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GERMAN COLONIZATION IN EASTERN EUROPE*

By JEAN BRUNHES AND CAMILLE VALLAUX

Collège de France

German Policies and Programs

In the East the soldiers of Hindenburg, following the old tracks of the Knights of the Teutonic Order and the Livonian Knights, are taking possession of the territories that the Pan-Germans claim as lands for agricultural colonization. . . . This campaign therefore constitutes a colonial expedition on a large scale and is the fruit of a colonial policy. If space would allow, this thesis could be substantiated more fully. . . .

The present authors thus express themselves in a recent paper on "The Geographic Elements of the War."¹ In the present paper it is intended to develop this theme.

GROWTH OF GERMAN IMPERIALISM

Late converts to the conception of world politics, the Germans found the world divided among the great colonial empires. Bismarck had been an enemy of all colonial policy: the new empire arrived too young and with too great an appetite into a world too old! But the political and economic growth of the German Empire led the government and the whole nation to favor world-wide expansion. On the eve of the war imperialism was making headway even among the radical and socialist parties. In the *Revue Economique Internationale* for July 15-20, 1913, which was at that time published in Brussels, Dr. Gustav Stresemann declared:

We Germans are now familiar with world-economic and world-political considerations; Germany knows that her future depends on her world importance, and it is on this conception that all our policy will be based in the future.

He spoke the truth.

All the reasons based on the birth rate and the increase in population were used to prove the economic necessity of acquiring sufficient territory to furnish the prime necessities of life.

* Editorial translation of the French original, written for the *Geographical Review*.

¹ Les éléments géographiques de la guerre. *Scientia*, Vol. 23, 1918, pp. 111-124. Bologna.

Germany [continued Dr. Stresemann] does not want colonies for the pleasure of planting her flag there; she needs facilities for easily acquiring cotton, iron ore, copper, and rubber. . . . Even the Social Democratic party now ridicules the fear of imperialism; if the passage of an important measure really depended on Socialist votes, the Socialists would not dare oppose the economic and world-political projects of the government, because, in assuming such an attitude, they would be certain to suffer a defeat at the next election.

AN APOSTLE OF PAN-GERMANISM

With all the more reason the Pan-Germans had proclaimed the theory of the necessity for establishing the Germans throughout the world. One of the most characteristic books which appeared before the war was that by Otto Richard Tannenberg entitled "Gross Deutschland," published in 1911.² The name Tannenberg is a pseudonym bitterly reminiscent of the battle in which the Knights of the Teutonic Order were annihilated by the Poles on July 15, 1410. Unfortunately, the Germans have already taken revenge upon the Slavs on the fields of this same Tannenberg on August 30, 1914.

Might makes right. All might has inherent right to full development. This is the two-fold idea, juristic and historic, which consciously or unconsciously is at the root of German political philosophy, as revealed in this book. Let us try to disengage from this brilliant but arduous discussion what are the main elements of might which Pan-Germanism can invoke to legitimize itself. These are:

(1) Political might. Of course, Tannenberg recalls the glories of the Teutonic Knights and the House of Hapsburg, and, also of course, he neglects to discuss the periods of decline of German power. It is assumed, it would seem, that the curve of German political development had always risen, a conception which is obviously contrary to history.

(2) The flood of German emigration, to which the United States bears witness more than any other country.

(3) German colonial expansion, with the right of historic priority conferred upon it by the Hanseatic League.

(4) Linguistic dominance. The principle of a sort of linguistic superiority over Holland and the Scandinavian countries is advanced.

(5) Numbers. The rights of a population which increases like that of Germany are continually invoked both by the economic and political writers of Germany; this argument recurs throughout Tannenberg's book.³ In the relevant passages as well as on the curves of the diagram on page 261 distinction is ingeniously made between the German Empire and the German people—a distinction which makes it possible to combine all the populations of German nationality. This justifies the author in saying: "If we remember that the German people, with its 87,000,000 souls, is

² The present quotations are from the excellent French translation by Professor Milliod of Lausanne, entitled "Le rêve allemand; la plus grande Allemagne; l'oeuvre du XX^{ème} siècle", Payot, Lausanne, 1916.

³ Pp. 100, 109, 256, 268, 272, 297.



**THE FIELD OF GERMAN COLONIZATION
IN
THE BALTIC PROVINCES AND THE UKRAINE**

Scale 1:14 500 000

100 0 100 200 miles

..... Generalized racial boundaries
The boundaries of the Russian provinces containing the compact mass of Little Russians constitute the limit here shown as the boundary of the Ukraine.

→ Route of the Varangians

Cities connected with the Hanseatic League underscored thus

- main centers
- foreign office members
- with trading privileges

▨ Black earth (chernoziom)
▩ Coal
● Iron

double the population of France, that it is only 3,000,000 less than the population of Russia with its three ethnic subdivisions of the Great Russians, the Little Russians, and the White Russians, and only 120,000,000 less than the entire Anglo-Saxon race, which furthermore consists of two branches, one in Europe and one in America, then we shall see less and less reason for our inferior situation."

The German people thus has the right to establish itself anywhere in the world. On this argument is based a voracious colonial policy whose principles vary according to the author but of which Tannenberg is a typical exponent; but the matter of prime importance is to round out Germany proper by annexing Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland, the greater part of Austria, the Russian Baltic Provinces, Lithuania, etc. This is the initial program. It is summarized in the last two lines of the book, which we quote: "Greater Germany, with an area of 1,148,666 square kilometers, is the aim of the German people of the twentieth century." These are the closing words of a quasi-official book—words it would have been well to ponder over.

GERMAN THEORY OF COLONIZATION

It is necessary to pick out certain of these publications and to call attention to the state of mind which they express in order to realize the absolute covetousness of that theory of colonization of which the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was the fulfilment. Colonization, colonization of nearby lands, especially the lands of the east between the Baltic and the Black Sea, such is the program, such is the justification of the principle.

We Germans of today, we do not enter a country to plunder it; we enter it to take possession of it forever. We divide the land among the peasants because we know by experience that a free peasant state furnishes the largest number of soldiers and the largest amount of revenue. The land will be divided as follows: 30 per cent to be left in a state of nature, that is in forests; 5 per cent to be freehold lands for the cities and villages; 10 per cent to constitute landed estates; and 55 per cent to go to the peasants.

The countries under consideration in this publication of 1911, let us note, were the Baltic Provinces and the Ukraine.

We have made clear, we trust, the German conception of the term "colonial policy." We must now enter deeper into the facts and demonstrate that the attitude of Germany towards the regions to the east corresponds to two types of colonization, which in turn correspond to two types of regions: the policy of hegemony, or domination through social control, in the Baltic Provinces and the policy of economic exploitation in the Ukraine.

Colonization through Social Control: The Baltic Provinces

The history of German colonization in the Baltic Provinces for eight centuries proves that Teutonic activity has never been seriously impeded there. It commenced in the Middle Ages, in the golden age of feudal Germany,

and it is linked by a continuous bond with the German renaissance of the nineteenth century. The Germans have had their own way in the Baltic Provinces. They have there put into effect in all its severity and rapaciousness *hegemonic colonization*, or colonization through social control, as they understand it; although numerically inferior they have become the *Herrenvolk*, an expression which we sometimes inadequately translate by "the master people." It really means "the race of masters," a different concept, having a significance of its own.

The history of these lands of servitude demonstrates what would be the fate of all of eastern Europe if the Germans were left free to exploit the political disintegration of the Slavs. It also shows the West what its fate would be had German power not been crushed.

CHARACTER OF THE BALTIC PROVINCES

The Baltic Provinces consist of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. Esthonia faces the Gulf of Finland; Livonia and Courland face the Baltic and are deeply indented by the large Gulf of Riga, which is half closed by the islands of Dagö and Ösel. Although a part of the Russian Empire, having been conquered two centuries ago by Peter the Great, the Baltic Provinces, because of their surface configuration, were not, properly speaking, Russian lands. While as flat and monotonous as Muscovy⁴ or the steppes of the Ukraine, they nevertheless bear the impress of another age in the earth's history. The glaciers of Scandinavia and Finland have left their mark on these provinces. They are dotted with numerous lakes and even more numerous swamps. They are strewn with erratic boulders and glacial ridges of earth or sand (*åsar*).

These are not promised lands, but lands requiring hard work, work rendered harder still by an almost subarctic climate (latitude 56° to 59°). They are covered with great coniferous forests; even today, in spite of the areas cleared, forests occupy nearly a third of the total area of the Baltic Provinces, or one quarter of Esthonia, two-fifths of Livonia, and one-fifth of Courland. Add to this the swamps, the lakes, and the rocky tracts, and it will become apparent how little land remains for the cultivation of rye, oats, flax, and potatoes—almost the only crops the soil can produce.

DENSITY AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

These 100,000 square kilometers of inhospitable northern lands contained a population of barely 3,000,000 in 1913, or about 30 to the square kilometer. This is a sparse and scattered population in comparison with our Western rates, but it is normal and average for the density of the adjoining regions, Scandinavia, Muscovy, and Finland. Ten centuries before, at the beginning of the Teutonic enterprise, the forests were more extended and the human groups more scattered. But the body of the population was, ten centuries ago, practically the same as today, with one exception—one racial

⁴ Used throughout the paper in the sense of the heart of Russia, centering about Moscow.—EDIT. NOTE.

group, the Livonians, has practically disappeared. The other groups continue in greater density but within the identical geographical area. These are, in Esthonia, the Esthonians, who are related to the Finns, and, in Livonia and Courland, the Letts, who are related to the Lithuanians. The Esthonians and the Letts constitute the human material which has been manipulated and exploited since the twelfth century by the German ecclesiastical, feudal, and commercial aristocracy.

But prior to the coming of the German conquerors, other conquerors of Teutonic blood also trod the Baltic lands—the Scandinavians.

THE SCANDINAVIAN INCURSION: THE VARANGIANS

The historic fate of these lands of northeastern Europe, these insecure border provinces of Slavdom, may be summarized in one phrase: they were never free, but always subject, in varying degree, to some other power. Before becoming lands of agricultural and commercial colonization, they were lands of transit and of penetration. Up their deep gulfs came to the Slav lands the Varangians of Scandinavia, called into the country in the ninth century by the Slavs themselves, who despaired of overcoming with their own strength their incurable inaptitude for self-government. The Chudes, a Slav tribe from the region of Novgorod, expressed with singular clearness the present and future destiny of the Slav peoples when, as reported by the chronicler Nestor, they appealed to the Varangians in these terms: "Our country is large, and there is much of everything in it. But there is no order and justice. Come and take it and govern us." It is not difficult to imagine the Ukrainian *hetman* Skoropadski appealing in similar terms to General von Mackensen.

The route of the Scandinavian Varangians did not cross the Baltic Provinces. It went around them on the north and east. It followed the Gulf of Finland, the Neva River, the Volkhov River, and Lake Ilmen to reach the Volga and the Dnieper. It thus cut the Esthonians and the Letts off from the mass of Slavs; it made Slav expansion to the shores of the Baltic more difficult; it possibly prevented the conversion of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland to Byzantine Christianity; it certainly facilitated the German colonization which came a little later. The Scandinavians prepared the way for the Germans.

THE GERMAN CONQUEST

But how much slower, more methodical, more patient, and more complete was the German conquest in the Baltic lands than the hasty passage of the Varangians across the Russian lands! The Varangians were soon engulfed in the Muscovite ocean: they bequeathed to future Russia only her name (*Rus*, *Ros* is the Finnish form of *Varangian*) as well as the common law of the *russkaya pravda*. On the contrary, the Germans, become masters in the thirteenth century in Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, have remained imperious and absolute masters. For seven hundred years they have dominated and exploited the native population without ever merging with them.

The Germans came to the Baltic Provinces as merchants and as proselytizers. As merchants they acquired control of the cities, of commerce, and of the highways; they built the foundations of an urban society. As proselytizers they laid feudal hold of the strategic points and subsequently more and more of the greater part of the land. They created a class of nobles and of large landowners.

THE MERCHANTS

The merchants came first. The chronicles tell of shipwrecked mariners who appeared as supplicants in 1159 at the mouth of the Dvina. The natives, showing pity for them, gave them shelter and sustenance. These shipwrecked men were from Lübeck; they came back in larger numbers and settled in the Dvina region. Soon they had established regular communication between Lübeck, the Gulf of Riga, and the valley of the Dvina, the natural highroad into the Russian lands. The establishment of the way station of Wisby on the island of Gotland facilitated their enterprise to a marked degree. This island, with its strategic position facing the coasts of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, is a true island of domination in Ratzel's sense, a nucleus whence ruling power radiates afar over wide areas. Wisby recalls the islands of Tyre, of Ternate and Tidore. It has had as prosperous a fortune—in the fourteenth century it was one of the chief ports of the Hanseatic League—although less well known than these.

THE TEUTONIC AND LIVONIAN KNIGHTS

Monks and the bishops followed closely on the German merchants. The monks and bishops in their turn gave way to feudal lords. These Baltic lands were still three-quarters pagan at the end of the twelfth century. They were therefore lands for crusading. The sword and the cross labored there in close union, as in Palestine. What the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John wanted to do in Jerusalem the Knights of the Teutonic Order did in Prussia and the Livonian (Sword-Bearer) Knights did in Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland.

Üxküll had been founded in 1187 by Bishop Meinhard; Riga was founded in 1198 by Bishop Albert, the same Albert who in 1200 instituted the Order of Livonian Knights. Teutonism progressed up the valley of the Dvina and by the thirteenth century had flooded the greater part of the three provinces. This event is contemporaneous with the conquest of Prussia by the Teutonic Order, and it is an analogous event. Nevertheless, there is a very great difference. In Prussia the Knights of the Teutonic Order exterminated the natives nearly to the last man; in the Baltic Provinces the Livonian Knights could not or did not wish to do as much, although their order had been united with the Teutonic Order since 1237. The native population survived, but it was subjugated. In spite of the changing forms of civilization the region is still today a subject country, and that even more than ever.

MODERN GERMAN DOMINANCE

The Teutonic domination is revealed on the map by the German names of the strategical centers and the main highways. In the structure of society it is evident from the concentration of wealth both in land and in personal property in the hands of the Germans. German merchants control the trade of the cities as at the time of the Hanseatic League. The German-Baltic barons control the lands which the expropriations and the massacres carried out by the Livonian Knights placed at the disposal of their ancestors.

The Germans constitute not more than 6 to 7 per cent of the population of the Baltic Provinces, but they are concentrated in all the important places and they hold in their hands all the wealth of the country. The districts that are most completely Germanized are the shores of the Gulf of Riga and the valley of the Dvina, that is to say the historic route followed by the Hanseatic merchants to the black-earth lands. The coast and the rivers are bordered with towns and villages of German aspect. The older parts of Riga recall the glimpses of a Hanseatic Venice which are still to be had in the heart of Hamburg or of Danzig. "Riga, a large and beautiful city," says Bakluchin in his "Memories of the House of the Dead." "It has only one fault—too many Germans!"

The German burghers of Riga and Mitau call the peasants of the neighborhood "Easterners" in contempt. The controlling class in the cities, made up of merchants and influential citizens, is almost entirely German. When an Esthonian rose to the rank of citizen he became a German by this very fact. He was no longer a member of the despised race; he became a full-fledged German.

LAND TENURE

In the country districts the hardest kind of serfdom has for seven centuries weighed heavily on the expropriated and exploited natives. In Livonia 67 per cent of the lands belongs to the nobles and 15 per cent to the state. The estates of 823 landed proprietors have an average area of 3,800 hectares. Thus every Livonian landed proprietor in general owns a piece of territory which is as large as three rural communes in France. These domains are divided into large estates (*Rittergüter*) about which live in misery the field workers and the peasants (*Knechte*), who can be dismissed at the owner's will.

The severity of the German seigniorial right has left a terrible memory among the inhabitants of Livonia and Courland. Cutting off a leg was a customary punishment for the serf who fled from the master's house. Esthonian mothers still frighten their disobedient children by telling them "The German is coming!" (*Saks tuleb*) much as we frighten ours with wolf and ogre. A Lettish song quoted by Reclus expresses in brief the misery of the country districts. "The forests are full of wolves and bears; the fields are full of masters!"

During the period of Swedish domination some humane and just measures were put into force which rendered servitude less hard. But the Russian conquest gave back to the German-Baltic barons the full and complete exercise of their ancient feudal rights. The abolition of serfdom from 1816 to 1819 was for the unfortunate Baltic populations only an illusory reform, inasmuch as the power and the lands remained in the hands of the landed proprietors and the local laws and taxes were not changed.

PRESENT GERMAN COLONIZATION PLANS

Thus in the Baltic lands, in spite of the absence of any German political control since the decline of the Hanseatic League and the religious orders, the feudal and commercial domination of the Germany of the Middle Ages has, without any change of importance, been continued and perpetuated to our day. What will happen now? To their social domination the Germans have again added political domination. What will they make of it?

They are already acting, without losing a moment, in a way to insure their authority against any possible infringement or decline. They are the *Herrenvolk*, the race of masters: they not only wish to remain so, but they wish to become so still more.

They have realized that the vulnerable point in their control of the Baltic lands is the small number of Germans who live there. Masters of the land and its wealth, they are nevertheless not strong enough numerically to overcome possible national and social uprisings. A social structure consisting solely of landed proprietors and merchants is an unstable structure. In order to consolidate it there is need of a rural middle class. The system of *Rittergüter* must be completed and even replaced by a system of peasant (*bönder*) farms. The Germans are already preparing a scheme of colonization for the German settlers who are to complete the occupation of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland to the advantage of imperial Germany; they do not hesitate to think of expropriating the German-Baltic barons themselves and, of course, still less the native population, for the benefit of the German peasants.

Under date of July 2, 1918, a newspaper despatch from Basel gives an abstract of the proclamation which Marshal Hindenburg had just made with regard to the colonization of Courland; similar measures will doubtless be applied to the other two provinces. A German colonization society known as the "Society of the Lands of Courland" is to have the right to intervene as purchaser in all transactions relating to rural property to the end of 1948. It will enjoy preferential rights in all forced sales; it will advance only 85 per cent in cash for the purchases and the remaining 15 per cent will be charged to the seller as a contribution to the fund of the Society! In order to indemnify the German-Baltic barons, their estates will be bought at their pre-war value in 1914. "Thus," says the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, "there will be a practical possibility of commencing

a work of colonization on a large scale. The settlers are already at the gates."

Thus, we should say, does the latest stage of German occupation of the Baltic Provinces present itself. By disguised confiscation Germany wishes to change them into German lands. It is the same method which has been followed in Prussian Poland; it is the same method which the Germans wish to follow in Alsace-Lorraine; and in the Baltic Provinces the same method has been approved in advance by the Bolsheviki of Brest-Litovsk, who were neither simpletons nor fools but conscious accomplices.

Economic Colonization: The Ukraine

POLISH RESISTANCE TO GERMAN DOMINATION

Along the eastern boundary of Germany, between the Baltic Provinces and the Ukraine, lie Lithuania and Poland. In these countries a glorious political past, an exceptional intellectual development, a population which is the densest and most industrialized of Eastern Europe, a complex of national aspirations which in spite of the division and the conflict between Lithuanians and Poles can no longer be disrupted—all these create so complicated and so serious a situation for the German Empire that there can be no thought of colonization as such in this region. The problems are of a different nature, and it is for this reason that we will not examine them in the present paper.

Evidently, if she had been victorious, Germany would have attempted to introduce in Lithuania and Poland the same faithless and brutal methods of colonization by which she tried to Prussianize the Grand Duchy of Posen. But while the famous Prussian expropriation law finally obtained only mediocre results, the Poles on their part, under the lash of scientific German persecution, girded their loins and organized for a national resistance on an economic basis. One should read in Henri Moysset's "*L'ésprit public en Allemagne: Vingt ans après Bismarck*" (Paris, 1911), one of the most notable books published in France before the war, the first two chapters, entitled "The Germanization of the Eastern Marches; Colonizing Laws" and the "Expropriation of the Poles," in order to realize the force that was used against them and the force that they on their part opposed to the colonizing power. By a combined financial and agrarian system the Poles have found the means in a measure to oppose the colonization through social control which we have described with regard to the Baltic Provinces or the economic type of colonization which Germany would have to apply in the case of the Ukraine.

If the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk is not revoked, the Ukraine will be a new domain for the territorial appetites of the Germans. The treaty delivered this immense territory to them as a gratuitous gift, as it were. To be sure, they had studied all the separatist possibilities within the Russian body politic and in this respect had reserved a place apart for the Ukrainians—

the book by Inorodetz on the alien races of Russia bears evidence to this effect—but the most covetous among them could not suppose that the prey would fall so soon into their hands! This unexpected development brought the Ukraine within their range as a veritable colony of exploitation.

DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE UKRAINE: THE LITTLE RUSSIANS

The Ukraine is not an artificial creation. The Ukrainians are the Little Russians, who are in contrast to the Great Russians and the White Russians. They consider themselves as alone having the right to bear the name of Russian. They have called themselves Ukrainians since the time when the Muscovites with their Tatar infusion usurped this designation. The Little Russians of Russia are the same as the Ruthenians of Galicia and the Bukovina. "Ruthenian" is derived from the Greek word *Ῥυθῆνοι*, which, in modern Greek, is pronounced almost like *Rusinoi*. The great majority of Ruthenians are Greek Catholics, or Uniates; the Little Russians are Greek Orthodox, but throughout their history their conflicts for independence from Muscovy have always been in the domain of religious hierarchy. National and religious conflicts before the war in Austria and in Russia thus revealed the possibilities of resistance and of independence on the part of the Ukraine.

At the University of Lwów (Polish form; Leopold in Little Russian; Lemberg in German) no semester passed without an often violent manifestation by the Ruthenian students, who were in the great majority, of their national animosity against the Polish and Austrian professors.

In Russia the Little Russian national movement had, in the last twenty-five years, taken on a nihilistic or revolutionary character. The sanguinary outbreaks in Poltava and Kharkov in 1901 and 1902, in Kiev and Odessa in 1904 and 1905, and in Kiev and Kharkov in 1906, were all due to the Ukrainian revolutionary party. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, in February, 1914, a popular demonstration had taken place in Kiev involving about 200,000 persons whose slogan was "Long live the Ukraine! Down with Russia!"

It is thus wrong to say and to think, as have so many Russian officials of the old government of the Czar and so many poorly informed diplomats of the Entente, that the Ukrainian movement was only artificially created for the purpose of the moment and that it originated in Brest-Litovsk solely to serve the interests of Germany. Without entering into the detail of the history of the Ukraine it is worth noting that in 1349 the states called the Grand Duchy of Kiev and the Kingdom of Galicia-Ludomeria had united with Poland and that in 1648 they revolted and made war against her. After six years of fighting and turmoil the Ukrainians turned toward Muscovy and at Pereyaslav in 1654 concluded a treaty of union. This treaty was respected for ten years. Empress Catherine II, by a ukase in 1764, arbitrarily broke this treaty of alliance. The Ukrainian government was suppressed, and in 1775 the Zaporogian army, which was the Ukrainian

army, was disbanded. It is from that time that dates the unquenchable hate and the latent revolt of the Little Russians against the Great Russians.

EXTENT OF THE UKRAINE

What exactly is the Ukraine, and what are its limits? It is very difficult to determine. Not only are the Ukrainians much mixed with the adjoining peoples, as, for instance, in the district of Cholm which the treaty of Brest-Litovsk has accorded them although the majority of the population is Polish, but even in the Ukraine proper the Ukrainian race and the Little Russian mentality and language have maintained themselves pure only in the country districts among the peasants. Throughout the world the large cities have more and more become cosmopolitan centers, racially heterogeneous. This is also the case in the Ukraine. Kiev, its most important city, is one of the oldest cities of Russia, a center of monastic life and religious pilgrimage, a holy spot for all Russians, and likewise an industrial city. Hence its population is very mixed. The metropolis of the Ukraine has thus less than any other Ukrainian city a Ukrainian soul, so to speak. The conflict of the *radas* of Kharkov and Poltava, two cities which have remained more Ukrainian, with the *rada* of Kiev is a phase of this political protest against the general phenomenon of what might be deemed the denationalization of capitals.

If we accept the statements of the leaders of the Ukrainian movement we must count as belonging to the Russian part of the Ukraine the Russian provinces of Volhynia, Podolia (with the district of Cholm), Kiev, Kherson, Poltava, Chernigov, Kharkov, Yekaterinoslav, Taurida (with the Crimea), and the Kuban district. According to their conception a certain number of districts adjacent to Bessarabia, Poland, and on the Don should also be added.

POPULATION OF THE UKRAINE

The Russian and the Austrian parts of the Ukraine comprise together 850,000 square kilometers, with a population of 35,000,000 people, of whom 30,000,000 are in the Russian part.

The following table shows the Ukrainian population, and its percentage of the total population, in the different districts of Austria-Hungary and Russia inhabited by Ukrainians according to the data of the Russian census of 1897 and the Austrian-Hungarian census of 1910.

UKRAINIAN POPULATION OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AND RUSSIA
(According to Austro-Hungarian census of 1910 and Russian census of 1897)

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS	UKRAINIAN POPULATION	PERCENTAGE	REMARKS
Northeastern Hungary... (south of the Carpathians)	470,000	..	Counties of Máramaros and Bereg, 46%; Ugocsa, 39%; Ung, 36%.
Bukovina.....	300,000	38	Districts of Sastawna, 80%; Kitzman, 87%; Czernowicz, 55%.
Galicia.....	3,210,000	40	The mean percentage is 59% in the part inhabited by the Little Russians, increasing to 90% and going below 50% only in Lemberg and Yaroslav.
Total.....	3,980,000		

RUSSIA

GOVERNMENTS	UKRAINIAN POPULATION	PER-CENTAGE	REMARKS
Lublin.....	250,000	17	Districts of Grubieszow, 66%; Tomaszow, 52%.
Siedlce.....	140,000	14	Districts of Wlodawa, 64%; Bila, 48%. Mixture of Poles and Jews.
Grodno.....	440,000	23	Districts of Brest, 81%; Kobryn, 83%; Bilsk, 42%.
Minsk.....	390,000	14	The Ukrainians inhabit the district of Pinsk.
Volhynia.....	2,700,000	70	Jews, 13%; Poles, 6%; Russians, 3%.
Kiev.....	3,620,000	79	Jews, 12%; Russians, 6%.
Podolia.....	3,030,000	81	Jews, 12%; Russians, 3%.
Kherson.....	1,640,000	54	Alexandria, 88%; Slivsavet, 73%; Odessa, 47%; Tiraspol, 38%. In the city of Odessa itself there are hardly 10% of Ukrainians, and many Jews.
Bessarabia.....	460,000	20	The majority is Rumanian; the Ukrainians are in the majority only at Khotyn (56%).
Kursk.....	670,000	22	The Ukrainians inhabit only the south, where they reach 55% and 61% in certain districts.
Voronezh.....	1,210,000	36	Same remark—the majority is Russian.
Don.....	280,000	28	Taganrog, 69%; Rostov, 52%. Many Russians or Great Russians.
Kuban.....	1,250,000	47	Russians, 44%; natives of the Caucasus, 9%.
Stavropol.....	450,000	37	Ukrainians in the west and south. The rest, Russians or Nogai.
Terek.....	50,000	5	At Piatigor exceptionally 14%.
Black Sea.....	10,000	16	Tuapse, 27%.
Taurida.....	790,000	42	Dnieprovsk, 76%; Berdiansk, 64%; Melitopol, 57%. The rest are Russians, Tatars, Germans. Alone the north of the Crimea is Ukrainian.
Yekaterinoslav.....	2,110,000	69	Russians, 17%; Jews, 5%; Germans, 5%. The cities, except Alexandrovsk, contain the largest percentages of non-Ukrainians.
Kharkov.....	2,275,000	70	The Russians (28%) form some important islands, but in all the cities the Ukrainians are in the majority.
Poltava.....	3,410,000	95	Jews, 4%.
Chernigov.....	2,450,000	86	White Russians, 5%, especially in the north.
Total.....	27,625,000		

This table can not give other than approximate values, nor is it amenable to any precise critique. The necessity for caution in accepting the figures of the 1897 census of the Russian Empire, published in Russian and in French in 1905, is known; nevertheless it is the only general source to which we can turn.⁵

According to this table the total number of Ukrainians in Austria-Hungary and Russia is 31,600,000. By adding some groups outside the governments mentioned and the emigrants to the United States, we arrive at the figure of 34,000,000 for the total Ukrainian population in the world.

In a general way one can say that the Ukrainians represent 75 per cent of the population of 45,000,000 who occupy the regions grouped together under the name of the Ukraine.

CONDITIONS FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE TO GERMAN EXPLOITATION

The mean population density of the Ukraine is 53 to the square kilometer, which is much less than the density of Poland and much more than the mean density of European Russia, which is only 25 per square kilometer. This reveals one of the most favorable conditions for the realization of the present projects for German colonization in the Ukraine. Another favorable condition is the especially slight population density in relation to the

⁵ See especially D. Aitoff: *Peuples et langues de la Russie, Annales de Géogr.*, Vol. 15, 1906, pp. 9-25, with map, 1: 12,500,000.

food resources of the region. On the other hand this population is still dense enough to furnish a sufficient labor supply. In the third place it is sufficiently developed from the standpoint of intelligence and sufficiently accustomed to agricultural work to be amenable under competent direction to better and more intensive methods of agriculture. It is these facts which lead the advocates of Pan-Germanism and the exploitation of Russia to consider the Ukraine as a promising country and to foresee the economic wealth which it may produce for Germany.

But we must not ignore the other side of the matter. The Ukrainians are indeed Eastern Slavs and as such have only a vague notion of what we Westerners call a sense of nationality—the political events of the last months bear witness to this fact. However, they are a people that is attached to the soil; they constitute a social element which will be restive under any form of direct or indirect expropriation; the wheat which they have sowed and reaped they would rather destroy or burn than deliver to new masters. The peoples of the Central Empires have suffered the greatest disillusionment in realizing that the forcible requisitions in the Ukraine have in 1918 only furnished a small amount of foodstuffs for exportation.

A Greek medical officer who had served in the French army in Rumania and who had recently returned from Russia by way of the Ukraine related the following significant episode. On one occasion he was out in a country district in the neighborhood of Kiev, accompanied by a Russian officer, none other than Prince Kropotkin. Admiring a heap of wheat at a peasant's house, the Greek officer stepped up and, with a movement commonly used in Western Europe, took up a handful of wheat to examine it more closely. The Russian made him drop it immediately, because he was afraid that the peasant might do him harm. To touch grain is a sacrilege in the eyes of the Ukrainian peasants.

Before the Germans can transform this peasant mentality to their purposes, let us hope that many years will pass and many other events have happened.

In the meantime the fact is there. To Teutonic exploitation the Ukraine offers exceptional riches. The following are its chief economic resources.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES

Cereals. The Ukraine includes the greater part of the celebrated black-earth soils (*chernoziom*), whose importance it is not necessary to stress. Forty per cent of the cereal production of Russia comes from the Ukraine. Before the war the Ukraine exported 27-30 per cent of its wheat crop. The extent of the cultivable area amounts to 45,000,000 hectares, or 32 per cent of the similar area for the whole of Russia (whose area is six times that of the Ukraine), and 53 per cent of the total area of the country, a proportion which is only exceeded by France, with 56 per cent. The mean annual production at the beginning of the twentieth century was 150,000,000

quintals of bread cereals (in 1910, 215,000,000), or six times the production of the rest of European Russia and 30 per cent of the production of the Russian Empire. In this mean total wheat accounted for 68,000,000 quintals, rye 42,000,000, and barley the remainder.

Potatoes and Beets. The production of potatoes in 1910 was 38,700,000 quintals in Galicia and 63,200,000 in the Russian part of the Ukraine. The latter produced more than 50,000,000 quintals of beets, which represents at least 80 per cent of the annual production for Russia.

Cattle. Although cattle breeding is carried on extensively, it is not what it could become with better methods. The number of cattle is very considerable, but the quality is not equal to the quantity. A large number of the animals are small in size and of mixed breed; it is estimated that the Ukraine counts 30,000,000 head of large cattle, or at least one-third of the total for Russia.

Coal. The Ukraine includes the celebrated Donetz coal fields, which are among the richest in Europe. They cover an area of 23,000 square kilometers; their production in 1911 amounted to 203,000,000 quintals, or 70 per cent of the total for the Russian Empire. They include much anthracite (31,000,000 quintals in 1911, or 98.5 per cent of the total production for Russia). In Russia the Donetz coal is almost the only coal which lends itself to the production of coke, whence its great importance in metallurgy. (In 1911, 38,700,000 quintals were produced in the Ukraine, as compared with 13,600,000 quintals in the rest of Russia.)

Minerals and Metals. Iron constitutes one of the great mineral resources of the Ukraine; it occurs in different places, but particularly in the neighborhood of Krivoi Rog in the government of Kherson. The production of manganese in eastern Podolia and at Nikopol on the lower Dnieper in 1907 amounted to 3,245,000 quintals, or 32 per cent of the total production of Russia. The copper ore of Kherson and Taurida and of the Bukovina represents 31 per cent of the total Russian production. Mercury deposits are found in the Donetz region, and there are no others anywhere in the Russian Empire.⁶

⁶ Present economic data on Russia are, and cannot be other than, approximate. For this reason attention should be called to the valuable material in *Russia*, a journal published since 1916 in two editions, British and American, by R. Martens & Co., London and New York. The British edition bears the subtitle "Britain's Great Opportunity"; the American, "A Journal of Russian and American Foreign Trade." In Vol. 1, No. 2, and Vol. 2, No. 4 (Brit. edit.) is to be found precise information on the important movement of co-operative associations in Russia. The journal also contains many maps and diagrams, for instance, the general diagram of productivity according to regions, Vol. 2, No. 3; in this connection it is well to remember that the Ukraine, as today defined politically, tends to include the Don province; when this is borne in mind the data presented in the journal will be seen to coincide with those given here. See especially the general map of the mineral resources of the Caucasus, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 17 (Amer. edit., Vol. 2, No. 9, pp. 16-17), and the Urals, Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 18 (Amer. edit., Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 16-17), and of gold in the Russian Empire, Vol. 1, No. 5, pp. 17 and 27-32; an article on cotton, Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 5-12; also the map of the Donetz coal field, Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 18, Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 15 (also Amer. edit., Vol. 2, No. 8, pp. 16-17), and the coal production figures for Russia during the first half of 1917, Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 28; the map of the iron mines of Krivoi Rog (see the text above), Vol. 1, No. 3, p. 22 (Amer. edit., Vol. 2, No. 7, p. 21). The diagram illustrating the article on production of coal in Russia according to districts from 1864 to 1913 (Vol. 1, No. 1, p. 29; Amer. edit., Vol. 2, No. 8, p. 32) indicates the predominance of the deposits included within the Ukraine, in accordance with the statement above in the text.

Salt. All of the salt of the Russian Empire proper is furnished by the rock salt of the Ukraine and the salt works of the Black Sea.

CONCLUSION

The world peace which will end the world war must therefore protect the Ukrainians from "colonial exploitation" by Germany. Germany will be supreme mistress from the Gulf of Finland to the Black Sea. She wishes to realize the dream which for a certain period in history was that of Poland. It is thus that she sometimes ignores historical facts in order to shape them to her purposes and sometimes assumes the rôle of certain powers of the past in order to claim their heritage.

In the desires of the Pan-Germans there is something of geography; there is also something of history. What makes them so formidable is precisely that their activities are based on sequences: sequences in time and sequences in space, sequences of generations and of men as well as things. It is only because of the ignorance and the thoughtlessness of Western Europeans that the appetite for conquest of the Germans has appeared to develop suddenly. Re-read the warnings which the far-seeing Edgar Quinet addressed to France in 1830; at that time Pan-Germanism was called Teutomania and Gallophagy. The words have changed, the things are the same. There are no historical facts more systematically recurring than the appetites and conquests of Teutonism; there are none which, at least in appearance, fit the natural setting better. German sophistry has known how to enlist history and geography in the service of conquering Germany; Treitschke and Ratzel, no less than Karl Marx, prepared the way for Hindenburg.

How could the Germans have been otherwise, inasmuch as the facts and the circumstances themselves seemed to conspire with their ambition? Where time and man had left elbow room to the German he had realized his program of hegemony even before the first cannon shot of the great war. To all thoughtful Germans 1914 was not a beginning, but a culmination.