this world, to the future and to eternity.

The immense influence of the doctrine of Moscow being the third and last Rome, and the belief in a mystical messianic mission of Russia, brought into the Russian mentality the steadfast faith that Russia will overcome the world and realize the true Kingdom of Christ on earth. The Russians have been constantly searching for this kingdom of justice

and truth and dreaming about its realization, and they have become convinced that only a Russian world could realize this objective.

The Russians did not slavishly follow the Greek tradition of Christianity. The pagan tradition had not been destroyed in Russia by conversion to Christianity - it coexisted with the new religion. The intermingling of pagan and christian elements took place, many pagan ceremonies became blended with the Orthodox rites and belief in ghosts and animism were interwoven into the cult of saints. Their Christianity became based on the senses rather than on the reason. Their life was not so easy as that of the Greeks who were able to spend their days leisurely in philosophical meditations and discussions on the shores of the sunny Mediterranean. For them life was a hard struggle and they saw in their religion a simple interpretation of suffering, which they interpreted as the essence of life and salvation. During the terrible years of Tatar⁶ domination, the Russians developed a readiness to burn and destroy their own property rather than let it fall into the hands of the enemy. Since material things were liable to be destroyed at any moment, the Russians have valued spiritual things rather than material and this virtue has created an immense force within Russia, a force which has become, by irony, one of the important pillars of Russian aggressive power.

6 Tatars (or Tartars) - members of a mixed horde of Mongols and Turks, who overran and dominated Russia from 1237 to 1480.

2. Early Developments

The origin of Russian imperialism lies in the combination of peculiar circumstances and developments which took place in Russia before and during its unification under the rule of Moscow. From that time, when the origin of Russian imperialism can be discovered, its continuous trend and growth throughout Russian history has never stopped and has become even today the main motivation of Russian political activities.

From the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, the Russian State comprised a magnitude of principalities scattered mainly along the rivers. Only Kiev in the South, and Novgorod in the North, succeeded in spreading their power quite far from their centres of influence, but neither of them was able to achieve any substantial unification of the country. As a matter of fact, most of the communities quarreled and fought amongst themselves during that period. The Russian Orthodox Church, organized from Byzantium, which brought Christianity to Russia, supplied the scattered Russian communities with the only common bond, the faith, and to that extent it united them for the first time.

The political disunity and rivalry among the Russian communities resulted in Kiev and Novgorod breaking up into small fragments. The struggles for supremacy among these principalities weakened their defending power to such an extent, that they were unable to withstand the advent of a cataclysmic force.⁷ Overrun by the Tatar armies in the early thirteenth century, Russia became a mere Tatar vassal for two and a half

⁷ Sonia E. Howe, "A Thousand Years of Russian History", (London: Williams and Norgate, 1915), p. 22.

centuries. Scattered in their towns, the Russian princes were unable to unite in the fight against their common enemy. Those who resisted were destroyed, those who bowed their heads to the invaders, were humiliated, left powerless and forced to pay heavy tributes.

It is an irony that it had to be the Tatar domination that brought about the unification of Russia. In the person of Genghis Khan (1162-1227) who united the Tatar tribes, conquered China and marked westward with the avowed purpose of conquering the world, the Russians met for the first time the personification of the idea of world conquest and inflexible authority vested in one person. Genghis Khan's motto was: "As there is but one God in Heaven, so there should be but one ruler on earth",⁸ and he was determined to be that ruler. By the time of his death in 1227 he had carved himself the greatest expanse of land that one man has ever ruled in the history of the world. His achievement was to be never forgotten by Russians generally and by the princes of Moscow in particular.

⁸ Jules Koslow, "The Kremlin" (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1958), p. 7.

II.- UNIFICATION OF RUSSIA UNDER MOSCOW (13th-15th CENTURIES)

1. Contributory Factors

(a) Tatar Influence

For the two and a half centuries of Tatar domination in Russia, the Moscow princes as well as the other Russian rulers were their vassals, at times obedient, at other times rebellious. The effects of Tatar rule upon the rulers and people of Russia was significant and was felt long after it ceased to exist. Curiously blending with Byzantine tradition represented and sponsored by the Russian Church, Tatar ideas and administrative usages paved the way for the establishment of the semi-oriental absolutism of the Muscovite Czars. The Moscow autocracy and the absolute rule of the Tatars gradually became indistinguishable.⁹

The landed aristocracy was forced to surrender the independence it had enjoyed in earlier centuries, and was reduced in the despotic tradition of the Tatars, to the position of servants of the Moscow Czars. The great masses of the people, harassed by almost uninterrupted wars, princely feuds, foreign invasions, and bending under the double burden of domestic taxation and of the tributes extorted by the Tatars, gradually lost the position of precarious freedom they had enjoyed in the past and became dependent on the landlords, culminating in their serfdom.

⁹ Michael T. Florinsky, "Russia - A History and An Interpretation" (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), p. 63.

The means which were used by the princes of Moscow to transform it from a small and obscure principality into the heart and capital of the Russian Empire, were later employed by the Czars in the pursuance of their imperialistic policies.

Moscow emerges on the Russian political scene in the latter part of the thirteenth century when it was ruled by Daniel, the youngest son of the Prince of Novgorod, Alexander Nevsky (1236-1263). Alexander made himself a Russian hero by defeating first the Swedes on the Neva river in 1240, and then by the decisive victory over the German knights on Lake Peipus in 1242.

Daniel was conscious of the danger from the Teutonic west and realized that the only way to successfully pursue a policy of consolidating disunited Russia under one central power, that of his own, was to submit completely to the Tatar power. Under Daniel (1246-1252) and his successors, the power of Moscow grew rapidly through acquisition of other communities.

In order to expand their power, the princes of Moscow displayed a devoted co-operation with the supreme rulers of Russia - the Tatars. "Since all roads to power led through the Tatars, the Moscow princes never failed to pay them their tributes and returns."¹⁰

Early in the fourteenth century the Tatar overlord, Usbek Khan, recognized Ivan I (1328-1340) as Grand Prince of Moscow, with power to

10 R. D. Charques, "A Short History of Russia" (London: Phoenix House Ltd., 1956), p. 31.

collect the annual tribute to the Tatars from all Russian lands. So exhausted were the Russian people with the internal feuds among princes, so fearful of Teutonic knights and Polish lords, bringing serfdom from the West, and of Tatars ruthlessly demanding excessive tributes, that they accepted sovereignty of the Grand Prince of Moscow in the hope that he would keep internal peace and barter with the Tatars for moderation in the tribute.

The Tatars ceased to interfere in matters of tribute in the internal affairs of Russia and the Grand Prince of Moscow became their chief agent. He did not hesitate to oppress at times his own people in order to pay the Tatars the tribute. He acquired supreme autocratic power over the Russian population through which, as he knew, the Tatar's domination would sooner or later be destroyed. Thus Simon, the son of Ivan I, appealed to his own people and to the Russians of the neighbouring principalities: "Russia is only strong and glorious if the Princes obey the greatest among them, and only by obedience to him can they be freed from the Tatar yoke."¹¹

After Uzbek Khan's death in 1359 quarrels broke out among the Tatars. The Grand Prince of Moscow took advantage of these dissensions and became more independent. Autocratic rule was gradually transferred from the Tatars to the ruler of Moscow. He took over the tradition of a strong authoritarian government capable of uniting the Russians and freeing them from the Tatar rule. The foundation of the new Russian

¹¹ Bernard Pares, "A History of Russia" (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), p. 76-77.

State was the strong authoritarian rule centered in a single ruler. This tradition was further assisted by the brilliant examples of Genghis Khan's rule which demonstrated to the Russians the immense power which he was able to achieve by conquering Asia and Eastern Europe, and by the Byzantine Empire, where the Emperor was the sole representative of God on earth, father of his people and absolute arbiter of life and death.

(b) Geography

There were other contributory factors which enabled the princes of Moscow to win and retain their sovereign position. First, there was geography. Moscow was centrally located in a region which was least destroyed by the Tatar invasion and where, in the protective woodlands, many Russians from the south sought refuge from the Tatars. The river Moskva was a key waterway in the system of north-eastern waterways and Moscow itself being at the junction of a number of land routes, became a centre for internal trade.

(c) Rulers of Moscow

But geography alone could not make Moscow a new capital of Russia.¹² An important role was played by its rulers who were greedy, resourceful, unscrupulous and undeviating of purpose. In their conduct during the struggles for supremacy over their rivals, they demonstrated their ability in political strategy. Unmoved by other passions, the

12 R. D. Charques, Op. Cit., p. 32.

princes of Moscow set themselves to acquire, at whatever cost, more land, wealth and power. Their last will and testament was always an inventory of their possessions. By the power of wealth and diplomacy, by the seizure of princely appanages and the settlement of virgin woodlands, the rulers of Moscow constantly expanded. Their military organization was supreme to any of the other Russian princes. They put into practice the idea that "the prince must first and foremost, look to the strength of his military forces and their efficiency; indeed, he must subordinate all other preoccupations to this....Princes who have neglected their defences...have usually lost their office. I cannot emphasize this too strongly."¹³ And all this was paid for by absolute submission to the Tatars. It was as the humblest vassal of the Tatar rulers that the Prince of Moscow prospered. No other Russian prince came to Khan more frequently or brought him better gifts, none laid heavier taxes on his subjects for tribute to the Khan and none was so ready to participate in the Tatar's punitive expeditions against neighbouring princes.

¹³ Niccolo Machiavelli, "The Ruler" (The Prince), (London: The Bodley Head, 1954), p. 80.

(d) Orthodox Church

(1) Church-State Relations

In their ruthless imperialistic policy of expansion by subservience to the conqueror, aiming at the unification of Russia under their power, the Moscow princes had the powerful support of the Russian Orthodox church. The church had a very good reason for doing so. It was a large landlord and therefore it was bound to suffer from any disturbed political situation. It had, moreover, inherited from Byzantium the tradition of universality and had consistently maintained the position that there must be only one Russian metropolitan as the sole head of the Russian church exercising thus a great unifying influence among the scattered Russian principalities. The church also greatly aided the rise of autocracy in Moscow by its contributions to and endorsement of an autocratic political theory of the Divine Right of Kings. This theory came mainly from ancient biblical and Roman concepts developed in the Byzantine Empire and spread by the church. It was based on the claim that the King or a prince was an instrument chosen by God for the maintenance of the true faith. It held that an Orthodox prince was as fully God-ordained as an Orthodox patriarch or metropolitan. This theoretical development was fully compatible with both the Tatar theory and practice of autocracy.

The decisive event for both the Russian church and the Russian state occurred when the metropolitan of the church transferred his See

to Moscow in 1326. The two sources of effective authority in the land - the Tatars in 1328 and the church in 1326 had thus recognized the primacy of the princes of Moscow.¹⁴ Furthermore the interests of the state, that is to say of Moscow rulers, and of the church, high ecclesiastics, became identical.¹⁵

(ii) Church-Tatar Relations

The power of the church remained considerable. From the very beginning of their occupation of Russia, the Tatars did not in any way interfere with the religious life of the population. The Tatar rulers even favoured the church, granting it many privileges. Churches and monasteries were exempted from taxation and consequently flourished to such an extent that the monasteries were growing into fortified towns. The clergy enjoyed special protection and to attack a priest, rob him or even to use abusive language against him was a capital offence. Some of the high ecclesiastics were held in great esteem among the Tatars and were often able to intercede for their flocks and to mitigate their sufferings.

14 R. D. Charques, *Op. Cit.*, p. 33.

15 S. E. Howe, *Op. Cit.*, p. 26.

Why did the Tatars adopt this attitude towards the Orthodox church? One of the reasons was that after conquering Russia they were unable to find any central authority and realized that the church was the only existing link between them and the masses of people scattered in thousands of communities.¹⁶

From the time Moscow became the ecclesiastical center of Russia, the princes of Moscow became the favourite sons of the church which greatly enhanced their prestige and increased their authority. The metropolitans gave active support to the princes who returned the favour, forming thus a mutually beneficial alliance.

(iii) Russian Church-Greek Church Relations

The co-operation with the princes of Moscow assured the Orthodox church prestige and authority. However, the princes of Moscow understood well that it would be to their greatest advantage if the Orthodox church could become purely Russian, its ultimate authority resting in Moscow rather than in Constantinople, because there was always a danger that their imperialistic policies would conflict with those of the Byzantine Empire. Furthermore since the Russian metropolitan was appointed by the patriarch of Constantinople, Moscow was unable to exercise an effective control over church affairs.

¹⁶ Harold Lamb, "The March of Muscovy" (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1948), p. 50.

(iv) Birth of the Russian National Church

The political situation in the first half of the fifteenth century brought about Moscow's control over the Church. The Orthodox Church's position of dependence as a metropolitan district of the patriarchate in Constantinople had become precarious since the power of the Byzantine Empire was steadily declining and Constantinople itself was threatened by the Turks. The reunion, under Rome, of the Eastern and Western churches proclaimed in 1439 as a means of saving Constantinople, by the Council of Florence, an assembly of Orthodox and Catholic clergy, was anathema to the Russians. The Moscow metropolitan, a Greek, who had approved reunion on terms of the supremacy of the Pope in Rome, was deposed and in his place the Russian bishops themselves appointed one of their number as metropolitan. The independence which the metropolitan had previously retained through the appointment by the patriarch of Constantinople now vanished. With the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, the Russian Orthodox church emerged in every respect a national church, "the pure fountain of Holy Orthodoxy in the only surviving state ruled by an Orthodox ruler."¹⁷ The Grand Duke of Moscow saw himself as the supreme ruler of the only remaining Orthodox state which was destined to stop expansion of Islam, and this added a further incentive to the concentration of power in his hands and to the consolidation of the new Russian state. Moscow rulers accomplished their political ambitions of destroying any control exercised by the Byzantine Empire in Russia.

17 R. D. Charques, Op. Cit., p. 40.

These ambitions were started in 1417 by Vasili I (1389-1425) who was the first Moscow ruler who objected to the interference of the Byzantine Emperor in Russian ecclesiastical affairs, and even prohibited mention of the Emperor's name at church services on the ground that "we have a church, but we have no Czar (emperor) and do not want to have one."¹⁸

The patriarch of Constantinople sent him a severe note in which he defined clearly the fundamental doctrine of the Eastern Church on the relations between the Church and the State. "It is impossible for Christians to have a church and not to have a Czar, because the Church and the State are in close alliance and continuous interaction and it is impossible to separate one from the other....The holy Czar occupies a high place in the Church...Listen to Peter, the Apostle, who said: 'Fear God, honour the Czar,'"¹⁹ The patriarch went on to explain that there was only one "Czar of the universe" - the Byzantine emperor and that all the other claimants to the title were mere impostors. This admonition of the patriarch became the very basis of the claims of the grand dukes of Moscow and Czars after the downfall of Constantinople, when they proclaimed themselves successors of the Byzantine emperors and the only true "czars of the universe."

The capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 prevented any effective attempt on the patriarchate to restore its former supremacy over the Russian Church. The victory of the Turks over the Byzantine

18 M. T. Florinsky, *Op. Cit.*, p. 139-140.

19 M. T. Florinsky, *Op. Cit.*, p. 140.

Empire was duly interpreted by the Russian theologians as a manifestation of divine wrath over Constantinople's betrayal of true Christianity. The Byzantine tradition was too firmly rooted in Russia to vanish after the breach with Constantinople. The Russian Church had already pursued in theory and practice the line taken before by the Church in Byzantium - it became a champion of Muscovite absolutism by proclaiming the divine origin of secular power and by putting at its disposal the ecclesiastical weapon of excommunications and interdicts. The Church's transformation into a national Russian church had further increased and fortified Moscow imperialism. The metropolitans were no longer dominated and consecrated in distant Constantinople, beyond the reach of Moscow grand dukes, but in Moscow by a council of Russian clergy. It was only natural that the grand dukes of Moscow would assert fully their power over the church in accordance with the theory and practice of a Byzantine Empire, which ceased to exist.

III.- THEORY OF CZARIST IMPERIALISM - FILOFEI'S THEORY OF THE THIRD ROME.

1. Impact on Moscovite Imperialism

(a) Definition

The ever increasing power of Moscow imperialism received its greatest ideological support from a Pskov monk named Filofei²⁰ who brought forward his theory of Moscow being the third Rome, which became the explosive force driving the imperialism of Czarist Russia, and the promulgation of which was one of the most sacred efforts pursued by Czars and Russian Orthodox clergy: "Two Romes have fallen and have passed away, the Western and the Eastern; destiny has prescribed for Moscow the position of the third Rome; there will never be a fourth."²¹ In accordance with Filofei's theory, the first Rome, real Rome, was the original repository of religious truth. But this Rome fell into error and supported a heresy in the great Schism which split the church into Eastern and Western parts in 1057. This error cost the first Rome its leadership, since it no longer served the truth, and it was punished by destruction of its power. The truth then resided with the patriarch at Constantinople which became the second Rome. As long as the true faith was maintained in its purity, Constantinople prospered. But when it, too, fell into error, it paid for its deviation by being destroyed by the Turks.

20 Filofei was a monk of a monastery in Pskov (a city in Western Russia), who wrote this doctrine in the form of a letter to Vasily II (1425-1462) in 1455.

21 T. G. Masaryk, Op. Cit., p. 41.

The heir of Constantinople was Moscow, the third Rome, where the one true faith was maintained according to Filofei, pure and undefiled.

At the very least, the Theory of the Third Rome implied a Russian responsibility and authority over the Orthodox Christians. At the very most, it was a kind of messianism. When added to the doctrine of divine-right monarchy together with all peculiar aspects and factors of Russian political development, it gave ecclesiastical sanction and a holy goal to the imperialism of Russian rulers, claiming the right and duty to establish "the true Christ's Kingdom on the earth" and make Moscow its center, in conformity with Filofei's letter to the Grand Prince of Moscow, Ivan the Great:

Of all kingdoms in the world, it is in thy royal domain that the holy Apostolic Church shines more brightly than the sun. And let thy Majesty take note, O religious and gracious Tsar, that all kingdoms of the Orthodox Christian Faith are merged into thy kingdom. Thou alone, in all that is under heaven, art a Christian Tsar. And take note, O religious and gracious Tsar, that all Christian kingdoms are merged into thine alone, that two Romes have fallen, but the third stands and there will be no fourth. Thy Christian kingdom shall not fall to the lot of another."²²

The authority and prestige of the grand dukes of Moscow were greatly enhanced by the conquest of Constantinople, all the more since the infidels who conquered Constantinople, were themselves conquered by Moscow in the latter part of the fifteenth century. The ultimate victory of Moscow over the Tatars was extremely impressive to the Eastern Christians because it took place shortly after the destruction of

²² Nicolas Berdyaev, *Op. Cit.*, p. 4-5, quoting Filofei.

Byzantium. By the destruction of the Byzantine Empire, Russia achieved *de facto* independence from the patriarch of Constantinople. By the destruction of Tatar power, by military force in 1480, Moscow became a sovereign state.

These two events directly affected the position of the Russian Church, which, left for the first time alone to face the formidable power of Muscovite absolutism, acknowledged the sovereign power of the grand dukes of Moscow and threw all its influence to the support of their imperialistic ambitions.

(b) Church Contribution

The theory of Moscow being the Third Rome became the most powerful instrument that the princes of Moscow used in carrying out their imperialistic policies. Although Ivan III (1462-1505) and Vasili III (1505-1533) appeared to be the logical successors of Emperor Constantine, the absence of a definite historical and political link between Constantinople and Moscow was too evident. Russian theologians soon devised a novel and imaginative historical and genealogical scheme which made the Moscow dynasty the direct descendants of "Prussus, brother of the Roman Caesar Augustus," and consequently the ruling dynasty of Russia was of Roman Imperial origin.²³ The Prince of Kiev, Vladimir Monomach was said

23 S. F. Platonov, "History of Russia" (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 117.

to have received from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Monomach in 1054 the present of a crown and vestments which, according to the legend, have been preserved by his descendants. Even this scheme did not satisfy the craving of Russian theologians for immemorial tradition. They "discovered" that Russia had received Christianity not from Constantinople but directly from Andrew, brother of Peter the Apostle. The grand dukes of Moscow thus became not merely the logical successors of the Byzantine emperors, but the direct descendants of the most ancient ruling house and the leaders of Greek Orthodoxy in their own right.

Fantastic as were these schemes, they gained general acceptance, were incorporated in the revised chronicles and became facts of common knowledge. The newly born Muscovite autocracy needed a suitable historical and genealogical justification which was provided by the Church and led to the strengthening of absolutism and imperialism of Moscow. The alliance between the Church and the Muscovite State became the very essence of the teaching of an influential and extremely conservative theological school founded and inspired by the ideas of Abbot Sanin, the most outspoken champion of the rigid attachment to the letter of the dogma and to the external observance characteristic to Russian Christianity. Faith and blind obedience were declared the only means to salvation and any display of independent thought was condemned as heresy and blasphemy. His most important contribution, to the growth of Russian imperialism, was his uncompromising defense and glorification of Muscovite absolutism. He declared that "although the Czar was like other men in his physical

characteristics, in his power he was similar to God in Heaven."²⁴ Furthermore he imposed on the members of the clergy, even the bishops, the strictest rule, that they should never argue with the Czar but merely, with his own permission, implore and plead with him, and thus put solid foundations to the subservient attitude of the Church toward the secular power.

There appeared various movements within the Church bitterly opposing and violently fighting against Sanin's theological school but all of them lost. With the complete triumph of Sanin's ideas, the Church had renounced all attempts to assert its independence from the secular power.

The Caesaropapism of Byzantium was fully re-established by Moscow and the third Rome became a perfected theocracy, taking over the idea of the Roman world empire. The crowning of the Grand Duke of Moscow as Czar-Caesar was initiated by Ivan IV (1533-1582) in 1547. This was followed by the establishment of the Moscow patriarchate in 1589 during the reign of Czar Feodor I (1584-1598). The religious nature of Russian imperialism thus became quite inevitable. Combined with the mentioned factors, which played their role in giving the imperialism of Russia solid foundations, as well as with the ruthlessness, wisdom and uncompromising imperialistic policies of Czars, the growth and expansion of the Russian Empire could not but succeed. The Czar and his orders became the supreme law throughout his Empire, following faithfully the steps of Byzantine

24 D. S. Mirsky, "Russia - A Social History" (London: The Cresset Press, 1942), p. 138.

emperors who maintained the primacy in the theocracy and were able to say, as did the Emperor Constantius II: "My will is law for the Church."²⁵

2. Elimination of Internal Opposition by the Rulers of Moscow

(a) Landed Aristocracy

Besides the Church, it was the landed aristocracy - the boyars - that had contributed most to the unification of Russia and to the rise of absolutism of the grand dukes of Moscow. Its political influence rested on its ancient right to accept service on its own terms under princes of its own choice and on its ownership of hereditary estates. The former privilege, although frequently infringed, exercised a restraining influence upon the arbitrary policies of the earlier princes. However, at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries, the Moscow rulers consolidated their position and increased their power sufficiently to eliminate any possibility of opposition to their imperialistic policies. The first step was to destroy the power of the landed nobility, - the boyars. An effective method, for preventing the boyars from leaving the service of Moscow, was that the relatives and friends of a boyar were liable to extremely heavy payments and severe penalties in the event of his escape to the continuously thinning number of independent princes in Russia. With the disappearance of such princes in Russia, a discontented boyar could only enter services of a foreign ruler. This was interpreted by the new national Russian State, that is to say, by the Moscow rulers,

²⁵ T. G. Masaryk, Op. Cit., p. 37.

as treason, and the estate of a boyar who went abroad, was confiscated.

The boyars' right of ownership of hereditary estates without any obligation to render services to the princes, exception being the payment of taxes, was also gradually and effectively destroyed by Moscow rulers. Since Moscow needed a large army to pursue its imperialistic policies and defend its ever expanding frontiers, and the resources of the treasury were inadequate to meet the payments for upkeep of its military forces, the granting of land in military tenure became a customary form of defraying these costs. Although the judicial status of hereditary estates and the estates in service tenure were different, the former was gradually and without any specific legislation merged with the latter.

On the one hand, the breach of allegiance to Moscow resulted in the confiscation of these estates, while on the other the ownership of an estate entailed the obligation to serve Moscow. The established practice of issuing, both to ecclesiastical and to secular landlords, letters patent conferring special privileges in administering justice and in collecting taxes facilitated the disappearance of the distinction between hereditary estates and those in service tenure. Although originally the letters patent had nothing to do with creating the right of ownership, they were gradually considered the only reliable title to land. The grand dukes of Moscow, by revising the former grants and by refusing to recognize the letters patent not issued by themselves, established themselves as the only source of the right to own land. This right was granted only in exchange for the obligation to serve the Crown. While the majority of the boyars were enrolled in military service, the others

were expelled from their estates and were settled forcefully in remote parts of the country, mainly in the newly annexed territories in the East, where they received land in service tenure. By the unlimited control over the ownership of lands, Moscow destroyed the political influence of the boyars as a social class and reduced the once independent landed aristocracy to the position of servants of the State.

As stated, insofar as the internal situation in Russia was concerned, the grand dukes of Moscow had to eliminate, or at least minimize to the greatest possible extent, the political influence and power of the four groups which were a definite potential threat to their supremacy; landed aristocracy, former sovereign princes, church, and the great mass of free population. The first two groups displayed quite an extensive political influence, which tended to grow bigger and more extensive. Although the Church did not, so far, interfere in politics, this trend was able to change if a politically aggressive patriarch came to power. Power of the fourth group was able to rise rapidly at any suitable moment, and bring the sovereignty of Moscow to an end. The steps taken by the grand dukes to deal effectively with this danger, were therefore inevitable, if they were to ^{survive} ~~save~~ and maintain their imperialistic policies without a powerful domestic opposition.

(b) Sovereign Princes.

Same as Western Europe.

To suppress the political influence of the former sovereign princes whose domains were incorporated in the Muscovite State, the grand dukes used methods similar to those they employed when dealing with boyars. At first, many of these princes continued to live in their former principalities and enjoyed a considerable degree of political independence. They even exercised broad powers in local affairs and taxation, administered justice and maintained their own armies. To curtail these traditional privileges of the princes, the grand dukes first put the armies of all princes under the command of officers appointed by themselves. Then gradually and under various pretexts, the princes were deprived of their hereditary domains, or at least of the capitals of their former principalities. Moscow then granted them estates in some distant region but without the power to administer justice and levy taxes. In this way the political power of the princes, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist.²⁶

(c) Free Population

Of the mass of free population, only a very small and insignificant group were merchants and artisans - by far the greatest majority were the peasants, once independent farmers, who gradually, due to the internal situation in Russia during the early centuries, came to live as tenants on the land owned by the sovereign princes, the Church and the

²⁶ B. H. Sumner, "A Short History of Russia", (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1943), p. 87.

boyars. In some instances, this evolution was caused through the outright annexation of the land of the weak and helpless independent farmers by the powerful ecclesiastical and secular landlords. First the complete absence, then the weakness, and finally the unwillingness of the central government to offer sufficient protection to the small landowners, left them at the mercy of local rulers. The privileges conferred upon the Church and the boyars by the princes, especially in levying taxes, created a real inducement for the small landowners to exchange their precarious independence for the protection of a powerful local lord. This process was accelerated under the Tatar domination and resulted in exorbitant tributes, derived largely from the farmers. To the landlords the colonizing of their estates was extremely important since land was then abundant but the labour force scarce.

Under the system of tenancy, the former independent farmer had to give a part of his time or part of his produce to the landlord. He stood a better chance, however, of having something left for himself than he did on his own, when confronted with the rapacious treasury officers.

The economic interests of the tenant were safeguarded in the earlier days by the fact that he was a freeman, who enjoyed the unrestricted right of leaving his landlord, on whose land he was working, and moving to another place.²⁷ The relations between the tenant and the landlord were regulated by an agreement which specified the reciprocal duties of the two contracting parties, that is to say, the exact area of

²⁷ Warren B. Walsh, "Russia and the Soviet Union", (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1958), p. 85.

the land to which the tenant was entitled and the services and payments he was to make to the landlord. When the term of the contract expired, the tenant was free to move away if he wished to do so and, on the other hand, the landlord had the right to get rid of an unwanted tenant. In many essentials the relationships between the tenants and the landlords was similar to that between the boyars and the princes, and ultimately between the sovereign princes and the grand dukes of Moscow. In all of these three relationships it was always the case that the lower class lost its former rights and privileges to the higher class, which in turn lost its own to the class above until, in turn, the grand dukes' sovereignty became unchallenged.

The object of the first legal restrictions was not to deprive the free tenants of their right to leave but to limit the opportunities for the exercise of this right. Every prince was anxious to prevent his tax-paying population from leaving his domain. The first step in this direction was the conclusion of an agreement, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, between the grand dukes and the princes, which mutually bound them not to accept free farmers leaving the domain of the contracting parties. However, soon afterwards this agreement became a one-sided one, by which the latter were fully bound by its terms, while the former, because of their ever increasing power, were able to disregard them as they pleased. In the letters patent conferring privileges or granting land, the grand dukes included provisions which prohibited the beneficiaries from settling on their land free tenants coming from the estates of Moscow. Although these restrictions did not directly affect

the freedom of the tenant, but that of the landlord, the tenant's opportunity of finding a new landlord became definitely narrower.

The next step took place in the middle of the fifteenth century when the grand dukes and some local princes decreed that the tenants living on certain estates should not be permitted to leave except at a brief period around St. George's Day (November 26th).²⁸ This measure got general application throughout Russia in the sixteenth century and played an important role in the establishment of serfdom. Furthermore, the free tenants living on certain monastic estates were prohibited by the grand dukes from abandoning their tenancy.

The financial and economic ties between the landlord and his free tenants, proved to be more important than legal restrictions. The tenants were often in need of money, and their landlords, both ecclesiastical and secular, welcomed this opportunity of providing a chain around his tenant's neck by lending him funds - a chain which he would never be able to break. There was no limit as to the interest on the loans, and the landlords asked exorbitant rates which the unfortunate and desperate tenant, having no other choice, was obliged to repay. By means of this ruthless financial policy, the free tenant became a debtor who was almost never in a position to repay the loan.²⁹ The taxes were constantly being increased as a consequence of unceasing wars, and the tenant was caught in

28 W. B. Walsh, *Op. Cit.*, p. 62.

29 Helen Pratt, "Russia From Tsarist Empire to Socialism",
(American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1937),
p. 27.

the inextricable mesh of arrears owed to the landlord, who usually was also the collecting agent for Moscow. Although in the earlier days the existence of an outstanding debt did not authorize the landlord to prevent the tenant from leaving, the creditor retained his claim and could enforce it through the courts which turned over the bankrupt debtor to the creditor, for whom he had to work until the debt was repaid, which in practice meant life sentence to slavery. This debtor-creditor relationship became an important source leading to the de facto enslavement of millions of peasants and their families who were de iure free. To further clarify the matter, in the latter part of the fifteenth century the grand dukes of Moscow decreed that the tenants of a certain estate should not be permitted to leave until they had repaid the money they owed their landlord. Even though this measure was of a local character, it indicated the trend in Russia which nobody was able to change or stop for centuries to come - serfdom.

Through this development any threat of effective opposition of a large mass of free population to the supremacy of the rulers of Moscow, ceased to exist. Millions of slaves had never been able to present, throughout the centuries of Czardom in Russia, any considerable threat to the regime. At a much later date, early in the nineteenth century, the Czar, Nicholas I, gave a clear summary of the regime's views of serfdom:

Serfdom is the indubitable evil of Russian life, but I think it still more dangerous to touch it...The landowner is the most reliable bulwark of the sovereign. No army can replace the vigilance and the influence which the landowner continuously exercises in his estates. If his power is destroyed, the people will become a flood endangering even the Czar himself...The landowner is the most faithful, the unsleeping watch-dog, guarding the state; he is the natural police magistrate.³⁰

30 B. H. Sumner, Op. Cit., p. 133.

3. Successes of Russian Expansionism (15th - 19th Centuries)

(a) Czarist Imperialistic Policies

There was no force left in Russia which could oppose the supreme will and power of the Czar. He became throughout Russia the Father of Russians, head of the "only true Christian Church", whose destiny was to expand the might of "Holy Mother Russia" throughout the globe. The theory of Moscow being the third Rome became the official theory of the imperialistic policies of Czarist Russia. In spite of a few failures, this theory proved to be extremely successful. The Czars, regardless of whether they resided in Moscow or in St. Petersburg, whether they tried to keep Russia away from Europe or tried to introduce European customs even by brutal force, were able to use all available human and material resources they had at their disposal for pursuing their imperialism. The frontiers of Russia kept constantly moving further and further from the central regions where the Russian State originated.

The Czar's imperialistic policies were based on Filofei and may be summarized in a sentence from the letter Filofei wrote to Vasily II: "Thou art the only Christian sovereign in the whole world, the master of all the Christians."³¹ In many aspects the Czarist imperialistic ambition was harvesting fruits which resulted through the contribution of factors which were already described. For instance, the expansion to the East and South-east and the colonization of the enormous territories of Siberia

³¹ Nicolas Zernov, Op. Cit., p. 49.

from the Arctic Ocean to the borders of India and China and from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean within such an admirably short period of time, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was made possible only through the nature of Russian population - its character of toughness and, in defiance of suffering caused by extremely unfavourable climate and inhospitable country, willing to undergo these sacrifices for the glory of "Holy Mother Russia."

(b) Slavophiles-Westernizers

Two opposing schools of thought which originated during the early years of the Romanoff dynasty (1613-1682) played a very prominent part in the field of political philosophy, and affected the imperialistic theory of Czarism - the theory of Moscow being the third Rome. Regardless of the use of different approaches and methods, amendments and modifications to the original doctrine of Filofei, it remained unchanged in its very essence during the whole period of Czarism.

With the exception of the Czars themselves, nobody had contributed so much for the preservation of Filofei's imperialistic theory during the later centuries of Czarism, than one of these schools of thought - the Slavophiles. This movement, which came into being as the reaction to the aims and ideas of the Westernizers, was the isolationist school fiercely opposing implementation of any Western ideas. The Slavophiles feared that by accepting these ideas, Russia would lose her distinctive character, that the tradition of the Greek Orthodoxy and Byzantine culture would be lost, the Roman Catholic Church would spread throughout the country, the Slav language and customs would disappear and, what was considered the greatest

possible danger and tragedy to Russia, the theory of the Third Rome and the Czarist imperialistic drive towards its realization would wither away, and become only a legend.

One of the Slavophiles' aims was to help the Balkan Slavs to destroy the Turkish yoke, and to co-operate with all the Slavic nations. Slavophiles saw in the Russian peasant, although humiliated by the terrible burden of Serfdom, the only true Christian. They exalted patriarchal and believing peasant Russia against the individualistic, sceptical and "heretic" West. They idealized mediaeval Russia and were filled with a consciousness of Russia's mystical destiny, heavenly mission as theorized by Filofei's doctrine and practised by the Czarist regime.³²

One of the great champions of this school of thought Prince Odoyevsky, wrote, defending Russian imperialism:

Western Europe is on the highroad to ruin. We Russians, on the contrary, are young and fresh and have taken no part in the crimes of Europe. We have a great mission to fulfil. Our name is already inscribed on the tablets of victory; the victories of science, art and faith await us on the ruins of tottering Europe.³³

Prince Odoyevsky believed, like so many Russians before and after his times, that it is inevitably the humiliation, suffering and sacrifices of the Russian population, which make Russia great, powerful and victorious in its imperialistic expansionism.

32 W. B. Walsh, Op. Cit., p. 197.

33 William Henry Chamberlin, "The Russian Revolution, 1917-1921, Vol. 1. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935), p. 21.

The other school of thought, the Westernizers, advocated that Russia needed to adopt not only Western technical progress, but also Western ideas of constitutionalism, law and social progress. By doing so, they were indirectly opposed to the imperialism of Czarism. While the Slavophiles represented the conservative forces in Russian political development and defended the theory of the Third Rome, the Westernizers were the basis of the Russian revolutionary movements which spread to such an extent throughout Russia in the latter part of the nineteenth century and existed up to the Great October Revolution. These two schools were, however, in agreement in their patriotism, their idealization of the Russian peasant, and their opposition to the bourgeois societies of Western Europe.³⁴

(c) The Church and The State

Similarly as the State in Russia during the reign of the early Romanoffs, was faced with the problem of how to react towards the ever increasing number of western influences, so was the Church. The Church policy in political matters, left political leadership by tradition to the Czar and concerned itself solely with spiritual matters. In this field it carried out a policy of isolationism from Europe and of favouring the creation of an Eastern Empire under the spiritual direction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Since many changes and innovations had taken place in the Greek and other Orthodox churches' rituals and ideas during that period,

³⁴ W. E. Walsh, Op. Cit., p. 199.

the extremely conservative Russian Church regarded them as inferior, corrupted with Western influences and claimed that, Moscow being the Third Rome, alone held the true Christ's faith, by which mankind could be saved.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century, patriarch Nikon, (1652-1658) realized the need for reform of the Church, in order to strengthen its position, and tried forcibly to implement some changes. The conservative element inside the Church rebelled and the consequent crisis resulted in the schism (1654-1667) and the foundation of the Old Believers. Thus instead of strengthening the Church, as the patriarch Nikon intended to do, he achieved exactly the opposite.

(d) Accomplishments of Czarist Imperialism

The theory of Moscow being the Third Rome had brought into movement a colossal imperialistic ambition throughout Russia. After destroying every actual and potential internal opposition, the Czar remained alone and unchallenged within the State to translate this theory into action.

The first grand duke who was crowned a Czar, Ivan IV (1533-1584) contributed immensely to the success and expansion of Russian Imperialism. He was a remarkable theoretician of absolute monarchy, having taught that a Czar must not only govern the state, but also save souls.³⁵ He had a choice in deciding the direction of this imperialistic policy - either

³⁵ Nicolas Berdyaev, Op. Cit., p. 5.

east or west. To expand east did not seem too difficult after the final destruction of the Tatar power, and meant that Russia would become a huge multiracial Euro-Asian Empire, uniting politically many races and creeds. The Czar would then be the father of his people, residing in the third and last Rome, and the heir to the Byzantine and Roman Empires. Russia would be more Asiatic in character, and isolated from Europe would remain materially backward.

To expand west, on the other hand, looked extremely difficult, if not impossible. The neighbours on the western frontiers, such as Poland and Sweden, had well-trained armies which were using more modern and effective weapons than the Russians. There would have been no territorial gains for Russia in the west, the only advantage would have been that looking west, Russia would be able to catch up with Europe by using Western ideas. These ideas would have to be introduced artificially and imposed from above. Doubtless they would have remained foreign to the masses of Russian population and would not affect them.

Ivan IV decided that the expansion to the east was the most profitable and logical step for Russian Imperialism. A great Russian Empire was his ideal, and in the true Byzantine tradition and in the light of Filofei's doctrine, he had no other choice. Moscow would not be a Third Rome by trying to ape Western Europe with its "erroneous" Christianity, and without expanding Russian territories and prestige. He destroyed the last power of the Tatars by capturing Kazan in 1552 and Astrachan in 1556 and opened up the Eastern territories from the Volga to the Ural Mountains to Russian colonization. His reign gave solid

foundations to a strong Russian State and directed the expansion eastwards. The government became increasingly despotic and his will became the supreme law.³⁶ The strong authoritarian rule of the Czar, already found to be the most effective form of government capable of unifying the country, driving out all invaders and defending its frontiers, became now the most effective instrument and form for carrying out its imperialism. Under Ivan IV, Russia conceived herself as the great Euro-Asian Empire, heir to the tradition of imperial Rome and Byzantium, having a holy mission as the head of the "only true" Christian church, to bring true Christianity to the "two continents." The theory of Russian world domination existed already at that time, as it was not too difficult to replace the geographical limit from the two continents to the entire world.

During the reign of the early Romanoffs influences of western Europe were increasingly felt. In circles around the Czar, among the nobility and the city population these ideas brought realization of the backwardness and primitiveness of Russia. These influences became stronger when foreign officers came to Russia to train the Russian army, and foreign merchants and artisans seeking better opportunities, became more numerous. But Russia did not place itself in line with the rest of Europe. The few reforms which were put into effect did not deal either with the problem of moderating the ruthless supreme power of the Czarist regime nor did they try to deal with the politically explosive problem of Serfdom. There

³⁶ M. Philips Price, "Russia Through the Centuries", (London: Allen and Unwin, 1943), p. 36.

was complete absence of those classes or institutions who could impose a check on the autocracy and the highest nobility were only the first slaves of the Czar.

The growth and intensification of Serfdom became a major tendency in Russian development. At the end of the eighteenth century there were thirty-four million serfs out of a population of thirty-six million.³⁷ The Czarist regime imposed great strain and oppression on the serf masses who periodically expressed themselves in destructive sweeping mass revolts that dealt blows against the governmental system which did not permit the development of free creative forces that might have led Russia along lines of development similar to those of Western Europe. These sporadic peasant revolts, which became a feature of subsequent Russian history, always erupted with destructive violence and followed by sudden subsidence. No political ideas or theory were, however, behind this type of opposition to the ruthless Czarist policy of pursuing its imperialistic ambition regardless of the sufferings of the population. These revolts were not directed against the Czar, "whose rule was accepted as something given, like the sun and the moon." Two Russian proverbs are highly indicative: "Oppression comes not from the Czar, but from his favorites." The Czar is gracious, not so his kennel-keeper."³⁸

It was the military organization of the State and the maintenance

37 R. D. Charques, *Op. Cit.*, p. 117.

38 B. H. Sumner, *Op. Cit.*, p. 158.

of a large army, essential for carrying out Czarist imperialism, that was not only the main cause of Serfdom but made it even inevitable.

The almost impossible task of modernization of Russia on the Western model fell on Czar Peter the Great (1694-1725). It is not possible within the scope of this study to describe even the most important reforms which were put into practice during his reign, quite often by most inhuman and barbaric methods. He contributed greatly to Russian imperialism, both in theory by strengthening absolutism, and in practice by his successful policies of conquest. Under his rule, the Byzantine theocratic tradition, reinforced by the Muscovite system of military centralization, had become an autocracy for the purpose of forcibly modernizing the backward, half-Asiatic Russian State. He wiped out all remaining opposition to his position of all-powerful Czar, and re-established the old Muscovite tradition that the State is the private property of the Czar.³⁹

The aim of Peter's ecclesiastical policy was to abate the prestige of the hierarchy, which was to be subordinated and made serviceable to the Czarist power. He was denounced as anti-Christ by the Church leaders and particularly by the Old Believers. Peter's opportunity to destroy the power of the Church came on the death of his patriarch Adrian in 1700 when he refused to permit the appointment of his successor. More than two decades afterwards, in 1721, he abolished the office of patriarch and appointed a "Holy Synod" where only his most trusted and abedient Church leaders were able to take the seat.

39 M. Philips Price, Op. Cit., p. 53.

From that time on, the Church lost its self-government and became a department of the Russian State. This was one of the gravest mistakes and the Czar, by trying to acquire absolute power for successfully pursuing his imperialistic ambition, had overreached his power. Up to that time the Church was an independent spiritual force, one of the two pillars upon which Russia rested, and when the other pillar - the secular force - gave way, the Church was able to be effective in preventing any catastrophic event before the secular force under a new Czar again came into being. After Peter's action, however, when the State became unpopular and was threatened by revolutionary movements, the Church being an organ of secular government was just as unpopular and was unable to give the Czarist regime any considerable help. This happened, of course, in 1905 and, finally, in the disastrous year of 1917.

The other wrong step was the implementation of Peter's financial policy which laid the entire burden of taxation on the peasantry, while the nobility, the State clergy, and certain other classes were exempt from taxation. Thus, the existence of Serfdom became more firmly established than ever before and the chasm between the peasantry and the enlightened classes grew to enormous proportions.

Although Peter's desire to learn from Europe and modernize Russia by implementing Western ideas was the most fundamental trend of his reign, he never ceased to pursue the imperialistic ambitions of his predecessors, which were based on the theory of the Third Rome. He Europeanized Muscovite absolutism in order that Russia might pursue even more successfully

its imperialism. He was a patriotic Russian who did not consider the West as a friend but only as an instrument which might be used for further strengthening of the Russian position for further expansion. This is evident from his statement regarding the question of Russian-European relations: "For a few score years we shall need Europe; then we shall be able to turn our backs on her."⁴⁰

In 1721, when Peter assumed the Byzantine title of Imperator, the greatness of power of his reformed absolutism was well characterized. His absolutism was qualitatively higher than that of his predecessors. He was recognized by Europe and he co-ordinated Russia with the European powers. Through his successful expansionism he established Russian power on the Baltic and Caspian Seas. By breaking the power of Sweden in the battle at Poltava in 1709, at the very time when Spain ceased to be a world power in the West, Russia became predominant in the East, and occupied, after England, France and Austria, fourth place among the powers of the world.

Peter the Great is said to have left a document, the so-called "Testament of Peter the Great". In it he proclaims that Russia, "which I found a stream and left a great river, is called upon to become a fertilizing sea to impoverished Europe, and its waves will overflow in spite of all the dikes that feeble hands can erect against it." A series of recommendations for his successors gives them instructions on how to remain faithful to their mission of the conquest of Europe by Russia. "At the end nothing will be left to do except to propose a partition of the world

40 M. P. Price, Op. Cit., p. 57.

to the other great powers and finally to subjugate Europe by Russian armies" which then meant, of course, world domination."⁴¹ However, the original of this document was never seen and it was never proved that it really existed.

Little was added by Peter's successors to the theory of Russian imperialism during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries. A very definite trend developed so that the Czars were forced to give priority to their imperialistic policies, and also were able to expand the Russian frontiers further. The expansion of Russian power was the only safeguard of the Czarist regime against the ever-increasing discontent of the population.

Some of the imperialistic achievements of the Russian rulers during that period are remarkable. During the reign of Empress Elizabeth (1741-1761), Russian armies invaded Prussia and after costly victories were seen marching in Berlin. The Empress Catherine the Great (1762-1796) greatly expanded the territories of Russia in the South and East, and most successfully carried forward the Eastern imperialistic policy of the Russian Empire. A great contribution to her imperialism was given by a great military genius, General Count Suvorov, who introduced new tactics in war, took great care of his armies, and was so successful that he never lost a battle in all the wars in which he took part.⁴²

Russian expansion in Asia is well characterized in the words of Prince Orchtomski: "...The heritage that the Genghis Khans and the Tamerlanes have left, belong to Russia. Asia! We have been part of it at all times; we have been using it for building up our might; we have

⁴¹ Constantin de Grunwald, "Peter the Great" (London: Saunders, 1956), p. 214.

⁴² M. P. Price, Op. Cit., p. 63.

lived its life and shared its interests; our geographical position irrevocably destines us to be the head of the rudimentary powers of the East."⁴³

It has to be noted, however, that two of the greatest objectives of Russian imperialism - the occupation of Constantinople thus establishing Russian power at the shores of the Mediterranean, and the extension of the Russian Empire to the waters of the Persian Gulf in Persia and to the Indian Ocean in India, remained unfulfilled.

Internally, during the eighteenth century sporadic peasant revolts continued to occur. The serfs were desperate by the ever increasing miseries and burdens of serfdom and their deteriorating economic conditions. Being unable to withstand any more of their sufferings and unable to draw attention to themselves as well as to relieve at least temporarily, their anger, they revolted against their landlords, but were always defeated and brought back to their former state. The only result was that, after every such revolt, some of their former conditions worsened.

The nineteenth century brought a change in this trend. In contrast to earlier centuries which witnessed mass movements of peasant revolts without educated leaders and clearly defined ideas, the nineteenth century generated in Russia a multitude of ideas, theories and potential leaders without arousing a genuine mass movement. These leaders could be described as generals without an army, who had lost the fight even before the battle took place. No widespread mass movement took place until 1905. The reason

⁴³ Alfred Rambaud, "The Expansion of Russia", (New York: Scott-Thaw, 1904), p. 60.

for this development was that as long as the Czarist regime was able to be successful in its policies of imperialism, and keep on bringing nearer to its realization the theory of the Third Rome, the masses of the Russian population, with the exception of a comparatively few individuals or small groups of individuals, were ready to give the Czar their support, regardless of all internal inefficiency and individual suffering, and directed all their revolts against the landlords without blaming the Czar, who remained "their Father". As a matter of fact, it was believed that only through this suffering can Russian imperialism succeed, and Czarism was the only available executive instrument. A notable exception is the Russian humiliation in the Crimean war (1854-1856) which the Czarist regime, however, was able to erase from the minds of the Russian population by the emancipation of the serfs in 1861.

IV. DOWNFALL OF CZARISM

1. Decline of Czarist Imperialism

(a) De Tocqueville's Vision of a Future Russia

During the entire period of its existence in Russia up to the late decades of the nineteenth century, Czarist imperialism was a definite success regardless of the humiliation caused by the Crimean war and its accomplishments were impressive. When Alexis de Tocqueville wrote in the 1830's his book "Democracy in America", he did not fail to notice, while thinking about the future development of the young American Republic, the future role of the growing Russian Empire. In his thinking he was influenced

by observing the elements of fundamental strength of both nations, not only in the field of political philosophy where two opposing ideas were the basis - the Americans having freedom and the Russians servitude, but also in the field of political geography, since both nations possessed practically inexhaustible resources and were able to expand their continents without encountering any serious opposition. He wrote:

There are, at the present time, two great nations in the world which seem to tend towards the same end, although they started from different points: I allude to the Russians and the Americans.....

All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and only to be charged with the maintenance of their power; but these are still in the act of growth; all the others are stopped, or continue to advance with extreme difficulty; these are proceeding with ease and with celerity along a path to which the human eye can assign no term. ...

Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems to be marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe.⁴⁴

This is an excellent prophecy. There are few examples of prophetic insight more conspicuously vindicated by the course of events. Although Russia was at that time a great power, especially after the defeat of Napoleon in 1812-13, it was yet far from being one of the two leading powers, as it is now, and was easily invaded and humiliated by England and France during the Crimean War. Yet de Tocqueville saw then a mighty Russia of the future, deciding the destiny of half the globe. He saw that in Russia the idea of imperialism carried out by Czarist despotism was able to use all available means and resources to fulfil his vision.

⁴⁴ Alexis de Tocqueville, "Democracy in America", (New York and London: The Co-operative Publication Society, 1900), Vol. 1, p. 441-442.

(b) Growth of Internal Crisis - Revolutionary Ideas

The revolutionary ideas which spread throughout Russia during the nineteenth century were unable to succeed in attracting the mass of population. The defeat in the Crimean war and the emancipation of the serfs led to intensified activities in the revolutionary groups. Their ideas, extremism, impatience at half-measures of the Czarist regime which was preoccupied with its imperialistic policies and liquidation of its opponents, did not affect, however, the masses of population.

The tendency to transform Russia immediately from the backward political and social conditions of the dictatorship of the right to the dictatorship of the left, was an inevitable reaction to the absolute extremism of the Czarist regime. It was only natural that the action of an extremism on the one side called for the reaction of another extremism on the opposite side. Western theories of social change, which were quite moderate in Western Europe, acquired greatly intensified destructive force when they were used by the young, fervent Russian intelligentsia, which had just come into its existence. As always before, there was a complete absence of any moderation or compromise in Russian society, regardless of class. There was no middle way - there were in reality only two groups of Russians who took an active part in the political development - on one side were the champions of Czarism, who used all their strength to suppress and destroy the other side which, on its part, feverishly and uncompromisingly tried to destroy the Czarist regime and bring into being an absolute socialist Russian State.

Above all, however, stood the theory of Russian Imperialism supported by the vast majority of the Russian population. It became the Idea, in the sense of Rousseau's General Will. Whoever opposed Czarism, opposed also the Idea and was unable to gain power. In other words, as long as the Idea considered the Czarist regime the most capable instrument in carrying efficiently the expansion of Russian power and territories, no revolutionary movement in Russia, which opposed Czarism, was able to succeed. And since all revolutionary movements had to inevitably oppose Czarism, they fought a lost battle.

The ideas and theories of which these revolutionaries were apostles did not play the most significant role. Since they were unable to bring any contribution to Russian expansion, and since they opposed directly Czarism, they were considered as enemies of Russian imperialism - the Idea. Their only hope of swinging the pendulum, held by the large masses of Russian people to their side, was an unsuccessful war ending in a decisive Russian defeat, through which the Czarist regime would cause humiliation and belittlement of Russia. The Russian revolutionaries did not fail to notice that history taught that catastrophic reverses and defeats in war have often provoked a radical transformation of the existing structure of state and society.⁴⁵ They knew that such an event would be inevitable in the given conditions of Czarist Russia. The Crimean War linked with the war with Japan and World War I have not failed to bring this expectation. The Czarist regime was able to survive the defeat of

⁴⁵ R. D. Charques, Op. Cit., p. 152.

the Crimean War only by implementing the emancipation of the serfs and reminding the Russian people of the glorious victory over Napoleon. In the case of another defeat the Czarist regime had nothing left to offer the Russian people without giving up its imperialism, which was unthinkable. Another defeat which would be immediately considered by all Russians as an inexcusable crime, would turn the Idea against Czarism and bring about its destruction. Afterwards, such a revolutionary movement would replace Czarism, which would be able to demonstrate its ability to carry on the spirit of the vanished theory of a Third Rome, by bringing an effective imperialistic theory of its own resulting in the continuous expansion of Russian power.

2. Failures of Czarist Imperialism Results in the Destruction of Czarism

It was during this critical situation, at the beginning of this century, that the Czarist regime took, insofar as its existence was concerned, a disastrous and catastrophic step. In order to advance its strength and authority by using Russian military power, it decided to undertake an Imperialist war of aggression against Japan. The resulting defeat by Japan (1904-05) shook the very basis of the Russian Empire and from that time the Czar's position became untenable. Its destruction became a matter of time.

Up to 1905, the Czarist regime, and the Czar in particular, was able to depend on the support, or at least non-resistance, of the large masses of Russian population because the Idea was on his side. The defeat by Japan immediately changed this situation. The Idea swung the pendulum

of internal power against Czarism. Organized large-scale mass revolution and risings broke out throughout Russia, including the army and navy. Russia became paralyzed. Strikes became almost incessant and there were continual uprisings of the peasants. Assassinations of Czarist officials became a daily routine. All of this created a choking political atmosphere, ready to explode at any suitable moment. The Czarist regime was able to survive only by the most brutal forms of oppression which weakened Russian strength even further. The Church which by Peter's reforms became a governmental department, was unable to prevent the destruction of Czarism, or at least, to prevent the most radical revolutionary movement from taking power in Russia. Actually, it was unable to prevent its own destruction.

When Russia, exhausted by nine years of internal strife, entered World War I, the inevitable happened. Having suffered enormous humiliation, defeats and losses on the battlefronts, the colossal structure of Czarism, which ruled Russia for almost seven centuries, and developed it from a tiny and unimportant Muscovite principality into one of the great world powers, collapsed with a tremendous crash, both in the field of theory and reality. Under this ordeal, Czarism had collapsed from within, its backward and repressive order of society broken, its inert and anomalous system of government totally discredited.⁴⁶

The Idea - Russian imperialism - embodied in the masses of Russian people, had no more patience with the failures of Czarism in carrying out

⁴⁶ Richard Charques, "The Twilight of Imperial Russia," (London: Phoenix House, 1958), p. 249.

the mystical destiny and heavenly mission of Russia to dominate the world. The very reason why they let themselves be oppressed by the tyranny of Czarism for so many centuries, was their extreme nationalism and passionate love for Russia, which called for sacrifices in order that the Czar was able to increase the power and prestige of their beloved "Holy Mother Russia." Unable to carry on this task any more, the Czarist regime became the worst enemy of Russia and therefore bound to be liquidated.

Russia needed a new and effective instrument, capable of taking over Czarism, and give Russian imperialism a new philosophy suitable for conquering the world.

Russia did not need to wait too long - both the instrument and the philosophy for carrying on Russian imperialism were already taking over Russia, the former being represented by Lenin and his Bolshevik Party, the latter by Communism adapted to Russian conditions, Bolshevism.

CHAPTER II

IMPERIALISM OF BOLSHEVISM

I.- THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION

1. The Fall of Czarism

Where there is no court to judge men's actions, particularly the actions of despots, their results provide the verdict. If a ruler succeeds in the defence and preservation of the State, his acts will always be held honourable and praiseworthy. The vulgar mind is always ready to accept appearances and results, and the crowd is nothing but vulgar...¹

...These are the two threats to a ruler, internal conspiracy and external attack...the best safeguard against conspiracies is to avoid the hatred and contempt of the people...

History reveals the very small proportion of successful conspiracies...the ruler has behind him the pomp of power, the law, the support of his friends and the forces of the State. When popular approval is added to all these, no one will be rash enough to start conspiring...a ruler has little to fear from conspirators when he has the people on his side, whereas when they are hostile and their hatred has been aroused he must beware of everything and everybody...²

The first chapter of this study dealt with the particular developments which took place in Russia and which led to extremely strong nationalism expressing itself in omnipotent Russian imperialism. This imperialism, based on Filofei's Theory of Moscow being the third and last Rome was carried out in practice by Russian Czars. In order to remain in power they had to be successful in expanding Russian power so that their acts were held "honourable and praiseworthy" by the Russian people.

1 Machiavelli, Op. Cit., p. 92-93.

2 Machiavelli, Op. Cit., p. 94-96.

As long as the Czarist policies enabled Russia to score one victory after another they continued to have the people on their side and did not need to fear any revolutionary movement whatsoever. It was the loss which Russia suffered in the war with Japan in 1904-1905, that caused the Russian people to become "hostile and their hatred aroused". Consequently, the Russian ruler, Emperor Nicholas II (1894-1917) had to "beware of everything and everybody". It was then that the pendulum of power in Russia swung to the side of conspirators and it became only a matter of time when some of the conspirators would succeed in the destruction of the Czarist regime. That time came during World War II, when Nicholas II, after suffering losses of millions of Russian soldiers and a number of humiliating defeats on the battlefield, proved himself to be unable to carry out the ambition of Russian imperialism which, as may be said, became personified in the masses of Russian population, in the sense of Rousseau's General Will. And as nobody, according to Rousseau, can stand up against General Will, so Nicholas II was unable to prevent his own as well as his regime's destruction by the Russian people.

Nicholas II and Czarism disappeared forever from the Russian scene in the democratic revolution of February 1917. But it was inevitable that the infantile democratic regime, so strange and foreign to Russia, did not survive more than several months. The democratic regime had nothing to offer to Russian imperialism which needed a new executive instrument for carrying out Russian expansion. This new instrument was Lenin and his Bolshevik party.

2. The Origins of Bolshevism

(a) The Russian Radicals

Bolshevism has its roots in the Russian radical intelligentsia which developed during the nineteenth century. This group emerged as a product of the contradiction between the Czarist absolutism and the Russian acceptance of the West, since the reign of Peter the Great, as a standard and example for the educated classes and the nobility. During the eighteenth century absolutism prevailed in Western Europe, and that portion of the Russian society which was influenced by the West had not actively opposed the Czarist regime. But during the nineteenth century absolutism became outdated in the West and the influences of European liberal and democratic political ideas were increasingly felt in Russia where a group of intelligentsia known as the Westernizers, was eager to put them into practice. To them the Czarist regime had become an anachronism.

The westernizers who can be regarded as the ancestors of Bolshevism were inclined to accept the most radical Western ideas, ranging from anarchism to socialism, which taken over by Russian followers, emerged not as ideas and theories, but as practical plans ready to be brought to their logical conclusion. Although some of these Russian intellectuals became utilitarians, materialists, and positivists, denying metaphysics and religion in accordance with the western example, they did it in true Russian fashion, with a most intense faith, vigour and enthusiasm, giving thus a religious character to their anti-religious, materialistic and anti-idealistic attitudes.

Western theories of political and social changes which had been quite moderate in western Europe, acquired intensified destructive force when used by the young and ardent Russian intelligentsia. Extremes had always thrived in Russia and the last decades of the Czarist regime were no exception. One extremism, the absolutism of the Czarist regime, brought about another extremism which, bringing its radical ideas to their logical conclusion, saw in a revolution the only possible way to accomplish a political change.

This belief in revolution to be followed by an ideal democratic state shaped the basic attitudes of the Russian intelligentsia until the Bolshevik Revolution. The radicals regarded the Orthodox Church as the tool of the reactionary Czarist regime, and rejected all religious traditions and spiritual ideas. They realized, just as Machiavelli did before, that without the masses of population on their side, they could not gain practical results. In order to get popular support they used various means such as attempts on the lives of high Czarist officials and the Czar himself, bombing of government buildings and means of transportation, hoping that this would be a signal for mass revolution. All these attempts proved unsuccessful because, as long as the Czarist regime was able to pursue successfully the goals and ideals of Russian imperialism, the masses of population gave their support to the Czar.

(b) Lenin and the Bolsheviks

The sentimental and utopian attitude of Russian radical movements was vehemently opposed by Russian Marxism generally, and in particular by Lenin who was destined to give Russia the most effective instrument of imperialism any Empire has ever possessed. The Russian defeat in the war with Japan in 1904-1905 and the disastrous phases of the First World War put a death sentence on the Czarist regime, which was overthrown in the democratic revolution of February 1917. It is an irony that "the Bolsheviks contributed little or nothing to the revolution which overthrew the autocracy of the Czars and swept away the dynasty. Until 1917, indeed, their prospects appeared to be no better than those of several rival groups of conspirators or propagandist in exile."³ Lenin himself being in exile in Switzerland during World War I said early in 1917, seven weeks before the fall of Czarism, that men of his generation "were not likely to see the decisive battles of the approaching revolution."⁴

"It was the combination of utopianism with self-righteous ruthlessness and cynical power politics that brought the Bolsheviks to power". Lenin's opponents, the leaders of the competing parties and groups, had too little practical understanding as well as cynic brutality. They had neither the courage nor the boldness necessary to realize their utopian ideas by exploiting the world around them, and by utilizing the naive hopes and expectations of others for their own seizure of power.

⁴ Michael T. Florinsky, Op. Cit., Vol. 2, p. 1401.

³ R. D. Charques, Op. Cit., p. 7.

They remained intellectuals, capable only of discussing their programs and tactics. They avoided responsibilities and the risk of power pretending that the situation suitable for socialism had not yet arrived. They claimed that the burden of government ought to be left to bourgeois parties since Russia had first to pass through a capitalist stage in which the feudal-agrarian regime would be overcome. Lenin exploited these groups for his purposes and destroyed them after coming to power.

"Our Party cannot make progress unless it resolutely liquidates liquidationism..."⁵ Lenin considered liquidationism activities of any party or group which did not join his own Party.

The way for Lenin's regime had been prepared by the Provisional Government and by Kerensky, both of whom showed administrative incapacity and entrusted wide spheres of action to bad and incompetent men... Lenin was a logical consequence of Russian illogicality.⁶

Furthermore it is an irony that the Bolsheviks received considerable support from the Czarist regime itself, which has always kept on liquidating all revolutionary movements which tended to be moderate and liberal, because these groups worked in the open and not underground, as did the Bolsheviks, and were thus easily persecuted by the Czarist police. By doing so, the Czarist regime got rid of all the opponents of radical

5 Vladimir Iljich Lenin, "Liquidating the Liquidators", printed in the magazine "Proletarij", No. 46, July 24, 1909, published in the "Selections from Lenin - The Bolshevik Party in Action 1904-1914, (London: M. Lawrence, 1929), Vol. 2, p. 302.

6 Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, "The Making of a State, 1914-1918", (London: Allen and Unwin, 1927), p. 176.

Bolshevism and made the positions of the remaining liberals and democrats untenable. This was one of the main reasons why the liberal and democratic elements who carried out the February Revolution of 1917, were unable to prevent the successful Bolshevik Revolution of October of the same year.

It was because of Lenin's leadership that the Bolsheviks were the only revolutionaries who succeeded in making ruthless activism the predominant attitude of their party. Lenin was at the same time an intellectual and a professional revolutionary organizer and leader. He was a doctrinaire as well as a man of action. In this sense he was the only Russian revolutionary leader who united theory and practice. And above all, he was an "imperialist, whose whole thought was imperialist, despotic."⁷

II.-- The Development of Bolshevik Imperialism

1. Influence of Marxism

Marx and Engels did not advocate, in their "laws of human development" imperialism of Russia or any other state. However, they provided Russian imperialism with a most effective instrument for expansion. Their analyses contained a promise that an inevitable proletarian revolution would bring about a new world of social justice where there would be no place for evil. It was the promise of a better world, a dream which has entranced and sustained men from time immemorial, the employment of which

⁷ Nicolas Berdyaev, Op. Cit., p. 139.

fit precisely into the Russian ambition of world domination. The one extreme, the messianic mission of Russia to realize a true Kingdom of Christ on this earth, was easily switched to another extreme, the mission of Russia to realize an ideal, God-less, materialistic world of social justice.

The denial of God's existence is the base for Marxism. The aim of man and mankind is a self-sufficient, perfectly organized "Classless Society" on this earth. Only in this society will man fully realize his nature and utilize all his potentialities. Then all religion based upon belief in God will allegedly disappear as superfluous, for religion is, according to Marxism, only the expression of an imperfect social order and denial of reason, and an opiate. The hatred which Marxism then, and Bolshevism now directs against religion only shows more clearly that it is itself a religion which deifies a purely ^{immanentist} ~~immanentist~~ secular development - a religion which replaces a transcendental God by a political and social order, the classless, perfect society. All history moves towards this society which gives meaning to all social and political development.

The perfect, self-sufficient classless society cannot arise spontaneously, at just any moment, the Marxist doctrine emphasizes, but will emerge only after a long and inevitable development of society. The various stages of this development are determined by the prevailing means of economic production, and the domination of the various classes corresponding to them. Capitalism, the system under which the bourgeois class controls society because it owns the means of production, will be overcome by the rise of the proletariat, the class which does not possess anything other than its own power to work and produce. Since class distinctions

are based on the existence of private property, the proletariat is the class destined to abolish all classes through inevitable revolution by taking exclusive control of society and by abolishing private ownership of the means of production. Under the "dictatorship of the proletariat", society will pass through two stages.

The first stage, to be realized by the proletariat through the Communist party, the function of which is to formulate and carry out the real will of the proletariat, is called Socialism. Private control of the means of production has disappeared; the power of the bourgeois class has been broken but those who work are paid unequally according to their contribution to society. Socialism in the long run will then allegedly result in such an abundance of production, because of the superiority of planning over capitalist anarchy, and the disappearance of private profits resulting from exploitation of workers, that the second stage, Communism, in which everyone can be rewarded according to his needs, will follow. Then also the State, or the political government, will wither away.

2. Lenin's Contribution and Role

(a) The Party - a New Instrument of Imperialism

Lenin (1870-1924) became convinced that revolutionary results of political, social and economic developments could not be replaced by individual acts of heroism. He defended uncompromisingly the Marxian thesis about the necessary revolutionary mission of the proletariat. He held however that the workers by themselves would not be able to develop a

truly revolutionary consciousness, and this consciousness had to be brought to them by the special group of revolutionaries. A well-organized and strictly disciplined revolutionary party was, according to him, an absolute necessity to fight the peculiar Russian conditions.

He reasoned that with the advance of capitalism, discontent of the masses would grow, but the proletariat would not automatically become class-conscious and revolutionary. They would, if left unguided, tend to become bourgeois or, at best, merely trade-unionists. "...The history of all countries shows that the working class is able to develop only trade-unionist consciousness exclusively by its own efforts..."⁸ He also considered the peasantry hopelessly petty bourgeois in outlook who had to have class consciousness brought to them from outside by party intellectuals. The basic difference between the nature of the party as it was originally conceived by Marx and Engels, and as it was later developed and put into practice by Lenin, lies in that the former had in mind a mass political party of the same type as developed in Western Europe while the latter emphasized that the Communist party must be small, unified and consisting of "a carefully picked body of intellectual and moral elite, an intellectual elite in the sense that its Marxist scholarship preserves the purity of Marxist doctrine and provides the guidance to policy in the party, and once the party has attained the power, in the state as well; a moral elite in the sense that selection and a rigid party

⁸ Vladimir Iljich Lenin, "What is to be done?", Selections From Lenin, The Fight for the Program, Party Organization and Tactics 1893-1904, (London: Martin Lawrence, 1929), Vol. 1, p. 95.

training gives it complete, wholehearted and devoted absorption in the purposes of the party and the revolution."⁹

Lenin organized a class of professional revolutionaries who would direct and dominate the proletariat; the organization of a party not controlled by the worker, but controlling the worker. Being a realist, Lenin knew that unless Czarism were to humiliate Russia by losing a war, he and his group would never succeed in Imperial Russia where little mattered whether or not the proletariat suffered, if Russian power and territories kept expanding. He felt, however, that the Czarist regime's ability to pursue further Russian Imperialism was coming rapidly to an end, and in that he saw his chance. Like the grand dukes of Moscow and their successors, Lenin's main task consisted in eliminating every actual and potential opposition.

Together with the idea of a small group of professional revolutionaries as the backbone of the Party, Lenin developed, having Czarist autocracy as a model, the idea of maximum degree of centralization and discipline inside the Party. A close watch had to be maintained over doctrine, and those who dissented even on minor points of tactics would have to be expelled. The Marxist slogan that "the emancipation of the workers must be the task of the working class itself" was changed by Lenin to "the working class was to march toward revolution directed by

⁹ George H. Sabine, "A History of Political Theory", (New York: Holt, 1953), p. 808.

an organization whose closest parallel was the army." The Party was therefore described as "the war staff of the proletarian army."¹⁰

Lenin's theory of the Party, which was destined to become a new instrument of Russian imperialism, created a break within the Marxist tradition. Marxism, like almost all revolutionary or opposition movements, had included a tenuinely liberal and humanitarian strain, which Lenin rejected.

For Lenin the Party was an extremely disciplined and organized group, led by professional revolutionaries, ready to fight for accession to power by every means, and deeming their Party membership as the determining force of their whole existence. "The Party is the highest form of proletarian organization...it is also an instrument in the hands of the proletariat for the establishment of the dictatorship, and for consolidating and elaborating that dictatorship after the seizure of power."¹¹ The Party's position in Russia is precisely that one which was held before by autocrats of the Czarist regime and the dictatorship of the Right has been replaced by the dictatorship of the Left. While, for its believers and supporters, the Party appears to be the instrument of an inevitable social development, it is in actual fact a group of ruthless followers of a new Russian Czar, who taking over alone Russian rule by eliminating his opponents, has been destined to bring about Russian world domination through the allegedly "world proletariat revolution", organized and directed from the Kremlin.

10 Joseph V. Stalin, "Leninism", (London: Allen and Unwin, 1928), p. 163.

11 Josef Stalin, "Leninism", (London: Allen and Unwin, 1928), p. 169.

Although the Bolshevik doctrine seems to be rigid, it is actually very flexible because of its use of dialectics. The combination of dialectically justified, flexible power politics on the one hand, and doctrinaire utopianism on the other, explains both the ambiguity and the cynical practice of Bolshevism in action. A very good example of this practice are the occasions when old Party members are suddenly cast in the role of traitors if they do not obey Party leadership - or if their condemnation seems useful for the Party's maintenance and expansion of power.

(b) Character of Russian Revolution

Lenin insisted also on the original and distinctively national character of the Russian revolution. He stated that the Russian revolution would not take the shape described by the doctrinaires of Marxism.¹² In this way he introduced another corrective to Marxism; he propounded the theory and tactics of the Russian revolution in the light of the necessity of having an effective instrument suitable for the continuation of Russian expansionism which became the most fundamental justification of the State. Lenin was not a theoretician of Marxism like Plechanov, but a theoretician of revolution and everything he wrote was but a treatment of the theory and practice of revolution. He understood that to succeed in overthrowing the

¹² Vladimir Iljich Lenin, "Two Tactics", published in the magazine "Vperiod", No. 6, February 1, 1906, listed in "Selections from Lenin, The Bolshevik Party in action 1904-1914", (London: Martin Lawrence, 1929), Vol. 2, p. 9-23.

Czarist regime he had to be not only in a position to seize power when Czarism would allow Russia to be humiliated, but that he and his disciples had to be able to give Russian imperialism a new meaning, new vitality and impetus, in order that they would be able to maintain their rule. According to him the Imperial government was to be succeeded, not by a democratic republic, which would have nothing to offer to continuing Russian imperialism, but by the dictatorship of the proletariat.¹³ This is the basic point - dictatorship of the Right, Czarism, was to be replaced by a dictatorship of the Left, proletariat, bound to give Russia a new "messianic" and "holy" mission, aiming also at the conquest of the world. The very organization of the Party was an extreme dictatorship on a small scale. The Bolshevik Party, built up by Lenin, was to provide the pattern of the future organization of the whole of Russia, which was to be subjected not only to the dictatorship of the Communist Party but also to that of the Communist dictator. Lenin's denial of freedom within the Party was transferred to the Russian Empire.

Lenin combined in himself the tradition of the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia in its most Maximalist tendency, and the tradition of Russian government in its most despotic aspect. Combining in himself the two extremes, the two most hostile and conflicting attitudes, Lenin was able to fashion a scheme for the organization of a Communist state, and to realize it. "However paradoxical it may sound, Bolshevism is the

¹³ Michael T. Florinsky, "Russia - A History and an Interpretation", (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1955), Vol. 2, p. 1151.

third appearance of Russian autocratic imperialism; its first appearance being the Muscovite czardom and its second the Empire of Peter the Great."¹⁴ Bolshevism stands for a strong, highly centralized, state. In accordance with the idea of Russian imperialism, it emerged as a power which, in the same fashion as the Czarist regime, was militarized in the extreme.

The fundamental problem of power distinguished the Bolsheviks from all other revolutionaries. They created a police state along the lines of Czarist Russia. In the Holy Orthodox Czardom as well as in the Empire the most important link holding the population together was their religious faith and nationalism expressed in the zeals of Russian imperialism; Soviet Russia had to possess a new single faith expressed for the people in elementary forms. Marxism revised by Lenin to suit Russian conditions - Bolshevism became that single new faith.

(c) Bolshevism - A New Faith

Bolshevism must be understood as a political religion, for it is not exclusively concerned with the conquest of power and the achievement of political and social changes, but demands absolute dominance over every realm of life - spiritual included. The Bolshevik regime does not regard itself simply as one among many possible regimes, but as the only regime based upon a truly scientific doctrine which corresponds to a necessary development in history and society. This doctrine is regarded as the only true guide to action, one destined to bring about "salvation for all those who suffer social injustice."¹⁵

14 Nicolas Berdyaev, Op. Cit., p. 143.

15 Nicolas Zernov, Op. Cit., p. 92.

This is one of the main reasons why Bolshevism could succeed in Russia. When the Czarist regime, personifying the Russian Orthodox Church, emphasizing its destiny to fulfil the mystical and holy mission of Russia of bringing the true Christ's Kingdom to the world and pursuant aims of Russian imperialism - world domination - was destroyed, it was replaced by Bolshevism, a secular religion claiming that earthly existence and the struggle to make it perfect, are the sole aims of human life and world history, and that it is the task of Russia to realize the ideals of Bolshevism throughout the globe. Professor Timasheff explained this phenomenon clearly in his statement that "Russia is today what she has always been - her government being despotic and totalitarian, and her foreign policy being aggressive, expansionist and imperialistic!"¹⁶ The Idea of Imperialism, being in Russia Rousseau's General Will, remained precisely the same, although it changed its executive instrument, replacing the old and inefficient one, Czarism, by a new and most promising one - Bolshevism.

What believers of traditional religions ascribe to God and what Christians ascribe to Christ and the Church, the Bolsheviks ascribe to the allegedly scientific laws of social, political and historical development, which they alone have formulated in the doctrine established by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The Bolsheviks regard all other doctrines and views as errors and

¹⁶ N. S. Timasheff, "Russian Imperialism or Communist Aggression - Soviet Imperialism, Its Origins and Tactics", (University of Notre Dame, 1953), p. 17.

heresies to be rejected and fought, as expressions of an anachronistic social order which defends the egoistic domination of a single class, and as the sources of prejudices in opposition to objective scientific knowledge.

(d) Theory of Imperialism

Lenin's "anti-imperialism" was expressed in his theory of imperialism - "Imperialism emerged as the highest stage of capitalist development, when certain of its fundamental attributes began to be transformed into their opposites, when the features of a period of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system began to take shape and reveal themselves all along the line."¹⁷ His claim that Bolshevism will inevitably end international exploitation and war was extremely influential. Many who rejected Communist objectives took over the thesis that all colonial rule must be terminated by every means possible. Lenin's "anti-imperialism" calling for freedom to all "colonial and dependent countries, oppressed and exploited by financial capital"¹⁸ helped to stimulate Asiatic and African nationalism. His theory of the unequal degree of the development of countries made it possible for Russia to exploit them for allegedly revolutionary purposes, although the real purposes were that of Russian imperialism. This theory also supported the

¹⁷ Vladimir Iljich Lenin, "Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism," Collected Works, (New York: International Publishers, 1929), Vol. XIX, p. 159.

¹⁸ Joseph V. Stalin, "Leninism", p. 140.

Bolshevik conquest of power and Lenin's "anti-imperialism" not only helped to portray the Bolsheviks as peace-loving opponents of war but to defend their ruthlessly aggressive tactics in their struggle for power."¹⁹ It was not necessary to wait until the gradual development, prescribed by Marx, had taken place; by exploiting every crisis and situation suitable for revolution, power could be seized and even the development of backward agrarian countries could be directed toward the Socialist-Communist world revolution. In other words, these countries could be directed towards their inclusion, first under the unfluence, and then under the might of the Soviet Russian Empire.

3. Stalin's Contribution and Role

(a) Socialism in One Country

Stalin's main addition to Bolshevism was his acceptance in 1924, after Lenin died, of the conclusion that Socialism is possible in a single country. He eliminated all opponents, the most prominent of whom was Trotsky, who insisted that Stalin defected from Lenin's position and the permanent proletarian revolution throughout the world has to be the immediate aim of the Bolsheviks. Stalin's theory of Socialism in one country, with capitalist encirclement, amounted to assuming that a socialist economy in Russia could insulate itself and could pursue political tactics

¹⁹ M. T. Florinsky, "Towards an Understanding of U.S.S.R.," (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1951), p. 17-20.

alternatively of co-operation or intervention as circumstances dictated, while it waited for Capitalism to collapse. This policy was a logical step to continue in the ambitions of Czarist imperialism towards world conquest. "...the proletariat, having seized power in Soviet Russia, can use that power for the establishment of a fully socialized society there....it is not essential that there should have been a victorious proletarian revolution in other lands."²⁰

(b) Capitalist Encirclement - Role of State

The theory of Capitalist encirclement pushed aside the famous Marxist prediction that in a Socialist society the state would "wither away". Stalin stressed the importance of strengthening the state in order to be able to "defend itself against Capitalist aggression and intervention." He stated in 1930 "...we stand for strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship, which constitutes the most powerful, the mightiest of all governing powers that have ever existed - the highest development of governmental power...."²¹ By consolidating Russian power, Stalin was getting ready for pursuing traditional Russian imperialism.

20 Joseph V. Stalin, "Leninism", (London: Allen and Unwin, 1928), p. 56.

21 Joseph V. Stalin, "Political Report of the Central Committee to the Sixteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party," held in Moscow June 26-July 13, 1930, by M. Fainsod, quoted in "How Russia is Ruled", (Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 111.

III.- STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE BOLSHEVIK IMPERIALISTS

1. Justification of Using Force

Bolsheviks have always emphasized the necessity of force and violence which, they maintain, have been used in all periods of history to establish new social orders and which are therefore needed to accelerate the emergence of Socialist and Communist societies. The main reason may, of course, be seen in that force and violence were absolutely necessary in every empire where expansionism was the most sacred goal.

The laws of dialectics, such as the development by sudden jumps after a long slow process and the unique character of such jumps, are utilized by the Bolsheviks to justify pauses, retreats, co-operation with enemies of yesterday in order to fight the more dangerous opponents of today, the abandonment and destruction of allies who under new situations became enemies bound to be liquidated. The Bolsheviks claim that only they know the right way to the final aim, always make the right distinction between reactionary and progressive forces and know the tactics which correspond to the conditions of the moment and must therefore be applied.

The Bolsheviks assert that they alone really stand for true justice and freedom and that they know how to establish these throughout the globe. This claim gives new strength to the demands of Russian imperialism. This is the reason why the Bolsheviks ascribe exclusively to Soviet Russia and its "allies" the only true opposition to aggressive wars and the only true supporters of world peace. The democratic world is always allegedly preparing for a war and aggression, while Soviet Russia, in all

its aggressions and expansionism, is only preparing its "defence" and is only eager to preserve and maintain world peace.

On the one hand Bolsheviks declare that it is possible to maintain the peaceful coexistence between the Communist and Capitalist worlds. The reason for doing that is certain. Soviet Russia is not strong enough to overcome the free world in its imperialistic ambition for world conquest. A consolidation and growth of Russian power is needed and this could be achieved only during the period of peace when the Bolsheviks are able to increase their power by all kinds of subversive methods in the free nations. Stalin expressed this clearly:

We cannot forget the saying of Lenin to the effect that a great deal in the matter of our construction depends on whether we succeed in delaying war with the capitalist countries, which is inevitable but which may be delayed either until proletarian revolution ripens in Europe or until colonial revolutions come to a head, or, finally, until the capitalists fight among themselves over the division of the colonies. Therefore, the maintenance of peaceful relations with capitalist countries is an obligatory task for us. The basis of our relations with capitalist countries consists in admitting the coexistence of two opposed systems."²²

On the other hand Bolsheviks claim that there are constant threats of war from capitalist powers, which are opposed to a genuine peaceful development and because they are unable to find satisfactory solutions for the contradictions in their system, they must end in defeat. However, this is in strict conflict with the definition given by Lenin

²² Joseph Stalin, "Speech to the 15th Congress of the Soviet Union, December 2, 1927," (Moscow: Sotchinemia, Vol. X, 1949), p. 288.

who was not so certain who would win in the end:

We are living not merely in a state but in a System of States and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable. That means that if the ruling class, the proletariat, wants to hold sway, it must prove its capacity to do so by its military organization...."²³

2. Substitution of Russia for Proletariat

Bolshevism is not only a political, social and economic doctrine - it is a political religion which maintains that it understands the nature of the universe and of society. It replaces transcendent beliefs by immanent ones. There is only one world - that of political and social action: it explains away traditional religion as the expression of social imperfection and human ignorance. It replaces God by a purely immanentist earthly aim - the classless perfect society, which determines the meaning and direction of the whole of human existence. Its program assumes the significance of religious creeds and membership in the party becomes as important as that in the Church is for pious people. The Church is replaced by the Party, which dominates the creed as well as the conduct of life. The proletariat according to Marx and Engels is the "redeemer", the class fulfilling every end of mankind.

²³ Vladimir Iljich Lenin: "Report of Central Committee at the 8th Party Congress of March 18, 1919", Selected Works, (London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1936-1938), Vol. VIII, p. 33.

The precise implementation of this idea would not suit the purpose of imperialistic Soviet Russia, but an amendment to it gave Russian imperialism an ideal instrument for expansion aiming at the world's domination. This amendment was the substitution of the Russian State for the proletariat. The role ascribed to the proletariat and its dictatorship was taken over by Soviet Russia. All decisions and actions for or against Communism in general and Bolshevism in particular, became to be regarded and evaluated as decisions and actions friendly or hostile towards the Soviet Union. Only with Soviet Russia can an allegedly earthly paradise - the perfect classless society - be reached. Without joining Russia, or to be against it, means to fight the true historical development, inevitable progress and means certain defeat.

3. The Bolshevik Creed

The Bolshevik creed can be defined as a politico-social religion based upon belief in a necessary economic-materialistic development and in a naturalistic-immanentist atheism; this belief assumes the self-sufficiency and infinite perfectibility of human nature. It is precisely this belief through which the Bolshevik imperialists are able to exploit every means available for conducting imperialistic policies on an immeasurably greater scale than the Czarist imperialists had ever been able to conduct by using Filofei's theory of the Third Rome. And whoever opposes Russian imperialism is immediately denounced as a reactionary element, enemy of social progress and justice who must be fought by every means and liquidated. According to the Bolsheviks, everyone who fights the Soviet Union proves only that, in

the sense of Rousseau's General Will, he does not really understand his own will and his own real interest. As Rousseau stated that he who fights a majority, the General Will, fights de facto himself and must be by every means stopped, the Bolsheviks likewise justify ruthless violence and mass-terror against the enemies of Russia. This is allegedly done in the service of the ultimate aim, the classless society, whose realization depends in theory on the proletariat but in practice upon the existence of the Soviet Union. Therefore, it is in the real self-interest of the proletariat to fight for the ever-increasing power of the Soviet Union because only thus can they realize the final victory of Socialism and Communism throughout the world. In other words, only through the conquest of the globe by Russia can the proletariat be victorious - if Russian Communism were destroyed, all hopes of the world proletariat would consequently also be destroyed.

The belief of messianic mission and destiny of Soviet Russia to conquer the world through Bolshevism has been incomparably more successful in the practical results than the results accomplished through the belief in the messianic mission of Czarist Russia. It is from this point of view that the colossal importance of the October Revolution could be understood. In that revolution, Russian imperialism, which was described as the General Will of the masses of Russian population, the Idea, found the most efficient instrument for the expansion of the Russian Empire ever known in the history of mankind. It found its supporters throughout the globe in the various Communist parties in nations thousands of miles away from the Russian frontiers, in individuals who do not speak Russian or have never been in

Russia, and who, through their belief in Marxism and naive hopes that only Russia can realize the ideals of social justice, have become fifth columns and agents of Russian imperialism in their mother countries. Introduction of Bolshevism to Russia was a triumph for Russian imperialism.

IV.- ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF BOLSHEVIK IMPERIALISM

1. Under Lenin

Since 1917, when the Bolsheviks seized power, their revolutionary Marxist ideas have dominated Russian policy. Economic determinism and revolutionary socialism became the new secular state religion of Russia and Western European science and industry, with private ownership abolished, became the model for new undertakings. Lenin being an imperialist in the same sense as Peter the Great, used Western Europe's achievements and ideas to build up Russian strength and power for its future expansion. But Lenin was not only a Western imitator. He saw in Russia, emancipated from the West, rejuvenated and waking from an age-long sleep of social reaction, the first Great Power to adopt the Socialist form of Society. The Bolsheviks had first united by every means available from persuasion to firing squads, all nationalities throughout the Russian Empire, in a common social revolutionary effort. As their next goal they undertook a great international crusade. They believed that the socialist revolution had to be carried throughout the world under the leadership of Russia. Russian Imperialism had from that time adopted a new doctrine for world domination. The old claim of Caesarism and of the Russian Orthodox Church that the messianic mission of Russia was to establish the only true Christ's Kingdom

throughout the world was now replaced by the claim of Bolshevism and Soviet Russia that the Messianic mission of Russia is to realize the eternal world rule of social justice, equality and freedom. "Bolshevism showed itself....in accord with the whole complex situation in Russia in 1917 and faithful to certain primordial Russian traditions, and the Russian method of Government and control by Coercion."²⁴

From the very beginning of Bolshevik rule, Lenin's activities began to change from a negative policy of destroying the Czarist and liberal regimes and their heritage to a policy of building up the instruments of power for his regime. His acceptance of humiliating peace terms at Brest-Litovsk, signed on March 3, 1918, giving Germany enormous parts of Russia, proved that Lenin realized the necessity of taking the existing conditions into account. He emphasized that a temporary retreat had been necessary in order to make possible a new expansion of Soviet Russia in the future. After the Red defeat in war with Poland Lenin called for a retreat by signing the treaty of Riga, in March 1921, on the terms which Poland imposed. He realized that the human and material potential of Russia had been completely exhausted and in the circumstances every Russian military attempt not only to expand the pre-World War I frontiers but to regain those regions which were lost since that time would end in Russian defeat and furthermore these attempts would be able to prove disastrous for the Bolshevik regime.

24 Nicolas Berdyaev, Op. Cit., p. 134.

Lenin's foreign policy had a dual character from the beginning. On the one hand the Soviet government put itself officially at the head of the International Revolutionists by summoning representatives of radical revolutionary Communist parties from all over the world to Moscow in 1919, when the Communist Third International was founded. Its manifesto proclaimed that "We Communists, representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries of the world, assembled in Soviet Moscow, feel that....it is our task now to unite the efforts of all revolutionary parties of the world proletariat and thus facilitate and hasten the victory of the Communist revolution in the whole world....The most important task for the conscious and honourable workmen of all countries is to strengthen the Soviets, to increase their authority, and to imitate the governmental apparatus of Russia."²⁵ Moscow imposed a strict rule on the Third International (Comintern), which became an instrument of Russian imperialism towards world conquest. Russia excluded those Socialist leaders it regarded as untrustworthy, and imposed conditions upon members wishing to join.

It would be difficult to conceive of a Soviet imperialism without the Third International (Comintern)....it is a vital auxiliary of Soviet imperialism. It enables the Soviet government to practice the most colossal duplicity, important to the progress of Soviet imperialism. It enables the Kremlin to carry on warfare against a nominally friendly government within that government's borders without running the risk that would ordinarily beset any such alien agency. When the injured government protests, Moscow blandly avoids responsibility by protesting that the hostile activities were the work of the Third International.²⁶

²⁵ William English Walling, "Sovietism", (New York: Dutton, 1920), p. 167-168.

²⁶ Henry C. Wolfe, "The Imperial Soviets", (New York: Doubleday, 1940), p. 46.

On the other hand Lenin's foreign policy called for conclusion of treaties by Soviet Russia, with various capitalist governments, and for recognition of the independence of the Baltic States. Poland received territorial concessions by the treaty of Riga (March, 1921) and the treaty of Rapallo (1922) established friendly relations with Germany. This realistic foreign policy was based not only upon calculations of Russian national interest, but also took into consideration the limits of Soviet strength at the time as well as the decline of revolutionary enthusiasm in the world after 1920. However, the Soviet leaders did not give up hope for a world revolution in the future.

The emphasis was shifted from the aim of an immediate world revolution to the aim of increasing and enhancing the power of the Bolshevik regime. Work for the world revolution became identified with a foreign policy that guaranteed the security of Soviet Russia, and expanded its power. This "zig-zag" foreign policy was the result of the delay in the realization of the world revolution. While waiting for it, the Soviet regime had to be strengthened and it had to learn from the experiences and technical achievements of the Capitalist States. Lenin recognized the usefulness of such economic relations and emphasized the temporary necessity for the coexistence of the Soviet and Capitalist nations:

....until the international socialist revolution breaks out, embraces several countries and is strong enough to overcome international imperialism, it is the bounden duty of the Socialists, who have conquered in one country, not to accept

battle against the giants of Imperialism. Their duty is to try to avoid war, to wait until the conflicts between the Imperialists weaken them still more, and bring the revolution in other countries still nearer.²⁷

The Bolshevik regime had to manoeuvre in order to survive until its own strength and the weakness of the other powers would permit a new expansion.

On the internal front, the Bolsheviks, in the same manner as the Grand Dukes and Czars of Moscow, wiped out every actual and potential opposition. The authority of the leadership in the party became paramount and Lenin's authority and, after his death, that of Stalin became undisputed. Communism and Comintern became the effective instruments of Russian foreign policy. The "Third Rome" became the seat and capital of the new "Communist World Empire", that is to say, the new "Soviet Russian Empire."

2. Under Stalin

(a) Before World War II

The Bolsheviks under Stalin organized and consolidated their complete control of Russia according to a definite totalitarian pattern. The five year plans for the organization of production and the acceleration of industrialization were put into operation. Most ruthless collectivization of agriculture was carried out and resulted in death by hunger or in deportation to labour camps for millions - Stalin destroyed the independence of the peasants because they threatened the process of industrialization by their refusal to supply cities with food.

27 Vladimir Iljich Lenin, Op. Cit., Vol. 7, p. 353.

"At gun point, with sacrifices of millions of lives and by sending other millions in concentration camps, almost 100 million peasants and their families were herded into the Kolchoz."²⁸

Concentration camps to which millions were deported by the Bolsheviks, were found extremely useful not only for the isolation and slow liquidation of the unreliable elements, but for the economic and colonizing expansion of Russia.

The only all-important interest of Soviet foreign policy was the constant strengthening and expansion of Russia. The Bolsheviks realized that they had to be successful in their imperialism; otherwise their fate would inevitably be the same as that of Czarism in 1917. Without expanding Russia they would be unable to keep the masses of population under their control for a long period of time, not even by employing inhuman and brutal terror.

The expansion of Russia was explained by the Russian leaders as the only guarantee for the coming victory of Socialism and Communism throughout the world. They showed that while on the one hand all Communist attempts to conquer power outside Russia had failed, Communist Russia expanded and prospered, and therefore Socialism can be achieved only through the power of Soviet Russia.

The victory of Communism only in Russia was accompanied and replaced by a surge of Russian nationalism - Russian universal leadership in the new world of Communism was considered as undisputable. Only Russia

28 N. Jasny, "Soviet Studies", a Quarterly Review of the Social and Economic Institutions of the USSR, Oxford, Vol. 3, No. 2, October 1951, p. 161.

possessed Communism, the true instrument able to bring a new hope to mankind, and in the sense of Filofei's doctrine, when Russia claimed to possess the "only true Christianity in the world," Russia was destined to realize its Messianic mission by world conquest. Russian foreign policy was the only guide for the Communist parties all over the world and all the changes of this policy, resulting merely from the interests of Russian imperialism, were immediately imposed on them.

It is certain that the features and goals of the Bolshevik regime have been similar or even identical to those of the Czarist regime. But while the latter's imperialism was limited only to the areas immediately neighbouring Russia, the former's imperialism has operated throughout the world. Whenever and wherever there are revolutions, disorder, chaos and war, there the Communists flourish and the power of Soviet Russia increases. The Bolsheviks have understood the importance of wars, especially world wars, for the expansion of Russia. Stalin emphasized this fact already in 1921, when he wrote that "the first and most important task of the Party in foreign policy is to utilize each and every contradiction and conflict among the surrounding capitalist groups and governments for the purpose of disintegrating imperialism."²⁹

Stalin believed firmly in the correctness of Marshal Foch's prophecy made at the time of the 1918 Armistice:

²⁹ Joseph Stalin, "Party After Seizure of Power", (Moscow: Pravda, August 28, 1921.)

"Gentlemen, the war is postponed for twenty years."³⁰ The ruler of the Kremlin explained his theory of the inevitability of a new world war - "Things are moving toward a new imperialist war, in which Russia would be involved and which will lead to a complete defeat of the aggressors, to revolution in a number of countries of Europe and Asia, and to the overthrow of the bourgeois-landlord governments in these countries."³¹ V. I. Lenin explained in 1934 the significance of Stalin's theory of the inevitability of a new world war: "During the war of 1914 the victorious Bolshevik Revolution raised the banner of labour over one-sixth of the globe. The second world war will spread the worker's rule to one-third, to a half, maybe even to a greater part of our planet".³² This every Soviet policy was based on the assumption that another war was inevitable. Russia was prepared, when it would come, to turn it to its own advantage.

Until 1933, Soviet foreign policy was dominated by the fear that the Western powers might again intervene against the Soviet regime, but on a much larger scale than they did after World War I. The Soviet Union denounced the League of Nations to which it did not yet belong, as an institution organized to prepare and justify such an intervention, and co-operated with Germany in order to prevent a united capitalist intervention. More emphasis was put on China where a Communist party was established, and a very cautious policy was adopted toward Japan since it was felt that any

30 Henry C. Wolfe, *Op. Cit.*, p. 279.

31 Joseph Stalin, "Report to the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," 1934.

32 Quoted by: David J. Dallin, "The Changing World of Soviet Russia", (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956), p. 298-299.

open external conflict had to be avoided.

A new period of Soviet foreign policy started in 1934 when Hitler's Nazi regime became firmly established in Germany. Fearing a German invasion, Russia concluded military alliances with France and Czechoslovakia, became a member of the League of Nations and succeeded in being recognized by the United States. These Russian policies and the Stalin Constitution of 1936 gave rise to the false belief that the Soviet Union was gradually becoming a democratic nation and that plans for world revolution were abandoned. These beliefs were soon destroyed by a series of great purges lasting over a period of two years, in which many prominent Bolsheviks were mercilessly, in prefabricated trials, sentenced to death and executed.

Soviet foreign policy continued to maintain friendly relations with the Western powers in order to win their support against Nazi Germany. The Bolshevik co-operation with moderate Socialists in the West was undertaken for the same purpose.

The Soviet-Western friendship came to an end by the Munich Conference in 1938 where Czechoslovakia was betrayed and to which the Soviet Union was not invited. From August 1939, when a Soviet-Nazi non-aggression pact was signed, the Soviet Union tried to exploit Hitler's aggression for its own imperialistic ambitions. This pact enabled Germany to attack Poland in 1939 and led to World War II. In a secret annex to the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, the spheres of interest between Germany and Russia were drawn; the partition of Poland being the best example.

(b) During World War II

The outbreak of World War II caused Russia to rejoice that the "second imperialist war" had arrived. Hitler's attack in 1941 forced the Soviet Union to fight on the Allied side. The war was conducted as a Great Patriotic War and in deed and pronouncement Soviet patriotism reached its heights. Along with appeals and exhortations to all Russians to rise in defence of the honour and independence of "the Great Soviet motherland" came constant praise and glorification of the entire Russian people who through miracles of heroism and selfless sacrifice saved the civilization of Europe and "rightfully won the fame of a heroic nation."³³ The old heroes of Czarist Russia were daily given as examples of the glorious Russian past and all victories of Czarist imperialism were increasingly stressed. Pride in the exploits of the Red Army flowed together with old-fashioned patriotism, and the people were carried away by national feeling. The army fought with traditional Russian stubbornness and self-sacrifice, and did wonders with insufficient equipment. "The chief force behind the national resistance was...Great Russian patriotism".³⁴ During the early period of the war Russian interest required to hide its imperialism in order to get Allied support - one of the actions in this direction was the dissolution of the Third International.

33 Julian Towster, "Political Power in the USSR - 1917-1947", Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 99.

34 John Lawrence, "A History of Russia", (New York: Farrar, 1960), p. 324.

But as soon as the military defeat of Germany was certain, Imperialism of Soviet Russia reappeared with a greater explosiveness than ever before. The power politics of Russia was explained as its necessary protection against any hostile action and possible intervention by the Western powers, particularly by the United States.

It was stressed that the coalition of Soviet Russia with other Capitalist States can only be a temporary feature, as proclaimed by Bucharin after the October Revolution: "Since formation of coalitions between proletarian and certain capitalist states against other bourgeois states is quite permissible, on a strictly temporary basis, the question of policy in war depends on each individual case."³⁵ One of the clearest statements describing the co-operation of Russia with the Western Powers as a phenomenon only of a purely temporary nature stated: "The fact that the Soviet Union and the greatly shaken Capitalist countries showed themselves to be in one powerful camp, ranged against the fascist aggressors, showed that the struggle of two systems within the democratic camp was temporarily alleviated, suspended, but this of course does not mean the end of this struggle."³⁶

At the organizing conference of the Cominform in September 1947, Zhdanov stated that the world was divided into two camps, the "imperialist" camp led by the United States and the "anti-imperialist" camp led by the Soviet Union. Foreign Communists were summoned to lead the battle against the "imperialist aggressors."³⁷

35 David J. Dallin, "Russia and Postwar Europe", (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), p. 146.

36 E. Varga, "World Economy and World Politics", (Moscow, June 1949), p. 11.

37 Merle Fainsod, Op. Cit., p. 114.

Soviet expansionism which was favoured by the general situation at the end of World War II, made Russia the second greatest World Power after the United States, and de Tocqueville's prophecy of 1830 became thus a reality. By 1945, the successes of Stalinist imperialism "had surpassed even the dreams of the Czars in achieving for the country a status and power position of the first rank in the international arena."³⁸

Russian control of central Europe and the Balkans, expansion in the Far East, the prestige of the undefeatable Red Army, enthusiasm and approval of the Russian population of the Bolshevik regime which was able to extend to such extent the size and power of "Holy Mother Russia" and was in a position to look forward to further and even more impressive Russian victories, the naivety of the Western politicians who believed in the sincerity and honesty of the Russians and agreed to all Stalin's conditions at conferences such as those held at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam:-- all these factors contributed to the establishment of immense Russian power unparalleled in its whole history. The power of world Communism - the most effective instrument of Russian imperialism had also greatly expanded.

Stalin's expectation and prediction that a new world conflict is inevitable, and his readiness to gain every possible advantage from it when it comes, demonstrated clearly the correctness of his thought. Before World War II Russian power was weak, because of internal difficulties and strifes, resulting in a very cautious foreign policy, although by zig-zagging off its course it exploited every suitable occasion for

³⁸ John S. Reshetar, "A Concise History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", (New York: Praeger, 1960), p. 213-214.

strengthening Russian power. The Communists outside Russia were insignificant, in hiding and went from defeat to defeat.

World War II had completely changed this situation. Russia emerged as one of the greatest world powers, on the one hand by conquering and occupying with its armies vast regions of Europe and Asia and enlarging Russian territories and power, and on the other hand by having a powerful and influential instrument of its imperialism in the strong Communist parties and "fellow travellers" throughout the world. Stalin's assurances, given at the early stages of the war, when Soviet Russia was at its lowest ebb, that "we (Russia) have no such war aims as the seizure of foreign territories or the conquest of other peoples....or the imposition of our will on the Slavic and other enslaved peoples of Europe who are waiting for our help.No interference of any kind with the domestic affairs of other nations",³⁹ became meaningless. They were given by Stalin - an imperialist, the Prince, whose action was explained by Machiavelli:

....a prudent Prince neither can nor ought to keep his word when to keep it is hurtful to him and the causes which led him to pledge it, are removed....no prince was ever at a loss for plausible reasons to cloak a breach of faith....⁴⁰

The causes which led Stalin to pledge his word during the war, the grave danger to the very existence of Russia, were definitely non-existent. After World War II, it was for the first time since Bolshevism came to power in Russia that the Bolshevik prince of Russia was able to be confident in his power and absolutism in Russia. From 1917 to 1945

39 Joseph Stalin, "Speech to the Moscow Soviet on the 24th Anniversary of the October Revolution", (Moscow: Pravda, November 7, 1941).

40 Niccolò Machiavelli, "The Prince", (New York: Collier, 1910), p. 60.

there was an incessant period of internal strifes which did not allow Lenin or Stalin to demonstrate, by means of practical results, to the masses of the Russian population, embodying the Idea of Russian Imperialism, that their regime is the regime destined for Russia and capable of translating the old Russian dream of world domination into reality. By doing so, during and after World War II, Stalin did not need to worry about conspiracies to the extent he had to do before - he had people on his side and, as Machiavelli stated, in such cases conspirators rarely succeed. Stalin realized the suitability of the situation for further Russian expansion, and the biggest Imperialistic venture the world has ever witnessed has been launched by Soviet Russia. Since this revival of the old explosive Russian Imperialistic expansionism, incited by new motives and methods, incomparably more effective than those of Czarism, hundreds of millions of non-Russian peoples were brought either under ~~XIX~~ direct or indirect Kremlin rule. Russia has come nearer to its goal of world domination than did any world empire before.

This Russian Imperialistic expansionism led to the cold war with the West, particularly with the United States, the only power capable of stopping Russian Imperialism. The Russians have never doubted their future predominance over the United States. They firmly believe in Stalin's prediction made in 1939:

In fifteen, twenty or twenty-five years, the Soviet State will be completely secure, it will be stronger than the other powers taken together. Only such a superiority of force constitutes security. When this superiority is achieved every conflict will end in favour of the Soviet Union. And there will be no reason for it to retreat, yield, give ground, and be reconciled with the existence of capitalist governments. After fifteen to twenty-five

years the social revolution will be nearly complete, the goal will be accomplished.⁴¹

In other words, in 1939 Stalin predicted that by 1964 the goal, domination of the world by Russia, will be accomplished.

(c) After World War II

Since the results of World War II confirmed Stalin's expectations and predictions on the inevitability of a world war and expansion of Russian power in that war, Stalin's infallibility was never really questioned by the Russians. All Russian actions after 1945 have been based on his Imperialistic theory of inevitability of predominance of Russian power over the western powers and the United States which would ultimately lead to the conquest of the world by Russia.

To achieve world conquest, Stalin employed, after 1945, an imperialistic foreign policy which may be summarized in five points:

1. The international crisis of capitalism and the process of transition to socialism was continuing;

2. Whenever and wherever extension of the socialist (Russian) realm was possible without armed conflict with the United States, such an extension was obligatory, and in carrying it out, all diplomatic, legal, and propaganda obstacles must be disregarded;

3. The new "Socialist Nations" must assume part of the burden of expansion which the Soviet Union had up to now borne alone. This means less direct fighting on the part of Russia and more on the part of its allies;

⁴¹ David J. Dallin, Op. Cit., p. 302.

4. Soviet Russia must abstain from any move on the international scene that must lead to a war with the West in which it would be directly involved;

5. War is inevitable as long as capitalism exists.⁴²

Russia has been exploiting every revolutionary situation created by the war and filled the vacuum in the spheres where the defeated axis powers formerly ruled and where the rule and influence of the allied powers weakened or diminished. Russian power expanded by establishing its system of satellites, by enabling the Communist victory in China, by creating chaos wherever and whenever possible, which led to local wars, such as in Korea, by intensifying and exploiting all conflicts caused by Asiatic, Mid-Eastern and particularly African nationalism against the Western colonial powers and the West in general; by trying to divide and disintegrate Western alliances such as NATO through the exploitation of their weaknesses.

Soviet Russia expects in the long run to win the cold war gradually without risking World War III. Soviet exploitation of conflict among the democratic powers and the burden of the armament race have assured and intensified world-wide social and political crises. The dissolution of the Comintern in May, 1943, and the creation of the Cominform in September, 1947, solely on the Kremlin orders, demonstrate clearly the absolute Russian control over the Communist movements throughout the world. All elements in the world Communist movement, which the Bolshevik Party, the executive instrument of the Russia Idea of Imperialism considers unreliable, are

⁴² David J. Dallin, "Soviet Foreign Policy After Stalin", (J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1961), p. 10-17.

ruthlessly destroyed. So are all foreign influences and cosmopolitanism. The Soviet regime does not want anyone with whom it would have to share its power. The Russians created and developed their form of National Communism, Bolshevism, for purposes quite different from those of just spreading Communism and social justice throughout the world. "The concept of National Communism had no meaning until the end of World War II, when Soviet Imperialism was manifested not only with regard to the Capitalist but the Communist states as well. This concept developed above all from the Yugoslav-USSR clash."⁴³ Bolshevism has always been a screen, behind which operated the pure Russian nationalistic imperialism aiming at the old Russian dream of world domination. "Russian Communism is more traditional than it is commonly thought - it is a transformation and deformation of the old Russian messianic idea."⁴⁴ The belief that the world revolution will take place has become within the past few years almost extinct. Talk about the solidarity of the proletarians in all countries has degenerated into an empty phrase. What happens in the world outside the Soviet Union, is evaluated solely on the basis of Russian interests; the demands and expectations of the world revolution are determined by the needs of Soviet foreign policy.

"What we see in Russia today is not true Communism. It is Stalinism - a combination of Marxism, Pan-Slavism, Asiatic despotism and, above all, Russian imperialism. It might be summed up in one word - Pan-Sovietism."⁴⁵ "Soviet imperialism in the military form which is only

43 Milovan Djilas, "The New Class", (New York: Praeger, 1957), p.178

44 Nicolas Berdyaev, Op. Cit., p. 228.

45 Henry C. Wolfe, Op. Cit., p. 241.

an advanced stage of the old Czarist military-feudal Imperialism, corresponds to the internal structure of the Soviet Union in which the Police and administrative apparatus, centralized in one personality, plays a major role. Stalinism is a mixture of a personal Communist dictatorship and militaristic imperialism.⁴⁶

The necessity of maintaining and expanding the power of the Soviet regime is expressed by the Russian imperialists in Marxian terminology that the realization of Socialism and Communism is dependent upon the existence of the Soviet Union. All its enemies are immediately enemies of Socialism and progress. All rights of individuals, groups and whole nations are subordinated to the power of Soviet Russia. A. Vishinski expressed this theory very clearly: "At present the only determining criterion of revolutionary proletarian internationalism is: are you for or against the USSR, the Motherland of the world proletariat? An internationalist is not one who verbally recognizes international solidarity or sympathizes with it. A real internationalist is one who brings his sympathy and recognition up to the point of practical and maximal help to the USSR in support, defense and strengthening of the USSR by every means and in every possible form....this is the holy duty of every honest man everywhere and not only of the citizens of the USSR."⁴⁷

46 Milovan Djilas, Op. Cit., p. 180.

47 Andrei Vishinsky, "Communism and the Motherland", (Moscow: Voprosy Filosofii), No. 2, 1948.

"Lenin himself, working out his tactics of conspiracy, was more opposed to Czarism as an enemy power to be overcome, than to czarist methods for overcoming enemies and extending its power. Old Russia's traditional objective - world domination - is the Soviet objective, also."⁴⁸ The Soviet regime is a regime of totalitarian imperialistic expansionism, but the Russian Bolshevik leaders pretend that they want to realize the will of the masses throughout the world. Their simplifications, their claims of having the key to all situations of history and society in the past, present and future, appeal also to a portion of the non-Russian world, tired of ever-increasing complicated problems. It is impressed by the fact that Russian claims are backed by fierce and expanding power, and an apparent doctrinal consistency which is flexible. It is impressed by the contemporary development of international affairs, where the Soviet Union always seems to be able to take the initiative, to be on the offensive, while the West is most of the time forced to be on the defensive, only to be able to take contra-measures to the steps taken before them by the Russians.

Soviet Russia did not become a world power only through the Russian victory in World War II and its expanded control over vast new territories and millions of people, but also because the Bolshevik doctrine seems to meet in many aspects widespread demand of the contemporary world society. Bolshevism pretends to have realized socialism in the Soviet Union by abolishing the private ownership of the means of production and thereby abolishing the classes, which appears to be the fulfilment of the

⁴⁸ Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, "What We Must Know About Communism," (New York: Norton, 1958), p. 260.

hopes of the Socialist movement and parties all over the world. That is the reason why after World War I large numbers of old Socialist parties accepted membership in the Comintern. The Soviet regime was regarded as a promising social experiment and its errors were ascribed to the backwardness of Russia. The defeat of White armies increased the prestige of the Bolsheviks; it was also helpful for the Soviet regime that it was opposed by men and circles usually regarded by non-Russian Socialists as their enemies, reactionaries and imperialists.

Gradually a Soviet mythology has arisen which identifies Russia with political and social progress and presents its foreign policies as an incessant fight against capitalist aggression, and for world peace. The Soviet Union appears to its admirers full of vitality, orientated toward a better future and capable of drawing the inert masses into the world of progress and modern, perfect civilization. It is strange that even today, after so numerous examples of Soviet brutality, Imperialism in its crudest form, breaching of promises and treaties and other dishonest actions, there are intellectuals in the free world who look upon Soviet policies and diplomacy as the safeguard of world peace and believe every word of Russian propaganda.

Stalin gave the Bolsheviks an instruction, which they have always faithfully followed: "Words must have no relation to actions - otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions

another. Good words are a mask for concealment of bad deeds. Sincere diplomacy is no more possible than dry water or wooden iron."⁴⁹

Many people especially in the underdeveloped countries, either recently freed from colonial rule or still under the domination of western colonial powers, dissatisfied with existing conditions, are inclined to regard the Soviet Union as their only ally and friend willing to help. They look upon Russia as the only country in the world which realizes social justice and socialism. They consider Russia as a country which was not long ago as backward as they are now, and which by putting the Bolshevik Party into power, was rapidly industrialized and became in a few decades the second greatest world power, and will inevitably become number one. Being impatient to develop their industries as fast as possible to raise their living standards, these people are convinced that only by accepting Russian help and copying the Russian example can they succeed. These people propagating Russia and strengthening thus its prestige and power, are joined by cynics who are impressed by the successful imperialism of the Bolshevik leaders, who created the greatest Empire in world history.

The Soviet regime has won most of its adherents and fellow travellers through the popular belief that it is anti-imperialistic. Russian foreign policy is regarded as being aimed towards the liberation of peoples from colonial rule and Russia is esteemed particularly as a proponent of the national independence of Asiatic and African people. Despite the concentration of the control of all national operations and policies as well as of

⁴⁹ Stalin's conception of diplomacy in 1913, quoted by David J. Dallin, *Op. Cit.*, p. 291.

all Communist parties in the world, in the Kremlin, despite organization of the economic policies and conduct of foreign relations of the satellite countries according to the orders and interests of Moscow, the assertion is made and upheld that the Soviet regime is "anti-imperialistic". This claim is justified by an explanation with typically Bolshevik logic:

"Imperialism means the exploitation of colonial territories in the interest of one class, the ruling class in the Imperialist country; therefore, the policy of the Soviet Union cannot be Imperialist, for there are no classes in socialist Russia, and all its policies are policies of liberation from imperialist subjugation."⁵⁰ It is not reality that determines the political concepts, but the concepts that determine reality. Therefore Russian imperialism appears as "anti-imperialism" and that becomes the most important weapon of Russian imperialism against the influences of the West.

The successes of Russian imperialism through Bolshevism are achieved by the utilization of the masses through a relatively small group of leaders. They believe, at least at the beginning, in the doctrine. After seizure of power or long experience in the Party, however, they are interested primarily in organization and practical embodiment; the masses either do not support the existing social order or regard it as ripe for destruction. Bolshevism appears to these potentially or actually revolutionary masses as the negation of present intolerable conditions. They believe that Bolshevism will create an ideal rule of social justice. Bolshevik tactics and propaganda campaigns unceasingly try to exploit various forms of discontent with the existing political and social regime

50 Waldemar Gurian, "Bolshevism", (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1953), p. 89.

in order to weaken real or potential opponents, to undermine the resistance of the Western world and to bring the Communist party, that is to say Russia, finally into power. As soon as the party has reached power, it spreads its totalitarian rule by applying systematic pressures and paralyzing tactical manoeuvres on the non-Communists, some of whom are used as its puppets in coalition governments. This system, submitting everything and everyone to its absolute control, makes any organized mass resistance practically impossible. This is the way the satellite regimes in Eastern Europe were established, although the Red Army played a very significant role there in helping the local Communists. Constant purges among satellite leaders ensure that only those men who are most reliable to the Kremlin, are in power. This process of purges in non-Russian Communist parties enables all Communists throughout the world to realize that the leadership of the Soviet Union and its party is a leadership of world Communism and that its policies of one government, one party, are those of the only "motherland" of all Communists - of the Russian Communist World Empire.

All the Communist parties throughout the world are today co-ordinated with Russian foreign policy. With the dissolution of the Comintern the pretense that there is a Communist institutional world authority above the Russian Communist party, has vanished. The Cominform of today is only an instrument of the Kremlin's imperialism. The Bolsheviks unceasingly state that the chances of a world Communist revolution are dependent on the expansion of Russian power. However, a correct statement would be that the chances of world conquest and establishment of a Russian World Empire are dependent on the expansion of Russian power. "It seems doubtful that Lenin

ever recognized that, in setting up the Comintern, he instituted a new form of imperialism. He was only an unconscious Imperialist...he promulgated all the tactics and stratagems for consolidating Russian power without ever realizing the extent to which he was readying it for a new drive toward an empire. Stalin, however, fusing the old Russian dream of world conquest with Marx' theory of the State and Lenin's tactics and stratagems of conspiracy - set the pattern for totalitarian empire building. Chrushev is carrying on from where he left off: repudiating no act of Stalin's, however brutal and cynical, by which the Soviet Empire was extended; and developing on his own new ideological and economic measures of empire to fit the nuclear age."⁵¹

It may be said that the Russians are in general Imperialists through their particular form of nationalism and social development, and that they use Bolshevism simply because it is the most effective instrument for the conduct of their imperialistic policies, and it is, de facto the most effective instrument for that purpose the world has ever known. However, it is certain that if a better method than Bolshevism were found, which would lead faster and more securely to world conquest, the Russians would immediately abolish Bolshevism and adopt this new method.

The Bolsheviks themselves know only too well that they have to show the Russian population that their policies result in the most successful expansion of the Russian Empire and lead to the world's conquest, in order to be able to stay in power. So long as they are able to succeed in

⁵¹ Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, Op. Cit., p. 260 and p. 276.

doing so, they are safe, in the same way as was the Czarist regime. But once they will cause by their policies a serious humiliation to Russia, once they will belittle Russia, that will be the end of Bolshevism as well as of world Communism which, without Russian support, would not be able to survive. Thus the Bolsheviks are bound to be Imperialists in order to stay in power and their expansionism is an act of pure self-preservation. It may be, therefore, said that a peace-loving, sincere, honest and trustworthy Bolshevik is "no more possible than dry water or wooden iron." Under these conditions, Moscow could not support any plans for "true disarmament....has been out of the question and the aim of Soviet disarmament propaganda has only been to slow down the arming of the political enemy....The United Nations was never accepted in Moscow as a barrier to an armed expansion of the Soviet block of nations."⁵²

"The last few years of Stalin's life were a triumph for him, his policies, and his movement. Never before in her history had Russia achieved as great a degree of influence in world affairs and as large an extension of her territory, alliances, and military might. Never before had Communism been able to speak in the name of a third of humanity, and never before had it been as certain of final victory...."⁵³

Ruler of Bolshevism, Stalin achieved enormous victories for Russian imperialism, to an extent such as no ruler of Czarism had ever been able to visualize. It was precisely because of his enormous imperialistic abilities and success, that Stalin's rule became unchallenged, absolute and

⁵² David J. Dallin, Op. Cit., p. 309-310.

⁵³ David J. Dallin, Op. Cit., p. 3.

safe from any conspirator. Until his death on March 4, 1953, his word was the supreme law for all Russians and it was unthinkable for any Russian to take over his throne.

3. Malenkov - Case of an Unsuccessful Imperialist

Shortly before his death, Stalin chose Malenkov as his successor. Since Malenkov was Stalin's most loyal collaborator, who had been let into the secrets of the regime, he was the logical choice if Stalinism was to continue.

The first official announcement after Stalin's death, made on March 6, 1953, which appeared in Pravda the next day, stressed that the naming of Malenkov as Russian ruler had achieved an "uninterrupted leadership, giving assurance that Stalin's policies will be continued. The cause of Lenin and Stalin is in firm hands."⁵⁴

For the time being, the Russians entrusted their faith in Malenkov that he would be just as capable as Stalin in conducting successfully the Russian imperialistic policies, and his supremacy was absolute and undisputed.

It soon became evident that Malenkov's leadership was incapable of expanding Russian power. On the contrary, under his rule Soviet Russia had been undergoing a series of set-backs - revolts in the satellites, His course of more friendly attitude towards the West, but especially the Russian failure in Iran where the Communist movement was crushed in August 1953, because of Malenkov's hesitation to provide help. The final blow

⁵⁴ Pravda, March 7, 1953, quoted by David J. Dallin, Op. Cit., p. 121.

to Russian Imperialism which Malenkov attempted to put into reality, proved to be his grave. It was his new economic course of the slowing down of heavy industry in favour of food and consumer goods. His downfall became inevitable. It is an excellent example, which happened just recently, and proof that the Idea of Russian Imperialism will never tolerate a ruler incapable of expanding Russian power. Little matters whether or not the Russian population has to suffer hardships. Malenkov's fall clearly demonstrated that fact because it was his attempt to improve the standard of living of the Russians by slowing down Russian Imperialism which brought his rule to an abrupt end on February 1955.

4. New Ruler - Chruschev

The Bolshevik regime in Russia was fortunate that after a brief period first of Bulganin's rule and then of "collective leadership", it was able to produce a real successor to Stalin, worthy of the position of a Russian autocrat - Chruschev. Had the Bolshevik regime not been able to produce such a leader capable of expanding Russian power, and had it kept on causing serious humiliations to Russia, the days of Bolshevism in Russia would have come just as inevitably to an abrupt end, as the days of Malenkov's rule, or as the centuries of the Czarist regime in 1917.

Chruschev proved himself to be a capable Imperialist. Regardless of his denunciations of Stalin in 1956, regardless of his changes of tactics and methods in Russian foreign policy and announcement of new theses, Chruschev's main and only all-important goal remains the same as it always has been throughout the centuries of Russian existence - world conquest. The most important of Chruschev's new theses is his thesis that wars are

no longer inevitable, which signified a major departure from Leninism - Stalinism. Chrushev told the Twentieth Party Congress of February, 1956: "There is a Marxist-Leninist principle which says that while imperialism exists, wars are inevitable. This was true before World War II. Now, however, there is no fatal inevitability of war. Now there are powerful social and political forces....capable of preventing the unleashing of war by the imperialists...."⁵⁵

The most important feature of the old days, which has remained constant, is the hostility toward the United States, because this is the only remaining obstacle in realizing the ancient Russian ambition of world domination.

During the present period the Bolsheviki will not start World War III because, firstly, they do not think they have as yet sufficient potentialities to win such a war, and secondly, because they believe that they are able, in the long run, to conquer the world by "co-existence and peaceful methods", that is to say, by infiltration, exploitation of discords among free nations, and any other means at their disposal. They are able to demonstrate an impressive achievement resulting from these means, without having to take the risk of losing in World War III. "What the Communists offer....is Soviet provincialism extended to embrace the planet."⁵⁶ The course of coexistence was explained quite recently by "the champion of coexistence", Chrushev: "The Communist revolution (meaning Soviet Russia)

⁵⁵ Quoted by David J. Dallin, Op. Cit., p. 323.

⁵⁶ H. and B. Overstreet, Op. Cit., p. 277.

is not in favour of big wars or 'local wars' of the Suez type that might blaze up and get out of control; but Communism (Russia) will encourage and support without reservation all national liberation wars, which are sacred, that might hurt capitalist imperialism"⁵⁷ In other words, coexistence as understood by Chruschev means making as much crises and trouble throughout the world as possible without risking the safety of Russia itself. Chruschev concluded by saying that "The number one enemy of the peoples of the world is the United States."⁵⁸

Chruschev and the Bolshevik Party understand that the Idea of Russian Imperialism, embodied in the masses of the Russian population, expects them to carry out the mystical destiny and heavenly mission of Russia to dominate the world. This is the very reason why the Russians are willing to undergo oppression by the Bolshevik tyranny because their extreme nationalism and passionate love for Russia calls for sacrifices in order that the Bolshevik Party is able to increase the power of "Holy Mother Russia", and to bring it to the logical conclusion, which in Russian terms of extremes, means world domination. The Bolshevik Party understands, above all, that any failure of its imperialistic policies would inevitably lead to its own destruction by the Idea, of which the Party is only an executive instrument and a servant.

^{57, 58} Time, The Weekly Newsmagazine, January 27, 1961, p. 19.

CHAPTER III

CZARIST AND BOLSHEVIK IMPERIALISM

Parallels and Similarities

"...the Russian Empire is the country where people are most unhappy - because they suffer, simultaneously, the disadvantages of barbarism and the disadvantages of civilization. The Russians.... seem to me the most pitiable people on earth. But what is the purpose of all this trickery? What motive can we assign that would warrant so much pretense?To take so much trouble to achieve a paltry result would be unworthy of the serious men who undertake this task. I attribute to them a more profound idea; a greater goal looms before me and explains to me their miracles of dissimulation and long suffering.

"An inordinate, a boundless ambition, the kind of ambition that can take root only in the soul of an oppressed people and be nourished only on the misery of an entire nation, is astir in the hearts of the Russians. This essentially aggressive nation, greedy from want, lives in a state of submissiveness so degrading that it seems to be expiating in advance its hope of exercising tyranny over others. The anticipated glory and riches divert its thoughts from the shame it suffers. To cleanse himself of his impious sacrifice of all public and personal liberty, the kneeling slave dreams of world domination.

"It is not the man they worship in Czar Nicholas, it is the ambitious ruler of a nation even more ambitious than he. The passions of the Russians are cut on the pattern of those of ancient peoples; everything in them recalls the Old Testament; their hopes, their tortures are great, like their Empire.

"There, nothing has limits, neither sorrows nor rewards, neither sacrifices nor hopes. Their power can become enormous, but they will have bought it at the price of happiness."¹

These words written on October 22, 1839, by the Marquis de Custine, a French aristocrat who went to Russia "to find arguments against representative government"² constitute one of the best descriptions of the Idea of Russian Imperialism embodied in the Russian population, as the most fundamental pillar of the Russian state. General Walter Bedell Smith, when he was a U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, wrote in a foreword to a recent edition of de Custine's book: "...The only explanation de Custine could find for the excessive sacrifices imposed in Russia on the individual by society was the goal of "the conquest of the world" More specifically, he (de Custine) continued: "Russia sees Europe as a prey which our dissensions will sooner or later deliver up to her; she foments anarchy among us in the hope of profiting by a corruption she promotes because it is favourable to her views." "Did we think this was a Communist idea?"³ The answer is in the negative. This idea is purely that of Russian imperialistic expansionism which originated in the early days of the grand dukes of Moscow and has become the most fundamental basis of the Russian state.

This thesis arrived at the conclusion that the Idea of Russian Imperialism has tolerated only such regimes to rule Russia, which have

1 Marquis de Custine, "Journey of Our Time: The Russian Journals", quoted in the "U.S. News and World Report", September 14, 1959, p. 109.

2 U.S. News and World Report, September 14, 1959, p. 60.

3 Ibid, p. 63.

been able to unceasingly expand Russian power and bring the ancient Russian dream of world domination nearer to reality. The human sufferings were never considered, and as a matter of fact, it was believed that only through these sufferings could the Russian Empire expand. It is therefore self-evident that both Czarism and Bolshevism have had the same master, the Idea, and have aimed at the same goal, although using different means. Consequently there is inevitably a great number of parallels and similarities between the Imperialism of Czarism, using Filofei's doctrine of the Third Rome, and the Imperialism of Bolshevism, using the Marxist doctrine, as amended by Lenin, Stalin and Chruschchev, for accomplishing the conquest of the world by Russia.

However hard the Russian Bolsheviks try to destroy any comparisons between the Czarist expansionism and their own, between the Czarist foreign policy and that of Soviet Russia, they only admit by doing so that these similarities are real. It is an irony that many writings of Marx and Engels, dealing with the Czarist foreign policy and pan-slavism have been suppressed in the Soviet Union. The reason is that "Russian expansionism was clearly exposed, and strangely enough, by the godfathers of the Communist revolution, Marx and Engels."⁴ By suppressing their writings on this subject, the Soviet leaders have only confirmed that an attack on Czarist Imperialism is, de facto, an attack on themselves. What Marx and Engels wrote about Czarist Russia in 1853, is, de facto, a commentary on the Soviet Union and constitutes the very reason why it must not be read in

⁴ James Byrnes, "Speaking Frankly", (New York: Harper, 1947), p. 282.

Soviet Russia today: "One merely needs to replace a series of names and dates by others and it becomes clear that the policies of Ivan III (1462-1505) and those of Russia today are not merely similar but identical. Ivan III, in turn, only perfected the traditional Muscovite policy which he inherited from Ivan I. This policy marked by "intrigue, corruption, and secret usurpation", became, in time, that of Peter the Great, and it is that of present-day Russia."⁵ Attacking Russian Imperialism during the Crimean War, Marx and Engels described its achievements: "Since Peter the Great, the Russian frontier has advanced towards Berlin, Dresden and Vienna, 700 miles; towards Constantinople, 500 miles; towards Stockholm, 630 miles; towards Teheran, 1,000 miles."⁶

In 1860, appraising Czarist strategy with respect to Poland, Marx observed: "The policy of Russia is changeless....Its methods, its tactics, its manoeuvres may change, but the polar star of its policy - world domination - is a fixed star."⁷ Marx could not have been more correct if he made this statement today.

In an essay written in 1890, which Stalin was at great pains to suppress in 1934, Engels analyzed the permanent character of Russian foreign policy. Among the methods which he declared to be basic to this policy, were deceit, bribery and the exploitation of disunity after having fomented it in the first place. All seeming changes in policy he saw as tactical,

5 Quoted by Harry and B. Overstreet, Op. Cit., p. 258.

6 Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, in the New York Tribune, June 14, 1853, reprinted in "The Russian Menace to Europe", a collection of Articles, Speeches, Letters and News Despatches. Selected and edited by P. W. Blackstock and B. F. Hoselitz, (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952), p. 141.

7 Quoted by Harry and B. Overstreet, Op. Cit., p. 259.

only adjustments made to suit the changing conditions. This is precisely the character of the present Soviet policy. The Czarist methods were taken over by the Soviets, have been considerably improved and employed on an incomparably larger scale. "There is a good deal of irony in the fact that, today, to prove that Russia always was a particular villain, one cites Marx and Engels....it was only after having imbibed the teaching of these prophets that Russia assumed that role."⁸

The Bolshevik Party has never admitted that its aim is to realize "Holy Mother Russia's" traditional objective of world domination. It maintains that its only aim is the establishment of world-wide Communism, the rule of social justice and a classless society. In reality Soviet Russia's supreme position among the Communist parties throughout the world has become unchallenged and its decisions binding and final with the possible exception of Communist China. Stalin and Chrushev have followed faithfully the Imperialistic steps of the Czars, since they understood the successful expansion of Russia is the only safeguard of their staying in power. From the time when Stalin proclaimed his formula of "Socialist in one country", explaining that "...the victory of Socialism in our country is an aid, a means and a path to the victory of the proletarian revolution in other countries",⁹ to Chrushev's latest feud with Tito, the right of Soviet Russia to extend its power by all possible means and to demand from all Communist parties and nations an absolute subservience to its will has

⁸ N. S. Timasheff, "Russian Imperialism or Communist Aggression", contained in "Soviet Imperialism, Its Origins and Tactics", - A Symposium (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1953) p. 19.

⁹ Josef V. Stalin, "Address to the Fifteenth Party Conference", Moscow, November 1, 1926, quoted by John S. Reshetar, Op. Cit., p. 216-217.

been made to seem "a natural if not a divine right."¹⁰ All non-Communist nations are regarded as subject to future conquest by the same means used by Czarism as well as by new Bolshevik inventions such as "peaceful-coexistence and competition."

The emphasis upon power politics in the interests of Soviet Russia was the natural reappearance of the traditional Russian imperialism. After the consolidation of its power, the Bolshevik regime has taken over all particular goals of Czarist Imperialistic policies. "The same Stalin who, in order to destroy any appearance of continuity with previous Russian foreign policies, signed in 1917 a statement that Constantinople ought to belong to Mohammedans, has resumed the traditional Russian claims for the control of the Dardanells. He celebrated the victory over Japan in 1945 as wiping out the humiliating defeat in the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 for which was responsible the Czarist regime."¹¹

A number of authors expressed their views that Lenin was not an Imperialist and that it was only Stalin who brought back Czarist Imperialism, "glorified Russia's past and made a hero out of Ivan the Terrible."¹² While this may appear to be the case on the surface of the facts, the truth is, as correctly analyzed by Berdyaev, and quoted in the previous chapter, that Lenin was an Imperialist and also a Realist. "...Lenin said during the October Revolution: "Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries...."¹³

10 H. and B. Overstreet, Op. Cit., p. 260.

11 Waldemar Gurian, "Introduction to Soviet Imperialism, Its Origins and Tactics", (University of Notre Dame Press, 1953), p. 9-10.

12 John S. Reshetar, Op. Cit., p. 218.

13 From Stalin's speech "The Task of Business Executives" delivered February 4, 1931, quoted by Merle Fainsod, Op. Cit., p. 285.

Lenin understood, however, that the catastrophic events which had taken, and still were taking, place in Russia in his time, made it imperative for Russia to abolish temporarily its imperialism purely in the interest of its self-preservation in order to be able to consolidate its power and rebuild its strength. Stalin's Russia, especially during and after World War II was not that worn-out, exhausted Russia of Lenin after the October Revolution and at the end of the civil wars - it was the second greatest world power, in a position to pursue the goals of the Idea of Russian Imperialism and to bring nearer its domination of the world. The reason why the Bolsheviks have been able to get much better imperialistic achievements than Czarism, although they have been using similar or even identical methods towards the same goal, is because Imperialism of the former is based upon utopian elements and is much more universal, ruthless and concrete than Filofei's doctrine of Moscow being the Third Rome.

Czarist imperialistic policies regarded by Marx and Engels as extremely dangerous to Europe have been made incomparably more dangerous to the whole world by being fused with the "scientific socialism" of Marx and Engels. Marxism, after being amended by Lenin and his successors, in order to suit Russian conditions, became in the form of Bolshevism the most powerful tool Russian Imperialism has ever possessed.

Another parallel between the Czarist and Bolshevik Imperialism is to be found in their common religious character. Czarist Imperialism was based on Filofei's doctrine claiming to be able to realize the true Christ's Kingdom on this earth under the Czar, "the only true Christian ruler," and was supported by the immense power of the Russian Orthodox Church. Soviet Imperialism is based on Bolshevism - a social and political secular religion, claiming as its goal a perfect rule of social justice and a "classless society".

The Marquis de Custine stated in 1839 that the Russians did not worship in Czar Nicholas I the man but the ambitious ruler of a nation even more ambitious. The Czar was believed to be their Father and a God-sent ruler whose mission was to expand "Holy Mother Russia's" power and bring Christ's Kingdom to the earth. The Czar was worshipped and after death buried with greatest honours.

The worship of Czars was taken over by the Bolsheviks. Their rulers have acquired even greater post-mortem adoration than any of the Czars: "With the Bolshevik leaders Lenin and Stalin embalmed in a mound-like shrine like kings or high priests of some ancient civilization, and the thousands of reverential men and women who daily come to pay them their respects....the Mausoleum of Lenin and Stalin points up the new religion - the mystique - that has arisen in Russia under Communist rule. The very appearance of more alive than dead of the two gods of the new religion, adds a supernatural note to this most materialistic of all faiths."¹⁴ This adoration of Lenin and Stalin demonstrates clearly that the Russians of today, in the same manner as the Russians of the past, worship and support, and will do so in the future, any Russian ruler who is able to succeed, through his imperialistic policies in reducing the gap between the Russian dream of world domination, and the reality of Russian power status.

Another parallel lies in the fact that both regimes have been using their doctrinal apparatus as screens to hide their Imperialism in order to make it more effective and successful. These screens being removed, the face of Imperialist Russia appears in the open, the same today, as in the

¹⁴ Jules Koslov, "The Kremlin", (New York: Nelson, 1958), p. 224.

past. "Present-day Russia is repugnant, first because her government is despotic and totalitarian, and second, because her foreign policy is aggressive, expansionist, imperialistic. Why is it so? One of the simplest and now most commonly used explanation is this: Russia is today what she has always been."¹⁵

There is another important similarity: the Czarist doctrine for its Imperialism as well as the similar Bolshevik doctrine came from abroad: the former evolved through the Greek Orthodox Church from Byzantium, the latter being brought by Lenin from Western Europe.

Both regimes have been extremely despotic and have always exploited to the maximum all human and material resources in Russia. They also meet on a common ground in their hate of the West, although ready to co-operate with it if such action would suit their purposes.

In order to stay in power, the Bolshevik realized that they had to follow the imperialistic routes of the Grand Dukes, Czars and Emperors of Russia, making thus similarities and parallels between Czarist and Bolshevik Imperialism inevitable. In Machiavellian sense, as long as the Bolshevik rulers keep on expanding Russian power, their reign in Russia remains safe and no conspirators against them will succeed. In this aspect, too, a similarity may be drawn between the Czarist rule and the Bolshevik rule in Russia. But if the Bolsheviks would cause a serious humiliation of Russia by miscalculating the effects of some of their Imperialistic policies, then there will be established a new parallel and similarity between Czarism and Bolshevism - the latter's fate will then be precisely the same as was the former's in 1917.

¹⁵ N. S. Timasheff, Op. Cit., p. 17.

CONCLUSION

Russia is a unique country. From its very beginnings it had to meet situations which gradually led to its uniqueness in the family of nations in that it has based its very existence, and the purpose for its being, on the steadfast faith that it has a holy mission and mystical destiny to rule the world. Every Russian action has always been judged in the light of this supreme goal.

The most important factors which brought about the development of extremist Russian Imperialism were everlasting fights with men and nature, and the inhospitality, inaccessibility and especially immensity of the territory which have contributed to the appearance of mysticism. The Byzantine Empire gave Russia its Christianity based on Caesaro-papism, which became the most powerful instrument of Czarist Imperialism. The Tatars brought about the consolidation of the Russian State and became models for its next despotic rulers, the Grand Dukes of Moscow. The physical character of toughness and the religious energy of the soul of the Russian population, able and willing to undergo any suffering and sacrifice for Holy Mother Russia, was exploited by the despotic Czars. Baron Gerberstein, a German, who visited Russia during the rule of Ivan IV, remarked: "It is uncertain whether the roughness of the people demands a tyrant-ruler or whether the people became so rough and cruel as a result of the tyranny of the ruler."

Filofei's doctrine of Moscow being the Third and last Rome was the explosive force driving the Czarist Imperialism and giving it the meaning, direction and especially a screen behind which its real nature could be hid. It was a messianic mission and a mystical destiny of Russia to create the true Christ's Kingdom on the earth, under the rule of "the only true Christian ruler", the Czar of Moscow.

The Czar was recognized by the Russians as Christ's chosen representative on earth, preparing the roads for the realization of Christ's Kingdom in this world, through the expansion of Russia. In other words, the Czar was bound, by millions of his faithful and believing subjects, to expand Russia in order to obey Christ's command. Not to do so would have been, in the eyes of all Russians, the gravest crime, the most serious sin, and such a Czar would not have been considered a true Czar, their Father, but an imposter, upheld by Satan. Through their fanatical belief, the Russians have always been able to withstand the most cruel treatment, sacrifices and suffering without attacking the Czar's position. They embodied, in Rousseau's sense of General Will, the Idea of Russian Imperialism, which personified Russia itself. Russia and Russian Imperialism became fused in the Idea. While the religious aspects of Russian Imperialism had at the beginnings of Russia a clear supremacy, their influence and power gradually faded away, and from the times of Peter the Great, the secular expansionistic aspects became supreme, although Filofei's doctrine was used at suitable occasions, when it was found to be profitable for the expansion of Russian power. The goal of world domination became "The Spirit of Russia".

As long as the Idea considered the Czarist regime as its most capable instrument for successfully realizing its ambitions, the institution of Czarism had been paramount and unshakable. A revolutionary movement attacking Czarism directly had, at the same time, attacked indirectly the Idea and was therefore bound to fail in its undertaking of destroying the Czarist regime.

When the Czarist regime contributed to the humiliation of Russia, the Idea felt also humiliated, and since the two are undistinguishable, the Idea swept Czarism away. The same fate befell the short-lived democratic

regime - the Idea understood that such a regime had very little, if anything, to offer in the field of expansion of Russian power.

The Idea chose Lenin and his Bolshevik Party as its new executive instrument. After a brief period to consolidate Russian power, the Bolshevik regime proved itself to be the most efficient and successful tool the Idea ever had. The religious character of Bolshevism, promising the realization of a perfect classless society by means of Russian power and influence, has been, so far, instrumental in innumerable successes of the Idea's ambitions towards its domination of the world.

There cannot be any dispute that through Bolshevism, Soviet Russia has become a world super-power fighting to overtake the first place, occupied by the United States, and is presently trying to achieve its goal of world conquest. So far, Soviet Russia has been seemingly very successful in its imperialistic policies because the free world, and the United States in particular, did not do enough to stop Russian aggression.

However there are several fundamental arguments which support the theory that Russian Imperialism cannot achieve its goal of world domination. The technical, industrial and economic resources of the United States forced the Kremlin, after World War II, to be cautious in its use of revolutionary situations, and to replace open military conquest by the means of the cold war. To achieve conquest in the long run, Bolshevism would have to be infallible and undefeatable. However, this is not the case. Without Bolshevism, Russia's dream would disappear, unless, of course, a new doctrine of Imperialism would take the place of Bolshevism in a similar way as Bolshevism replaced Czarism.

The main task of the West is, therefore, to discredit Bolshevism throughout the world. Bolshevism utopia is something more than a political and military problem for the United States and the free world, but it is also an accusation against the imperfections and errors of the West, on which it thrives. Bolshevism promises a new, perfect world of a classless society where men will be their own gods but where there would be no place for the true God.

Experience teaches that the Bolshevism assumption that social perfection on this earth is possible, is wrong. The fact is that this assumption, if put into practice, results in less rather than in more perfection.

"...Les utopies sont réalisables. La vie marche vers les utopies Et peut-être un siècle nouveau commence-t-il, un siècle où les intellectuels et la classe cultivée rêveront aux moyens d'éviter les utopies et de retourner à une société non utopique, moins "parfaite" et plus libre."¹

The Bolshevism utopia of the withering away of the State, for instance, led only to increased power of the state.

As mentioned, Bolshevism claims that it will establish perfection on this earth. It is, therefore, a utopianism, and every utopianism must inevitably result, when put into practice, in tyranny, for its forces attempt to substitute an imposed artificial world for the real one. And only through the imperfections in the world of reality can a utopianism, of the type of Bolshevism, develop in such a world power when used by a cynical Imperialist state. In this lies an accusation against the free world.

¹ Nicolas Berdiaeff, quoted by Aldous Huxley, "Brave New World", (London: The Albatross, 1947), p. 5.

However, even though Bolshevism may be said to be a disease of the present world society, being in the hands of Russian Imperialists a very frightening instrument threatening the very existence of the West, it can be beneficial to the free world by forcing it to reflect upon the foundations of its existence and social order. Bolshevism can become a means of the awakening of the Western World and causing it to effectuate social and political reforms. Bolshevism would then, against its own Will - the Idea of Imperialism - help in bringing about real progress and improvement throughout the world. The importance of the Bolshevik regime would be a negative one, since it would serve as a most striking refutation of the claims and pretenses in whose name it began. History teaches that even the worst catastrophies and calamities affecting the whole of mankind, were able to achieve, in the long run, some positive or even beneficial results.

Soviet Russia has become, by using Bolshevism, one of the greatest world powers and the greatest Empire in the history of mankind, because of the shortcomings of the rest of the world in general, and the Western free world, in particular. Ergo, it is inevitable that once these shortcomings are corrected and the pertinent reforms made, Bolshevism will lose its power, and being unable to pursue the expansion of Russia, will cause Russian humiliation. The result will be the end of the Bolshevik regime in Russia, and of the Communist movement throughout the world. There is no doubt of this development, leading to the destruction of Bolshevism by the Idea of Russian Imperialism - the Russians - Russia itself. There remains, however, one unanswered question: "Will Russia then be able to replace Bolshevism by some other doctrine, theory or philosophy which she could

use for fulfilling its dream of world domination? Or will Russia, always being a country of extremes, then change from an extreme Imperialist state to the opposite extreme, that of a true peace-loving and Christian country?"

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RESUME

This thesis explores the field of ideas and factors which were instrumental in the development, and which brought about the existence of the Idea of Russian Imperialism. The most important contribution of this study lies in that it proves that the Idea of Russian Imperialism, embodied in the masses of the Russian population, became, in the sense of Rousseau's General Will, a paramount factor and an absolute ruler of Russia, whose supreme goal has always been world domination. Whoever in Russia opposed the Idea, or was by the Idea considered incapable to support efficiently its aims, was swept away. And above all, Russia, the Russians and Russian Imperialism became fused in the Idea. In order to survive, the Russian rulers had to demonstrate their ability in pursuing successfully such imperialistic policies that were bringing nearer to reality the Russian dream of world conquest.

Following a brief Introduction which brings forward the main aspects of the problem, Chapter I gives a detailed account of the development of Russian Imperialism during the early periods of the Russian state. Geography, religion, psychology - these were among the most important contributory factors in providing the Russians with an extreme love for "Holy Mother Russia", and with a fanatical belief that it is a mystical destiny and a holy mission of Russia to dominate the world. Grand Dukes of Moscow became the executive instrument of Russia - the Idea - and their task was to realize this ultimate goal of Russian Imperialism.

Filofei's doctrine of Moscow being the third and last Rome gave the Czarist Imperialism a meaning, definition, direction and explosive power, as well as a necessary screen for hiding its true imperialistic ambitions. Russia was, in accordance with this doctrine, chosen by Divine Providence

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to fulfil its messianic mission in creating a true Christ's Kingdom on this earth, under the rule of its Czar, the "only true Christian ruler". As long as the Czarist regime was able to keep on expanding Russian power and territories, it was supported by the Idea, but when its policies caused Russian humiliation and defeat, the rule of Czarism was over.

Chapter II describes the new executive instrument of the Idea of Russian Imperialism, the Bolshevik Party. Through its rule, and the use of Bolshevism which promises the realization of a perfect classless society on this earth by means of Russian power and influences, Russia, so far, has achieved a great many successes in its ambition toward the supreme goal - world domination. This study proves that the Idea will tolerate Bolshevism only so long as it will be capable of expanding Russia. Any serious humiliation of Russia will inevitably result in the destruction of the Bolshevik rule.

Chapter III draws similarities and parallels between the Czarist and Bolshevik Imperialism and demonstrates that, since both regimes are actually servants of the same master - the Idea, their aims are the same, although the doctrines and some of the methods have changed. De Custine, Marx and Engels, who described and attacked Czarist Imperialism more than a century ago, are, de facto, attacking Bolshevik Imperialism of today. In order to stay in power, the Bolshevik rulers have realized that they have to continue in the imperialistic policies of the Grand Dukes, Czars and Emperors of Russia. Similarities and parallels between Czarist and Bolshevik Imperialism are, therefore inevitable.

The Conclusion gives a brief review of the fundamentals of Russian Imperialism.