



# HISTORIA

## Provinciae

### THE JOURNAL OF REGIONAL HISTORY

The world of the historian:  
'The 70<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Boris Petelin'

Online scientific journal

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2018 • Vol. 2 • No. 2

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Cherepovets  
2018

**Publication: 2018 • Vol. 2 • No. 2 • JUNE.** Issued four times a year.

**FOUNDER:** Federal State Budgetary Educational Institution of Higher Education ‘Cherepovets State University’

The mass media registration certificate is issued by the Federal Service for Supervision of Communications, Information Technology and Mass Media (Roskomnadzor).  
Эл №ФС77-70013 dated 31.05.2017

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**Address of the publisher, editorial office and printing-office:**

162600 Russia, Vologda region, Cherepovets, Prospekt Lunacharskogo, 5.

OPEN PRICE

**ISSN 2587-8352**

Online media

12 standard published sheets

Publication: 15.06.2018

Format 60 × 84 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>.

Font style Times.

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Institution of Higher Education  
‘Cherepovets State University’, 2018

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## B.V. PETELIN: SCIENTIST, EDUCATOR AND CITIZEN



The 20<sup>th</sup> February 2018 marked the 70th birthday of Boris Valentinovich Petelin, Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor of the Department of History and Philosophy, Cherepovets State University. For me, he is a sincere friend, a remarkable colleague, who I have met many times at many scientific events in Vologda and Cherepovets, as well as in Brest and Vitebsk.

He was born in Velsk, in the Russian North, in the family of a school teacher, having followed into the footsteps of his grandmother and father as far as the family profession concerned. He finished a comprehensive school in Plesetsk (Arkhangelsk region), worked in the geological survey expedition No. 19 of the Leningrad Hydro-project, served in the Soviet Army, studied to be a professional driver and worked in construction organizations. But the family tradition was stronger: in 1970 he entered Vologda State Pedagogical Institute at the Faculty of History. History was the subject he took most seriously. He was lucky to have Professor A.S. Blank as a teacher, who by that time had become a famous scientist, a specialist in German history, and worked at the Department of World History. Thanks to his initiatives, the topical association on German history was created at Vologda State Pedagogical Institute in the early 1970s, which played a significant role in the evolvement and further development of national Germanic studies. For a student, and then a teacher Boris Petelin, Aleksandr Solomonovich turned out to be the mentor, who until the very end (passed away on 20.01.1985) helped his pupil in life and scientific activity, despite all the obstacles that were put up for the famous scientist<sup>1</sup>.

B.V. Petelin graduated with honors. Aleksandr Solomonovich advised him to continue with the post-graduate studies, promised to help, but by that time he had lost his post as head of the department ... Besides, Boris Petelin was already a family man, his son was born, for the last year of his studies he was renting a room in the city and could stay there but was assigned to a rural school. To embark on postgraduate studies was only possible as part of the 'target' plan, so he had to look for other opportunities. In this search, he was supported by the head of History Department of

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<sup>1</sup> Blank A.S. Glavnoe delo. Iz neopublikovannogo [The most important thing. From the unpublished]. *Arhiv B.V. Petelina* [B.V. Petelin's archives].

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Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia in Leningrad (now St Petersburg) V.K. Furaev, who invited Boris Petelin for a job interview, after which he became an office-seeker at the department. The topic of the dissertation research was suggested by A.S. Blank. He advised to consider the history of the CDU in Germany. The German Communist Party, around the history of which the thesis had been written, “is not a promising <topic>”, Blank told him, “however the Conservatives are worth having a try, especially since there have been almost no works on them in the Soviet Union”.



Conference at Vologda State Pedagogical Institute, May 1983,  
where B.V. Petelin was among the participants.

The last major scientific event organized by Professor A.S. Blank, took place in Vologda in May 1983. It attracted, without exaggeration, the ‘cream of society’ engaged with the Soviet Germanic studies. The topic of the meeting was determined by its title: ‘Progressive, revolutionary, democratic and anti-fascist traditions in German history’, however the content of the reports was much broader than the ‘revolutionary tradition’. B.V. Petelin spoke at one of the sections on the activities of the conservative politician of German Federative Republic Franz Josef Strauss. At the final plenary session, his speech was noted by the prominent scientist Specialist in German history, A.I. Borozniak, which was very important for him<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> In September 1983, I passed Ph.D. defense devoted to the problems of intra-party development of the CDU in Germany in the Dissertation Council of the Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia in Leningrad (now St Petersburg). Reviews were submitted for the author’s abstract,

Unfortunately, it was not possible to publish the conference reports. Only brief theses were issued<sup>3</sup>. By that time, A.S. Blank only held the appointment of a visiting professor at the department, which raised additional difficulties in carrying out the scientific work. After his sudden death, it was not possible to maintain the attained level at Vologda State Pedagogical Institute. His students (Blank trained more than 20 historians – specialists in the Germanic studies) took different paths. However, the topical association in Vologda gave birth to other centers of German studies: in Tomsk and Kemerovo, Voronezh and Lipetsk, Ivanovo and Yaroslavl<sup>4</sup>.

In 1989, Boris Valentinovich began teaching at Vologda State Pedagogical University at the Department of General History. Teaching of a special course ‘History and historiography of fascism’ (this course was delivered by A.S. Blank) was reinstated at the Faculty of History, a new special course ‘Actual problems of modern Germany’ was introduced, and the topics for term papers and degree projects on German history were expanded. In the studies, the following areas appeared: activities of the political parties CDU and CSU in West Germany, evolution of German political system, the nature and content of social and political problems in German society, German policy of West Germany’s political parties. The scientific ties with historians-German scholars from Volgograd, Yekaterinburg, Voronezh, Kemerovo, as well as the Center for German Studies of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences were restored.

In the early 1990s, close ties with the Memorial Museum of German anti-fascists (Krasnogorsk) were established. It was there that in 1993, at the International Conference dedicated to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the National Committee for a Free Germany, the Associate Professor B.V. Petelin made a report on the problems of German Resistance in the works of A.S. Blank<sup>5</sup>. The history of captivity in war was interesting

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including one from A.I. Borozniak. The response was positive, but it was noted that the historians from the GDR ‘infiltrated’ into the list with the historians’ names from the FRG. The abstract was printed in a hurry; it was necessary to cut the volume directly in the printing house, which led to such an anecdotal evidence. Aleksandr Ivanovich was not only knowledgeable, but also a meticulous opponent, and never ignored even the tiniest inaccuracies.

<sup>3</sup> See: *Progressivnye, revoliutsionnye, demokraticheskie, antifashistskie traditsii v germanskoi istorii. Tezisy dokladov (mai 1983 g.)* [Progressive, revolutionary, democratic and anti-fascist traditions in German history. Conference abstracts (May 1983)]. Vologda, 1983.

<sup>4</sup> Regarding the life and creative works of A.S. Blank, see his students’ book: Kashin R.G. *Operedivshii vremia* [The Man ahead of Time]. Moscow, 2006. The review for the book was written by A.S. Blank’s post-graduate student B.L. Khavkin, now Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor of Russian State University for the Humanities. For more details see: *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* [New and Contemporary History], 2006, no. 5, pp. 215–217.

<sup>5</sup> In the report, the author presented the new facts and judgments of A.S. Blank regarding the National Committee for a Free Germany, not previously published in the open press. See: Petelin B.V. *Deiatel'nost' Natsional'nogo Komiteta “svobodnaia Germaniia” v istoricheskikh trudakh A.S. Blanka* [The activities of the National Committee for a Free Germany in the historical works of A.S.

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for the students of Boris Valentinovich. For several years, they arrived in Krasnogorsk, worked in the museum with the documentary materials necessary to complete their graduation papers. The Vologda students were greatly assisted by the museum staff and its management: Director, Candidate of Historical Sciences A.A. Krupennikov and Provost for Research, Candidate of Historical Sciences (PhD) V.A. Vsevolodov.

It was A.S. Blank who began to investigate such a complicated problem in many respects as the German prisoners of war and their stay on the territory of the Soviet Union. In 1979, his book on German prisoners of war in the USSR was published in Cologne, which sparked a discussion in the West German bundestag<sup>6</sup>. The Soviet captivity appeared not so terrible as it had been portrayed before. A.S. Blank wrote his book mainly based on his personal memories (during the war he had to be in close contact with the German prisoners of war in the Soviet camps, including Field Marshal Paulus)<sup>7</sup>.

The study of the history of captivity in war was continued in Vologda in the 1990s. In this area, V.B. Konasov, a historian from Vologda, whose PhD thesis was devoted to the activities of medical personnel during the Great Patriotic War, showed his worth. However, in the future, this 'framework' turned out to be too narrow for him. It is difficult to say what scientific achievements V.B. Konasov would have made, if B.V. Petelin had not introduced him to the Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor A.I. Borozniak, who significantly helped the native of Vologda in the study of a complicated scientific problem<sup>8</sup>.

Whilst studying the previously unknown archival documents, V. Konasov conducted a comprehensive scientific analysis devoted to the German prisoners of war staying in the USSR<sup>9</sup>. V.B. Konasov's articles and his speeches at conferences attracted the attention of both Russian and foreign specialists. The author had many fol-

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Blank]. *Sbornik materialov rossiisko-germanskoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii. Moskva – Krasnogorsk 7–9 sentiabria 1993* [The Collection of writings for the Russian-German scientific-practical conference. Moscow – Krasnogorsk, 7–9<sup>th</sup> September 1993]. Krasnogorsk, 1994, pp. 123–129.

<sup>6</sup> Blank A. *Die deutschen Kriegsgefangenen in der UdSSR*. Köln, 1979.

<sup>7</sup> See: Blank A.S., Khavkin B.L. *Vtoraia zhizn' fel'dmarshala Pauliusa* [The Second Life of Field Marshal Paulus]. Moscow, 1990.

<sup>8</sup> The famous Vologda writer and journalist G.A. Akin'khov in his book 'Breakthrough' published in Vologda in 2008, wrote not only about the scientific achievements of V.B. Konasov, but also about the support he was provided with on part of such famous scientists as A.I. Borozniak

<sup>9</sup> See: Konasov V.B. *Sud'by nemetskikh voennoplennykh v SSSR: diplomaticheskie, pravovye i politicheskie aspekty problemy. Ocherki i dokumenty* [The fate of German prisoners of war in the USSR: Diplomatic, legal and political aspects of the problem. Essays and Documents]. Vologda, 1996.

lowers, and the topic of captivity in war was developed further<sup>10</sup>. The success of the Vologda scientists and the support of the local authorities made it possible to revive the tradition of holding scientific conferences with the participation of Germanist historians.

In 1995, two scientific and practical conferences dedicated to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the victory in the Great Patriotic War were held in Vologda. The composition of the conference, despite financial pressure in the universities, was quite impressive. At the conference in Vologda held on 15–18<sup>th</sup> February – ‘Lessons and problems of historical studies related to World War II’, the work of one of the sub-forums was dedicated to the memory of Professor A.S. Blank, led by his close associate, Doctor of Historical Sciences A.I. Borozniak. He also made the opening speech on the scientific heritage of A.S. Blank. B.V. Petelin came the fifth with his speech after the well-known scientists of Russia A. Borozniak, R. Kashin, Iu. Galaktionov and A. Tsfasman. The participants of the conference visited the burial site of A.S. Blank at Poshekhonsky Cemetery in Vologda.

Based on the work of the conferences, a few scientific collections were published. Together with the Vologda researchers, such authors as V.A. Artemov, A.I. Borozniak, A.A. Buldakov, Iu.V. Galaktionov, V.P. Galitskii, L.N. Garanin, S.V. Kretinin, G.M. Sadovaia, M.V. Khodiakov, V.L. Chernoperov, A.B. Tsfasman and others published their articles and abstracts<sup>11</sup>.

The achieved success in studying history of captivity in war allowed for arranging an international scientific conference ‘Problems of captivity in war: history and modernity’ held in Vologda on 23–25<sup>th</sup> October 1997, which was highly appreciated in the Russian and foreign scientific community. Summarizing its results, a collection of

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<sup>10</sup> Konasov V.B., Kuz'minykh A.L. *Nemetskie voennoplennye v SSSR: istoriografiia, bibliografiia, spravochno-poniatiinyi apparat* [German prisoners of war in the USSR: Historiography, bibliography, information-conceptual framework]. Vologda, 2002; Kuz'minykh A.L. *Inostrannye voennoplennye Vtoroi mirovoi voiny na evropeiskom Severe SSSR* [Foreign Prisoners of War during World War II in the European North of the USSR]. Vologda, 2004; Kuz'minykh A.L. *Nemetskie voennoplennye v SSSR: social'no-psikhologicheskii aspekt problemy* [German POWs in the USSR: The socio-psychological aspect of the problem]. *Novaya i novejsaya istoriya* [New and Contemporary History], 2006, no. 1, pp. 168–180.

<sup>11</sup> *Uroki i problemy izucheniia istorii vtoroi mirovoi voiny* [Lessons and problems of studying the history of World War II]. *Tezisy nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii* [Abstracts of scientific-practical conference]. Vologda, 1995 (One of the sessions at the conference was devoted to the scientific heritage of Professor A.S. Blank); *Aktual'nye problemy arheografii, istochnikovedeniia i istoriografii. Materialy konferentsii, posviashchennoi 50-letiiu.* [Pobedy Actual problems of archaeography, source study and historiography Proceedings of the conference dedicated to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the 1945 victory over Nazi Germany]. Vologda, 1995.

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materials was published in two parts<sup>12</sup>. Among the authors were the following: M.I. Semiriaga, K. Shtrait, A.I. Borozniak, L.E. Reshin, K. Kirkhner, M.P. Lapteva, Kh. Kislikh-Kekher, M.E. Erin, V.B. Konasov, B.V. Petelin, A.A. Krupennikov, S.V. Kretinin, M. Rossi, V.A. Artemov. The research of problems associated with captivity in war led to the creation of an international society ‘Russian captivity’ in Vologda, which included representatives of the public from Russia, the Ukraine, Austria, Germany, Switzerland and Finland. The Vologda historians were engaged not only with the questions of captivity in war, but also with the anti-fascist Resistance of German patriots. V.B. Konasov and B.V. Petelin’s tutorial, published on this topic, became a useful book both for students and teachers<sup>13</sup>.

B.V. Petelin admits that he owes his academic achievements to Professor A.I. Borozniak, with whom warm relationship was maintained for many years, which, however, did not exclude fierce disputes on many issues and problems of politics, history and public life. Thus, A.I. Borozniak did not consider the German policy of the CDU / CSU a serious factor in the unification of the country. Boris Petelin in his works, relying on the archival documents, substantiated the importance of this policy, especially of Helmut Kohl at the Federal Chancellery. The presentation of monographs on German policy of the CDU / CSU provided an opportunity for the readers to assure themselves in the seriousness of the problem in hand<sup>14</sup>.

Boris Valentinovich recalls: “Historical events such as unification or disintegration of the state do not happen by accident, as the oft-recurring chance events becomes a regularity in reality”. Several journalistic publications were also devoted to the unification of Germany<sup>15</sup>. The discussions that happened to be during our meet-

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<sup>12</sup> See: *Problemy voennogo plena: istoriia i sovremennost'. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii 23–25 oktiabria 1997 g. v Vologde: v 2 ch.* [Problems of captivity in war: History and modernity. Materials of the International Scientific Conference held on 23–25<sup>th</sup> October 1997 in Vologda: In 2 parts]. Vologda, 1997.

<sup>13</sup> See: Konasov V.B., Petelin B.V. *Soprotivlenie i plen: dokumenty i materialy po istorii antifashistskogo dvizheniya Soprotivleniia i voennogo plena v Germanii i SSSR. 1939–1955 gg. Ch. I* [Resistance and captivity: Documents and materials on the history of the anti-fascist movement of the Resistance and captivity in war in Germany and the USSR. 1939–1955 Part I]. Vologda, 2000.

<sup>14</sup> Petelin B.V. *HDS/HSS i ob"edinenie Germanii* [CDU / CSU and the unification of Germany]. Vologda, 2002; Idem. *Germanskaia politika kantslera Gel'muta Kolia 1982–1990 gg.* [German policy of Chancellor Helmut Kohl 1982–1990]. Vologda, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example: Petelin B.V. *Schast'e, svalivsheesia s neba», ili byl li plan ob"edineniia Germanii?* [‘Happiness fallen out of the sky’, or was there a plan for unifying Germany?]. *Rossia i sovremennyi mir* [Russia and the Modern World], 2002, no. 4, pp. 162–170; Idem. *Ob"edinenie Germanii 1989–1990 gg.: istoriograficheskii aspekt* [Unification of Germany 1989–1990: Historiographic aspect]. *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* [New and Contemporary History], 2003, no. 1, pp. 30–47; Idem. “Dokument Portugalova” o pozitsii sovetskogo rukovodstva po germanskomu voprosu. 21 noiabria 1989 g. [‘Portugalov’s Document’ regarding the position of the Soviet leader-

ings proved to be extremely useful for me. He understood my evaluations and agreed, when there were enough arguments to prove the evidence. In any scientific dispute, this is not only permissible, but also necessary in search for truth. In 2003, Alexander Ivanovich sincerely congratulated me on defending my doctoral dissertation at Ivanovo State University.

There was one more entry in his biography, which cannot be ignored. When from the late 1980s the country was open for changes, Boris Petelin took the most active part in the social and political activity. He was a participant in the first Congress of civil, democratic and patriotic ‘forces’ in Moscow, the first All-Russian ‘monarchical’ conference, and many other political events held in the 1990s in Moscow, St Petersburg and other Russian cities. He got acquainted with famous politicians and public figures, such as: S. Baburin, S. Glaz’iev, N. Narochitskaia, A. Ruskim, V. Aksyuchits, V. Osipov, V. Klykov, N. Lysenko ... He tried to get his point across his students’ circles advocating his solid citizenship.

The present-day development of German studies in Russia relates to the activities of the German Historical Institute Moscow (DHI Moscow). Its grand opening took place in September 2005 with the participation of many Russian and German historians and specialists, among whom was B.V. Petelin. He was acquainted with the founder and the first director of DHI, Dr. Bernd Bonwetsch, from the time of his first internship in Germany (2000), at Ruhr University Bochum, where professor Bernd Bonwetsch was affiliated. These ties helped deepen the study of German history. At the Faculty of History at Vologda State Pedagogical Institute, the ‘Society for the studies in German history’ was established. Its meaningful result was the publication of the collection of student works, most of which were devoted to the history of National Socialism<sup>16</sup>. The number of reports at student scientific conferences increased. Vologda students took an active part in the International scientific seminar devoted to the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the FRG and the USSR and the problems of captivity in war in the European North (Vologda, 17–18<sup>th</sup> October 2005).

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ship on the German question. 21<sup>st</sup> November 1989]. *Voprosy istorii* [Questions of History], 2005, no. 10, pp. 3–9.

<sup>16</sup> The collection dedicated to the memory of Professor A.S. Blank included 11 short articles written by full-time graduates of Faculty of History and distance education departments. See: *Spetsseminar «Noveishaia istoriia Germanii». Sb. studencheskikh rabot. Vyp. I* [Special seminar ‘The contemporary history of Germany’. Collection of student works. Issue I]. Vologda, 2005.



Petelin with the first director of the German Historical Institute Moscow, professor Bernd Bonwetsch, on the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the German Historical Institute Moscow in September 2015

The seminar was held with the support of the St Petersburg branch office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (led by Ms. E. Bauer), in which, along with the German and Russian colleagues, participated such well-known and competent authorities in German history as A.M. Filitov (Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow), Doctor of Historical Sciences N.V. Pavlov (Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow), Doctor of Historical Sciences F.I. Novik (Institute of Russian History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow), Doctor of Historical Sciences B.M. Tupolev (Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow), Doctor of Historical Sciences M.E. Erin (P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University, Yaroslavl), who convincingly showed that the traditions in the study of German history in Vologda are alive and filled with new content<sup>17</sup>. With the beginning of B. Petelin's work at Cherepovets State University, the practice of organizing international scientific meetings was continued. Thus, the international scientific symposium was held in 2009, 2015 and 2016, and the international Internet conference also took place then. Since 2011, the Russian-German seminar '*Vereinigung*' has existed, with the official website of the same name. And from now forward, there have been various scientific events organized in Vologda and Cherepovets by B.V. Petelin.

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<sup>17</sup> *Ustanovlenie diplomaticheskikh otnoshenii mezhdru SSSR i FRG. Nemetskie voennoplennye v SSSR. Materialy mezhdunarodnogo nauchnogo seminarara. Vologda, 17–18 oktiabria 2005* [Establishing diplomatic relations between the USSR and the FRG. German prisoners of war in the USSR. Materials of the international scientific seminar. Vologda, 17–18<sup>th</sup> October 2005]. Vologda, 2006.

I am glad that the German studies have not vanished here, that all events arranged by Boris Valentinovich are distinguished in their relevance, information awareness and scientific rigor. I am aware that in 2013 in Yaroslavl, Professor B.V. Petelin, M.E. Erin and A.I. Borozniak discussed the possibility of creating the North-West Center for German Studies. Aleksandr Ivanovich proposed to create it in Cherepovets, however B.V. Petelin, considering the actual state of things, supported Professor M.E. Erin in that the center should be in Yaroslavl. The unexpected death of Mikhail Egorovich deprived them of the opportunity to carry out their plans.

Unfortunately, in 2015 Professor A.I. Borozniak passed away. On 16–17<sup>th</sup> February 2017, the scientific conference ‘Overcoming the past in Germany and Russia: Experience and lessons for the future’ was held at Lipetsk State Pedagogical University with the support of the German Historical Institute Moscow, the Institute of World History of the Russian Academy of Sciences, dedicated to the memory of Professor A.I. Borozniak. The welcoming speech was made by the Vice-Rector of the Lipetsk State Pedagogical University N.V. Fedina, Director, Professor Dr. Nikolaus Katzer of DHI Moscow; one could also hear the welcome address by Deputy Head of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, Candidate of Historical Sciences V.V. Ishchenko and Prof. Dr. B. Bonvech (Germany).

The participants of the conference, including the leader of the ‘*Vereinigung*’ seminar, Doctor of Historical Sciences B.V. Petelin, shared the personal memories of A.I. Borozniak, talked about his life and creative career, scholarly work and teaching activities. They also visited the site of his burial, honoring the memory of the remarkable scientist and a person. Following the results of the conference, a scientific collection was published<sup>18</sup>.

I have been a regular participant of respectable seminars over a decade, organized by Boris Valentinovich. All of them were arranged with the support of St Petersburg branch office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (led by Ms. E. Bauer). Every seminar was brilliant, thanks to Boris Valentinovich. Excellent collections of materials were published. The anniversary celebrant demonstrated the example of highly professional editing. I was chief editor of a scientific journal for 14 years, and I know how hard it might be.

I happened to be the reviewer of monographs and tutorials written by this person. I would give the following overall score for them. The problematic areas have been

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<sup>18</sup> Petelin B.V. Vologda v zhizni i nauchnoi deiatel'nosti Aleksandra Ivanovicha Borozniaka [Vologda in the life and scientific work of Aleksandr Ivanovich Borozniak]. *Preodolenie proshlogo v Germanii i Rossii: opyt i uroki na budushchee (pamiati professora A.I. Borozniaka): materialy Mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii (g. Lipetsk, 16–17 fevralia 2017)* [Overcoming the Past in Germany and Russia: Experience and Lessons for the Future (in memory of Professor A.I. Borozniak): Materials of the International Scientific Conference (Lipetsk, 16–17<sup>th</sup> February 2017)]. Lipetsk, 2017, pp. 23–30.

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mastered, with relation to the origins of German Christian democracy. The balance of power in the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) of Germany in 1976–1982 was revealed. A systematic reconstruction of the German policy of the sixth Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, Helmut Kohl, was carried out. The conceptions for foreign policy of the long-term chairman of the Christian-Social Union (CSU) of the FRG Franz Josef Strauss were studied in detail. The performance review and the growth options for the national German studies were considered as well.

The method of bloc presentations of the materials is brilliantly implemented in the following tutorials: Petelin B.V. World monetary-financial and payment systems in the history of the 19<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries: Textbook. Cherepovets: Cherepovets State University, 2017. 102 p. (co-author); Petelin B.V. Evolution of systems in international relations of the 20<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries: Textbook. Cherepovets: Cherepovets State University, 2016. 127 pp.; Petelin B.V. Countries of Central and South-Eastern Europe: The main stages of development in 1945–2000: Textbook. Cherepovets: State University, 2008. 155 p.

I wish him further creative success, both in science and teaching. I know that many professional historians who know Boris Valentinovich Petelin as a talented teacher, thoughtful scientist and responsible citizen would join my wishes too.

***Mikhail Strelets***

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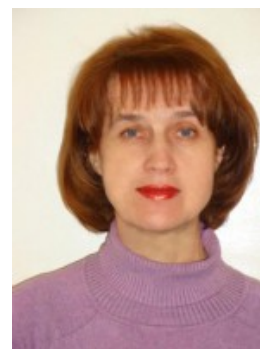
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For citation: Strelets M. B.V. Petelin: scientist, educator and citizen. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 4–13.

DOI 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-1

UDC 94(430)

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## Walter Rathenau – a man ahead of time

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*Abstract.* The contradictory personality of Walter Rathenau is considered, which is under-investigated in the domestic historiography, from the perspective of a comprehensive analysis of his versatile life activity and creative written heritage. Attention is drawn to the ability of Rathenau to go beyond the visible phenomena and processes and predict the future. The feasibility of his several ideas, confirmed by the practice of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, is emphasized in the article.

*Keywords:* Walter Rathenau, the German Empire, the Weimar Republic, contradictory personality, systemic thinking, modern problems.

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### Introduction

In his diary Walter Rathenau wrote, “What a tasty morsel I will be for privatdozents in 1950”<sup>1</sup>. At the end of last year, the world celebrated the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Walther Rathenau, but the interest to his personality is not growing thin. However, one cannot call it steady.

In the years of the Weimar Republic, according to the contemporary and later German researcher Sebastian Haffner, Walter Rathenau was rated amongst five or six most popular personalities. Whereby, Haffner noted the tremendous force of influence of W. Rathenau’s ‘personal magic’ upon young people<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Rathenau W. *Tagebuch 1907–1922*. Düsseldorf, 1929, S. 159.

<sup>2</sup> Haffner S. *a German’s Biography*. Available at: <https://unotices.com/book.php?id=83456&page=8> (retrieved: 25.01.2018); Haffner S. *Die Erinnerungen 1914–1933. Geschichte eines Deutschen. Deutsch*. Stuttgart; München, 2001, S. 50–51.

In modern Germany, the most known Weimar politicians are Chancellor Heinrich Brüning and foreign minister Gustav Stresemann. Walther Rathenau's name hardly means anything to most of German youth, except for the students of the schools named after him<sup>3</sup>. As the 'Allgemeine Zeitung' rightly noted, "today, in the everyday life, one can find the streets and squares named after Rathenau. The Treaty in Rapallo might be remembered. That is at best. But ... most of his life is unknown"<sup>4</sup>.

The first studies on Walter Rathenau, which were of publicist nature, appeared in Germany during his lifetime; the first theses – literally 1.5–2 years after his assassination. However, by the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, only 35 dissertations had been published in Germany<sup>5</sup>. If one is to analyze the German historiography related to the study of Walter Rathenau's life and his written legacy, one can identify a certain trend. The surge of interest and appeal to his work was observed when the German society and the state were looking for a response to the challenge of the time: be it the search for the ways of developing Germany under the conditions of the first democracy, the new methods for overcoming the economic crisis or building the way for international cooperation<sup>6</sup>.

In the national science of the Soviet period, the appeal to the personality of Walter Rathenau was related to his initiation of the Rapallo Treaty of 1922 (A.A. Akhtamzian<sup>7</sup>). Since the 1990s, the subject of research for the national historians included such spheres of Walter Rathenau's activity as his socio-economic and political views of the concept (A.V. Molodchik<sup>8</sup>), modeling his ideas about Russia (B.I.

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<sup>3</sup> *Gedenklauf für Walther Rathenau*. Available at: [https://www.lr-online.de/lausitz/senftenberg/gedenklauf-fuer-walther-rathenau\\_aid-3707586](https://www.lr-online.de/lausitz/senftenberg/gedenklauf-fuer-walther-rathenau_aid-3707586); *Walther-Rathenau-Schule. Gymnasium*. Available at: <https://www.wrs-berlin.de>. (retrieved: 25.01.2018)

<sup>4</sup> *Walther Rathenau – Symbolfigur der Republik. Allgemeine Zeitung*. 23.09.2017. Available at: [http://www.allgemeine-zeitung.de/vermischtes/leben-und-wissen/walther-rathenau-symbolfigur-der-republik\\_18199565.htm](http://www.allgemeine-zeitung.de/vermischtes/leben-und-wissen/walther-rathenau-symbolfigur-der-republik_18199565.htm). (retrieved: 25.01.2018)

<sup>5</sup> Beek J. van. *Walther Rathenau (1867–1922). Die Mission eines unverstandenen deutsch-jüdischen Europäers*. S. 2. Available at: [www.beacruisesyeah.live/beuker/geschichte/texte\\_hefte/Rathenaubuch.pdf](http://www.beacruisesyeah.live/beuker/geschichte/texte_hefte/Rathenaubuch.pdf) 133 S. (retrieved: 25.01.2018)

<sup>6</sup> Schulin E. *Walther Rathenau. Repräsentant, Kritiker und Opfer seiner Zeit*. Göttingen; Zürich. 1992; Brenner W. *Walther Rathenau. Deutscher und Jude*. München. 2005; Hentzschel-Fröhlings J. *Walther Rathenau als Politiker der Weimarer Republik*. Husum, 2007; Schölzel C. *Walther Rathenau. Eine Biographie*. Paderborn, 2006; Volkov S. *Ein jüdisches Leben in Deutschland 1867 bis 1922*. München, 2012 u.a.

<sup>7</sup> Akhtamzian A. *Rapall'skaia politika. Sovetsko-germanskie diplomatičeskie otnosheniia v 1922–1932 gg.* [Rapallo Politics. Soviet-German Diplomatic Relations in 1922–1932]. Moscow, 1974.

<sup>8</sup> Molodchik A.B. *Sotsial'no-ekonomičeskie i političeskie vzgliady i kontseptsii V. Ratenau*: published summary of dissertation [Socio-economic and Political Views and Concepts V. Rathenau]. Perm, 2001.

Grekov<sup>9</sup>), his description as the ideologist of a social state (G.M. Sadovaia<sup>10</sup>). The first generalizing work studying Rathenau's activities, views and ideas was written by T.I. Lypka<sup>11</sup>. If one is to summarize the activation of scientific interest in the life and creative work of Rathenau in Russia, we would say that it was conditioned by the same reasons as in Germany: the search for answers to the questions of modern development of the state, society and man in general.

### Main body

The 'amphibian man'<sup>12</sup> is one of the typical characteristics of Walter Rathenau, attesting to the fact that he was an extremely contradictory personality, combining difficult or even incompatible personality traits.

The origins of this phenomenon should be sought in his childhood, when he, according to his own testimony, combined the sublime nature of his mother and the pragmatism of his father. Walther Rathenau wrote about himself in the following way, "My nature, in ridiculous stubbornness and virtue of kindness, had mixed in me both sources of the old blood, which led to the inevitable contradiction: the propensity for the real and the craving for the spiritual. Walther's mother, Matilda Rathenau, who came from the medieval Jewish family Liebermann, introduced her son to the artworld of fine art, music, European culture and languages (he spoke English, French and Italian). Rathenau's father, Emil Rathenau, was the founder of *AEG* and the owner of the largest electric company. The circle of contacts centered around the machine factory in Berlin, whereas the world view was reduced to the latest technological achievements. His father's domination in the family distanced Walther from him for a long time and brought him closer to his mother. It is thought that through the whole of conscious experience, even when he would take most important posts, Rathenau would strive to realize his cherished desire, expressed in the children's po-

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<sup>9</sup> Grekov B.I. Val'ter Ratenau i Rossiia: evoliutsiia vneshnepoliticheskikh vzgliadov 1914–1922 [Walter Ratenau and Russia: The evolution of foreign policy views 1914–1922]. *Pervaia mirovaia voina: diskussionnye problemy istoriiu* [World War I: Controversial Issues in History]. Moscow, 1994, pp. 102–113.

<sup>10</sup> Sadovaia G.M. *Germaniia: ot kaizerovskoi imperii k demokraticeskoi respublike (1914–1922 gg.)* [Germany: from the German (Kaiser) Empire to the German Democratic Republic (1914–1922)]. Samara, 2008.

<sup>11</sup> Lypka T.I. *Val'ter Ratenau i ego vremia: lichnost' v ekonomicheskoi, politicheskoi i intellektual'noi istorii Germanii kontsa XIX – pervoi treti XX v.* [Walter Rathenau and his Time: A Person in the Economic, Political and Intellectual History of Germany at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> – first third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century]. Kirov, 2008.

<sup>12</sup> Beek J. van. *Walther Rathenau (1867–1922). Die Mission eines unverstandenen deutsch-jüdischen Europäers.* S. 10. Available at: [www.beacruisesyeah.live/beuker/geschichte/texte\\_hefte/Rathenaubuch.pdf](http://www.beacruisesyeah.live/beuker/geschichte/texte_hefte/Rathenaubuch.pdf) 133 S. (retrieved: 25.01.2018).

em devoted to his mother's birthday: "... I want to do everything to make you happy with me"<sup>13</sup>.

Walter Rathenau graduated from the Wilhelm-Gymnasium, named after German Emperors Wilhelm I and Wilhelm II, and continued his studies – after a painful choice and pressure from his father – at the universities of Strasbourg, Berlin, Munich, studying chemistry, physics and mathematics, which, from his parent's point of view, were "the foundation of modern science and technology". At the same time, he was writing plays, publishing articles under the name of Hartenau, implementing his need for the internal freedom, which, in his opinion, was higher than prosperity. To the suggestion of his mother to become a professor, he replied, "And what is then? The professorship with all its mercantile spirit, human worship and evil tongue would put me to death"<sup>14</sup>.

Walther Rathenau was long considered the heir to his father, Emil Rathenau, the continuer of the *AEG* business (German: 'General Electricity Company'). However, in the end, the multi-sided personality was formed. "Industrialists have long known Walther Rathenau as a supervisory board member at almost hundreds of enterprises, bankers knew him as the director of a trading firm, sociologists – as the author of ambitious and original books, courtiers – as the confidant of the Kaiser, colonies – as an expert who accompanied Dernburg, the military – as the head of the German raw materials department, the patent office – as the applicant for several patents in the chemical industry, writers – as the 'brother of the quill'; the director of the theater after Rathenau's death found his drama, lying dusty in the cabinet of his office"<sup>15</sup>. The scope of Walther Rathenau's interests, who was the nephew of the artist Max Liebermann, was exceedingly wide: he bought paintings of Expressionist artists Edvard Munch and Max Pechstein; met the writers Frank Wedekind, Hugo von Hofmannstahl, Gerhart Hauptmann; provided financial support to the theatre director Max Reinhard<sup>16</sup>. His open-mindedness and the variety of activities contributed to shaping personality of encyclopedic knowledge. The world of financiers and the world of spiritual strength constituted a whole for him.

The contrariety of nature for Walther Rathenau was not only conditioned by the polar opposed influence of his parents and the nature of his activities, but rather also

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<sup>13</sup> Rathenau W. *Neue Briefe. Dresden, 1927, S. 9.*

<sup>14</sup> Beek J. van. *Walther Rathenau (1867–1922). Die Mission eines unverstandenen deutsch-jüdischen Europäers.* S. 21.

<sup>15</sup> Zweig S. *Walther Rathenau. LEKHAIM OKTIABR' 1999 KHESHVON 5760–10 (90) [LECHAIM OCTOBER 1999 HESHVON5760–10 (90)].* Available at: <https://lechaim.ru/ARHIV/90/cveyg.htm>. (retrieved: 25.01.2018).

<sup>16</sup> Sontheimer M. *Blitzende Gedankenfülle.* Spiegel 25.09.12. Available at: <http://www.spiegel.de/spiegel/spiegelgeschichte/d-88536750.html> (retrieved: 25.01.2018)

by the shaping of his personality under the conditions of a challenging search for self-identification, when he was torn between the self-esteem and self-hatred<sup>17</sup>. It was difficult for Rathenau to understand that he was a second-rate burgher: his family members were typical representatives-intellectuals of Jewish assimilation in Germany<sup>18</sup>. Suffering as Jewish identity, Rathenau wrote 'Hear, O Israel!' (1897), where he called his compatriots "an Asian horde", "a foreign organism within the German nation"<sup>19</sup>. Although many German Jews despised the Eastern European Jews, the reaction of the society was highly negative. Later he distanced himself from this activity and tried to find his place amongst the German society both for himself and his comrades. He called on the state and all its citizens, including the Jews, to work together for the benefit of the whole society. Under the influence of Gobineau, he determined the races; however, when he saw that it led to anti-Semitism, nationalism and racism, he distanced himself from the definition.

On the other hand, Rathenau openly declared his Jewishness, as he was proud of his descent from the Jewish patrician family, that, from his point of view, endowed him with elite consciousness and a sense of superiority. Rathenau compared himself to the great Jewish prophet, whereby claiming that only faith without dogmas created space to preach Christ. He refused to be christened, although he realized<sup>20</sup> that the conversion to Protestantism would open the way for him to other posts<sup>21</sup>. (As, for example, was the situation with his closest friend, Maximilian Harden, in the German Kaiser's Empire). In Rathenau's invincible belief, "even if half of the Israelites 'tribe' changed their faith, this would lead to nothing but furious anti-Semitism against the converts. When he was offered the post of foreign minister of Germany's Weimar Republic, Rathenau, in response to the rhetoric that a Jew could not assume this post, compared himself to Disraeli. He said he would demolish the barriers by means of which the anti-Semites wanted to isolate the Jews." "And why cannot he do the same as Disraeli did?"<sup>22</sup> He saw one goal – to be necessary to Germany.

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<sup>17</sup> Rozhanskii L. "I want to declare immediately and openly that I am a Jew ...". *Cascade*. 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2012. Available at: <http://kackad.com/kackad>. (retrieved: 25.01.2018); Volkov S. *Ein jüdisches Leben in Deutschland 1867 bis 1922*. München, 2012.

<sup>18</sup> Brenner W. *Walther Rathenau. Deutscher und Jude. Cover: Walther Rathenau*. München, 2005.

<sup>19</sup> Rathenau W. „Höre, Israel!“ (1897). *Dokumente – Gesellschaft und Kultur*. S. 1. Available at: [http://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub\\_document.cfm?document\\_id=717&language=german](http://ghdi.ghi-dc.org/sub_document.cfm?document_id=717&language=german) (retrieved: 25.01.2018.)

<sup>20</sup> Hentzschel-Fröhlings J. *Walther Rathenau als Politiker der Weimarer Republik*. Husum, 2007, S. 75.

<sup>21</sup> Craig G.F. *Deutsche Staatskunst von Bismarck bis Adenauer*. Düsseldorf, 1961, S. 71.

<sup>22</sup> Cit. from Hentzschel-Fröhlings J. *Walther Rathenau als Politiker der Weimarer Republik*, S. 80, 81.

But not only the family environment influenced the development of Walther Rathenau's personality. The end of the 19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> century was the period of rapid economic growth in Germany, appearance of new industries, mass production and mass society, which had colossal consequences for one's inner world, internal freedom as an essential personality trait. The dualism manifested in the relations with his parents, with regards to their origin, occupation, found its continuation in contradictions between his ideas and activities; between his mind and soul. Walther Rathenau was both an idealist philosopher who tried to explain and regulate his inner life with the help of such concepts as instinct, soul, spirit, transcendence, and, on the other hand, he marched under the standards of facts, having received brilliant education in natural science and having defended a thesis in electrical engineering.

It was natural science and electrical engineering that helped him develop the systemic concepts of thinking. With their help, he learned to think not in a separate subsystem, but using a whole-of-system approach. He was interested in the theoretical foundations of natural science and engineering sciences to provide rationalization for systemic universal thoughts, extending them to the processes that took place in the economy, industry, banking system, politics and, finally, in the society. The foundation of this was laid at the factory in Bitterfeld, where Walther Rathenau first applied the principle for "connection of each element with the center".

The application of technical innovations had far-reaching consequences in all spheres of life. Technologies became a synonym for progress. In 1900, 800 thousand people lived in Germany: the birth rate increased and mortality rates fell, mainly due to improvement in housing conditions, hygiene and new technological advances introduced around the house and at work. In general, the standard of living rose.

However, the technical progress brought negative effects. Walther Rathenau warned about breaking the relationship between man and nature and the growing threat to ecology. Speaking about the active intervention of man in the 'workshop of Nature', he disputed the devastation, ruining and pollution of the environment, which could adversely affect many areas of human life. On a business trip to Africa in 1907, he urged the government to stop deforestation in East and South West Africa<sup>23</sup>.

Rathenau associated the most severe consequences with the onset of 'mechanization', which led to total changes in spiritual, social, economic and political life<sup>24</sup>. Man was caught in the web of organizations and institutions. According to Walther Rathenau's precise remark, the process of standardization at all levels of life began because of mechanical life-forms that represented a man's life going around in circles. A person changed into a machine, as after work, a mechanized person cannot

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<sup>23</sup> Schölzel C. *Walther Rathenau. Eine Biographie*, S. 75–80.

<sup>24</sup> Brenner W. *Walther Rathenau. Deutscher und Jude*, S. 287–292.

engage in creative work; he is focused only at himself, seeking to compensate the monotonous, mechanized labor with joy from the luxury of possession, the desire for pleasures and honors. A man became the mass, the man of 'profit' and an individualist. "Money intoxicate the weak and lead to enslavement.", Walter Rathenau wrote, "Since everything could be bought for money, there comes the dangerous depreciation of social relations"<sup>25</sup>.

With the growth of human wants, there appeared an imminent danger for human existence, for a human soul which "fell into a crush". Rathenau proposed the only way, in his opinion, to break the vicious circle – following the Christian moral code as the basis of acting ethically in business. For him, Christ was an example of humility, love for enemies and universal love. The logical consequence of such reasoning was the proclamation of Love as the highest earthly value, the sovereign good, the highest virtue and the supreme power. This was the force, in the opinion of Rathenau, which would help outface "I want to create and to be" over "I want to have". At the same time, what the soul wants – to create and to be – is intended not only for oneself but also for the society; and not only for the growth of personal wealth but also achieving the goal of universal happiness. The result of Rathenau's reasoning would be as follows: man and society should aspire "to the empire of the soul".

Rathenau developed the concept of the "empire of the soul" and the "empire of peace and love". It included several provisions:

- 1) industrial growth and material well-being; resource saving and curbing unemployment; production curtailment for luxury goods; free competition and growth of private initiative; readiness for people to bear responsibility;
- 2) the pursuance of money accumulation and excessive wealth as manifestation of evil;
- 3) overriding the rigorous ranking of classes;
- 4) creation of the conditions by the state to establish balance between classes and equal distribution of wealth<sup>26</sup>.

At first Rathenau believed that only liberalism, the new liberal policy, which he understood to be economy, free trade, anti-imperialism, freedom, justice and solidarity, could make Germany a great industrial power. Rathenau became liberal in politics under his parents' influence, who supported the liberal traditions of the revolutionary events in Prussia in 1848. He was disillusioned with the left-wing liberals and sympathized with the right-wingers. He was going to stand for election to the Reichstag, but for some reason he gave up the idea. After the end of World War I, in November

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<sup>25</sup> Rathenau W. Zur Physiologie der Geschäfte. Rathenau W. *Briefe. Neue Folge*. Bd. 4. Dresden, 1928, S. 309 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Rathenau W. *Gesammelte Schriften*. Bde. 1–6, Bd. 3. Berlin, 1929, S. 151.

1918, Walter Rathenau attempted to create a “democratic people’s union”, but it existed only for a few days, as he accused, especially by Siemens, of orchestration of the social revolution. He joined the German Democratic Party (GDP), whose members, whilst recognizing the economic and socio-political program of Walter Rathenau, were arguing against him as a person. The documents say that he, a wealthy man, was seen, first, as a ‘sponsor’ of the party<sup>27</sup>. Ultimately, he concluded that liberalism could not contribute to the renewal of the society. His rhetoric on liberalism dated 1920 and stated not only the crisis of this political trend but also foretold the fate of traditional liberalism in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. “The house that stands today is still an old house with its right and left wings, however this is not the home of the social future”<sup>28</sup>.

Responsibility, solidarity and democracy were the basis for changing society, in Rathenau’s opinion. He opposed the dogmatic socialism, believing that the greed of the socialists was fading confronted by the stone-hearted classes in power. For Rathenau, property and the right of claim were not just a private matter: they were closely interrelated with the notion of “res publica”. If one is to consider that Rathenau was one of wealthy entrepreneurs in Germany, his proposals stated in the book ‘In Days to Come’ (German: ‘*Von kommenden Dingen*’) are obviously of altruistic nature: “the society should ask what requirements it can put forward on behalf of the supreme law, and the economy uses what remains and what is necessary to maintain the mechanism and a decent way of life for its supervisors”<sup>29</sup>. Rathenau believed that “in the state, a ‘parasitic state’ appeared, as the state “caring about everyone and assimilating all people becomes a bureaucratic authority that does not provide a person with the main thing – the affection intended for them personally.” Rathenau proposed to change the functional duties of the state: “We do not need the state that regulates and governs all, however the state which, in accordance with the principles of welfare, generously recognizes and supports the initiatives emanating from various social forces and combining the principle of voluntarism with active compassion and people in need of help”<sup>30</sup>.

Rathenau was not a socialist, however, owning millions, he advocated fair distribution, which was the demand of the philanthropist to ‘moralize’ the inherited wealth. All his activities proceeded from the concept of “moralizing the public economic order, which is to obey the law on personal freedom”<sup>31</sup>, which caused irritation

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<sup>27</sup> Rathenau W. *Demokratische Entwicklung. Vortrag im Demokratischen Klub zu Berlin am* 28. Juni 1920.

<sup>28</sup> Rathenau W. *Gesammelte Schriften*. Bde. 1–6. Bd. 3. Berlin Verlag Fischer, 1929, S. 51.

<sup>29</sup> Rathenau W. *Von kommenden Dingen*. Berlin, 1917, S. 85.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, S. 79.

and caustic protest. A letter to Walter Rathenau from Heinghich Zellner, director of the state chemical laboratory in Berlin can be an example illustrating this: "You want to be a mentor for the German people, you preach morality, ethics and sacrifice ... How does this all relate to the fact that you own millions and millions, sit in many supervisory boards and without much effort and achievements, where all profit goes into their pockets? ... Can you only imagine, with what feelings we read your books and articles? ... If you want to impress us, then dispose of most of your fortune! Only then will I be ready and able to give you the right to improve our people, myself included"<sup>32</sup>. The newspaper *Republik* dated 19<sup>th</sup> December 1918 called him "the modern Francis of Assisi, the most paradoxical of all living beings of Old Germany"<sup>33</sup>. And yet we must admit that, despite their utopian nature, Walther Rathenau's views were undoubtedly humanistic.

From the very beginning, Rathenau considered the global change in the context of the universal system. The process of mechanization changed not only the inner world of man, but, according to Walther Rathenau, it alienated people from one another on the international arena and promoted the growth of nationalism. Rathenau wrote, "People have never been so close to each other, never in their life they needed as much communication with each other, however nationalism is on the rise"<sup>34</sup>. The nationalism existed along with the economic policy and the war-readiness. The initial sympathy for militarism and imperialism was further rejected by Rathenau. Although he was not a pacifist, after 1911 he appealed to stop the arms race, supporting the plans of Theobald von Bettmann Hollweg, Chancellor of Germany, to conclude an agreement with England on setting limits to weapons. The rivalry was aggravated by Germany's claim to reinforce the navy forces. Since 1913, he urged the German government to stop the arms race and carry out the reforms. He considered the imperialist methods of foreign policy and the military leadership to be obsolete<sup>35</sup>.

Rathenau considered the outbreak of World War I to be the consequence of the 'cancerous tumor'. In August 1914, he suggested that the outcome of the war would be a new life, different from the old one, but stronger and deeper; however, "the

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<sup>32</sup> Rozhanskii L. "Ja khochu srazu otkryto zaiavit', chto ia – evrei..." ["I want to declare immediately and openly that I am a Jew ..."]. *Kaskad* [Cascade], 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2012. Available at: <http://kackad.com/kackad>. (retrieved: 25.01.2018)

<sup>33</sup> Schulin E. *Walther Rathenau. Repräsentant, Kritiker und Opfer seiner Zeit*. Göttingen; Zürich, 1992, S. 98.

<sup>34</sup> Rathenau W. Zur Kritik der Zeit. Rathenau W. *Gesammelte Schriften*. Bde. 1–6. Bd. 1. Berlin, 1929, S. 114.

<sup>35</sup> Hecker G. *Walther Rathenau und sein Verhältnis zu Militär und Krieg*. Boppard am Rhein, 1983.

origin of such life will be difficult and time-consuming"<sup>36</sup>. Walther Rathenau considered it necessary to offer his civil services to Theobald von Bettmann Hollweg to end the war sooner and create an integrated free-trade zone between Germany, Austria-Hungary, Belgium and France. This proposal on the economic unity of Central (Middle) Europe was not followed by the government's response. The second proposal – to arrange the delivery of military resources to Germany from the occupied territories – was supported, and Erich Georg Anton von Falkenhayn, the Chief of the German General Staff put Rathenau in charge of the Raw Materials Department of the War Ministry<sup>37</sup>. Despite accusations against Rathenau for the conflict of interests affecting the War Ministry and *AEI* and for his Jewish origin, he worked successfully, whilst implementing the new idea – the state regulation of the economy. In a difficult situation related to the supply of raw materials to Germany in times of war, Rathenau put forward an idea in which he refused direct state coercion to meet the needs of the military industry and tried to combine the state administration with the industrial self-government. As a result, during the War Years in Germany, the interaction structure between the state and industrial enterprises, which was later called the 'military-economic system', was formed<sup>38</sup>.

After World War I, the name of Walther Rathenau was on the list of convicted war criminals. But, according to Rathenau, his goal was to achieve the world of mutual understanding. "If I have not thought about it, I would not have undertaken the organization for raw materials"<sup>39</sup>. He believed that if the military equilibrium was established between Germany and England, this would involve the battle fatigue, due to which it would be possible to hold peace negotiations between the equal partners. The German General Erich Ludendorff, the supporter of unrestricted submarine warfare, did not want to know anything about Rathenau's plan, considering it similar to the plan of the German Social Democratic politician Philipp Schneiderman who appealed to conclude peace of 'mutual understanding'.

After World War I, Walther Rathenau feared a new war, believing that the situation after the First World War was more like war than peace. In the current situation, he denied the state and violence as the driving forces for the social development but saw these in self-government and self-regulation: "We do not need the state anymore

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<sup>36</sup> Rathenau W. *Briefe*, Bd. 1, S. 157.

<sup>37</sup> Schölzel C. *Walther Rathenau. Eine Biographie*, S. 172–197.

<sup>38</sup> Sadovaia G.M. *Germaniia: ot kaizerovskoi imperii k demokraticeskoi respublike (1914–1922 gg.)* [Germany: from the German (Kaiser) Empire to the German Democratic Republic (1914–1922)]. Samara, 2008, pp. 109–131.

<sup>39</sup> Beek J. van. *Walther Rathenau (1867–1922)*, S. 98.

... What we need ... is a self-governing, public society”<sup>40</sup>. He considered the basic elements to achieve political unity in the world to be building of the society with integrated economics.

If one is to replace the concept of ‘non-national’ used by Walther Rathenau with that of ‘supranational’, it becomes clear what Rathenau meant by that word. ‘Supranational’ meant eliminating the national-level differences for him. He was realistic enough to expect a new world order built on such principles soon: “Decades will pass before this system of the international community is rebuilt”<sup>41</sup>. The thoughts expressed were premature (1920). Many knew Walther Rathenau, however did not understand him, taking him for a ‘Trojan horse’: initiating the establishment of the War Raw Materials Department (*KRA*), chairman of *AEG*, a capitalist, a socialist and the reform figure in economics.

Between 1921 and 1922, whilst being appointed Minister of Reconstruction, and then when he became Foreign Minister, Walther Rathenau participated in the most important international conferences, where World War II reparations were discussed<sup>42</sup>. The Nationalist Forces of Germany considered his participation in the conferences in Spa and London “a game of international Jewish capital”. However, Walther Rathenau “was not playing”, he was considering his own conception, the content of which was defined in peace settlement for Germany, which, from his point of view, influenced the fate of Europe and the world, overall. “The Treaty of Versailles dismembers and destroys not only Europe .... It is accountable for the economic division of the world”<sup>43</sup>. Therefore, criticizing The Treaty of Versailles and advocating the policy of ‘implementation’, Walther Rathenau worked intensively to plan the international conferences to restore Europe and Germany with the participation of Russia<sup>44</sup>. His aim was to teach the European countries to trust each other and cooperate within an economic union; political unity, in his opinion, would come later, prompted by reducing conflicts and emerging solidarity. He believed that the integration of Europe had to be supplemented by the integration of all countries of the world, “with the

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<sup>40</sup> Rathenau W. Demokratische Entwicklung. Vortrag im Demokratischen Klub zu Berlin am 28. Juni 1920. Rathenau W. *Gesammelte Schriften*. Bd. 1–6. Bd. 3. Berlin, 1929, S. 51.

<sup>41</sup> Rathenau W. An Deutschlands Jugend. Rathenau W. *Briefe. Neue Folge*. Bd. 6. Dresden, 1928. Available at: <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/an-deutschlands-jugend-4460/1>. (retrieved: 25.01.2018)

<sup>42</sup> Hentzschel-Fröhlings J. *Walther Rathenau als Politiker der Weimarer Republik*. Husum, 2007.

<sup>43</sup> Rathenau W. *Rede in einer Versammlung des Badischen Landesverbandes der Deutsch-Demokratischen Jugend*. *Gesammelte Reden*. Mannheim, 1921, S. 280–281.

<sup>44</sup> Koenen G. Die "Völkerwanderung von unten": Walther Rathenau über Russland und Sowjets. *Deutschland und Russische Revolution. 1917–1924*. München, 1998, S. 240–274.

unity and solidarity of the human community". In this international arena, he paid specific attention to the economic cooperation between Germany and Russia<sup>45</sup>.

Rathenau "thought deeply patriotically in the spirit of the time as a German Jew"<sup>46</sup>, however the nationalists regarded the move as the betrayal of German interests. On 24<sup>th</sup> June 1922, Walter Rathenau was assassinated<sup>47</sup>, becoming a victim of the epoch<sup>48</sup>. The West German researcher Ernst Schulin made an interesting remark that Walter Rathenau was looking for his place in the world throughout his life, and the circumstances of his death made his life meaningful<sup>49</sup>. The epigraph on the website of the Rathenau Institute, a public knowledge organization (created in 2008), reads: "I want self-determination, self-deserving gaiety and freedom" (German: *Ich will selbbestimmung, selb verdiendes Geshick und Freiheit*)<sup>50</sup>. Indeed, this was the way of life and life journey as determined by Rathenau himself, one-loner due to his otherness. The work helped Rathenau to cope with the depression and overcome suicidal thoughts. The door of his house in the villa in Grunewald was narrow, like the doorway to his soul, as he wanted us to avoid worming ourselves into another confidence<sup>51</sup>. He remained a person by himself in the field of innovative ideas and a socio-political 'outsider' (German: *Außenseiter*).

Two years after the assassination of Walther Rathenau, the advisory board of the Walther Rathenau Institute was established<sup>52</sup>. Speaking at its opening, its chairman Friedrich Ebert was not only in favor of preserving the home and the property of Walther Rathenau but also wanted to change the facilities to develop spiritual and

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<sup>45</sup> Pavlov N.V. *Rossia i Germaniia: nesostoiavshiisia al'ians (istoriia s prodolzheniem)* [Russia and Germany: The Failed Alliance (a Continuation Story)]. Moscow, 2017, pp. 247–250.

<sup>46</sup> Hentzschel-Fröhlings J. *Walther Rathenau als Politiker der Weimarer Republik*, S. 291.

<sup>47</sup> See Evdokimova T.V. Otkliki zarubezhnoi pressy na ubiistvo Val'tera Ratenau [Foreign press responses to the assassination of Walter Rathenau]. *Lichnost', obshchestvo, kul'tura v istoricheskom protsesse: cbor. nauch. statei* [Personality, Society, Culture in the Historical Process: Collection of Scientific Articles]. Volgograd, 2002, pp. 67–82; Idem. Ubiistvo Val'tera Ratenau i pervye otkliki na nego [Assassination of Walter Rathenau and the first reports of it]. *Klio. Zhurnal dlia uchenykh* [Klio. Journal for Scientists], 2003, no. 3(22), pp. 44–48.

<sup>48</sup> Sabrow M. Mord und Mythos. Das Komplott gegen Walther Rathenau 1922. *Das Attentat in der Geschichte*. Köln, 1996.

<sup>49</sup> Schulin E. *Walther Rathenau. Repräsentant, Kritiker und Opfer seiner Zeit*, S. 136.

<sup>50</sup> The Walter Rathenau Institute, an international policy foundation was established in 2008. S. Walther Rathenau Institut, Stiftung für internationale Politik. Available at: <http://www.rathenau-stiftung.de>. (retrieved: 25.01.2018)

<sup>51</sup> Petersen J. Utopiia prava [The law-based Utopia]. *Lex Russica* [Lex Russica], 2015, no. 2, p. 109.

<sup>52</sup> S. Die *WALTHER-RATHENAU-STIFTUNG e. V.* Available at: <http://walther-rathenau.de/ueber-uns/walther-rathenau-stiftung-ev/> (retrieved: 25.01.2018)

cultural ties, as well as provide open access to Rathenau's library and learning his legacy<sup>53</sup>.

### Conclusion

In speaking of Walter Rathenau's legacy, Etta Feder-Kohlhaus<sup>54</sup>, one of the first authors on the works of Rathenau, enthusiastically called him "the first prophesier, the speaker of the new human epoch", "the guide, the leader to the 'country of the soul'", "the spark of divine genius that radiates through his works". However, if one is to remove the emotional coloring, the evaluative idealistic maximalism of her judgments and try to find a rational grain in them, one must agree that Rathenau "never rushed his thoughts and actions" and that "his works were characterized by creative and effective power".

Early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, he was interested in the biggest problems the humanity always faced and is facing today. Without using the term 'globalization', he took a stand for the creation of a European and international organization for cooperation, primarily in the economic sphere, which was implemented after World War II by the "founding fathers of the European Union". The modern European Union is an organization built on the principles of neo-liberalism, democracy and free-market economy. It partially corresponds to the concept of Walther Rathenau: rightly so from the point of view of economic and political aspects, however not from the social point of view. Europe and the world did not mirror the 'divine' Third Reich, the Reich 'struggling for the soul', where there is no place for selfishness and intolerance. In the words of Rathenau, the European societies have neither heart nor soul, however there is a nuclear threat, ecological problems, the demure social woes, migration crisis, the revival of nationalism and terrorism.

With the help of the term 'mechanization', Rathenau characterized the cultural and spiritual impoverishment of significant layers of the population at the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, at the height of the industrial society. At the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, in the information-oriented society, the human-factor problem as an addendum to the mechanisms, persisted, however now as related to the computers. The creative potential of the individual is compromised, and the importance of education and the state's responsibility is growing ever more acute: "If we are trying to save on the education of our youth", Rathenau wrote, "then we are serving not the soul and not the mind, however the fake economy"<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>53</sup> Ebert F. *Schriften, Aufzeichnungen, Reden. Mit unveröffentlichten Erinnerungen aus dem Nachlass*. Dresden, 1926, Bd. 2, S. 330–332.

<sup>54</sup> Feder-Kohlhaus M. *Walther Rathenau. Sein Leben und Wirken*. Dresden, 1928.

<sup>55</sup> Rathenau W. *Nachgelassene Schriften*. Zweiter Bd. Berlin, 1928, S. 362.

Rathenau's important requirement was the one to expand the rights of an individual in all spheres of life, combined with the shared responsibilities. The protest movements of the late 1960s, starting with "Red May" in France in 1968, posed a serious challenge in the context of the shift in the Western world from 'material values' to 'post materialism'. New social movements of the 1970s–early 1980s (environmental movements, alternative frameworks, peace campaigns, etc.) demonstrated the readiness of a certain part of the society to solve the pressing problems on the principles of voluntarism, forcing the state to support their initiative.

Rathenau was not a socialist, but his ideas of state regulation of the economic sphere and that of a social state were continued with the emergence (in the 1930s) and development of 'social capitalism' with laissez-faire economic liberalism characterized by 'welfare' and the society of 'shared prosperity' (1950–60s).

Walter Rathenau could uncover the root causes of important modern processes. His own example revealed the human capabilities to see something new which is at its infancy, however beyond our perception; and, despite the futility of human efforts to go beyond the framework of usual and visible, to venture to be the first to travel the path. Only the integrity of the outlook, understanding the robust relationship of all vital processes and the encyclopedic knowledge equipped him to do so.

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For citation: Evdokimova T. Walter Rathenau – a man ahead of time. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 14–29. DOI: 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-1

DOI 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-2  
UDC 94(430).086

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### ‘A blood czar of Franconia’: Gauleiter Julius Streicher

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*Annotation.* The article focuses on the political activities of Julius Streicher on his appointment as Gauleiter of Franconia. It shows the development of Streicher as a National Socialist and a radical anti-Semite, the stages of his career in the Nazi Party of Adolf Hitler and his role in the hierarchy of power of the Third Reich. The article analyses Streicher’s style of leadership and the specific events held in Franconia under his leadership, as well as the reasons for his resignation. Streicher's relations with Hitler and the main officials of the Nazi party have been studied in the research.

*Keywords:* Julius Streicher, Gauleiter, National Socialism, Third Reich, dictatorship, anti-Semitism, corruption

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#### Introduction

The Nazi party, based on the so-called *Führerprinzip* (German for ‘leader principle’), needed leaders who had broad powers and took complete responsibility for the party policies in the regions. In 1925, the Nazi Party (NSDAP) revived and added new administrative units of the Third Reich, Gaue, which often preserved neither the borders of the countries nor the borders of the electoral districts. The territorial division of Hitler’s party coincided with the division of the country into electoral districts only in 1928 under the reform of the party regions. At the beginning of 1938, there were 33 Gaue in the German Reich, and by the end of the Second World War, due to the annexation of Austria, the Sudetenland, as well as Polish and French territories, this number increased to 43<sup>1</sup>. The regional leaders – Gauleiters – did not have a clearly defined circle of duties and directly subordinated to the leader of the party Adolf Hitler, were responsible to him and received direct assignments from him. Later or-

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<sup>1</sup> Höffkes K. *Hitlers politische Generale. Die Gauleiter des Dritten Reiches. Ein biographisches Nachschlagewerk*. 2. Aufl. Tübingen, 1997, S. 15.

ders came from Deputy Führer of the Nazi Party, Reichsleiter Martin Bormann, and at the end of the war – from Reich Minister of Propaganda Josef Goebbels. Because of Hitler's striving for individual dominance and rivalry between various officials and authorities in Nazi Germany, the 'institutional jungle' emerged, and Gauleiters, using the favour of the party leader, had very broad powers and were the absolute masters of the territories assigned to them.

Gauleiters of the Nazi Party did not constitute a homogeneous group, as the regional party leaders came from different social strata, had different levels of education, were of different ages and were not native to certain specific areas. Nevertheless, 20% of Gauleiters, 25 out of 125, were teachers by education and (or) by profession. Among them was Julius Streicher. He was one of the most hateful leaders of the Third Reich, having gained the worldwide fame and bad reputation thanks to his weekly 'Der Stürmer'. His stubbornness, penchant for pornography, vanity, rudeness and the unbearable character created many enemies in the Nazi hierarchy, but he always enjoyed the respect and patronage of Adolf Hitler, who completely shared his fanatical hatred of the Jews. Streicher wore the figure of a hanged rabbi on his neck and proudly called himself 'a professional anti-Semite'. German anti-fascist emigrants, familiar with Streicher and his activities, nicknamed him 'a blood czar of Franconia'<sup>2</sup>. He, like no other, personifies the man-hateful nature of Nazi Germany, xenophobia and unhuman, racial-biological anti-Semitism.

### Main Part

Julius Streicher was born on 12<sup>th</sup> February 1885 in Swabia, in the small town of Fleinhausen, near Augsburg. Julius was the ninth and the last child in the Catholic family of Friedrich Streicher, a teacher of the local village school, and his wife Anna. Julius also followed his father's footsteps and in 1903 completed the course of the two-year Bavarian seminar for 'royal' teachers in Lauingen, getting the qualification of a teacher for a public school. In the graduation certificate, it was said that "Streicher, given his very mediocre inclinations, should work with even greater seriousness and perseverance to achieve better results in individual subjects. His knowledge of mathematics is almost unsatisfactory. His behavior was generally satisfactory. During the trial lesson, Streicher spoke with an exciting teacher's tone, demonstrated a desire for solidity and established good discipline in the classroom. However, he should equally involve all students to take an active part in the lessons"<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> Streicher's 'Jewish Cure'. *Aufbau*, 1939, 1 Oktober, S. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Cit. ex: Pöggeler F. *Der Lehrer Julius Streicher. Zur Personalgeschichte des Nationalsozialismus*. Frankfurt am Main, 1991, S. 26–27.

Since 1904, Streicher worked in Swabia as a nontenured rural teacher, then received a teaching position in Nuremberg, and with the outbreak of World War I was enrolled in the 6<sup>th</sup> Bavarian Reserve Division. He spent the entire war on the front line, mainly on the Western Front, was awarded the Iron Cross 1<sup>st</sup> Class and the Iron Cross 2<sup>nd</sup> Class, the Military-Merit Cross (Austria–Hungary), the Bavarian Military Merit Order and was also promoted to lieutenant in reserve (without a patent)<sup>4</sup>. Immediately after signing the Armistice of 11 November 1918 (the Armistice of Compiègne), Streicher was demobilized and returned to Nuremberg, where he returned to working as a teacher. In 1922, he received the title of headteacher, which entitled him to receive the official salary of 3,960 marks and the right to be director of a small public school<sup>5</sup>. Like many other veterans of the war, he believed that Germany lost the confrontation with the Triple Entente because of the treacherous ‘dagger-in-the-back’ by the ‘November criminals’ – the Jews. Streicher began attending meetings of various political parties and groups and soon started to appear on the rostrum himself, speaking with anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic slogans. Then he joined the anti-Semitic and nationalist organization ‘The Deutschvölkischer Schutz- und Trutzbund’ (English: German Nationalist Protection and Defiance Federation)<sup>6</sup>. In 1920, he joined the German Socialist Party (German: Deutsch-sozialistische Partei or DSP), where he quickly seized the leadership. On 20<sup>th</sup> October 1922, the German Socialist Party joined Hitler's party, where he fully shared their radical anti-Semitic views<sup>7</sup>. On 20<sup>th</sup> April 1923 in Nuremberg, Streicher published the first issue of the weekly ‘Der Stürmer’ (lit. ‘The Stormer/ Attacker/Striker’), which was destined to serve as the mouthpiece of aggressive anti-Semitic propaganda in Germany for almost quarter of a century.

Streicher was very active in the NSDAP. He proved to be a tireless orator, who was not afraid to speak for hours at meetings not only in Nuremberg but also throughout the district. The Nuremberg group of the Nazi Party became the center from which the ideas of National Socialism spread throughout the whole of Northern Bavaria. However, for the head of the Nuremberg Nazis, it was obvious that Hitler did not trust him. At the party congress held in January 1923, Hitler did not honor him even with a single glance, and then sent Hermann Göring, the head of the Sturmabteilung (lit. Storm Detachment or SA) to Nuremberg, with an inspection. Hit-

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<sup>4</sup> See: *Reichstagshandbuch. VI. Wahlperiode 1932*. Berlin, 1932, S. 307.

<sup>5</sup> H. S. D. Streicher war mein Lehrer. Erinnerungen an den “Frankenführer” Julius Streicher. *Aufbau*, 1945, 1 Juni, S. 1, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Trial of The Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal*. Nuremberg, 1949 (hereinafter – IMT), vol. XII, p. 308.

<sup>7</sup> Streicher J. *Kampf dem Weltfeind. Reden aus der Kampfzeit gesammelt und bearbeitet von Dr. Heinz Preiß*. Nürnberg, 1938, S. 17.

ler traveled with speeches throughout Franconia but did not come up to Nuremberg. In his turn, Streicher did not hurry to report to the party leader about discovering the new local cells, so that some contemporaries had the impression that he was building up his own NSDAP in Franconia, independent from the Munich leadership.

The relationship between Hitler and Streicher radically changed after the Beer Hall Putsch, also known as the Munich Putsch, on 8–9<sup>th</sup> November 1923. For the head of the Nuremberg Nazis, who was only invited "to take part in a meeting", the insurgency warfare of the Nazis in Munich came out of the blue. However, he did not hesitate to join the putsch, played an important role in the organization of propaganda in the city and participated in the march of the Nazis to the Feldherrnhalle (Field Marshals' Hall), during which the march was dispersed and the putsch was quashed<sup>8</sup>. He spent only six weeks in the prison in Landsberg, but due to this fact, he was among the "heroes and martyrs of the Movement". If only someone in the party dared to oppose him, he would immediately remind of his 'historical merits' to the NSDAP. Owing to the Beer Hall Putsch, Hitler and Streicher formed a special relationship, which the anti-Semite from Nuremberg did not hesitate to use. "During the Munich putsch, I went shoulder to shoulder with him in the forefront, and he always remembered this. He then told me in prison that he would never forget me. He did not forget indeed. And I remained loyal to him", told Streicher to the American psychiatrist Gustav Gilbert in November 1946<sup>9</sup>.

Streicher's participation in the putsch put an end to his teaching career. At the beginning, he was suspended from work with the payment of 2/3 of the previous salary, and in 1928 he was finally dismissed<sup>10</sup>. However, he was not left without any means of subsistence, having learned to earn his living by his political activities. Since 1923, he was a member of the city council of Nuremberg; in 1924–32 he was a member of the Landtag of Bavaria; and in 1932–45 he served as a representative of the Reichstag.

Whilst Hitler was serving his prison sentence in Landsberg, many party members, including 10 of the 14 representatives of the Reichstag, shifted towards Gregor Strasser. However, Streicher remained faithful to Hitler and was convinced of the final success of the Hitler movement. In a letter sent to one National Socialist in Northern Germany, Streicher wrote, "We were 'dissolved' ... In writing, I can only tell you that we are doing everything to pull together to become even closer than before. Because of our failure, our movement will only be tied to a deeper level. It needs it to reach its goal ... We must firmly believe in each other and take care that

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<sup>8</sup> Kipphan K. Julius Streicher und der 9. November 1923. *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte*. Bd. 39, 1976, S. 283.

<sup>9</sup> Gilbert G. *Niurnbergskii dnevnik* [Nuremberg Diary]. Moscow, 2012, p. 480.

<sup>10</sup> Reichstagshandbuch, S. 307.

everyone would be kind of a leader until we are again led by our Führer Adolf Hitler”<sup>11</sup>. Together with Alfred Rosenberg and Hermann Esser, he founded the Großdeutsche Volksgemeinschaft (literally, ‘Great German People's Community’), which not only preserved the position of the Nazi Party in Munich, but also extended its influence on Northern Bavaria. After the re-establishment of the Nazi Party on 27<sup>th</sup> February 1925, Streicher received a party membership card under No. 18 and was appointed Gauleiter of Nuremberg and Fürth. In 1929, this Gau, located in northern Bavaria, was called ‘Middle Franconia’<sup>12</sup>. Step by step, Streicher formed a team of other people around him, who were close to him and occupied various important posts in the management of Gau Middle Franconia and influenced the decisions of the regional party leader. Almost all of them were convicted of fraud, perjury, embezzlement and various sexual crimes<sup>13</sup>.

The annual speeches of Gauleiter of Franconia on Mount Hesselberg strengthened his power. This mountain, located in the southeast of Franconia, was a favorite place for walks and recreation of the local population and was also used to hold the local annual fair. Streicher turned it into a ‘sacred mountain of francs’ and called the festivities on this occasion as ‘the days of Franconia’. Since 1927, the influence of Streicher increased even further when Nuremberg became the city of Nazi party rallies. Its location in the center of what was then Germany, made it easy to get there from any part of the country. There was a suitable place for these Nazi party rallies, the Luitpold Grove (Luitpoldhain) arena, as well as the opportunity to accommodate the participants for the night. Finally, the ban on the speeches of Hitler by the authorities of the Weimar Republic did not apply in Bavaria. Only later, after the National Socialists came to power, a historical connection appeared – Nuremberg in the past as the city of imperial assemblies (Reichstags) and Nuremberg in the present as the city of party rallies (Partaitags).

Streicher considered himself the second important orator in the NSDAP after Hitler and more than once used the rostrum of the Landtag of Bavaria to air his views. It was especially important in 1925–27, when the Nazi leader was not allowed to speak publicly. During the parliamentary term, Streicher gradually outlined the contours of the future anti-Semitic policy of the Third Reich. He formulated many racist slogans that later, at the stage of organizational and moral-psychological preparation for the mass extermination of the Jews (1933–41), were implemented by the National Socialists.

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<sup>11</sup> Cit. ex: Kipphan K. *Op. Cit.*, S. 284.

<sup>12</sup> See: Hüttenberger P. *Die Gauleiter. Studie zum Wandel des Machtgefüges in der NSDAP.* Stuttgart, 1969, S. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Roos D. *Julius Streicher und „Der Stürmer“ 1923–1945.* Paderborn, 2014, S. 183.

It seemed that after the appointment of Hitler as the Reich Chancellor, Streicher had every chance of a fast career. However, unlike many other 'old fighters' and veterans of the Nazi movement, he did not receive any significant state post and was among the eight Gauleiters who were not promoted. From time to time, there were groundless rumors abroad about the upcoming appointment of Streicher to the post of the Police Chief of Berlin, the Reich Health Leader, Gauleiter of the Gau Berlin instead of Goebbels, and even about his appointment to the non-existent post of Reichsleiter dealing with the Jews<sup>14</sup>. Not having received any public post, he began to call himself 'Führer of Franconia', although such a post, firstly, was not in the Nazi party hierarchy, and secondly, part of the historical region of Franconia added another Gau, the Bavarian Eastern March (Bayerische Ostmark)<sup>15</sup>.

Streicher's ability to influence the important German political decisions was equal to zero. He saw Hitler, as a rule, only at conferences of Gauleiters. When the Nazi leader came to Nuremberg for a regular party rally or on other matters, Streicher was only a participant in the joint meals, where, apart from him and Hitler, another five to ten people took part. He recalled that he had only met Führer in person in the Brown House in Munich, but even then, their conversation did not concern politics. "All the conversations that I ever had with Adolf Hitler, either in Nuremberg or in Munich, or elsewhere, occurred only in the circle of party comrades", told Streicher to the International Military Tribunal<sup>16</sup>.

In March 1933, the Nazis completely took power in Nuremberg. The Stormers under the leadership of Streicher captured the building of the trade union of metalworkers and the printing house of the social democratic newspaper '*Die Fränkische Tagespost*', broke the printing presses and equipment. The National Socialist Willy Liebel replaced the old enemy of Streicher, the Chief Burgomaster from the SPD, Hermann Luppe. Now, at any opportunity, Streicher repeated that he alone enjoyed the right to give orders in Franconia, and that no one could remove him from the post of Gauleiter<sup>17</sup>.

Having finally seized the real power, Streicher immediately proceeded to practical steps against the Jews he hated so much. As early as in March 1933, many Jews of Nuremberg were arrested, and some of them were sent to Dachau. 'Aryan' women and girls who maintained relations with the Jews were paraded through the streets. The women had their hair cut and wore placards around their necks which read about 'desecration of the race'. The Soviet writer Boris Polevoi shared his impression of the

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<sup>14</sup> Julius Streicher an die Deutschen Berlins. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1935, 17 August.

<sup>15</sup> Roth F.E. Julius Streicher. Der Bajazzo des Terrors. *Pariser Tageblatt*, 1934, 3 November, S. 1.

<sup>16</sup> IMT, vol. XII, p. 314.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, vol. XXVIII, p. 154.

photograph taken during these defamations saying, "Here is Julius Streicher, this pathological bigot... fat, flourishing, mockingly screaming something to these shaved naked girls tied to donkeys. They have ropes on their necks, and on these ropes, cartoons hang with the inscriptions saying, "I loved a Jew", and a furious crowd with fists are coming at them, barely restrained by hefty coats (policemen)"<sup>18</sup>. Streicher dreamt of making Nuremberg an exemplary 'Aryan' city. Indeed, many of his anti-Semitic measures served as an example for the whole of Germany. Gauleiter of Franconia urged to post at the entrances to the settlements, swimming pools, parks and culture houses the sign plates that forbade Jews access to these places. In August 1933, Jews were banned from visiting the city swimming pool and public baths. In 1936, the Jewish children were expelled from public schools and could only attend designated schools opened for this purpose.

Immediately after the elections to the Reichstag on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1933, a wave of Jewish pogroms swept through the whole Germany. The initiators of the outrages were the local party leaders, commanders of Nazi assault detachments and detachments of the right paramilitary organization 'The *Stahlhelm*' (Steel Helmet). Hitler tried to pass these outrages off for spontaneous manifestations of 'people's anger', but he was not at all happy with such an initiative 'from humble backgrounds' – the prestige of the new government abroad was compromised, and the confidence of industrialists and financiers towards the new Reichskanzler was shaken. The appeal to the pogrom-mongers to stop was unsuccessful. Then, the Nazi leader decided to hold on 1–3<sup>rd</sup> April an organized anti-Semitic boycott and to ordain several laws directed against the Jews. Hitler decided to appoint Streicher the leader of the anti-Semitic action<sup>19</sup>. Apart from him, the 'Central Committee for the Defense against Jewish Atrocity and the Boycott Agitation' also included Karl Holtz, Heinrich Himmler, Robert Leigh, Walther Darré, Hans Frank and some other functionaries of the NSDAP, who did not hold public office yet. Such composition allowed the Nazi leader to present the boycott as a party and not as a state campaign. The figure of the militant anti-Semite Streicher at the head of the committee was supposed to have a soothing effect on the pogroms initiators who escaped the control of the authorities.

The first day of the boycott was marked by the speech of Streicher, who claimed that the Jews were allegedly a nation of bloodsuckers and racketeers, and their revelation for the sake of the whole mankind fell to the lot of the German people. The Nazi propaganda kept saying that the abominable anti-Semitic action was crowned with complete success. Streicher later boasted, "One thing is for certain, except for minor

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<sup>18</sup> Polevoi B.N. *Sobranie sochinenii*: v 9 t. T. 8. Kn. 3 i 4 [Collected Works: in 9 volumes, vol. 8, book 3 and 4]. Moscow, 1985, p. 524.

<sup>19</sup> Goebbels J. *Vom Kaiserhof zur Reichskanzlei. Eine historische Darstellung in Tagebuchbältern*. 33. Aufl. München, 1941, s. 288.

incidents, the boycott was very effective. I do not think there will be a single Jew who can object"<sup>20</sup>. According to the historians, it was quite the opposite, as the boycott failed. 1–2<sup>nd</sup> April fell on Saturday and Sunday, when many shops, bigger stores and offices were closed. In addition, the stormtroopers did not always manage to prevent the 'Aryans' customers from visiting various Jewish stores, doctor's surgeries or lawyer's practices. In Berlin, cases were noted when Reichswehr's generals with medals on their uniforms went shopping to the Jewish stores, thereby openly demonstrating disagreement with the Nazi policies. The ordinary Germans did not show a strong support to picketers either, industrialists were frightened, and some critical publications appeared in the foreign press.

In the spring and summer of 1935, the all-German propaganda campaign was flourishing. Its participants supported the prohibition of sexual relations between 'Aryans' and the Jews. Particularly active were such newspapers as '*Der Angriff*' (The Attack) of Goebbels, '*Der Weltkampf*' (The World Struggle) of Rosenberg, '*Der Judenkenner*' (The Jew-Expert) of Ernest Pistor, and, of course, '*Der Stürmer*' of Streicher. Streicher replied to all foreign critics of anti-Semitic incidents in Gau Franconia, "Go back to your homes and only start worrying about us after you do so. If a German woman, who forgot her origins, is paraded along the streets with a placard on her neck, then this would be called the same throughout the world – a pogrom! When in America you lynch a black person, or when the Communists are tarred and feathered, nobody is interested in this. We do not care what happens in America. This is the Americans' business. But we demand that we, too, are left alone"<sup>21</sup>.

At the same time, it was astonishing that the man who considered the Jews the main enemy was ignorant about drafting of anti-Semitic laws. On 15<sup>th</sup> September 1935, on one of the days of yet another Nazi Party rally, Hitler unexpectedly called all the deputies of the Reichstag to Nuremberg and proposed to approve the 'The Reich Citizenship Law' and 'The Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honor'. The former deprived the Jews of their civil rights, and the latter banned marriages and extramarital affairs between the 'Aryan race' and the Jewish people. For Streicher, these racial laws were total surprise. He told the International Military Tribunal, "We were called to the hall, and we did not know what would happen. At least I had no idea. The racial laws were approved. Only then I knew about these laws, and I think that the gentlemen sitting there as prisoners of war and those who were there and then at the imperial party rally, including Hess, felt the same. Only at the imperial party rally in Nuremberg did we learn about these laws. I did not participate in the draft legislation. I openly declare that I felt very offended that I was not

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<sup>20</sup> IMT, vol. XII, p. 314.

<sup>21</sup> Gauleiter Streichers Appel. *Hamburger Tageblatt*, 1935, 21 August.

involved in any consultations regarding these laws"<sup>22</sup>. Nevertheless, both German and foreign correspondents considered passing those anti-Semitic laws as Streicher's achievement. When he left the hall, "Heil Streicher!" was heard from all sides.

As early as on 4<sup>th</sup> October 1935, the NSDAP Gauleiter of Gau Franconia made a speech later published in the newspaper 'Völkischer Beobachter' of NSDAP (German: People's Observer) under the title 'The Protection of German Blood and German Honor' – this was the name of one of the Nuremberg race laws. As it turned out, Streicher did not consider the Jewish problem solved. At the rally in Cologne on 4<sup>th</sup> December 1935, he said, "A German woman loses her honor if she enters into an affair with a man of a foreign race. We do not show any disrespect to other races, but we will not tolerate anything that is not acceptable to God... Despite the Nuremberg laws, the Jews continue to insult our race. Therefore, the laws must be controlled by the people. Beware, the Jews still offend against these laws"<sup>23</sup>. Speaking at the meeting of the Hitler Youth on 30<sup>th</sup> January 1936, Streicher openly declared, "The Nuremberg laws did not solve the Jewish problem, because the Jews inventively bypass them. Therefore, the anti-Jewish action should continue without any interruption"<sup>24</sup>.

On the night of 9-10<sup>th</sup> November 1938, another wave of Jewish pogroms, known as the 'Reichskristallnacht' (English: Night of the Broken Glass), swept across Germany. In Nuremberg alone, nine Jews were killed on that night, ten Jews 'committed suicide', 160 were arrested and later sent to the Dachau concentration camp. The synagogue in Essweistrasse was burnt. At the trial of the major Nazi criminals, the prosecution failed to prove that Streicher was one of the organizers of the pogroms. According to the witnesses' statements, he learned about what was happening in the city only when the outrages have already begun, and he just let the situation take its course. Probably, his behavior might be explained by his wounded pride, as it was the second time when the Nazi leadership took serious anti-Semitic steps without asking for his opinion. In addition, Streicher probably feared that too rapid 'solution' of the Jewish problem would make his anti-Semitic agitation, which brought a considerable income, needless. He appeared in public only on the evening of 10<sup>th</sup> November, speaking at another rally in Nuremberg with his typical slogans.

The Gauleiter of Gau Franconia gained his scandalous fame throughout the whole Germany because of always doing something drastic, because of his so-called 'streicherish stunts' that were invariably widely popularized. One day, he forced the Nuremberg prosecutors, officials, publishers and other respected people of the city to dig a pond for ducks in his villa. On another occasion, he forced the journalists to

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<sup>22</sup> IMT, vol. XII, p. 316.

<sup>23</sup> Gauleiter Streicher in Köln. *Kölnische Zeitung*, 1935, 6 Dezember.

<sup>24</sup> Streicher mit den Nürnberger Gesetzen noch nicht zufrieden. *Pariser Tageblatt*, 1935, 30 Januar, S. 2.

dance on the cabaret scene in revenge for their criticizing the program, or he would receive high-ranking guests dressed only in swimming trunks. The behavior of the local Gauleiter in relation to the ordinary 'Aryan' inhabitants of Gau Franconia was not a good example of tact and courtesy. He did not hesitate to examine the people from head to toe and made cutting remarks about their appearance; he beat prisoners in the city jail and unwanted townspeople right at their work places. "Gauleiter Streicher likes beating people with a whip, but only several other people accompany him as his assistants. Usually, these beatings are done with sadistic cruelty"<sup>25</sup>, as it was pointed out in the report of the inquiry commission appointed in 1940. The case of Dr. Steinruk acquired a broad international resonance. Dr. Steinruk was arrested in October 1934, allegedly for spreading rumors about the local Gauleiter. Streicher appeared in his cell with his deputy Carl Holtz and adjutant Hans Koenig and beat the arrestee with a whip. Not only he did not try to hide this incident; on the contrary, he bragged about it in his public speeches. In August 1938, Streicher beat Burker, an editor, in the office of his Gau. He was not afraid of any response, because behind his back there were König and Scholer, the district functionary of the NSDAP<sup>26</sup>.

Over time, the cult of Streicher developed in Gau Franconia. In the streets of Nuremberg, the Gauleiter was often greeted with the salutes "*Heil Streicher!*". He was granted the honorary citizenship not only of his native Fleinhausen, but also of several other places in Franconia. A school, a workers' village and a youth hostel were all named in his honour. In October 1935, the city council of Nuremberg adopted a resolution on the installation of the bust of the local Gauleiter in the hall. Controlled by Streicher, the local press thoroughly enhanced this cult. Being at the peak of his glory and power, Streicher ordered to develop the project of the mausoleum on Mount Hesselberg, where he wanted to be buried<sup>27</sup>. At the same time, among the party officials, Streicher found a few powerful enemies who despised him for his arrogance, his incisive temper and his rudeness. They repeatedly kept their distance from him and made it clear that they did not share his outrageous anti-Semitic appeals aimed at uneducated and uncivilized Germans<sup>28</sup>. However, the Gauleiter of Gau Franconia did not lose the leader's approval, even if he did not gain the support in all intraparty disputes he entered. Talking to the Third Reich's Press Chief Otto Dietrich, Hitler said, "Streicher's primitive method is the most effective way to reach out to an ordinary lit-

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<sup>25</sup> IMT. Vol. XXVIII. P. 148–149.

<sup>26</sup> IMT. Vol. XXVIII. P. 154.

<sup>27</sup> Roos D. *Op. cit.*, S. 298.

<sup>28</sup> Kornev N. *Tret'ia imperiia v litsakh* [The Third Empire in Persons]. Moscow, 1937, pp. 445–446, 447.

tle man"<sup>29</sup>, whilst he announced the following to Rauschnig, "Despite all his weaknesses, he is a man with a strong spirit"<sup>30</sup>. In February 1935, Hitler visited Nuremberg to congratulate Streicher in person on his 50<sup>th</sup> birthday<sup>31</sup>. The German anti-fascists regarded this visit as support for the anti-Semitic course of Streicher<sup>32</sup>.

Streicher tirelessly worked on creating the myth that before the Nazis came to power, he was an unselfish political fighter without a penny in his pocket. Until 1933, he did not possess any valuable property indeed; however, he did not live in misery at all. Not only he received the profit from the sale of the weekly 'Der Stürmer' but also retained his teacher's pension, as well as compensations paid to him as a member of the city council and a representative of the Landtag. In 1927, his monthly income equaled 400 marks, which was quite enough to lead a comfortable life. After the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship, Streicher turned into a millionaire, in several years his income exceeding two million marks, and the value of his property increased from one million marks in 1938 to 2.2 million marks in 1943<sup>33</sup>.

It was not only the propaganda of anti-Semitism that proved to be a profitable business in the Third Reich, but also tenure at the leading party post. Gauleiter of Nuremberg repeatedly received various gifts, including houses and land. In 1937, Streicher acquired an estate in Pleikershof with an area of about 35 hectares (100 Tagewerke), which, by the local standards, made him a big landowner<sup>34</sup>. The estate cost Streicher 205 thousand marks, and the cost of its improvement amounted to 1.3 million marks. These enormous expenditures provoked an uproar in Nuremberg. People said that the pig's paddock in Pleikershof cost much more than the residential house of an ordinary German<sup>35</sup>. As it turned out after the collapse of Hitler's regime, only in Nuremberg, Streicher owned 13 houses, whereby he purchased some of them through rogue firms<sup>36</sup>.

Streicher acquired enormous wealth because of 'aryanization' – the legalized robbery of the Jews in Germany. With his permission, the leadership of Gau Franconia forced many Jewish owners to sell their land, houses and shops to the party commissioners for only 10 % of their real value. In the process of purchase and sale, the

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<sup>29</sup> Ditrich O. *Dvenadtsat' let s Gitlerom. Vospominaniia imperskogo rukovoditelja pressy. 1933–1945* [Twelve Years with Hitler. Memoirs of the Imperial Head of the Press. 1933–1945]. Moscow, 2007, p. 148.

<sup>30</sup> Rauschnig G. *Govorit Gitler. Zver' iz bezdny* [Hitler Speaks. The Beast from the Abyss]. Moscow, 1993, p. 182.

<sup>31</sup> Adolf Hitler in Nürnberg. *Völkischer Beobachter*, 1935, 13 Februar, S. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Hitler gratuliert Streicher. *Pariser Tageblatt*, 1935, 12 Februar, S. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Roos D. *Op. cit.*, S. 330.

<sup>34</sup> Großgrundbesitzer Streicher! *Neuer Vorwärts*, 1937, 30 Mai, S. 3.

<sup>35</sup> IMT, vol. XXVIII, p. 148.

<sup>36</sup> Streichers Vermögen beschlagnahmt. *Die neue Zeitung*, 1949, 17 November.

owners were subjected to psychological pressure, embarrassment and humiliation. They were beaten, forced to stand for a long time, facing the wall, forced to stand on one foot, squat and lean-to sides. Thus, the significant amount of the Jewish property, about 800 enterprises in Nuremberg and Fürth worth up to 20 million marks, went to the hands of those authorized by Streicher. Moreover, the large part of the Jewish property was simply seized by certain Nazis, including Gauleiter of Nuremberg himself. In November 1938, through a phantom enterprise, he bought a stake in the bicycle factory 'Mars' valued at 112.5 thousand marks, for only 5% of its real value. Martin Cohn, its former owner and director of the banking house, was sent to the concentration camp at the order of Streicher<sup>37</sup>.

The corruption among the regional party leaders had also flourished before, and it was not a secret neither for the Berlin leadership of the NSDAP nor for the population. However, this time the plunder of property, which was to refill the state treasury, got so colossal in Franconia that on 17<sup>th</sup> December 1938, Benno Martin, Police Leader in Nuremberg, informed the Reich Main Security Office (German: *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* or RSHA) and asked to send a commission for inspection<sup>38</sup>. Martin and the first mayor of Nuremberg, Willy Liebel, sought the resignation of Streicher for a very long time, appealing to Hess, Bormann, Göring, Himmler and Frick. However, each of them knew that Hitler himself patronized the Gauleiter of Franconia. Therefore, they did not intend to get involved in the conflict. Then, at last, the situation breached the tolerance of the Nazi leaders. Goering, who oversaw the four-year plan and the process of 'aryanization' sent a special inspecting commission to Nuremberg headed by Obersturmbannführer Josef Meisinger. Its work took several months because of the sabotage of Gau Franconia officials. Nevertheless, Meisinger collected some materials and prepared a two-volume report, charging Streicher with illegal enrichment, fraud, use of party property for personal purposes, forcing his subordinates to give false evidence to the commission, pressure to commit suicide, 'pathological sexual behavior' and deliberate dissemination of false information about Reich Marshal Göring<sup>39</sup>.

Hitler decided to proceed with the case, and on 16<sup>th</sup> February 1940, the People's Court in Munich found Streicher "unsuited to lead people". Hitler had no choice but to dismiss his protégé from the post as Gauleiter of Gau Franconia. At the same time, the decision of the said court was considered interim, there was no official resigna-

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<sup>37</sup> IMT, vol. XXVIII, pp. 140–144.

<sup>38</sup> Kuller Chr., Drecol A. Inszenierter Volkszorn, ausgebliebene Empörung und der Sturz Julius Streichers. Reaktionen auf die wirtschaftliche Ausplünderung der deutschen Juden. Schabrow M. (Hrsg.). *Skandal und Diktatur. Formen öffentlicher Empörung im NS-Staat und in der DDR*. Göttingen, 2004, S. 96.

<sup>39</sup> IMT, vol. XXVIII, pp. 140–154.

tion, and the title of Gauleiter was still attached to Streicher. Undoubtedly, the disgraced 'Führer of Franconia' was waiting for the opportunity to take revenge. Albert Speer recalled, "One day during the Nuremberg Trials, Streicher turned to me with an expression of hatred and gloating delight, which I would never forget for the rest of my life and said, "I ordered that your friend Liebel, this pig, would be killed shortly, just a few hours before the arrival of the Americans!"<sup>40</sup>.

Streicher hoped for a different decision of the People's Court and was depressed. He hoped that Hitler would not allow punishing him. The ex-Gauleiter could no longer appear in Nuremberg, he had to retire to his estate of Pleikershof and start being involved in physical labor, farming and gardening or breeding rabbits. He would eat meat, but only rabbit meat, once a week. His own beehive provided him with honey. On Hitler's instructions, Streicher's weekly '*Der Stürmer*' and the publishing house remained in the property of the disgraced Gauleiter, and they continued to bring him considerable profit. He did not go anywhere; he only communicated in writing with his sons, as no one else dared to write to him or rather did not want to. The Gestapo stopped their observation after a while, but no guests appeared in Pleikershof, as Hess did not recommend the party officials to pay visits to Streicher. Every day, he looked through the latest newspapers and listened to the radio, read historical books, mostly about the Roman history and Bismarck and in 1943-44 even wrote his own memoirs. He also did another job on a regular basis: he edited '*Der Stürmer*' and wrote articles for it<sup>41</sup>. Three dogs brightened up the dull days of the newly-minted landowner: a teacup Pomeranian, a Dachshund (English badger dog) and a huge St Bernard dog. The St Bernard dog was specifically trained by the master to attack the Jews. From time to time, they were brought to the estate by orders of Streicher. He invited his neighbors and tried to convince them that the dog would recognize the Jews by their smell. According to the eyewitnesses, such public shows were not always successful<sup>42</sup>.

Hitler was annoyed with what had happened to Streicher. In December 1941, he said, "There is no doubt that we do not have a full replacement for Streicher! With all the weaknesses that he has, there is no other full-blooded personality like him. If we do not want to lie, we must acknowledge for the history that the national-socialist Nuremberg would never exist if Julius Streicher did not exist... It goes without saying, the leadership of the Gau was not perfect. Streicher is not an official. If I apply the scale of administrative officials, he will lose. However, in 1919, Nuremberg was won for me not by the party official! I admit that I cannot replace Streicher... I have a

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<sup>40</sup> Shpeer A. *Shpandau: tainyi dnevnik* [Spandau: A Secret Diary]. Moscow, 2014, p. 139.

<sup>41</sup> IMT, vol. XII, pp. 379–389.

<sup>42</sup> M.W. Der Hund "Streicher". "Re-Education" eines deutschen Bernhardiners. *Aufbau*, 1946, 8 März, S. 19.

guilty conscience when I feel that I did not handle someone the way he deserves. Whenever I come to Nuremberg, I have a bitter feeling. After all, people, without even wanting this, still say that in comparison with what he has done, the reasons for his resignation are insignificant! <...> One day you need to find some suitable solution. It is intolerable for me to organize a party rally in Nuremberg, while the man who won Nuremberg for the party stands aside!"<sup>43</sup>

However, these complaints of the Nazi leader did not lead to anything real. "It was typical for Hitler's contradictory nature to grieve, even in those cases when he could easily change everything; all it took was to give an order. One word to Bormann would be enough to restore Streicher as Gauleiter", Speer notes<sup>44</sup>. In June 1944, under the orders of Hitler, the head of the German Labor Front Robert Ley and the Reich Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels visited Streicher in Pleikershof. Streicher was very proud of this and told about the visit to the judges of the Nuremberg Trials and to the American psychiatrist G. Gilbert, "He sent Ley and Goebbels to me so that they would listen to me to see if I had any wishes. I told them (theatrical gesture), "Report to my Führer that I have no other wish but to die next to him, if the disaster befalls our homeland!" Pausing on the word, Streicher added, "I cannot describe it to you enough how much it impressed him"<sup>45</sup>.

On 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1945, Streicher, who had grown a beard and was hiding in a remote alpine village, was identified by the residents and arrested by the Major Henry Plitt of the Seventh United States Army near Berchtesgaden. He became one of the defendants at the Trial for Major War Criminals held in his former patrimonial estate, in Nuremberg. The Tribunal found Streicher guilty of crimes against humanity, and he was executed by hanging on 16<sup>th</sup> October 1946. Ironically, the multivolume report of the International Military Tribunal was to be printed in Nuremberg on the very printing presses that Streicher used to replicate his 'Der Stürmer'. The Pleikershof estate was converted to rehabilitate the Jews who survived the Holocaust and were preparing to move to Palestine<sup>46</sup>. In 1949, by the decision of the court, 13 houses in Nuremberg formerly owned by Streicher, were confiscated<sup>47</sup>.

## Conclusion

The appearance amongst the Nazi Gauleiters of such a man as Streicher was quite logical. His life journey and beliefs fully corresponded to the parameters of an average National Socialist in the early 1920s. He was a middle-class student, a teacher by

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<sup>43</sup> Hitler A. *Monologe im Führerhauptquartier 1940–1944. Aufgezeichnet von Heinrich Heim*, hg. v. Werner Jochmann. München, 2000, S. 158–160.

<sup>44</sup> Shpeer A. *Decree. op.*, p. 138.

<sup>45</sup> Gilbert G. *Decree. op.*, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> Die Leiterin des "Kibbuz Streicher". *Aufbau*, 1946, 8 März, S. 19.

<sup>47</sup> Streichers Vermögen beschlagnahmt. *Die neue Zeitung*, 1949, 17 November.

profession, of the same age as Hitler. He was also a veteran of World War I, who hated the democratic republic and Leftist forces, the church, and most of all, the Jews. Ignoring all the limits of morality, moral standards and rules of decency, intolerant and aggressive Streicher was ideally suited not only for propaganda of the newest form of Judeophobia – the racial and biological anti-Semitism, but also for the role of a regional party leader, deciding on the fate of people at his own will, regardless of any laws and pragmatic considerations. Perhaps, Gauleiter Streicher is the most striking example among many regional party officials of the Third Reich who personified the vices of the Nazi system – tyranny, unquenchable thirst for irrepressible praise, theft, bribery and fraud. Most likely, Streicher's burning hatred for the Jews for many years provided him with Hitler's support, who was a fanatical anti-Semite himself, being at the wheel of the forceful radical movement. However, the very same quality determined the boundaries of influence of this Nuremberg Judeophob. His sphere of influence never went beyond the small territory of Franconia. After the arrival of the National Socialists to power, he did not receive any significant state post and was not involved in the shaping of state and party policies, including the anti-Semitism one. To his death, Streicher defended racial prejudice, thus sickening not only the anti-fascists, but many Nazis as well. The death sentence imposed on 'No.1 enemy of the Jews' by the International Military Tribunal was simultaneously the sentence to the Nazi ideology, the misanthropic ideology of racialism and Nazi crimes.

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For citation: Ermakov A. 'A blood czar of Franconia': Gauleiter Julius Streicher. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 30–45. DOI: 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-2.

DOI 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-3  
UDC 94(430)

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### **CDU on the path to the West German statehood (1948–1949)**

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*Annotation.* The article deals with the politics of the faction called CDU / CSU, SPD and the occupation authorities in the Parliamentary Council of the West Germany in 1948-49. The work of the Council devoted to the Basic Law (Constitution) was characterized by constant cross-party and inner-party disputes, however the power struggle between the political parties was an inevitable and necessary attribute of the democratic society. The *Parliamentarischer Rat* (German for Parliamentary Council) was the hour of triumph for the emerging political system in West Germany, whereas the moderate federalism was declared by the CDU as the most important element during the reconstruction of Germany.

*Keywords:* a post-war period, West Germany, Christian Democratic Union (CDU), Konrad Adenauer, *Parliamentarischer Rat* (Parliamentary Council), Basic Law, political parties, western powers in Allied-occupied Germany

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#### **Introduction**

The history of the Federal Republic of Germany is the history of a transient state. However, like many temporary formations, it quickly assumed specific appearances. The study of the early history of the post-war political system in Germany inevitably raises plenty of acute historical and political questions. To the extent, it is rightful to speak to the fact of the 'German' democratic choice, or whether such choice was made under pressure of the political situation or was imposed by the actions of the Soviet and Western leaders. In the modern Russian historiography, the statement on 'collective guilt' has now been established, since the US and its capitalist allies sought to keep Europe within the capitalist orbit, to hustle the Communists away,

whereas the USSR was trying to maximize and extend the sphere of socialist influence by implanting the Soviet model of socially economic development<sup>1</sup>.

### Main part

The aggravation of the international situation in the first phase of the post-war period showed that the effective cooperation within the alliance of Anti-Hitler Coalition was impractical, but also disadvantageous for them. The US proclamation of the 'Truman Doctrine', the implementation of the Marshall Plan, the Bizone as the combination of the American and the British occupation zones created in 1947, confirmed the impossibility to solve the German question within the alliance of Anti-Hitler Coalition by their joint efforts. The former allies became involved in the new confrontation, and the Cold War began. The division of Germany was on the agenda as well as the possibility to create an independent state on the occupied territories. The American diplomat George F. Kennan wrote to the US Secretary of State J. Marshall in 1947: "We must insist on keeping West Germany from communist control. We have to find out that it is better to integrate it into Western Europe and thus partially shuffle off the responsibility for the local conditions and put it on the shoulders of the west allied cooperation and the German people"<sup>2</sup>.

From 23<sup>th</sup> February to 6<sup>th</sup> March 1948, the London Six-Power Conference was held, the outcome of which was the decision to set up an independent West German state. In June 1948, the United States, Britain and France were assigned to make recommendations to their Minister Presidents in western Germany about how the new state should be established, which confirmed the right of the German people to establish their own governmental institutions. The date for currency reform was then reset for 20<sup>th</sup> June 1948; and four days later, the law on the fundamentals of the new economic policy came into force. But it was not only these truly revolutionary measures, which eliminated the distributional impact of economic policies and opened the door to entrepreneurial initiative and market mechanisms that entailed Germany's economic recovery in the future. The Marshall plan played most important role too, which became effective in April 1948 to aid Germany and Western Europe to rebuild their economies by removing trade barriers for American goods, providing loans by the creditors' as well as other economic assistance.

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<sup>1</sup> Chubar'ian A.O. Proiskhozhdenie 'kholodnoi voiny' v istoriografii Vostoka i Zapada [The Origin of the Cold War in the Historiography of East and West]. *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* [Modern and Contemporary History], 1991, no. 2, p. 66. (In Russian); Nezhinskii L.N. Istoriia vneshnei politiki SSSR: poiski novykh podkhodov [The history of foreign policy in the USSR: the search for new approaches]. *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* [Modern and Contemporary History], 1990, no. 4, p. 10. (In Russian) and others.

<sup>2</sup> Klessmann Ch. *Die doppelte Staatsgründung. Deutsche Geschichte 1945–1955*. Schriftenreihe Bd. 298. Bonn, 1991, S. 454.

Another important milestone was related to the events in July 1948, when the military governors of the three Western zones handed over the documents on convening of the Parliamentary Council to discuss the future Constitution of the West German state to the prime ministers gathered in Frankfurt. The future government was to be temporary in nature and took the first step towards achieving the German unity. The Western allies understood that without the revival of Germany, the restoration of the whole Europe would be impossible.

The failure of yet another meeting, the Paris Conference on Germany, where the Foreign Ministers of the United States, the USSR, France and Britain in Paris in May-June 1949 addressed the difficult question of the future Germany and influenced the policy pursued by the Western Powers. The conference once again demonstrated the irreconcilable contradictions between the former allies in the anti-Hitler coalition regarding the German question. After the statement of US General Clay that, bearing in mind confronting the insurmountable contradictions with the USSR and the special stance of France, the projected establishment of the West German state was the best solution of the issue and a way out of the situation, it became clear that the Americans rolled the geopolitical dice. The premier-ministers in Germany were forced to agree at the joint meeting with the military governors to convene the Parliamentary Council.

It should be noted that the German politicians were not inclined to rush with the convocation of the National Assembly and drafting of the Constitution until the pre-conditions for all-German settlement and the restoration of sufficient German sovereignty were created. They believed that the adoption of the Constitution on paper would not yet mean the transformation of Germany from an object into the subject of the international politics. The political power would continue to be exercised by its occupying powers, and Germany would be doomed to the role of a trump card in the great military-political game of the world powers.

On 1<sup>st</sup> September 1948, the Parliamentary Council met for the first time, chaired by the leader of the Christian-Democratic Union, Konrad Adenauer. In his speech, he noted that "the main desire of the Germans was to achieve the unity of all Germany and the deputies of the Parliamentary Council would do everything possible to implement it."<sup>3</sup>

The delegates were united in the opinion that the future state, under the conditions of the division of Germany, would only be a temporary thing. Therefore, they refused the name 'Constitutional Assembly' and decided to consider the document adopted by them not as the Constitution, but only as the 'Basic Law', which was open for

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<sup>3</sup> Adenauer Rhöndorfer Ausgabe hrsg. Von Rudolf Morsey u. Hans-Peter Schwarz im Auftr. d. Stiftung Bundeskanzler-Adenauer-Haus. Berlin, S. 132.

subsequent changes. Despite the obvious pressure of the Allied Powers during this process, the conclusion of the German historian Christoph Klessmann seems quite reasonable to us that "the power of the Allies was limited, they had to count on cooperation with the Germans, the cooperation of the occupying and the occupied, considering the parallelism and conflict of mutual interests"<sup>4</sup>. Without qualified German personnel, freely orientating under the local conditions and having managerial skills, the co-workers could not solve the complex set of continually arising economic and political problems<sup>5</sup>. The absence of central institutions in Potsdam at the beginning of the occupation period, the operational autonomy of the zones and the ever-increasing discrepancies between the Western allies strengthened the importance of the German local administrative structures over the course of time.

As a matter of fact, the German policy manifested itself not exactly in the activities of individual parties, however in the functioning of the German governing bodies at the local level. "The political advantages of the administration over the factual political representatives are very important for Germany's internal development, and moreover, they are additional evidence of the strong federal development of various regions of Germany, which cannot be explained solely by the politically motivated decentralization policy of the Western allies."<sup>6</sup> The reasons for this advantage should be seen in the fact that the development of the parties through their forced slow creation from the bottom upwards and the initial ban on the all-German 'inter-zone' cooperation raised difficulties. By blocking the all-German contacts of the parties, the allies contributed to the development of regionalism and facilitated the very particularistic management, providing the opportunity to establish itself in a seemingly non-political space and to consolidate. It is therefore no coincidence that many of the leading local politicians did not hurry to abandon their posts in the German states and start working for the future federal authorities. As remembered by F.I. Strauss, "a bird in hand was worth two in the bush for many people in the German states, including Bavaria, with regards to Frankfurt or Bonn. There was also a lack of confidence in the plans and intentions of the Allies. The bitter experience of the past – the history of the Weimar Republic as the centralized state – also made itself felt."<sup>7</sup>

In the political base of the CDU leader, Konrad Adenauer, the priorities were distributed as follows: the creation of Germany's independence and self-determination,

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<sup>4</sup> Klessmann Ch. *Die doppelte Staatsgründung. Deutsche Geschichte 1945–1955. Schriftenreihe Bd. 298.* Bonn, 1991, S. 66.

<sup>5</sup> Artemov V.A. *Germaniia i Rossiia na izlomakh istorii* [Germany and Russia at the Changing Points in History]. Voronezh, 2004.

<sup>6</sup> Klessmann Ch. *Die doppelte Staatsgründung. Deutsche Geschichte 1945–1955. Schriftenreihe Bd. 298.* Bonn, 1991, S. 72.

<sup>7</sup> Shtraus F.I. *Vospominaniia* [Memories]. Moscow, 1991.

the reunification of the nation and, finally, the unification of free Europe and the inclusion of Germany into the European community<sup>8</sup>. However, after the Berlin Blockade, in 1948, the Soviet Union shifted the emphasis in their political plans. The efforts of Adenauer were now directed primarily at overcoming the distrust in Germany, which could have been caused by the German neo-nationalism, which put forward the ideas of pacifism and neutrality of Germany. Upon reflection, he concluded that freedom was more expensive than the unreality under the conditions of nation unity. "The point was that the free part of our homeland – Germany, where the free order could again be re-established, could be removed from isolation and had no grounds for contempt at that historical hour and could be reinstated as a respected member in the community of states"<sup>9</sup>, Helmut Kohl recalls.

Serious disagreements appeared over the nature of the new Constitution between the CDU and the SPD. The Social Democrats wanted to see in the Basic Law only a kind of organizational statute of the state during the transitional period, as the supreme authority factually belonged to the occupying powers, and therefore all the provisions of the Basic Law could be of temporary nature. For the same reasons, the SPD did not want to introduce the post of head of the state. The CDU, in alliance with the CSU in Bavaria, could confirm their point of view, being convinced that the Basic Law, despite not covering the eastern part of Germany, should and would be of constitutional nature of a sovereign state.

The delegates of the Parliamentary Council agreed that the formulation of the basic rights of the citizens should not be borrowed from the Weimar Constitution, where they were too generalized, declarative, however should be formulated clearly and unambiguously. It seemed to the promoters of the Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany that it was extremely important to formulate and warrant the immunity of the citizens of the newly created state against arbitrariness of the state authority and thus proclaim the state governed by the rule of law.

The most important issues that provoked sharp debates in the Parliamentary Council were the questions about the division of competences between the Union and the 'lands', the budget and the social-economic arrangement of the German state. The main clash of opinions was indicated between the position of the CDU / CSU and the SPD, as well as within the fractions of the Christian democrats themselves. Undoubtedly, this was influenced by the necessity to consider the opinions of the occupation authorities. It should be noted that unlike the Economic Council, the alignment of forces in the Parliamentary Council was somewhat different; on many issues, the Social Democrats

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<sup>8</sup> Kanzlerworte. *Weg und Ziel eines deutschen Staatsmanns*. Essen, 1963, S. 107.

<sup>9</sup> Deutsche Politik heute. *Das Erbe Konrad Adenauers. Adenauer Memorial Lecture, gehalten von Bundeskanzler Dr. Helmut Kohl*. Oxford, 1984, S. 23.

would often cooperate with the liberals and other small parties, whilst opposing the Christian democrats.

The complexity of arranging the future state consisted in solving the issue with the legislative assembly. If the issue on the composition and functions of the Bundestag did not raise any questions, then the discussion of the shape of the second chamber became a stumbling block in the work of the Parliamentary Council<sup>10</sup>.

The disagreements on the Bundesrat problem existed not only between the German parties, but also within them. The main obstacle for the Christian democrats within the Union were at times the uncompromising debates with the CSU<sup>11</sup>. The second chamber was considered by the Southern Germany politicians as a political tool to guarantee the control of German states in the decisions taken at the federal parliament level. According to the CSU politicians, the predominant role of the Bundesrat and the subordination of the head of state to this authority, would help avoid in the future another round of "fatal consequences which issued Article 48 of the constitution of the Weimar Republic and to avert the threat of concentration of power in the hands of a dictator."<sup>12</sup>

The Bavarian leader Hans Ehard, during a personal meeting with the SPD representative Walter Menzel managed to convert the Social Democrats to the point of view of creating the Bundesrat as the second chamber figuration, which corresponded to the ideas of the CSU, advocating the extreme ideas of federalism. Konrad Adenauer described the experience as follows: "I must say that I find this gentlemen's agreement, even from a federalist point of view, totally unreasonable. How can you sell the effective safeguard of federalism as though it is lentil soup! ... Ehard is our team-mate in the party, and the fact that in case of disagreement with the party position, he concludes a contract with one of the leaders from the opposing party, is simply impossible and unbearable."<sup>13</sup> On 28<sup>th</sup> October 1948, at the meeting of the faction, Konrad Adenauer openly accused the CSU of abuse of betrayal of trust on part of his colleagues, and the

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<sup>10</sup> For more details see: Nekrylova O.G. *Politika amerikanskikh i britanskikh okkupatsionnykh vlastei i obrazovanie Khristiansko-demokraticeskogo soiuzna v Zapadnoi Germanii (1945–1949 gg.)* [The Policy of the United States and British Occupation Authorities and the Formation of the Christian Democratic Union in Western Germany (1945–1949): Doctoral dissertation]. Voronezh, 2012, p. 125.

<sup>11</sup> Ley R. *Federalismusdiskussion innerhalb der CDU/CSU*. Mainz, 1987.

<sup>12</sup> Similar ideas are reflected in the so-called Herrenchiemsee draft adopted by the Constitutional Convention at Herrenchiemsee, a well-known debatable paper of the CDU / CSU. It was a meeting of constitutional experts held on 10–23<sup>rd</sup> August 1948. The differences among the drafters provided the multivariate nature of its main provisions – Bericht uder den Verfassungs-Konvent auf Herrenchiemsee. Munchen, 1948; *PR. Akten und Protokolle...* Bd. 1, S. 380–381.

<sup>13</sup> *Die CDU/CSU im Parlamentarischen Rat*, S. 94.

deal between the CSU and the SPD once again proved the inability of the Christian Democrats union to find a compromise inside the faction<sup>14</sup>.

On 19<sup>th</sup> October 1948, a memorandum of the military authorities was published, where it was emphasized that the Parliamentary Council was subordinate to the military governors, and an opinion was expressed regarding the establishment of two chambers with equal legislative powers. As a result, the right of veto for the Bundesrat with regards to the decisions adopted by the Bundestag was approved, which meant laying the foundation for the future federal state and was in full compliance with the political regulations of the occupying powers. Federalism, from the point of view of the occupation authorities, was the main condition for including West Germany in the "European family of free nations". Because of protracted and complex negotiations, a decision was made on the newly founded Bundesrat.

When the contours of the future state loomed on the horizon, it became clear that the decisions on the composition of the second chamber dealing with financial management differed from those of the occupation authorities. The issue put on the agenda was the impossibility of adopting the constitution in case it does not comply fully with the Frankfurt documents of the London Six-Power Conference<sup>15</sup>.

In December 1948, a 'Frankfurt scandal' broke out, which became indicative of inner-party relations and the relations with the occupation authorities. Konrad Adenauer understood that without coordinating the draft of the future constitution with the occupation authorities, the work of the Parliamentary Council could be reduced to zero. The German population might have formed an opinion on accountability of the Parliamentary Council and the political indoctrination of the Basic Law by the Allies, and considering aggravation of the international situation and active communist propaganda, this situation, in our opinion, would not have added credibility to the German political parties, let alone the allies.

Sober calculation and a strongly pragmatic quality with regards to the actions were characteristic features of the leader of the Christian Democrats Konrad Adenauer. He never gave up theoretical discussions and skillfully used the possibilities of reaching a compromise. Essentially, this person of integrity could easily abandon the important principles in favor of making crucial decisions. At the same time, being the leader of the Christian Democrats and head of the Parliamentary Council, he understood: "it is better to have not so perfect constitution than not to have any. For Germany, the adoption of a flawed constitution was in any case more advantageous than postponing it indefinitely", Konrad Adenauer explained<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>14</sup> *Die CDU/CSU im Parlamentarischen Rat*, S. 95–115.

<sup>15</sup> Clay L.D. *The papers of general Lucius D. Clay. Germany 1945–1949*; Ed. by J.-E. Smith. London, 1974, S. 415–417.

<sup>16</sup> Adenauer K. *Op. Cit.* Bd. 1, S. 165.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1948, Konrad Adenauer sent a letter to the military governors, which informed that the work on the basic law in the Parliamentary Council had advanced so far that one could expect its completion soon. The letter stressed the importance of the information contained in the Occupational Statute of Germany, for the Parliamentarians: "for the Parliamentary Council, such primarily friendly and confidential familiarization with the Occupational Statute of Germany before the final decision on the Basic Law would be very valuable"<sup>17</sup>.

The deputies from the Social Democratic Party of Germany and the Free Democrats accused Adenauer of the desire to suspend the remaining parliamentarians from the negotiations with the occupation authorities with the view of sole control over the situation. The military governor of the American Zone in Germany, General Clay, claimed the exact opposite. According to his observations, the deputies of the Parliamentary Council ignored the call of Konrad Adenauer twice to ask questions to the representatives of the occupation authorities related to the main provisions of the Occupational Statute of Germany<sup>18</sup>.

The existential war between the CDU and the SPD became more violent with every coming day; and the leaders of the two parties exchanging abuse escalated the situation. Thus, Kurt Schumacher stated that "the CDU is nothing but a crowd huddled together, and if one is not to cooperate with them and to ruin the careers for some of them, it will be possible to destroy the entire CDU." Konrad Adenauer repeatedly emphasized that "the Social Democracy, which lacks a clear program, appeals more and more to the nationalistic feelings of the German masses in its agitation"<sup>19</sup>. According to the memoirs of F.I. Strauss, there was no mutual understanding between Adenauer and Schumacher, there was no agreement on "what line of conduct to choose in the relations with the Western victor powers ..." Schumacher was focused on creating a single strong centralized state ... Schumacher was torn apart by the contradictions: on the one hand, he felt very nationalistic, however on the other hand, he was a determined socialist<sup>20</sup>. "After the announcements of Adenauer and Schmid, one should seriously fear that the work of the Parliamentary Council is in danger,"<sup>21</sup> – reported 'Die Welt'.

The current situation made Konrad Adenauer contemplate the inner-party situation in view of the expected elections to the Bundestag. In his opinion, not only the

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<sup>17</sup> Adenauer. *Rhöndorfer Ausgabe* hrsg. Von Rudolf Morsey u. Hans-Peter Schwarz im Auftr. d. Stiftung Bundeskanzler-Adenauer-Haus. Berlin, S. 359.

<sup>18</sup> Clay L.D. *The papers of general Lucius D. Clay. Germany 1945–1949*; Ed. by J.-E. Smith. London, 1974, S. 419.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, S. 311–312.

<sup>20</sup> Shtraus F.I. *Vospominaniia* [Memories]. Moscow, 1991, pp. 149–150.

<sup>21</sup> Bonn in der Frankfurter Krise. *Die Welt*. 21.12. 49, no. 148.

fate of Christianity in Germany depended on this, but also the position of the union in the political arena. "If the SPD and the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) receive most of the votes in the Bundestag, then the Christian Germany is lost"<sup>22</sup>. At the meeting of the national board of the CDU / CSU board in Königswinter on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1949, Adenauer noted: "Sometimes I get the impression on the gathering of intentions in the SPD ... to steer clear from the adoption of the Basic Law, but also to undermine the whole thing"<sup>23</sup>.

Konrad Adenauer considered several choices for the progression of events in the Parliamentary Council. On the one hand, if the SPD continued its destructive policy, then the CDU / CSU faction probably had to ratify the Basic Law in alliance with the minor parties. On the other hand, if the SPD, on the contrary, was going to cooperate with the minor parties, then the Christian Democrats and the Communists would be their only opponents. As the best way out of that situation, Adenauer considered a compromise with the SPD, which would help finish the work on the Basic Law "as soon as possible and, certainly, better work"<sup>24</sup>.

The leader of the Christian democrats found himself in a tricky situation. On the one hand, as chairman of the Parliamentary Council, he was obliged to assist in the speedy completion of its work based on a compromise, i.e. to break ranks with the 'fellow blockers' – the CSU<sup>25</sup>. On the other hand, as the leader of the Christian union, he could not tolerate it. The collapse of the faction with the CSU was a devastating blow to the CDU in the forthcoming elections to the Bundestag.

On 17<sup>th</sup> January, Adenauer invited the leader of the German Centre Party Carl Spieker to create a political union<sup>26</sup>. A coalition with the Centre Party would ensure the victory over the Social Democrats. However, the leaders of the Centre Party, who were able to create the overbalance with the fewest votes, did not rush into the unification that would deprive them of the opportunity to influence the alignment of political forces in the future. The board's negotiations between the German Centre Party and the CDU / CSU bloc led to the announcement by the numerous groups within the Centre Party that they would withdraw from the party if the coalition were formed<sup>27</sup>. The deputies of the Centre Party intended to be a bridge between the left and right for the party powers, "the scale pointer for political and social contradic-

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<sup>22</sup> *Die CDU/CSU im Parlamentarischen Rat*, S. 313.

<sup>23</sup> *Die Unionsparteien 1946–1950*, S. 256–257.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 267.

<sup>25</sup> For more details see: Murashov M.A. *Uchastie zapadnogermanskikh politicheskikh partii v sozdanii FRG: 1948–1949gg.* [Participation of political parties in West Germany in the creation of the Federal Republic of Germany: 1948–1949. PhD Thesis]. Moscow, 2004, pp. 166–167.

<sup>26</sup> Fusion CDU-Zentrum. *Die Welt*. 18.01.49, no.7.

<sup>27</sup> Fusion noch starker umstritten. *Die Welt*. 25.01.49, no.10.

tions"<sup>28</sup>. The political struggle that began because of the uncooperative behavior only threw the German Centre Party back.

It should be noted that the rise of Konrad Adenauer, not only as chairman of the Council, but also as an acknowledged political leader of the future state, could not but disturb his political opponents. If he made a tactical mistake, they would readily take advantage of the opportunity to discredit him. The moment to shape the government of West Germany was approaching as well as the decision about which political party would form the said government. It was this issue that became the most topical in the political life of West Germany.

The 'Frankfurt scandal' not only slowed down the work on the Basic Law, but also had long-term effects. It became clear that the inner-party conflicts could not always be settled diplomatically; the Social Democrats, having tried their hand, realized that it was possible to increase their popularity by getting tough with the occupying powers, and the deputies of the Parliamentary Council made it clear that they did not want to be subordinate to the decisions the occupying powers<sup>29</sup>.

By the beginning of 1949, the uncertainty of the task completion date for the Basic Law, the unresolved problem of financial management and legislation dictated the need to create the 'Committee of Five' at the suggestion of Adenauer to liaise in striking a mutual compromise<sup>30</sup>. The committee included deputies Teophil Kaufmann and Heinrich von Brentano from the CDU, Carlo Schmid and Walter Menzel from the SPD, and Hermann Schäfer from the FDP.

Konrad Adenauer supervised the work of the committee in view of the importance of the situation. Having restricted the composition of the committee only to the largest factions, he excluded his colleagues in the bloc from the game, whose confrontation could prevent the achievement of mutual understanding with the main political opponent, the SPD. Adenauer hoped that the political decisions approved by the Social Democrats without the CSU would be easier to defend against the faction rather than to be torn between the CSU hostility and the irreconcilability of the SPD leadership.

In early February 1949, the meetings of the 'Committee of Five' reached the long-awaited compromise. Because of the concessions to the SPD, the list of laws to

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<sup>28</sup> Zentrum- Zentrifugal. *Die Welt*. 10.03.49, no.7.

<sup>29</sup> For more details see: Nekrylova O.G. *Politika amerikanskikh i britanskikh okkupatsionnykh vlastei i obrazovanie Khristiansko-demokraticeskogo soiuza v Zapadnoi Germanii (1945–1949 gg.)* [The Policy of the United States and British Occupation Authorities and the Formation of the Christian Democratic Union in Western Germany (1945–1949): Doctoral dissertation]. Voronezh, 2012, p. 144.

<sup>30</sup> *Die CDU/CSU im Parlamentarischen Rat*, S. 365.

be approved by the Bundesrat (in the police and civil service, etc.) was defined, which was an important step towards the equality of both chambers.

The Christian democrats refused to transfer the financial management and legislation to the Lands. Any state (land), in turn, received the right to add additional taxes. The problems of religion and culture had to be solved in the same way as in the Weimar Constitution, that is, to guarantee freedom of religion, both individually and within religious organizations<sup>31</sup>. At the same time, the church was separated from the state, which meant making terms with the Social Democrats, who tried to prevent a merger of the church and the state<sup>32</sup>. Thus, by early 1949, the draft Basic Law, in view of the many concessions made by the CDU to the Social Democrats, acquired even more centralist features.

It should be noted that this tactic of parliamentary deputies reveals underestimation of the serious requirements of the Frankfurt documents. By the beginning of 1949, all decisions of the main constitutional issues in the work of the Council were only of inner-party nature but did not consider the views of the Allies, which indicated underestimation of the demands of the occupation authorities and their ability to influence the results of the work of the Parliamentary Council.

The U.S. military governor Clay recalled: "there was no unanimous opinion among the Allies"<sup>33</sup>. Clay and the general of the French occupation zone Marie-Pierre Koenig spoke against the excessive centralization of power in the future state. The Deputy Military Governor of the British occupation zone Brian Robertson proposed to accept the existing version of the draft Basic Law except for some minor changes. He argued that the project was based on a compromise between the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats and that the new demands would jeopardize the ratification of the Basic Law by the lands where the positions of the Social Democrats were strong.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> March, at the headquarters of the Allies in Frankfurt, the final response of the occupation authorities was received. The Allies expressed their disagreement regarding the articles of the Basic Law on the financial powers of the future government and demanded their revision. In their opinion, the procedure for collecting taxes proposed by the parliamentarians violated the independence of the lands. The Allies called for the formation of a separate system of tax legislation and to collect taxes from the federation and the lands separately, to ensure their independence.

The allies' demarche left the CDU/CSU faction out in the cold. The Free Democrats condemned the desire of the occupation authorities to weaken the central government,

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<sup>31</sup> For more details see: Nekrylova O.G. *Op. cit.*, pp. 147–148.

<sup>32</sup> *Die Unionsparteien 1946–1950 Protokolle der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der CDU/CSU Deutschlands und der Konferenzen der Landesvorsitzenden*. Bearbeitet von Brigitte Kaff. Droste, S. 337.

<sup>33</sup> Clay L.D. *The papers of general Lucius D. Clay. Germany 1945–1949*; Ed. by J.-E. Smith. London, 1974, S. 422.

whereas the German Party (GP) demanded that no concessions be made. The SPD demanded that the Constitution remained unchanged and launched a whole political campaign against the Allies' demands. "The point at issue is that, in the end, one should try hard an individual question, so that the Germans even once achieved victory over their allies. Not only can the allies reject the constitution, the German people can also oppose it either today or tomorrow"<sup>34</sup>, – Carlo Schmid said in this regard.

In April 1949, a conference of foreign ministers of the Western countries was held in Washington, where the whole range of problems related to shaping of the future German state was discussed. In the final document sent to the Parliamentary Council, it was reported about the readiness to adopt the Basic Law in the spirit of the London decisions. "The three foreign ministers in assessing the German constitution will consider the delicate balance of German political forces presented in this document and should bear in mind that insisting on changes that go beyond the ones proposed by the Germans will be associated with the risk of the Allies taking responsibility for the future difficulties in the performance of the constitution"<sup>35</sup>. "It should be noted that mentioning the balance of political forces demonstrates the desire of the occupation authorities to shift responsibility off their shoulders with regards to the solution of problems related to the extent of federalism in Germany and on to those of the German political parties.

After the Occupation Statute of Germany was drawn up on 10<sup>th</sup> April 1949, specifying the roles and responsibilities of the newly created German government and the Allied High Commission in West Germany, it was determined that "the Union and its constituent territories have full legislative, executive and judicial power in accordance with the Basic Law and their constitutions." However, the Allies retained the right to complete control over disarmament and demilitarization of the economy, related fields of scientific research, decartelization, foreign trade and exchange, prohibitions and restrictions applied to industrial output and civil aviation, war reparations, restitutions, control the Ruhr, the process of decartelization. The whole sphere of foreign policy remained under their supervision, including international agreements concluded by the Federal Republic of Germany, protection, prestige and security of occupying forces, respect for the federal constitution and constitutions of the states, foreign trade and exchange. In specific situations, the Western powers retained the absolute power to take such measures to protect the free democratic order in Germany or to fulfill the international obligations of their governments<sup>36</sup>. At the same time, the rights and powers

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<sup>34</sup> *Die neue Zeitung*. 31.03.1949, no. 69.

<sup>35</sup> Archive of Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation (AVP RF). F. 082. D. 720 – Ge. P. 96.

<sup>36</sup> AVP RF. F. 082. D. No. 110-Ge. L. 186.

of both sides should have been clearly implied in the statute devised to serve as this constitution for the period of occupation. Thus, the Occupation Statute of Germany was based on the federal arrangement of the future West German state with broad powers for the Lands.

On 14<sup>th</sup> April, a meeting of the deputies to the Parliamentary Council and the occupation authorities was held to discuss the Occupation Statute of Germany and the constitutional issues. The General Clay urged the deputies to complete the work on the constitution as soon as possible, arguing that "in the current international situation, the delay in adopting the Basic Law will carry bleak consequences for Germany ... because of which all the favorable opportunities for the decision can be lost altogether."<sup>37</sup>

On 25<sup>th</sup> April, the final joint meeting of the Parliamentary Council and the Allies on the adoption of the Basic Law took place. After the negotiations, Konrad Adenauer wrote: "The German constitution is given full play to."<sup>38</sup> Lucius Clay recalled: "The meeting was interesting and complicated, since every proposal from the German side required consultations with the military governors."<sup>39</sup> The General Brian Robertson called the meeting 'the best day' for cooperation between the Germans and the occupation authorities<sup>40</sup>. However, it is difficult to believe in such 'official' euphoria: the sacrifice made by the occupation authorities was too great.

An agreement was reached at the meetings of the political factions to adhere to the reached compromises and to adopt the Basic Law without changes, and on 5-6<sup>th</sup> May, the draft of the future constitution was adopted by the main committee. At the last meetings, two important decisions were made: the abolition of the death penalty and withdrawal of the article on national security emergency<sup>41</sup>. On 6<sup>th</sup> May, the Parliamentary Council held its second reading at plenary sitting, where the draft Basic Law was adopted by 47 votes in favor, with two KPG members 'against' and 15 abstentions (CSU, GP and the Center Party).

On 8<sup>th</sup> May 1949, on the anniversary of the Victory in Europe Day, the Parliamentary Council adopted the Basic Law; on 12<sup>th</sup> May, on the day of the Soviet blockade of Berlin, it was approved by the military authorities and, finally, on 23<sup>rd</sup> May, after its ratification by the land parliaments, the Basic Law was formally promulgated in Bonn. The new state could become viable only after the establishment of its legit-

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<sup>37</sup> Clay L.D. *The papers of general Lucius D. Clay. Germany 1945–1949*; Ed. by J.-E. Smith. London, 1974, S. 1096.

<sup>38</sup> Verfassung bis zum 15 Mai. *Die Welt*. 26.04.49, no. 48.

<sup>39</sup> Clay L.D. *The papers of general Lucius D. Clay. Germany 1945–1949*; Ed. by J.-E. Smith. London, 1974, S. 435.

<sup>40</sup> Verfassung bis zum 15 Mai. *Die Welt*. 26.04.49, no.48.

<sup>41</sup> *Die CDU/CSU im Parlamentarischen Rat*, S. 536.

imate bodies – the Bundestag and the Bundesrat, the election of the president, the government, the chancellor and the federal Constitutional Court. The elections to the first Bundestag were held in September 1949; they had special political significance, since they filled the four-year vacuum in the political life of West Germany. The victory was won by the CDU / CSU, which, together with the FDP and the German Party, created the first coalition government of Germany. On 15<sup>th</sup> September, Konrad Adenauer was elected chancellor of the Federal Republic Germany. According to Kohl, "Adenauer era began as the concluded chapter in the German history".

### **Conclusion**

In conclusion, it should be noted that the Basic Law was deliberately designed for the 'transition period', during which the German people had to rebuild their life within the new state in a different way. The preamble read as follows: "The German people as the whole nation are called upon their rights for free self-determination to implement the final unification and freedom of Germany." Its creators considered it necessary not to commit themselves to the premature compromise language and leave open the possibility of the further political process in this direction.

The work of the Parliamentary Council was hampered both by the inner-party and inter-party disagreements and was aggravated by the disagreements with the allied administration. Only mutual compromise and the interest of German politicians in the speedy adoption of the constitution made it possible to come to the approval of the Basic Law. The work of the Parliamentary Council in West Germany, in our opinion, was of far greater importance for the development of democracy. The German population became confident that they had the right to choose their own path of social development, the right to adhere to democratic values and traditions. Later, the Western Germans from the Vanquished would become strategically important partners and allies in the confrontation of the West with the Soviet Union.

In 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany was established in the western part of Germany, which was based on the parliamentary democracy and market economy. This state turned out to be firmly embedded in the Western bloc system, in the world of Western values – political, humanitarian, economic and military.

It is necessary to note the great role of Konrad Adenauer in the party-political development of West Germany, initially as chairman of the CDU / CSU faction, and later as chairman of the Parliamentary Council. The first post-war constitution of Germany was only an instrument for him, and not a political Bible and a symbol of faith. He could play the card in the contradictions of the occupation authorities, maneuvering between them in favor of his country. Konrad Adenauer had long been a legend of the German and the world history. He is criticized for dictatorial methods of government, for refusing to cooperate with the left forces, for adherence to the pol-

icy of the Western allies, even called 'Chancellor of the Allies'. All being true, however the fact remains that the party-political system created by him flourishes against all the odds.

Using the features of the constitution of West Germany, Adenauer could create a peculiar system of government, which became known as 'Chancellor Democracy'. The Chancellor as head of the government has much more power than the president of Germany, who plays the role of the 'father of the nation', makes solemn speeches, pays visits and awards orders. The Germans owe the economic growth in Germany after World War II and the German 'economic miracle' to Konrad Adenauer (and Minister of Economic Affairs, Ludwig Erhard).

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For citation: Nekrylova O. CDU on the path to the West German statehood (1948–1949). *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 46–61. DOI: 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-3.

DOI 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-4  
UDC 94(327)

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### **CDU / CSU: From the history of the alliance of two German parties**

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*Abstract.* The post-war history of Germany appears to be a complex intertwinement of interests between various political and social forces, organizations, parties and fractions operating in the Allied-occupied Germany. Under such extraordinary contradictory conditions, as it will be shown in the article, the two parts of Germany – the FRG and GDR – were created, each having its own constitution, political party system and electoral authorities formed by the citizens of these countries. In West Germany, the Christian parties, the CDU and the CSU, played the key role, having united in a single fraction at the federal level, which is still functional in modern Germany.

*Keywords:* Christian parties, federalism, Josef Müller, Konrad Adenauer, the Economic Council Germany, faction, Parliamentary Council, Basic Law, elections to the German Bundestag

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#### **Introduction**

Alliances, coalitions and agreements between parties are a common practice in political struggle for power. Most often, they are temporary, however there are exceptions. The union of two German parties, the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian Social Union, is among them. It officially exists since 1949, has withstood all the challenges from the split of the country to its unification in 1990, and further, already in modern Germany.

What formed the basis of this ‘alliance’ or ‘bloc’, as it was customary to call the CDU / CSU in the publications of the Soviet era? The Christian closeness of parties? To some extent, yes. Or the fact that these parties were ‘new’ and created in the first post-war years? This as well was important, as was the fact that the CDU and the CSU chose independent ‘masters’ as their social resources (in the Marxist terminolo-

gy – “petty bourgeoisie and middle classes”), however, the hired laborers – workers, employees and partially the youth, students, women and pensioners would also find themselves in the organizational structures of these parties. An essential factor in close convergence of the CDU and the CSU was that through this ‘alliance’, the principle of the federal system of West Germany was consolidated<sup>1</sup>.

In the national historiography, there are not so many works devoted to the CDU and CSU. As before, the most significant would be the monograph by S.L. Sokol'skii, in which the author, shifting away from the class-specific evaluations of the “party of big business”, tried to show the social shape of the CDU, as well as the content and characteristics of its domestic and foreign policies<sup>2</sup>. The early history of the CDU, formation and organizational development of the party are presented in the studies of B.V. Petelin,<sup>3</sup> and O.G. Nekrylova;<sup>4</sup> a lot of interesting information about the activities of the CDU / CSU and the leading Christian politicians can be found in the works of A.Yu. Vatlin, N.V. Pavlov and A.I. Patrushev<sup>5</sup>.

The work on the history of the CSU by Belarusian professor M.V. Strelets is of exceptional value for Russian researchers. He comprehensively analyzed the activities of the Bavarian Union based on the study of documentary sources from the Archives for Christian-Social Policy (ACSP) of the Hanns Seidel Foundation<sup>6</sup>. The organizational and ideological formation of the CSU in the first post-war years was

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<sup>1</sup> As the Marxist historian Hans Adamo from West Germany pointed out, “from the very beginning, the CSU advocated decisive federalism that would consider the characteristics of Bavaria and provide a sufficiently wide field of activity to those circles in Bavaria that dominated the economy and politics.” 1. Adamo G. *KhDS–KhSS. Sushchnost' i politika*. Moscow, 1979, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Sokol'skii S.L. *Khristiansko-demokraticeskii soiuz FRG: sotsiologiya i politika* [Christian Democratic Union of the FRG: Sociology and Politics]. Moscow, 1983.

<sup>3</sup> Petelin B.V. *Ranniaia istoriia Khristiansko-demokraticeskogo soiuz: Konrad Adenauer–Jakob Kaizer–Otto Nuschke. 1945–1952 gg.* [Early History of the Christian Democratic Union: Konrad Adenauer – Jakob Kaiser–Otto Nuschke. 1945–1952]. Cherepovets, 2014.

<sup>4</sup> Nekrylova O.G. *Khristiansko-demokraticeskii soiuz v partiino-politicheskoi sisteme poslevoennoi Zapadnoi Germanii: problemy obrazovaniia v usloviakh okkupatsii (1945–1949 gg.)* [The Christian Democratic Union in the Political Party System in West Germany during the Post-war Period: The Problems of Formation under the Conditions of Occupation (1945–1949)]. Yelets, 2017.

<sup>5</sup> Vatlin A.Iu. *Germanii v XX veke* [Germany in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century]. Moscow, 2005; Patrushev A.I. *Germaniia v XX veke* [Germany in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century]. Moscow, 2004; Pavlov N.V. *Rossii i Germaniia: nesostoiavshiiia all'ians (istoriia s prodolzheniem)* [Russia and Germany: Alliance Failure (A Continuation Story)]. Moscow, 2017.

<sup>6</sup> Strelets M.V. *Khristiansko-sotsial'nyi soiuz v Bavarii (FRG): ideologiya i politika* [Christian Democratic Union in Bavaria (FRG): Sociology and Politics]. Brest, 2004.

shown in the dissertation research of Vologda historian I.D. Popov<sup>7</sup>. However, in these studies, the authors confined themselves only to the description of alliance between the CSU and the CDU, without coverage and analysis of the causes and factors of its origin, formation and development throughout the history of the FRG.

Naturally, the party history of the CSU and the CDU is represented in Germany by an impressive array of literature of various sources. First of all, the fundamental issue prepared by the Hanns Seidel Foundation for the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the CSU should be noted here, which comprehensively represents the activities of the Bavarian Christian Social Union.<sup>8</sup> Among the works on the history of the CDU, we will also mention the monograph by Frank Bösch, Hans-Otto Kleinmann,<sup>9</sup> the 'encyclopedia' of Christian democracy – *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Christlichen Demokratie in Deutschland*,<sup>10</sup> memoirs of Konrad Adenauer, the first German chancellor and chairman of the CDU,<sup>11</sup> and the minister-president of the state of Bavaria Franz Josef Strauss, the long-standing leader of the CSU.<sup>12</sup> The published materials of the Economic Council of the CDU and the Parliamentary Council engaged in the development of the Basic Law for the future FRG have direct relation to the establishment of the alliance between the CDU and the CSU.<sup>13</sup>

To understand why a new party system, which was different from the Weimar Republic, was formed in the post-war Germany divided into occupation zones, we will refer to the period of its existence: 1918–33. First, in Russian historiography, we refer to the works of the distinguished historian and German scholar M.E. Erin,<sup>14</sup> au-

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<sup>7</sup> See: Popov I.D. *Organizatsionnoe i ideinoe stanovlenie khristiansko-sotsial'nogo soiuza v Bavarii: 1945–1949 gg.: dis. ... kand. ist. nauk* [The Organizational and Ideological Establishment of the Christian-Social Union in Bavaria: 1945–1949. Doctoral dissertation]. St Peterburg, 2011.

<sup>8</sup> *Geschichte einer Volkspartei. 50 Jahre CSU*. München, 1995.

<sup>9</sup> Bösch F. *Die Adenauer- CDU. Gründung, Aufstieg und Krise einer Erfolgspartei 1945–1969*. München, 2001; Kleinmann H.-O. *Geschichte der CDU 1945–1982*. Stuttgart, 1993.

<sup>10</sup> *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Christlichen Demokratie in Deutschland; Herausgegeben von W. Becker, G. Buchstab, A. Doering-Manteuffel, R. Morsey*. Paderborn, 2002.

<sup>11</sup> Adenauer K. *Erinnerungen 1945–1953*. Bd. I. Stuttgart, 1965.

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<sup>13</sup> See: *Die CDU/CSU im Parlamentarischen Rat: Sitzungsprotokolle d.Unionsfraktion*. Stuttgart, 1981.

<sup>14</sup> Erin M.E. *Raspad partiinoi sistemy i krakh Veimarskoi respubliki* [The Disintegration of the Party System and the Fall of the Weimar Republic]. Yaroslavl, 1992; *Istoriia Veimarskoi respubliki v noveishei germanskoi istoriografii* [History of the Weimar Republic in the contemporary German historiography]. Yaroslavl, 1997; Idem. *Genrikh Briuning. Kantsler i politik Biografiia* [Henry Brüning. Chancellor and Politician. Biography]. Yaroslavl, 2010.

thor's editions of Ivanovo State University Professor I.Ya. Bisk,<sup>15</sup> as well as multi-authored collections published by the staff of the above-mentioned university.<sup>16</sup>

Among the German publications translated into Russian, we can mention the fundamental monograph of the famous historian Heirich August Winkler,<sup>17</sup> as well as a monograph by another distinguished historian Hermann Möller, who rightly revealed that the German party system was modified under the influence of the war and revolution.<sup>18</sup> But the first experience of democracy on the German land was more than unsuccessful. Since the late 1920s, the deviation from its true democratic essence began, which ultimately led to the capitulation of the state. However, "Hitler received his chancellorship not only because of the intrigues of the power elites, but also thanks to the masses that lent their support to him, as before."<sup>19</sup> That is, the Weimar Republic failed not due to the lack of democracy, however because of its overabundance. Nevertheless, it just so happens that tyranny, as noted by philosophers in antiquity, grows out of such a democracy.

### Main text

The republican system in Germany was rebuilt considering the lessons of the Weimar Republic. As it was already noted, it was decided to abandon the legacy of the previous party. Although the lay Catholic political Center Party, like the Bavarian People's Party, resumed their activities after the war, they had no prospects in the future. Most Catholic politicians, like the evangelical politicians, supported the creation of an interfaith party. A similar idea was expressed earlier,<sup>20</sup> but only now it was possible to start its implementation.

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<sup>15</sup> Bisk I.Ia. *Istoriia povsednevnoi zhizni naseleniia v Veimarskoi respublike* [The History of Everyday Life in the Weimar Republic]. Ivanovo, 1990; Idem. *Pressa Veimarskoi Germanii* [Press of the Weimar Germany]. Ivanovo, 1995.

<sup>16</sup> See for example: *Veimarskaia respublika: istoriia i istochnikovedenie. Mezhvuzovskii sbornik nauchnykh trudov* [Weimar Republic: History, Historiography, Source studies: Interuniversity Collection of Scientific Works]. Ivanovo, 2001; *Veimarskaia respublika: istoriia, istoriografiia, istochnikovedenie: Mezhvuzovskii sbornik nauchnykh trudov* [Weimar Republic: History, Historiography, Source studies: Interuniversity Collection of Scientific Works]. Ivanovo, 2011.

<sup>17</sup> Winkler G.A. *Weimar 1918–1933: istoriia pervoi nemetskoj demokratii* [Weimar 1918–1933: The History of the First German Democracy]. Moscow, 2013.

<sup>18</sup> Möller H. *Veimarskaia respublika: Opyt odnoi nezavershennoi Demokratii* [The Weimar Republic: Experience of one Unfinished Democracy]. Moscow, 2010, p. 76.

<sup>19</sup> Winkler G.A. *Weimar 1918–1933: istoriia pervoi nemetskoj demokratii* [Weimar 1918–1933: The History of the First German Democracy]. Moscow, 2013, p. 747.

<sup>20</sup> Petelin B.V. *Ranniaia istoriia Khristiansko-demokraticheskogo soiuz: Konrad Adenauer-Jakob Kaizer-Otto Nuschke. 1945–1952 gg.* [Early History of the Christian Democratic Union: Konrad Adenauer – Jakob Kaiser-Otto Nuschke. 1945–1952]. Cherepovets, 2014, pp. 11–12.

The CSU as a party was created earlier than the CDU. Bavaria is known for its historical peculiarities. Even in the days of Bismarck, Bavaria had its own army. "Nowhere in Germany", Professor N.V. Pavlov writes, "the folk traditions were preserved so carefully as here."<sup>21</sup> After the overthrow of the monarchy in 1918, Bavaria declared itself a 'free state'. In 1945, the American military administration as a matter of fact retained the territorial integrity of Bavaria, which remained the largest land in West Germany. Following the example of the Soviet Military Administration, which with Order No. 2 signed by the Chief Marshal of the SMAG, Marshal of the Soviet Union Georgy Zhukov, authorized the political activities of anti-fascist organizations and parties in the Soviet Occupation Zone,<sup>22</sup> the American authorities also contributed to the formation of political life in their relevant zones. Since the party system of the Weimar Republic 'failed', it "should not be revived or restored again," that was the thought of Franz Josef Strauss, the long-term chairman of the CSU and the head of the government of Bavaria<sup>23</sup>.

Despite the ideological and organizational differences between the creators of the CSU (the researchers point to the key role of Josef Müller (Munich) and Adam Stegerwald (Würzburg)), on 8<sup>th</sup> January 1946, the representatives from all parts of Bavaria gathered in Munich, where they announced the creation of a new party called the Christian Social Union<sup>24</sup>. At the end of January, the American occupation authorities granted the CSU with the permission to carry out their political activities throughout the territory of Bavaria. On 30–31<sup>st</sup> March 1946, Josef Müller was elected the party chairman at the meeting of the CSU 'land committee' in Bamberg (the official congress of the CSU would be held in Munich on 17<sup>th</sup> May 1946). In December 1946, the CSU already had almost 70 thousand members, and within a year it numbered almost 82 thousand<sup>25</sup>.

The founders of the CSU had come up with an idea to withdraw the party from Bavaria. Müller maintained close contact with Jakob Kaiser and his supporters in Berlin – the organizers of Christian-Democratic unions in East Germany. In his views and convictions, Müller was considered a left-wing politician who sympathized with

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<sup>21</sup> Pavlov N.V. *Germaniia na puti v tret'e tysyacheletie. Posobie po stranovedeniiu* [Germany on the Way to the Third Millennium. Textbook on Country Studies]. Moscow, 2001, pp. 223–224.

<sup>22</sup> *Sovetskaia Voennaia Administratsiia v Germanii (SVAG). Upravlenie propagandy (informatsii) i S.I. Tiul'panov. 1945–1949. Sb. Dokumentov* [The Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAG). Department of Propaganda (Information) and S.I. Tulpanov. 1945–1949. Collection of Documents]. Moscow, 2004, pp. 510–511.

<sup>23</sup> Strauss F.J. *Vospominaniia* [Memories]. Moscow, 1991, P. 82.

<sup>24</sup> Henzler Ch. *Die Christlich-Soziale Union in den ersten Nachkriegsjahren Geschichte einer Volkspartei. 50 Jahre CSU*, S. 117.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, S. 120.

the Soviet Union (during the Nazi period, Müller was forced to live in a concentration camp); he willingly met with representatives of the Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAG)<sup>26</sup>. Müller also formed business relations with Konrad Adenauer elected as chairman of the CDU in the British occupation zone in early February 1946. However, the process of the split in Germany affected the unity of political parties. The creation of the all-German CDU party failed: in East Germany, the CDU would soon be in the ranks of the 'builders of socialism'<sup>27</sup>, some Christian democrats who disagreed with this choice would create "the CDU in exile",<sup>28</sup> whereas the rest would become members of the CDU of Germany since 1949<sup>29</sup>.

The first real step in bringing the CSU and the CDU closer to each other was the meeting of Josef Müller and Konrad Adenauer in early April 1946 in Stuttgart. It was decided that the CSU and the CDU of the British occupation zone would seek working partnership, striving for sympathy of the occupation authorities. By these meetings with the politicians in Stuttgart (Jakob Kaiser – chairman of the CDU Berlin, who arrived from Berlin), Adenauer put together the separated Christian unions in West Germany. In December 1946, the American and British occupation authorities, one might say, met Adenauer halfway: it was decided to create the Bizone – the union of two western zones, except the French one. As Strauss rightly noted in his memoirs, this was dictated not only by economic reasons, but also with an eye to the future creation of a new state in the West<sup>30</sup>.

The creation of the Bizone contributed to the further convergence of the CSU and the CDU. On 6–7<sup>th</sup> February 1947, an agreement was concluded in Königstein on cooperation between the CDU and the CSU within the framework of the 'working community' of the two parties.<sup>31</sup> Many rank-and-file members, primarily from the

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<sup>26</sup> Müller did have contacts with SMAG; he met with Colonel S.I. Tul'panov, with whom they discussed the future of Germany. See: *Sovetskaia Voennaia Administratsiia v Germanii (SVAG). Upravlenie propagandy (informatsii) i S.I. Tiul'panov. 1945–1949. Sb. Dokumentov* [The Soviet Military Administration in Germany (SMAG). Department of Propaganda (Information) and S.I. Tulpanov. 1945–1949. Collection of Documents]. Moscow, 2006, pp. 85, 88.

<sup>27</sup> Dobrovol'skii E.S. *Khristianskaia demokratiia i stroitel'stvo sotsializma v Vostochnoi Germanii. GDR 1948–1952 gg.* [Christian democracy and construction of socialism in East Germany. GDR 1948–1952]. *Vestnik Cherepovetskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* [Bulletin of Cherepovets State University], 2013, no. 4 (51), vol. 1, pp. 34–37.

<sup>28</sup> See: Petelin B.V. 'KhDS v izgnanii': iz istorii Khristiansko-demokraticeskogo soiuzna Germanii ['The CDU in exile': From the history of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany]. *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia* [New and Contemporary History], 2012, no. 6, pp. 75–85.

<sup>29</sup> *The CDU held its first congress on 20–22<sup>nd</sup> October 1950 in Goslar.* Kleinmann H.-O. *Geschichte der CDU 1945–1982*, S. 126–127.

<sup>30</sup> Strauss F.J. *Op. cit.*, p. 88.

<sup>31</sup> *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Christlichen Demokratie in Deutschland*, S. 425–426.

CSU, showed dissatisfaction with the convergence with Adenauer's party, fearing for the fate of Bavaria's Christian Social Union. These understandable fears were groundless. The CDU, in opposition to the main political rival, the SPD, needed a loyal ally, which could only be the CSU itself.

The need for the factional unity of the CDU and the CSU was dictated by the creation of the Bizonal Economic Council on 24<sup>th</sup> June 1947 in Frankfurt, which began to engage itself in the economic policy.<sup>32</sup> Its first meeting was held on 21<sup>st</sup> July of the same year. Neither Adenauer nor Müller or Schumacher participated in the work of the Council, but that did not mean that they were not interested in the economic structure of West Germany. In total, 49 people from the CDU / CSU participated in the work of Economic Council in 1947–49; out of them, 15 people represented the CSU. The party disputes in the Council were acute and long-standing. The Social Democrats advocated introduction of centrally planned economy. But among the representatives of the CDU / CSU, there were firm supporters of market relations. Ludwig Erhard, 'the father of social and market economy', did not join the Council, but his views were supported in the CDU / CSU. Strauss (a participant of the Economic Council since 24<sup>th</sup> February 1948) wrote the following: "Professor Erhard was a serious scientist and a political fighter, who, like a lion, fought for his idea of social market economy"<sup>33</sup>.

From October 1947, Erhard took the most active part in the preparation of the monetary reform, leading an expert group (specifically created under the supervision of the 'control council'). However, as the Russian researcher Sergei Nevskii points out, the German version of the reform was not adopted<sup>34</sup>. As a result, the American version was implemented, the development of which was completed in 1946, and for more than two years it was kept in the strictest confidence. After the consent of the French occupation authorities to join the monetary reform, the date was set for 20<sup>th</sup> July 1948<sup>35</sup>.

The economic split in Germany factually happened; the issue of the political design for both Western and Eastern parts of Germany was on the agenda. In East Ger-

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<sup>32</sup> *The protocol on the establishment of the Council has not been preserved. See: Die CDU / CSU im Frankfurter Wirtschaftsrat: Protokolle der Unionsfraktion 1947–1949*, S. 6.

<sup>33</sup> Strauss F.J. Op. cit., p. 95. Strauss's sympathies for Erhard can also be explained by the fact that he was a 'Bavarian citizen by birth' (in 1945–46, Erhard was economics minister for Bavaria); he could join the CSU, however, he did not do so. *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Christlichen Demokratie in Deutschland*, S. 230–232.

<sup>34</sup> Nevskii S.I. *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskie reformy v poslevoennoi Zapadnoi Germanii: 1945–1949* [Socio-economic Reforms in West Germany during the Post-war Period: 1945–1949]. Moscow, 2008, p. 66–67.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p. 69.

many, this was done by the SMAG, with the help of the new party, the SED, created in 1946 from the Communists and left-wing Social Democrats. In Trizone<sup>36</sup>, representatives of the three occupying powers and the heads of government of 11 German states instructed their specialists to draft a constitution, which was to be discussed and adopted at a specially created Parliamentary Council. Strauss, who was not particularly servile to the Western Allies, primarily to the Americans, believed that the Economic and Parliamentary Councils were 'German organizations'. Of course, they were not exactly as such – the occupation status remained; however, the German politicians got a lot of freedom. Another German politician, Communist Max Reimann, wrote in his book that the Parliamentary Council did not have people's mandate, and its legitimization would be "Order No.1 of the military administrations"<sup>37</sup>. Due to the displeasure of German politicians, the word *order* was replaced by a more loyal word *recommendation*, which, however, did not change anything at all.

On 1<sup>st</sup> September 1948, the Parliamentary Council began its work in the zoological museum of the small Rhine town of Bonn. In the draft constitution prepared by the experts, the new state was proposed to be called as 'a union of German states'<sup>38</sup>. The composition of the Parliamentary Council was established based on the party principle. The CDU / CSU faction held its meeting on the eve of 31<sup>st</sup> August. Konrad Adenauer was presiding as the oldest member of the faction. At the same meeting, he was nominated as a candidate for presidency at the Parliamentary Council. On the side of Adenauer, there was a greater chance in obtaining this position than that of Kaiser or Müller. Kurt Schumacher, the leader of the Social Democrats, did not participate in the sessions of the Parliamentary Council. The CDU / CSU had 27 mandates in it, the SPD had the same number, whereas the KPD, the German Centre Party and the DRP had two mandates each. West Berlin was represented by two deputies with an advisory voice. The FDP had five mandates, and it was this liberal party that could influence the decision-making<sup>39</sup>.

The debates on the Basic Law (Constitution) in the Parliamentary Council was accompanied by sharp discussions, rebukes and accusations. The fact that the CDU / CSU faction was not so powerful revealed during the voting on 8<sup>th</sup> May 1949. The Basic Law attracted most votes, however 12 deputies (six from the CSU) voted against it. As they considered in the CSU, the project in scope did not fully consider the federal wishes of the party. "No to Basic Law, yes to Germany," Hans Ehard, the

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<sup>36</sup> After inclusion of the French zone into the British and American zones and adopting their plans and policies, the Bizonia entity became the Trizone.

<sup>37</sup> Reimann M. *Resheniia 1945–1956* [Decisions 1945–1956]. Moscow, 1975, p. 126.

<sup>38</sup> Vatlin A.Iu. Op. cit., p. 148.

<sup>39</sup> *Die CDU/CSU im Parlamentarischen Rat: Sitzungsprotokolle der Unionsfraktion*, S. 6–7.

elected Bavarian prime minister, expressed the position of the CSU. On 20<sup>th</sup> May, after hours of discussion regarding the Basic Law, the Landtag of Bavaria rejected the Germany Constitution by most votes: 101 – ‘against’, 63 – ‘for’<sup>40</sup>.

For the adoption of the Basic Law, the consent of two-thirds of the Landtags of the western states was required, so that the vote in Bavaria did not affect the result in general. On 24<sup>th</sup> May 1949, the Basic Law of the FRG came into effect. According to it, on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1949, the first elections to the Bundestag were held. 31% of the electorate voted for the CDU and the CSU, and they received 139 seats out of 402 in the Bundestag. The Christian Social Union in Bavaria delegated 24 parliamentarians to Bonn, whereas the CDU delegated 115. The parties decided to create a joint faction in the Bundestag. In addition, the CSU organized its ‘land (territorial) group’ in Bonn. The SPD won 131 seats, however it did not have any allies, and the party found itself in opposition<sup>41</sup>.

Despite the success during the election (Adenauer counted on the coalition with the FDP, however, he admitted the possibility of a ‘big coalition’ with the SPD), during the allocation of the ministerial portfolios, the clashes were no laughing matter. Within the CSU, there were even talks about breaking the alliance with the CDU, but in that case the Christian Social Union in Bavaria could lose a lot: the party remained regional. Eventually, the CSU received three ministries in the first cabinet led by Konrad Adenauer<sup>42</sup>. The chairman of the FDP, Theodor Heuss served as the President of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Until 1969, the CDU / CSU remained the ruling parties in the FRG. In 1957, during the elections to the Bundestag, they managed to get more than 50 % of the votes, which was and remains the unbeaten record for the political parties of the FRG. In the federal elections, the CSU steadily received more than 9 %, and more than 10 % of the votes during the years in opposition, 1969–1982. It goes without saying, some tension was observed between the CDU and the CSU, however the unity of the faction was threatened, in fact, once. The initiative came from Franz Joseph Strauss, who was a bright, but equally uncomfortable figure for the moderate democristians<sup>43</sup>. In the 1970s, protesting the CDU’s conciliatory position on foreign policy, Strauss announced the creation of the ‘fourth’ party in Germany, that is, transformation of the CSU into a federal party. However, this did not happen, although the threat of splitting the union with the CDU was in the air. In 1980, the CDU / CSU opted to put

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<sup>40</sup> *Geschichte einer Volkspartei. 50 Jahre CSU*, S. 155.

<sup>41</sup> *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Christlichen Demokratie in Deutschland*, S. 723.

<sup>42</sup> On 15<sup>th</sup> September 1949, Konrad Adenauer became West Germany’s first chancellor by the margin of one vote. *Adenauer K. Erinnerungen 1945–1953*, S. 231.

<sup>43</sup> Petelin B.V. Franc Jozef Shtraus [Franz Josef Strauss]. *Voprosy istorii* [Questions of History], 2000, no. 6, pp. 71–92.

forward Strauss as their 'chancellor-candidate', which influenced the unity of the faction. His defeat at the elections weakened the right wing in the CDU / CSU and helped strengthen the positions of 'moderate' figures, whose leader was Helmut Kohl.

Another attempt to promote a candidate from the CSU to the position of the Federal Chancellor was made in 2002: the Bavarian prime minister and Chairman of the CSU Edmund Stoiber became as such. However, he lost the elections to the Social Democrat Gerhard Schröder. The CSU, like the CDU, is now clearly experiencing a leadership crisis. The German Chancellor and the CDU party chair Angela Merkel, like the chairman of the CSU and the German Minister of Interior in the new government, Horst Seehofer, who earlier expressed his disagreement with the policies of the former government, simply do not see who they could hand over their party powers to. However, the situation in Germany, when new radical parties appear, contributes to the internal consolidation in the CDU / CSU.

### **Conclusion**

The long-standing union of the CDU and the CSU has proved its value. The Christian parties in the history of Germany, understanding their responsibility to the German people and, despite the inter-party differences, prevented any serious political crises in the country. An important historical event relates to these parties – the overcoming of the split in Germany, which could happen only if there was an internal factor – the consistent German policy of the CDU / CSU. Undoubtedly, the disagreements were both related to the issues of domestic and foreign policy, but this exactly what should be in the real political life. We should mention one more feature that is characteristic of the Christian parties. By belonging to the right-wing and considering themselves conservative, they meanwhile showed throughout their history the enviable adaptability to the changing conditions of development, both in Europe and worldwide. Indeed, Chancellor Merkel's migration policy has caused tensions between the parties. The Chairman of the CSU Horst Seehofer defiantly criticized such a policy. He showed independence in relation to Russia. However, the factional conflict that was growing inside was settled, and the migration policy was adjusted. The future of the CDU / CSU is directly related to the existence of the entire political party system in Germany. In Europe, there are already examples when the parties formed after World War II were dissolved or transformed into new associations and

movements. It is not impossible that this might happen in Germany as well. The Christian parties are no longer the same, even in their names<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> The CDU has long been discussing the change of the name of the party, since the denomination of confessionality “discourages” those voters, who are not Christians. See: Resing V. *Die Kanzler-Maschine. Wie die CDU funktioniert*. Freiburg, 2013, S. 173–174.

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For citation: Petelin B. CDU/CSU: From the history of the alliance of two German parties. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 62–74. DOI: 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-4

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# DISCUSSION PLATFORM 'REFLECTIONS OF A HISTORIAN'

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## Actual topic. Professional opinion

UDC 94

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### **MERKEL 4.0 IS REALITY!**

Angela Merkel succeeded again! On Sunday, 4<sup>th</sup> March 2018, the results of the voting in the SPD became known. The ordinary members of the party (and there are more than 463,000 people) voted for an alliance with the CDU / CSU headed by Angela Merkel, i.e. for the formation of the government with the CDU / CSU-SPD. Thus, Germany still has a 'big coalition' for another four years. There are no other options. In any case, for now. According to the coalition agreement, the CDU and SPD will receive six ministerial portfolios. Another three ministries were 'won' by the CSU representatives. One can congratulate Angela Merkel: she went a long way towards surpassing the mark of Konrad Adenauer's tenure in office (14 years) and is aiming for the record of Helmut Kohl (16 years).

When Angela Merkel had just come to power, and I was asked as a specialist about my impressions of the new German chancellor, I tried to avoid giving any straightforward characteristics, which obviously gravitated towards negative for both objective reasons and subjective perceptions. And, in fact, what did I know about the rival Gerhard Schröder in the early parliamentary elections in 2005, except for what the press wrote, and for my observation of the CDU candidate at a small pre-election rally in the center of Hamburg, where I happened to attend and listen to her frankly boring speech? The comparison with another candidate – the 'Green' politician Joschka Fisher and even more with the media favorite, the social democrat Gerhard Schroeder, was clearly not in favor of 'Angie', as Merkel is fondly called in Germany.

But the time went by, many things have changed, however only Merkel remained in power: the second chancellery, then the third, and I had to radically reconsider my attitude to this, no doubt, phenomenon of German post-war politics.

Angela Dorothea Merkel (nee Kasner) made an amazing career in the united Germany. She was born on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1954 in Hamburg and was the third child in the family. Shortly after her birth, she moved with her mother to the east, to Brandenburg (town of Templin) to live with her father, who, as a Protestant parish priest later headed the seminary. Throughout her conscious experience, the girl grew up and received her education in the GDR. She can speak Russian. At the age of 14, whilst still a schoolgirl, she visited Moscow in 1968. Having won the Olympiad in Russian, as a prize, she got the opportunity to go to the USSR with the 'Friendship Train'. Receiving the chairman of the CDU in the Kremlin in February 2002 (two years earlier Merkel led the party), Vladimir Putin happily remarked that Angela Merkel was one of the few German politicians with whom one could foster dialogue in Russian. Merkel expressed her readiness to win the language Olympiad at any time again. At the press conference after the meeting, answering journalists' questions, she expressed her conviction that among all the political forces represented in the Bundestag there was consensus on the need for partnership with Russia.

After graduation in 1973, she entered the University of Leipzig, where she studied Physics, then from 1978 to 1990 she worked at the Central Institute of Physical Chemistry, Academy of Sciences of the GDR. In 1986, the PhD thesis defense on quantum chemistry took place.

Whilst studying at university, she married her classmate Ulrich Merkel, and they lived for five years together. After the reunification of Germany, on 30<sup>th</sup> December 1998, she married Joachim Sauer, a professor of Chemistry at Humboldt University of Berlin. She does not have any children.

Merkel got interested in politics during the collapse of the GDR in 1989, becoming a member of the strongly pronounced Protestant opposition organization 'Democratic Awakening', which later merged with the CDU. In 1990, she joined the CDU and was the official representative (deputy spokesperson) of the Lothar de Maiziere Government Program. She was a rapid career climber. She was spotted by Chancellor Kohl at the first all-German election in 1990, when Merkel was sent to the Bundestag. The Chancellor appointed her the Federal Minister for Women and Youth. In many ways, this was the reason why the 'social climber from the former GDR' began to be called "Kohl's girl (protégée)". After the parliamentary elections in 1994, Merkel received a new appointment, becoming Federal Minister for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety. In 1991–98, she was Deputy Chairman of the

CDU. Since 1993, she was appointed Chairman of the CDU in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania.

After losing the elections by CDU / CSU in 1998 and the scandalous departure of Helmut Kohl from politics, Merkel became the CDU's secretary general. Even in 2000, she was Chairman of the party, and in 2002 she headed the CDU / CSU fraction in the Bundestag. After the defeat of Bavaria's premier and CSU chairman Edmund Stoiber in the 2002 parliamentary elections, Merkel managed to restore the shaken authority of the Christian democrats and became a real candidate in the next parliamentary elections. She had no rivals.

One should agree that in 2005, Angela Merkel was obviously inferior to Schröder. Most voters did not doubt the "seriousness of her character", but firstly, she was a WOMAN (!), down to earth in appearance, and in addition a representative of the CDU / CSU bloc, where the processes of emancipation began relatively recently in comparison with the left party wing. Moreover, she was as a 'pupil' fostered in the former socialist GDR (I recall her membership in the pioneer organization and the union of Free German Youth) and now the so-called "new eastern lands", still strikingly different from the Western states, primarily in routines, habits and mentality. I think that many voters did not imagine the future leader of their nation being like that, although one must admit that appearance does not play a decisive role for the Germans.

Secondly, Merkel did not possess oratory skills, which are either a raw talent or are acquired by persistent training during public warfare with the opponents. And in general, it should be noted here that 'Angie' was the only candidate for chancellor who did not have humanitarian (primarily legal) education. Unlike the lawyer Konrad Adenauer, economist Ludwig Erhard, lawyer Kurt Georg Kiesinger, historian and journalist Willy Brandt, political scientist and economist Helmut Schmidt, historian and political scientist Helmut Kohl, lawyer Gerhard Schröder, Angela Merkel was in our understanding a pure 'technician' who needed to grow and thrive in the eyes of many people before thorough understanding of the socio-political and state-national tasks.

Thirdly, she did not develop the same charisma as the 'media chancellor' Schröder. In the television confrontation Schröder-Merkel, which gathered 21 million viewers, according to the voters, the candidate from the CDU won, no contest.

Fourthly, during the election campaign, Merkel made an unpopular slogan of the income tax equation for everyone and raising the rate to 25%. Nevertheless, the CDU / CSU won 'by a close shave', and on 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2005, 50-year-old A. Merkel

was elected chancellor, becoming the youngest head of government in the history of the FRG.

Having obtained an appointment as head of the coalition government in the CDU / CSU and the SPD and having received such coveted power, Angela Merkel proved that she wanted, but most importantly, could successfully learn to be a leader not only on the national but also on the global scale. The composition of the new cabinet and the first steps of the chancellor testified to the continuity of the domestic and foreign policy of the 'big coalition', which was finally approved by the population. The surveys conducted on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2005, showed that 35 % of the citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany approved the activity of the CDU / CSU bloc and 41 % approved the activity of the chancellor. 6 % of respondents rated Angela Merkel's policy as 'excellent', 35 % as 'good' and 39 % as 'satisfactory'. Thus, the line of development for the Federal Republic of Germany was determined. It was necessary to strive for a breakthrough in the economy (unemployment under Schröder exceeded the limit of five million people) and stabilize the situation inside the country. The economic success was to secure a higher place for Germany among other developed countries of the world so that the slogan 'Model-Germany' once again sounded proudly in the world politics. This was the beginning of Merkel 1.0, still 'Kohl's girl'.

During four years in government, Merkel managed to achieve several positive changes in the country's economy. The labor market reforms started in 2003, a high level of external demand, especially for machinery, automotive, chemical and electrical products, led to the gradual recovery of economic growth, significant reduction in unemployment (if in March 2005 the rate stood at five million people, then in October 2008, the number of unemployed reached its minimum – three million 178 thousand people), increase in tax revenues and reduction in the deficit of the consolidated budget.

The chancellor was an undoubted success on the international arena. Here, one could observe the expected strengthening of the Atlantic vector and the 'post-Schröder thaw' in the German-American relations. Angela Merkel established a trusting relationship with George W. Bush, who spoke of the German woman as a 'charming person'. The positive changes in the bilateral relations, including at the top level (I note that for three years, Merkel and Bush met 13 times, including five times in Germany), had an impact on improving the mutual perception. According to the sociological surveys conducted in America in April 2007, 39 % of respondents spoke positively about Germany, whereas in April 2003 the figure was only 17 %.

As part of the 'big coalition', Germany successfully chaired the 'Group of Eight', initiating the 'Heiligendamm Process', the essence of which was to attract the rapidly growing countries of the 'Third World' to the work of the G8. Thanks to Angela Merkel's personal efforts, diligence and perseverance, the idea of creating the 'Group of Twenty' was put into effect under the conditions of the crisis outbreak in the world finances and economics crisis by that moment. When Germany assumed the presidency of the Council of the EU, they made efforts to overcome the constitutional and structural crisis in the European Union. Paying tribute to the professional tact, diligence and endurance of Angel Merkel, who whilst playing the 'European poker', placed unusual stakes in the sphere of domestic policy, where the analysts noted that the German presidency at least paved the way for the necessary institutional reforms in the EU – the elaboration on interpretation and ratification of the Lisbon Treaty. Indeed, Germany could easily and quickly solve its financial problems.

Despite the forecasts of the international expert community, the dialogue between Russia and Germany was not forgotten and did not lose its relevance; on the contrary, it was stable and was characterized by upward trends. Surprisingly, Angela Merkel continued the course taken by Schröder, however, supplemented it with the topics regarding the human rights. She agreed to the construction of 'Nord Stream', despite the objections of Poland. In the US, Merkel defended the notion that without the participation of Moscow, the Iranian problem would not be resolved, and the Middle East issue would not be settled. In Berlin, they were convinced that without cooperation with Russia, it was impossible to warrant the security of Europe and Germany accordingly. Not least of all owing to the position of the FRG, it was possible to solve the issue of providing grants by the Monetary Award Program (MAP) to Georgia and Ukraine at the meeting of NATO foreign ministers in December 2008, as well as to resume the activities of the NATO-Russia Council (NRC) suspended by the Americans after the Russo-Georgian War in the South Caucasus.

The 'big coalition' of the new millennium has proved itself in the eyes of the world community as a guarantor of the continuity, stable and reliable foreign policy of the united Germany. In the Merkel-Steinmeier tandem, the two leaders of the conflicting but co-operating major parties of the country successfully complement each other, showing political correctness and playing by the rules of a complex coalition game. There were inter-party differences between Merkel and Steinmeier, but nevertheless they were united in terms of their foreign policy, where it was necessary not to lose the authority that their homeland, be it east, as the chancellor fancied, or the west, as her vice did, developed in the bipolar world and stayed on in the post-bipolar one.

The German people appreciated the success of the 'big coalition', at least much higher than the activities of the 'red-green' alliance and even more than the bond between the CDU / CSU-FDP that followed in 2009. A year before the expiry of the term of her office, the activity of Chancellor Merkel's foreign policy was positively assessed by 76 % of Germans, 84 % of French, 53 % of Englishmen, 51 % of Spaniards and even 45 % of Poles.

2009 was the appearance in Germany of Merkel 2.0, who changed both internally and externally, got wiser, more experienced politically and trying on the role of the 'mother of the nation'. Not without reason that she had a portrait of Catherine II on her desk in the executive office of the German Chancellery, and her favorite expression was "I would like to become a federal chancellor for all Germans ..."

The convincing victory of the Free Democratic Party in the parliamentary elections (14.6 %) made it possible to terminate the 'marriage of convenience' with the Social Democrats and create the accustomed Christian-liberal coalition. On 28<sup>th</sup> October, Merkel was elected Chancellor of Germany again. The chairman of the FDP, Guido Westerwelle, was appointed Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister, which was a forced, but obviously unsuccessful choice of the leader of the CDU.

The influential German edition of 'The Financial Times Deutschland' wrote in this regard: "Merkel II is 'terribly' like Merkel I. If someone thought that with the change of the coalition partner, the chancellor would change the style or content, or both, then observing the coalition they realized that they were obviously mistaken. Patience, caution and unhurriedness, characteristic to Merkel's previous chancellery, were not related to the peculiarities of the 'big coalition'. They are Merkel's essence. "Success in the elections," the newspaper went on, "further strengthened her system of cautious insurance against any danger. It was this system that sent her to the powerful Olympus. And the Chancellor defends this power, putting weak ministers around her with a rare exception. However, power in a democratic environment should not be an end in itself"<sup>1</sup>.

The psychological portrait of Merkel, which some American diplomats provided, is quite interesting. It became known after publishing of a secret document of the US State Department by WikiLeaks: "Merkel is methodical, rational and pragmatic. In complex situations, she acts decisively, but on the whole, seeks not to risk and is rarely creative. She is known for her reluctance to participate in high-profile political de-

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<sup>1</sup> For more details see: Pavlov N.V. Politicheskoe liderstvo v usloviakh kantslerskoi demokratii [Political leadership under the conditions of Chancellery democracy]. *Mirovaia ekonomika i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia* [World Economy and International Relations], 2011, no. 11, pp. 25–38.

bates and prefers to keep in the background until the balance of power becomes known, so that later she could channel the debate into the necessary route"<sup>2</sup>. Merkel sees her participation in the international affairs through the prism of advantages that she can gain for herself in the internal affairs. Among the American diplomats, Merkel has enjoyed the image of the 'Teflon Chancellor'. It is understood that this would be given to a politician who knows how 'to get off with a whole skin'.

It is known that having received the long-awaited power, it is very difficult to part with it. Most German politicians fought for the Chancellor's office to the end, defending their rights primarily within their own party, except for Konrad Adenauer, who had an indisputable authority among the Christian democrats and concentrated all the levers of power in his hands. In this respect, 'Angie' was influenced, apparently, by the example of Adenauer, deeply revered by the current chancellor, and the observations gleaned from the former 'showcase of socialism', where career growth was largely secured by the 'elimination'<sup>3</sup> of rivals. In any case, the 'man of power' Angela Merkel did everything at the party level to protect herself from competition with potentially promising politicians. She is regularly re-elected at the party congresses as chairman, and the governing bodies include her trustees and protégés, thus strengthening her positions. As a result, the party is under her complete personal control. In Germany, they even started talking about the final 'Merkelisation' of the CDU. Allegedly, nothing remained from the old "West German conservative men's party".

This result is natural. Within 18 years of chairmanship in the CDU, 'Angie' skillfully cleared the inner-party space, one way or another and step by step getting rid of their opponents. Thus, the former chairman of the CDU / CSU faction in the Bundestag, Friedrich Merz was squeezed out from the leading positions in the party. One of the main Merkel's inner-party competitors, now the former Prime Minister of Hessen and deputy chairman of the CDU, Roland Koch in May 2010 announced his resignation from politics and retired from all responsibilities. At the same time, the CDU lost North Rhine-Westphalia during the parliamentary elections. This fact marked the end of the political career of another charismatic Christian democrat, the Prime Minister of Germany's most densely-populated state and deputy chairman of the party Jürgen Rüttgers. The fourth 'heavyweight' Christian Wulff left the ranks of the CDU after he had been elected President of the Federal Republic of Germany in June 2010 because

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<sup>2</sup> Seliverstova N. 'Teflonovaia' Angela Merkel' ['Teflon' Angela Merkel]. *Upravlenie personalom* [Human Resource Management]. Available at: <http://www.top-personal.ru/issue.html?3991> (Date of access: 15.01.2018)

<sup>3</sup> In this case, the term 'elimination' is used in a figurative sense.

of the non-party status of the head of the state. Experts suggested that even during the discussion of the candidates, Angel Merkel put Wulff in the presidency to neutralize a serious political opponent represented by him. His political career also ended quickly, although for other reasons.

In 2009-13, Angela Merkel's government managed to cope with internal and external challenges overall. The situation on the labor market continued to improve, an active policy was implemented to protect the nature and climate, improve energy efficiency, which was affected by the accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant. The foreign policy did not change fundamentally. The scale of its priorities remained unchanged. But in the German-Russian relations, new tendencies emerged. Saying goodbye to the prospects of modernization associated with Dmitry Medvedev's presidency in Russia, German politicians did the same with the 'strategic partnership' between Germany and Russia. In the coalition agreement between the CDU / CSU and the FDP, its 'strategic' nature was accordingly forgotten, and Moscow began to occupy the position of a merely 'important partner' in solving regional and global problems. At the same time, special emphasis was placed on the existing 'deficiencies' in Russia around human rights, statehood and democracy. In fact, the German-Russian relations moved into a phase of cold pragmatics. In Germany, it was considered that there was no point in building a 'special relationship' with Russia, rather the policy of sanctions would bring greater benefits, as by doing so Russia would finally be forced out of Europe. At the same time, the government of Merkel does not refuse to receive imports of hydrocarbon fuel from Russia, although open to the idea of finding a replacement.

At the third election in 2013, the 'Mother' (as Angela Merkel began to be called in the mass media) went without having a worthy opponent, and therefore was destined to succeed ahead of the game. The German citizens credited her for the fact that she led Germany through the crisis better than all the other European leaders did. The country documented record-low unemployment. During the debt crisis recovery, Merkel showed sound national egoism. Whilst keeping solidarity with the EU, she opposed the 'communalization' of the debts of the struggling economies. Finally, people in Germany evaluated their own economic situation as good in general, especially in comparison with their neighbors in the eurozone. It is noteworthy that even most of economically disadvantaged Germans with incomes not exceeding one and a half thousand euros a month per family believed that they were living better rather than badly. "The Germans love Merkel for being the same as we are," the newspaper commentators emphasized. They are not seeking to leave well enough alone, they do not change horses in the midstream – this was the essence of the pre-election tactic of

the virtually single option candidate from the ruling party. If the German Chancellor were elected by popular choice, then the chairman of the CDU and the leader of the nation would be supported by 54 % of voters, whilst the candidate from the SPD, former Minister of Finance (2005–09) and the deputy chairman of the party Peer Steinbrück enjoyed only 26 %. These elections were those of Angela Merkel personally. It was the desire for stability that played into the hands of the Chancellor.

“After eight years as Chancellor,” the online edition of *Spiegel-online* noted, “she remains an amazingly strong politician. Merkel gradually deprived her political opponents of their most important topics: more social justice, less tax burden for families, end conscription campaign, a policy of non-interference in the Conflicts in Libya and Syria, transition to renewable energy sources. On paper, the coalition that ruled Germany in the last four years is conservative-liberal. In practice, she often embedded the ideas of the Social Democrats, and sometimes – those of ‘The Greens’. Pure pragmatism – this is the principle of Merkel. And it is popular!

For Merkel, and, obviously for her supporters, it would not have been a problem if she continued her political course in the ‘big coalition’, that is, in alliance with the Social Democrats. Moreover, with the help of such a partner as the SPD, she would be able to resist the Bundesrat – the representation of the federal states, the majority in which was obtained by the Social Democrats and the Greens. Because of this, the adoption of many important government decisions was blocked. And the ‘big coalition 2.0’ in the united Germany became a reality because of the failure of the Free Democrats to enter the Bundestag. And again, as before, record numbers were achieved for the value of export-import commodity transactions and a positive foreign trade balance, which turned out to be the highest in the world. Employment improved, unemployment dropped and the flow of labor from other countries increased (especially from Bulgaria, Poland, Romania and Croatia). The average annual number of people out of work was less than two million, for the first time since the reunification of Germany. In 2015, Germany’s GDP grew by another 1.7 %, in 2016 – by 1.9 %, and in 2017 – by another 2.2 %. From 2014 to 2016, inflation did not exceed 1 %.

According to *Forbes* magazine, Angela Merkel was on the list of ‘100 most influential women in the world’ 12 times (data suggestive of 2017) and 11 times took the lead in the Forbes list. The determining factors in this case would be the influence in financial and economic circles and the media community, as well as career achievements.

The ‘strength test’ of Merkel’s government turned out to be the problem with refugees. The migration wave that rolled into Europe in 2015, provoking a ‘solidarity

crisis' within the EU, had an important impact on the economic and political processes in the FRG. The country, in which the share of the population 'with a migration background' (origin) is 20.5 % (16.5 million people), was forced to accept within one year of 2015 alone 1.1 million refugees, of which about half a million people were seeking asylum (this was twice more than in 2014). The main influx came from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. Angela Merkel, assessing the situation, came out with the slogan "We can do it!", however it had only short-term effect. In the country, there was a strong psychological pressure on the population, among which the right-wing radical sentiments were quite evident. The number of skeptics who believed that Germany would not manage with the challenges of integration and would not be able to favor the assimilation of refugees amounted to 54%. As a result, on 28<sup>th</sup> January 2016, the government adopted the National Integration Plan, which was intended to reduce the number of arriving immigrants; to integrate effectively into the German society for those people who would have the right to stay in Germany by creating special programs for different refugee groups and enforcement of such programs. It was also planned to create a rigid mechanism for monitoring these conditions and, in case of their non-fulfillment, to deport the perpetrators. Since 2016, there has been a drop in the number of illegal migrants from 890,000 in 2015 to 280,000 in 2016. However, in general, the problem remained unresolved.

It was Merkel's migration policy that became the main reason for the CDU / CSU and SPD loss in the parliamentary elections in 2017 and getting into the Bundestag of the populist 'Alternative for Germany' party. After the hard-bitten declared decision of the Social Democrats to go into opposition, it might seem that the question arose regarding formation of a multi-party government of the so-called 'Jamaica coalition' (due to the colors of the national flag), which would significantly complicate the development and adoption of decisions regarding the key issues of domestic and foreign policy of the country. During the preliminary consultations, it was possible to remove a significant part of the contradictions between the natural antagonists – Alliance 90 / The Greens and the Christian Social Union in Bavaria. But then, the historically preferred partner of the Christian democrats, the Free Democratic Party, led by the new young and ambitious chairman Christian Lindner, with the image of macho and playboy, 'gave a kick'. The Jamaica alliance disintegrated. A fundamental question was placed on the agenda: would Merkel's political career come to an end or whether there is hope for Merkel 4.0.

It seemed that there were extraordinary elections around the corner, but the president, formerly one of the leaders of the SPD, intervened, and insisted that the Social Democrats headed by Martin Schultz withdrew their decisive 'no' and sit down at the

negotiating table for the continuation of the 'big coalition'. The negotiations resulted in the coordination of the coalition agreement and the allocation of seats in the future government. At the end of February, i.e. in fact within five months after the elections to the Bundestag, the CDU party congress voted to sign an agreement with the Social Democrats on the formation of a new coalition government. It was still for the SPD to decide, and their leadership put the question to a vote of the ordinary Social Democrats.

Finally, the matter was resolved. The Social Democrats made a positive decision. A 'yes' was voted in favor of the 'big coalition'. And now it does not matter whether she will rule full term or whether the coalition will disintegrate in two years due to inconsistencies in its stands. The main thing is that Angela Merkel remains Chancellor of Germany and Chairman of the Christian Democratic Union. It is true, they are not entirely satisfied with the distribution of individual cabinet positions in the CSU, however the 'fraternal' party can wait. Now Angela Merkel has a 'pause in the fighting' to demonstrate pragmatism and decide on her successor as head of the government and the party leader. There is little time left, but there will be no other chance. Merkel 5.0 is a pure fiction!

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For citation: Pavlov N. Merkel 4.0 is a reality! *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 75–85.

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# THE HISTORIANS' HISTORIANS

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DOI 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-5  
UDC 930.2:94(430)

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## The history of Russia and Germany in the destiny of the German academic

*In memory of Bernd Bonwetsch*

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*Annotation.* The subject of the article is the collaboration of the German historian Bernd Bonwetsch, head of the Department of East European history of the Ruhr-University Bochum (Germany), subsequently the founding director of the German Historical Institute Moscow, with Kemerovo State University and the regional public organization West Siberian Center for German Studies (Kemerovo) until the death of the scientist in 2017. The center, created in 1999, united historians-Germanists and lecturers of the universities in Western Siberia. The interaction of Bernd Bonwetsch with the University and the West Siberian Center for German Studies (ZSTSGI) was unique in both format and form. Unique in the sense that this center and Kemerovo University are in the region very remote from Moscow, and at the same time one-of-a-kind in terms of intensity and variety of cooperation. The author of the article tries for the first time to outline the role and significance of the activity of the German scientist *in* and *for* the Russian province, to acquaint the reader with the evaluations and the judgments of the professor on the most important issues in the history of Russia and Germany in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The sources for the article were Bonwetsch's published findings on his family, the German Wikipedia, Bonwetsch's notes on people and their destinies, his published articles based on the materials of the conferences organized by ZSTSGI, as well as meetings and discussions with the author.

*Keywords:* professor, Bonwetsch, Galaktionov, West Siberian Center for German Studies (ZSTSGI), cooperation, conference, 'school', tutorial (study guide), totalitarianism, democracy, overcoming the past

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*"Historians contribute to the formation of collective memory of the society"*  
Bernd Bonwetsch

The German historian Bernd Bonwetsch belongs to the post-war generation. Born in West Berlin, he well remembered the blockade of the city in 1948, when he, together with other boys, observed the planes of the Berlin airlift when the Western Allies carried supplies of food along with other cargoes. The boys called them 'sweet planes'.

Bernd Bonwetsch came from a family of German ancestors who came to Russia in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century but retained his German citizenship. It was a large group of several families who lived in different regions. The Bonwetsch family lived in Saratov province. At the beginning of World War I, the family was forced to sell its agricultural machinery business and return to Germany. They settled in Berlin, where Bernd was born in 1940 in the family of the engineer Kurt Bonwetsch<sup>1</sup>. At home, they never spoke Russian, and Bernd decided to study Slavic and Russian history on his own. From 1962 to 1967, he studied history and comparative pedagogy and completed a course in Slavic studies at the University of Hamburg and the Free University of Berlin. In 1968–69, he completed a course at Stanford University in California, studying the principles of archival science.

In 1972, Bernd Bonwetsch defended his thesis (Promotion) in Hamburg and since 1973 began his scientific and pedagogical activities, first at the Institute for Eastern European History and Area Studies at the University of Tübing, and then from 1980 to 2003, he was the long-time head of the Department of East European History at Ruhr-University Bochum. From 2003 to 2008, he was the founder and director of the German Historical Institute Moscow<sup>2</sup>.

The subject of his scientific interests was mainly related to the history of Russia – the imperial, Soviet and post-Soviet periods. This research of Russia unfolded in line with the German socially critical school of the 70-80s in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Bonwetsch was concerned with the economic aspects of Russia's participation in the military-political alliance of the Entente, the interrelationship between the domestic policy and the Cold War<sup>3</sup>.

Bonwetsch came for the first time to the Soviet Union, to Moscow, in the Soviet times, participating in the international congress of historians in 1980, where he met some Soviet historians of Russia. During perestroika, his circle of acquaintances expanded "from young employees of the Russian Academy of Sciences to the most



<sup>1</sup> Bonwetsch B. *Mit und ohne Rußland. Eine familiengeschichtliche Spurensuche*. Essen, 2017. 168 S.

<sup>2</sup> Available at: [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernd\\_Bonwetsch](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernd_Bonwetsch). Date of access 15.02.2018.

<sup>3</sup> Bonwetsch B. *Kriegsallianz und Wirtschaftsinteressen. Die Stellung Rußlands in den Wirtschaftsplänen Englands und Frankreichs 1914–1917*. Düsseldorf. 1973; Bonwetsch B. *Kalter Krieg als Innenpolitik. Zu innenpolitischen Bedingungen des Ost-West-Konflikts nach 1945*; F. Quarthal, W. Setzler (Hg.), *Stadtverfassung, Verfassungsstaat, Pressepolitik*. Sigmaringen, 1980, pp. 230–249.

venerable academicians, such as Alexander Samsonov and Pavel Volobuev<sup>4</sup>. However, at that time, this acquaintance could not result in any real cooperation with the Russian colleagues: the socio-political atmosphere prevented the openness of a professional dialogue. Such an opportunity only emerged after the construction of post-Soviet Russia statehood and began to develop further.



L.N. Korneva, Bernd Bonwetsch, Elsa-Marie (wife of Bernd Bonwetsch), 2015.

The accumulation of historical records in the archives, as well as the visit to the Soviet Union and participation in the congress, pushed the scientist to the engagement with the Russian revolutionary movement. In 1991, he published his monograph 'The Russian Revolution of 1917. Social history from the liberation of peasants in 1861 to the October Revolution of 1917'<sup>5</sup>. Separate chapters of his book are devoted to the individual social strata and groups of the Russian population, whose economic and political circumstances pushed them towards revolutionary violence and ultimately predetermined the Bolshevik coup. The book was written not only based on the American archives, which were mainly used by the Western historians who wrote about Russia. Bonwetsch became one of the first German authors, who managed to work in the Russian archives during the perestroika years. He remembered with surprise and at the same time with gratitude the opportunity given to him to use the materials of the Soviet central archives. In addition, in his book, he relied on the materi-

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<sup>4</sup> Bonwetsch B. *Nemetsko-russkoe sotrudnichestvo. V pamiat' Yurii Galaktionova. Natsional-socializm v Germanii: problemy izuchenii i preodoleniia: Izbrannye trudy* [German-Russian cooperation. In memory of Yuri Galaktionov. National Socialism in Germany: Problems of Study and Overcoming: Selected Works]. Kemerovo, 2006, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Bonwetsch B. *Die russische Revolution 1917. Eine Sozialgeschichte von der Bauernbefreiung 1861 bis zum Oktoberumsturz*. Darmstadt, 1991.

als of the studies of Marxist historians, not in everything, of course, however agreeing with their judgments and conclusions.

In the post-Soviet period, Bonwetsch participated for the first time in the German-Russian conference held far from the Russian 'capitals'. This happened in the summer of 1992 in the Urals, in Sverdlovsk. "The city itself exactly a year ago," recalled Bernd, "was renamed to Ekaterinburg and was opened to foreigners"<sup>6</sup>. The conference was devoted to World War II. He noted that the milestone event of the conference was the discussion about the fate of prisoners of war on both sides. The judgment of Bonwetsch that, in earlier times, the fate of prisoners of war was a grey spot in the history of the Soviet Union (especially German prisoners of war – *L.K.*), and that in Germany, this subject became the subject of research relatively late, is well-grounded. His report on the topic 'Soviet prisoners of war between Stalin and Hitler' invited a discussion among the participants of the conference.

Bonwetsch noted that the reports and speeches of the participants were prepared in a different mood. The work of the conference was covered in the local press. New by implication, was the program of acquaintance with the city and its public organizations: the participants visited the location of the remains of the royal family, the camp of German prisoners of war restored by the volunteers, met members of the society 'Memorial' and other public organizations. "For us, Germans," he wrote, "it was an interesting and touching experience. The event associated with the adoption of the resolution against the growing right-wing radical trends in the Russian society was extraordinary"<sup>7</sup>.

This conference was significant for the Germanists of Western Siberia, as well as Bernd Bonwetsch's acquaintance with the Tomsk researcher of German history, senior lecturer at Tomsk State university, the oldest university in Siberia, N.S. Cherkasov<sup>8</sup>. By that time, he was one of the leading German historians of the Urals and had prepared several PhD students (candidates of sciences) who worked at the historical departments of Tomsk, Novosibirsk, Kemerovo and Altai universities (Barnaul). In fact, this was the already established 'Siberian school' of historians-Germanists. Particularly significant was the acquaintance of Bonwetsch with the Doctor of Historical Sciences, Professor Yuri Vladimirovich Galaktionov, head of the Department of Modern and Contemporary History at Kemerovo State University, an

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<sup>6</sup> Bonwetsch B. *Nemetsko-russkoe sotrudnichestvo. V pamiat' Yurii Galaktionova. Natsional-socializm v Germanii: problemy izuchenii i preodolenii: Izbrannye trudy* [German-Russian cooperation. In memory of Yuri Galaktionov. National Socialism in Germany: Problems of Study and Overcoming: Selected Works]. Kemerovo, 2006, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Cherkasov N.S. *O germanskom fashizme i antifashistskom Soprotivlenii: Izbrannye trudy* [On German Fascism and Anti-Fascist Resistance: Selected Works]. Tomsk, 2006.

expert in the historiography of Nazism<sup>9</sup>. It was since this meeting that Bonwetsch's cooperation with the Siberian historians started; lasting until his death in October 2017.

At a meeting in Yekaterinburg, Yu.V. Galaktionov invited Bonwetsch to visit Kuzbass, Kemerovo State University, to deliver a series of lectures on the history of Russia and Germany to their students. The proposal was accepted, and "at the end of August 1993, with heavy luggage and slight fear, I packed my things and started on a journey into the unknown," Bernd wrote<sup>10</sup>.

That month spent in Kuzbass, which was very intent for the professor, left a positive impression. He agreed with Galaktionov to continue their cooperation. This idea was readily supported by the Rector of Kemerovo State University, Doctor of Chemical Sciences, Professor Yu.A. Zakharov. The plan for cooperation put into shape. It is interesting that on his way back home, Bernd found himself in Moscow amid the events of the so-called 'tank assault on the Russian White House' on 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1993 and witnessed the armed political clashes. The German professor was shocked not only by the events, but also by the fact that it was 'right place, right time', which for him, as a historian, was an impressive fact.

The interaction developed gradually. A significant fact was the official inclusion in 1997 of the cooperation plan between the universities of Bochum and Kemerovo into the three-year 'Alexander-Herzen-Programm' of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD). The main role in promoting the plan in Germany was played, of course, by Bernd Bonwetsch. On 5<sup>th</sup> November 1998, the cooperation agreement was concluded. Within the framework of this program, students, postgraduates and teachers exchanged information. Preparation and defense of several candidate (PhD) and doctoral dissertations became possible and more profound.

Bernd Bonwetsch and Yu.V. Galaktionov were determined to go beyond the cooperation that envisaged contacts between only two universities. The idea was ripening on publishing an academic textbook generalizing the ideas on the history of Germany from the ancient times until the present day, at the same time resting upon the scientific potential of other Siberian historians, as well as the intention to attract more German researchers to participate in the cooperation. Thus, the idea was born of the

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<sup>9</sup> Galaktionov Yu.V., Korneva L.N., Cherkasov N.S. *Marksistskaia istoriografiia germanskogo fashizma* [Marxist Historiography of German Fascism]. Kemerovo, 1988; Galaktionov Yu.V. *Germanskii fashizm v zerkale istoriografii 20–40-kh gg. Novoe prochtenie* [German Fascism in the Mirror of Historiography of the 20–40s. New Perspective]. Kemerovo, 1996; Galaktionov Yu.V. *Natsional-socializm v Germanii: problemy izuchenii i preodoleniia: Izbrannye trudy* [National Socialism in Germany: Problems of Study and Overcoming: Selected Works]. Kemerovo, 2006.

<sup>10</sup> Bonwetsch B. Nemetsko-russkoe sotrudnichestvo. V pamiat' Yurii Galaktionova. *Natsional-socializm v Germanii: problemy izuchenii i preodoleniia: Izbrannye trudy* [German-Russian Cooperation. In memory of Yuri Galaktionov. National Socialism in Germany: Problems of Study and Overcoming: Selected Works]. Kemerovo, 2006, p. 10.

creation in Kemerovo of a public regional organization 'West Siberian Center for German Studies' (ZSTSOGI), initiated by Yu.V. Galaktionov and Bernd Bonwetsch. The 'Center' brought together scientists and university teachers from four regional cities in Western Siberia: Kemerovo, Barnaul, Novosibirsk and Tomsk. At the foundation conference of 'Zapsibtsentr' in the spring of 1999, the delegates unanimously elected Professor Yu.V. Galaktionov as chairman. The creation of the ZSTSOGI contributed to the decision of the DAAD to support the cooperation of Bochum-Kemerovo for another two years and gave the chance to start work on the book project related to the history of Germany.

The idea of creating a textbook was put forward by Russian teachers regarding the fact that there was no generalizing massive educational edition on German history in Russia. Initially Bernd Bonwetsch and some of his Russian colleagues suggested simply translating some German textbook, but the 'Zapsibists' managed to convince their opponents, including Bonwetsch, that the work on implementation of that major project would, firstly, rally the members of the ZSTSOGI; secondly, it would give an opportunity to work in-depth with the German materials and improve language training, and thirdly, it would significantly improve the qualifications of teachers working far from Russian and in general European capitals. The novelty of the proposal was also in the fact that the training manual in a special volume was to include a substantial package of documents and materials of fundamental nature for each stage in German history.<sup>11</sup>

Yu.V. Galaktionov and Bernd Bonwetsch did a lot of preparatory work, understanding that such a large project would take several years to complete, and that it can be implemented only through collective efforts, based on the cooperation of Russian and German scientists. Because of these efforts, in 2000, the consent of the Volkswagen Foundation (Volkswagen Stiftung) was obtained to finance the ZSTSOGI project within the framework of the program 'Joint Paths to Europe'. The twelve co-authors of the learning guide were given the opportunity to study in Germany to study and select the sources and get acquainted with the recent German publications.

During the preparation of the textbook, four 'authorial' conferences were held, in which the authors, individually and in conjunction with the German historians, discussed the concept and structure of the textbook, the plans and summaries of the chapters. Bernd Bonwetsch took the most active part in these conferences. They did a great job to attract a large pool of German historians at the Ruhr-University Bochum to review the chapters of the textbook at various stages of the project. On the Russian side, Yu.V. Galaktionov brought in the leading Russian scientists-Germanists to discuss the textbook. In general, it should be emphasized that without the close rapport of Galaktionov and Bonwetsch, the project could not have been implemented.

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<sup>11</sup> *Istoriya Germanii: ucheb. posobie dlia studentov vuzov: v 3 t.* [History of Germany: Study guide for graduate students in three volumes]. Kemerovo, 2005; Moscow, 2008.

A separate matter in Bernd Bonwetsch's cooperation with the Siberians was the organization and holding of Russian-German conferences on the problems of totalitarianism, war and democracy.

The pretext for the joint reflection upon the totalitarian past of Germany and Russia was the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of German reunification in 2000, as well as the opportunity, as Bonwetsch wrote, "to comprehend the ways to overcome it in a comparative perspective"<sup>12</sup>. At the same time, the scientist recalled that, given the many differences between the united Germany and post-Soviet Russia, "there are also structural parallels and similarities between them"<sup>13</sup>. The interest in the totalitarian past of Germany and Russia was the continuation of the discussions in the 1990s on the essence of totalitarianism, limits of its application as a theoretical basis for analyzing the dictatorships of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: first, the Stalinist era 'Nazism', the SED monopoly of power in the GDR<sup>14</sup> and coincided with the active study of Stalinism by Russian historians both in the center of the USSR and in the Soviet province.<sup>15</sup>

Bernd's main report was devoted to understanding the influence of Stalinism on the historical path of Russia and its development in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the center of the report, there was an assessment of connections and interrelations of Stalin, the party and the society. This assessment was much sharper and audacious than the assess-

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<sup>12</sup> *Germaniia i Rossiia v XX veke: dve totalitarnye diktatury, dva puti k demokratii* [Germany and Russia in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Two Totalitarian Dictatorships, Two Ways to Democracy]. Kemerovo, 2001, p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> See, for example, Pohlmann F. *Marxismus-Leninismus- Kommunismus- Faschismus. Aufsätze zur Ideologie und Herrschaftsstruktur der Totalitären Diktaturen*. Pfaffenweiler, 1995; Möll P. *Gesellschaft und totalitären Ordnung. Eine theoriegeschichtliche Auseinandersetzung mit dem Totalitarismus*. Baden-Baden, 1998. The summary of the discussion can be seen in: Jesse E. (Hrsg). *Totalitarismus im 20. Jahrhundert. Eine Bilanz der internationalen Forschung*. Bonn, 1999. More details on the essence of studying German dictatorships from the point of theory of totalitarianism, see: Korneva L.N. *Germanaskaia istoriografiia natsional-socializma: problemy issledovaniia i tendentsii sovremennogo razvitiia (1985–2005)* [German Historiography of National Socialism: Research Problems and Trends of Modern Development (1985–2005)]. Kemerovo, 2007, pp. 53–75.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example: Kaz'mina M.V. *Otechestvennaia istoriografiia rubezha XX–XXI vv. o roli i meste kommunisticheskoi partii v sisteme sovetskoi vlasti 1930-kh gg.* [Domestic Historiography at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup>–21<sup>st</sup> centuries. On the role and place of the Communist Party in the system of Soviet power in the 1930s]. *Politicheskaiia kul'tura v istorii Germanii i Rossii* [Political Culture in the History of Germany and Russia: A collection of scientific articles. Series: German studies in Siberia. Issue 6]. Kemerovo, 2009; Genina E.S. *Kampaniia po bor'be s kosmopolitizmom v Novosibirskoi oblasti (konets 1940-kh – nachalo 1950-kh gg.)* [Campaign of Battle against Cosmopolitanism in the Novosibirsk Region (late 1940s–early 1950s)]. *Vtoraia mirovaia voina: uroki istorii dlia Germanii i Rossii: materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii (g. Kemerovo, 23–25 sentyabria 2005 g.)* [World War II: Lessons of History for Germany and Russia: Proceedings of the international scientific conference (Kemerovo, 23–25<sup>th</sup> September 2005)]. Kemerovo; Moscow, 2006 as well as the articles of other Russian authors in the above-mentioned collection.

ments of the Soviet-Russian historians. As an example, the following was said about the party: "The party (The All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks) has undergone the real intoxication of industrialization." About the society: "Everyone made no doubt that the country would transform into a socialist industrial power by one huge leap, a revolution from above. Millions of people admired the chances of progress associated with this ... For the masses of people, social promotion has become a reality"<sup>16</sup>.

The down side of this process – the mass terror against the recent comrades-in-arms, imaginary and seeming enemies and traitors, gave rise to fear in the minds of people. Bonwetsch pointed out in this connection the spreading and infecting of the society with 'split consciousness' and 'dissociations in thinking resulting from utterances'. "Outside the small circle of trusted people ... everyone pretended that life actually 'became better'."<sup>17</sup> Of course, this could be an unambiguous statement, since a significant number of Soviet people sincerely believed in the presence of enemies and traitors, in the 'intrigues of imperialism' and in the fact, that "life has become easier, life has become more fun." Especially among the youth, the romantic sentiments prevailed regarding building the 'bright future' in the country. They were ready to face difficulties along the way. And the new cities and enterprises were built not only by the Gulag prisoners, but also by volunteers who were striving to master the profession, and get a modest but own house quickly and to start a family. Answering the question why the people turned a blind eye to Stalin's crimes, Bonwetsch assessed this phenomenon through the prism of public consciousness: "This fixation of the society on the state power as the only agency with authority and the willingness of people to recognize this authority ... and the absence of other institutions independent from the state, being people-oriented"<sup>18</sup>.

The conference touched upon the subjects dealing with the most varied aspects of the relationship between the society and power, individuals and the authorities in a totalitarian system, as well as such 'hot' problems as the guilt of passive contemporaries in the crimes of totalitarianism or the problem of nation in repentance as one of the factors driving the movement from totalitarianism to democracy.

A lively discussion, the disputes in which 30 leading German historians and 15 well-known German scholars (researchers of Nazism and Stalinism) took part, pushed the participants to continue discussing the problems of totalitarianism and democracy in a series of subsequent conferences with the participation of Russian

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<sup>16</sup> Bonwetsch B. Stalinizm i istoricheskii put' Rossii v XX veke [Stalinism and the historical path of Russia in the 20<sup>th</sup> century]. *Germaniia i Rossiia v XX veke: dve totalitarnye diktatury, dva puti k demokratii: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii (g. Kemerovo, 19–22 sentiabria 2000 g.). Seriya: Germanskie issledovaniia v Sibiri* [Germany and Russia in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century: Two Totalitarian Dictatorships, Two Ways to Democracy: Proceedings of the international scientific conference (Kemerovo, 19–22<sup>nd</sup> September 2000). Series: German Studies in Siberia]. Kemerovo, 2001, p. 107.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 109.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid, p. 117.

and foreign colleagues. Heads of ZSTSGI with the participation of Bonwetsch decided to dedicate the next conference to the problems of totalitarian mentality: its historical and political prerequisites, as well as the social and psychological components.

The conference was held in September 2001<sup>19</sup>. Among the participants of the scientific forum were not only historians, but also philosophers, political scientists, lawyers, culturologists and philologists. The discussion tone of the conference was set with the reports at the plenary session of the Doctor of Philosophy, Professor A.A. Ovcharov 'The totalitarian mentality and the historical trajectory – between the unity of consciousness and the consciousness of unity' (Kemerovo State University) and Professor Dr. Bernd Bonwetsch (The Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany) 'The fate of revolutionaries in the years of Stalin's Terror'<sup>20</sup>.

In his speech, using specific examples of Stalinism, Bonwetsch, in fact, illustrated Ovcharov's judgment that "*Russia's cultural-historical style manifests itself in the immanent gravitation to innovative constructivism*" (A.A. Ovcharov's own italics)<sup>21</sup>. In addition, in his report, the German scientist broadened the topic of the relationship between the power and society in a totalitarian state. The show-trials in 1936-38, when the cases were brought against the Old Bolshevik Guard and the young activists of the Soviet elite, gave rise to demonstrations and resolutions of public organizations and collectives in support of the struggle against 'enemies of the people'. However, the victims themselves from the national higher ranks did not blame the established system.

The self-awareness of the 'revolutionary fellows' that carried out the policy of terror both during the years of the forced collectivization, mass famine of 1932–33 and in the subsequent cruel laws of 1932, 1935 and 1940 (the Law of Spikelet, the age of criminal responsibility starting at 12 years old, late-to-work penalties) revealed their "absolute lack of humanity in dealing with people".<sup>22</sup>

Another feature of the totalitarian mentality was lack of public reaction to the cruelty of the authorities. The events happening in those years were considered 'normal'. The professor himself gives the following explanation to this: "The dominant ideology frames explained that in the interests of the better future of the mankind it was not necessary to consider their current needs. According to this view, people have value

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<sup>19</sup> *Totalitarnyi mentalitet: problemy izucheniia, puti preodoleniia* [Totalitarian mentality: Problems of studying, Ways of Overcoming]. Kemerovo, 2003.

<sup>20</sup> Bonwetsch B. 'Stalinskii terror i revolyutsionnyi sub'ekt' ['Stalin's terror and revolutionary subject']. *Totalitarnyi mentalitet: problemy izucheniia, puti preodoleniia: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii* [Totalitarian Mentality: Problems of Studying, Ways of Overcoming.: Kemerovo, pp. 156–173. (Later the author of the article used the published copy of the report).

<sup>21</sup> Ovcharov A.A. *Totalitarnyi mentalitet i put' istorii: mezhdru edinstvom soznaniia i soznaniem edinstva* [Totalitarian Mentality and the Path of History: Between the Unity of Consciousness and the Consciousness of Unity]. *Totalitarnyi mentalitet: problemy izucheniia, puti preodoleniia* [The Totalitarian Mentality: Problems of studying, Ways of Overcoming]. Kemerovo, 2003, p. 12.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 164.

only with regards to their attitude towards the state and the achievement of its objectives. "In state measures," Bonwetsch writes, "the specific Bolshevik ideology was on-stream that was formed through criticism of reformism, according to which revolutionary goals had to be achieved by using violence against class enemies, and the end justified the means. Any objections to state measures coming from the party leadership were considered from the first days of the revolution not as a different opinion, but as a counter-plan that either proceeded from class enemies or served them"<sup>23</sup>.

A special place in the work of the researcher was taken by the question describing the attitude of the Stalinists to the peasantry, which they considered at best as 'socially alien' elements. He also associated the inhumanity of collectivization with the mentality of the 'revolutionary subject'. "Active regime-connected functionaries and members of the Communist Party," he wrote, "already had in their mental baggage the experience of violence, handed down from the world and civil wars"<sup>24</sup>. The violence against peasants also relied on the consent or patience of society, its silent observation. The author does not explain why the society was so indifferent to the fate of the peasants. It seems that at that time an important role (apart from propaganda) was played by the primordial, on the mental level, hatred of the poor (there were a lot of them in Russia, and in the city, and especially in the countryside) towards wealthy people. And up to the present time in Russia there are supporters of 'dekulakization', who are not poor at all.

The issue of totalitarian mentality includes people's fear of internal terror, as well as the fact that the fear of a 'threat from outside' was added to it, which, according to Bonwetsch, "Stalin made the official fear of the state"<sup>25</sup>. The search for 'internal enemies' and 'accomplices of the external' led to the fact that the culture of denunciation developed both in the country and in the city. "Terror sometimes acquired features of plebiscite nature," Bernd noted.

His observation is of interest regarding the ability of a totalitarian state to unleash terror and to order its abolition from above. Stalin's society could not give such an impetus. It also came from above – in the form of a directive from the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Politburo in November 1938, when the 'revo-

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<sup>23</sup> Bonwetsch B. 'Stalinskii terror i revolyutsionnyi sub'ekt' ['Stalin's terror and revolutionary subject']. *Totalitarnyi mentalitet: problemy izucheniia, puti preodoleniia: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii (g. Kemerovo, 18–20 sentiabria 2001 g.)*. Serii: *Germanskii issledovaniia v Sibiri. Vyp. 3* [Totalitarian Mentality: Problems of Studying, Ways of Overcoming: Materials of the international scientific conference (Kemerovo, September 18–20, 2001). Series: German studies in Siberia. Issue 3]. Kemerovo, 2003. P. 165.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. P. 166.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. P. 167.

lutionary subject' from the NKVD ranks waged a purge and the 'internal enemies' of Soviet power "ceased to be, at least, a mass phenomenon"<sup>26</sup>.

The topic of political violence continued the discussion of the problems of authoritarianism and totalitarianism at a subsequent conference; however, it was not limited to the framework of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, but was rather reflecting the historical retrospect, in the collective memory in general and at the regional level (primarily in Siberia)<sup>27</sup>. This time, during his speech, and later in the articles in the collection of published materials of the conference, Bonwetsch devoted the historiography to the issue of political violence in the Stalin era. He noted that the Soviet 'inner world' experienced the repression as 'ordinarily'. ("The tactic of survival dictated the need not to talk about one's own problems"). Therefore, "repressions, except for revelations during the Khrushchev 'thaw' and perestroika, were officially hushed up"<sup>28</sup>.

Speaking about Western literature, Bernd Bonwetsch pointed out it had not mentioned the Great Terror; and Robert Conquest, a well-known researcher of the topic, was often criticized, although the very theme of violence and terror was not silenced down. Perestroika in the USSR radically changed the situation. 'The history of violence' became the central topic of the history in the Soviet Union until 1953, both in Russia itself and in the West," Bonwetsch writes<sup>29</sup>. The balance of the constituent elements of Stalinism had changed. Previously, violence was considered a means to modernize the country successfully, however at that moment it started to be regarded as an independent object. Bonwetsch, at the same time, pointed to the work of the German historian J. Boberovsky 'The Red Terror'. "Even comparisons between national socialism and communism do not draw a protest," the author concludes<sup>30</sup>.

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<sup>26</sup> Bonwetsch B. 'Stalinskii terror i revolyutsionnyi sub'ekt' ['Stalin's terror and revolutionary subject']. *Totalitarnyi mentalitet: problemy izucheniia, puti preodoleniia: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii (g. Kemerovo, 18–20 sentiabria 2001 g.)*. Serii: *Germanskii issledovaniia v Sibiri. Vyp. 3* [Totalitarian Mentality: Problems of Studying, Ways of Overcoming: Materials of the international scientific conference (Kemerovo, 18–20<sup>th</sup> September 2001). Series: German studies in Siberia. Issue 3]. Kemerovo, 2003, p. 171.

<sup>27</sup> *Politicheskoe nasilie v istoricheskoi pamiati Germanii i Rossii: sbornik nauchnykh statei* [Political Violence in the Historical Memory of Germany and Russia: A collection of scientific articles]. Kemerovo, 2007.

<sup>28</sup> Bonwetsch B. Bol'shoi terror – 70 let spustia [The Great Terror – 70 years later]. *Politicheskoe nasilie v istoricheskoi pamiati Germanii i Rossii: sbornik nauchnykh statei* [Political Violence in the Historical Memory of Germany and Russia: A collection of scientific articles]. Kemerovo, 2007, p. 22.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 2007, p. 22. For more details with regards to consideration of the German historiography of Nazism, see the theory of totalitarianism, e.g.: Korneva L.N. *Germanskaia istoriografiia natsional-socializma: problemy issledovaniia i tendentsii sovremennogo razvitiia (1985–2005)* [German Historiography of National Socialism: Research Problems and Trends of Modern Development (1985–2005)]. Kemerovo, 2007, pp. 53–75.

More intensively in the 1990s, the Western authors began to explore the connection between the modern 'enlightened era' and violence. Citing examples of other mass atrocities of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Bonwetsch illustrated that it did not explain each act of violence, but only elaborates that the use of Bolshevik violence by Russia was not among the very few. Summarizing the discussion, Bernd wrote that it suggested that the Bolsheviks were 'children of enlightenment' who sought to achieve a peaceful order resting upon reason. Unlike Western socialists, "the Bolsheviks did not want to wait for the 'tide of history' and, under the fatal influence of Lenin, believed that they could and should implement that plan in short order"<sup>31</sup>.

Bonwetsch partially agrees with the 'Jacobin' tradition of the Russian revolutionary movement, which by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century had already been abandoned in most European countries, but at the same time points to a significant difference between Tsarist Russia and Bolshevik Russia. The former had already gone through some reforms following the path of placing restrictions on violence and arbitrary treatment, towards a state governed by the rule of law with separation of powers. The latter – the Bolshevik – went along the way of their strengthening and stiffening. "Without radical overcoming of all legal constraints for the sake of the bright future, those waves of unrestrained state violence would not have existed," the author concludes<sup>32</sup>.

Of interest is the first attempt by Bernd Bonwetsch to compare the overcoming of the totalitarian past in the two parts of Germany after World War II<sup>33</sup> and after the reunification of the FRG and GDR. The denazification was controversial, nevertheless, it reached the point when in both parts of Germany, perpetrators were as a matter of fact excluded from the public life. "However, in the sense of indoctrination of 'co-responsibility' for the crimes and atrocities of the Third Reich into the minds of the Germans, it was less successful," Bernd writes<sup>34</sup>. Citizens of the GDR were 'protected' from it by the official anti-fascism state doctrine. In Germany, anti-

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<sup>31</sup> Bonwetsch B. Bol'shoi terror – 70 let spustia [The Great Terror – 70 years later]. *Politicheskoe nasilie v istoricheskoi pamiati Germanii i Rossii: sbornik nauchnykh statei* [Political Violence in the Historical Memory of Germany and Russia: A collection of scientific articles]. Kemerovo, 2007, p. 23.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Frei N. *Vergangenheitspolitik. Die Anfänge der Bundesrepublik und die NS-Vergangenheit*. München, 1997; Becker M. „Keine Waffen für unsere Henker“. *Ehemalige Verfolgte des NS-Regimes und die westdeutsche Wiederbewaffnung*; Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte. 66. Jahrgang Heft 1 Januar 2018, S. 87–117.

<sup>34</sup> Bonwetsch B. Dvoine preodolenie totalitarnogo proshlogo v Germanii: 1945 i 1990 g. [Double overcoming of the totalitarian past in Germany: 1945 and 1990]. *Totalitarnyi mentalitet: problemy izucheniia, puti preodoleniia: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii* (g. Kemerovo, 18–20 sentiabria 2001 g.). *Seriia 'Germanskie issledovaniia v Sibiri'. Vyp. 3* [Totalitarian Mentality: Problems of studying, Ways of Overcoming: Materials of the international scientific conference (Kemerovo, 18–20<sup>th</sup> September 2001). Series: German studies in Siberia. Issue 3]. Kemerovo, 2003, p. 385.

communism and the prohibition of KPD served as proof of the alleged purification. Owing to such decisions and turns "when needed and required, the less guilty could pursue a career both in the GDR and in the West," he concludes<sup>35</sup>.

At the same time, from the late 1960s, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the explanation of the fascist past for many reasons held pride of place in the scientific and political environment of the FRG. "It was there that the alternative historical culture of remembrance appeared, the supporters of which devoted themselves to identification of the crimes of Nazism at the level of 'the little people' – be they criminals or victims. We owe the many changes in the historical consciousness to this alternative social movement," the author writes. "It promoted," he continues, "the emergence of the new culture of remembrance in the FRG, and turned the critical examination of Nazism, to a certain extent, into the daily routine"<sup>36</sup>. This did not happen in the GDR, where "in relation to the nominal Nazis, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany began to 'show affection' early on, as Jürgen Daniel called it ..."<sup>37</sup>.

After the GDR became part of the FRG in 1990, a question arose regarding overcoming the totalitarian past in the 'New States of Germany'. This included four areas: criminal prosecution for the crimes of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and its regime, rehabilitation and compensation for its victims; purification of the civil service from representatives and supporters of the ruling party in the GDR; compensation for property damages to the expropriates; systematic reflection exercise and theoretical analysis of the past in the GDR. The last item was carried out most consistently. "The study of history of the GDR is now more swift and radical than was the comprehension of the Nazi past," Bernd Bonwetsch writes<sup>38</sup>. Indeed, in the 1990s, several commissions and institutes were established to study the history of the GDR and compare the two German dictatorships<sup>39</sup>.

The author notes that the fulfillment of the first three points of 'overcoming the past' did not go smoothly. The big dissatisfaction of East German cities and towns was caused by the decision "not to provide a refund for the property (expropriated in the GDR), but rather return it" to owners who had lived in Germany for a long time.

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Bonwetsch B. Dvoine preodolenie totalitarnogo proshlogo v Germanii: 1945 i 1990 g. [Double overcoming of the totalitarian past in Germany: 1945 and 1990]. *Totalitarnyi mentalitet: problemy izucheniia, puti preodoleniia: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii (g. Kemerovo, 18–20 sentiabria 2001 g.). Seriiia 'Germanskie issledovaniia v Sibiri'. Vyp. 3* [Totalitarian Mentality: Problems of Studying, Ways of Overcoming: Materials of the international scientific conference (Kemerovo, 18–20<sup>th</sup> September 2001). Series: German studies in Siberia. Issue 3]. Kemerovo, 2003, p. 385.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 392.

<sup>39</sup> See for example the Journal 'Totalitarismus und Demokratie'. 2. Jahrgang 2005, Heft. 1 of the Institute named after Hannah Arendt (Hannah-Arendt-Institut für Totalitarismusforschung e. V. an der Technischen Universität Dresden), devoted to the comparison of belief systems regarding dictatorships (Weltanschauungsdiktaturen im Vergleich).

It was also difficult to “prove in the law-bound state ... the individual liability of a particular person for the evils and crimes caused by the state”<sup>40</sup>. As in the case of overcoming the past in the FRG, there were no determinations of law in that area that would suffice the individual cases. “Quite a significant part of the population in East Germany considers such ‘overcoming’ unfair and imposed from the outside ... and the expression of the position of the West Germans as ‘winners’ in the cause of German unification”<sup>41</sup>.

The analysis and reflections of the German historian Bernd Bonwetsch about Stalinism and, in general, about totalitarianism, the ways of overcoming the totalitarian past, enriched the views of domestic historians on these phenomena of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, who further familiarized themselves with the possibilities to develop the Western historiography of totalitarianism. It was important to raise the problem of the shared responsibility of the elite and the society for aiding and abetting the criminal acts of dictatorial power. The speeches at conferences and round tables at the West Siberian Center for German Studies and the professor's articles gave impetus to further creative collaboration between Russian and German historians on the way towards a comparative analysis of the historical paths of Germany and Russia<sup>42</sup>.

The activity of Bernd Bonwetsch was certainly not limited to the interaction with historians in Western Siberia. In 2003, he began his enormous and difficult work on the organization of the German Historical Institute Moscow, of which he became the founding director. This work is yet another big chapter in his biography. Bernd, like us, bitterly regretted the premature departure from life of Yu.V. Galaktionov – chairman of ZSTSGI, his colleague and comrade. This happened in 2005, shortly after the presentation of the three-volume textbook on the history of Germany.

Despite the busyness of DHI Moscow, Bonwetsch did not forget about the existence of our Center and strongly supported its undertakings. The most memorable for all its participants was, for example, the ‘school’ of 2006 for young university researchers engaging themselves in the history of Germany. The ‘learners’ prepared for it beforehand and seriously, completing the ‘homework’ sent to them. To lead the ‘school’, Bonwetsch invited several German specialists on the medieval, modern and

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<sup>40</sup> Bonwetsch B. Dvoine preodolenie totalitarnogo proshlogo v Germanii: 1945 i 1990 g. [Double overcoming of the totalitarian past in Germany: 1945 and 1990]. *Totalitarnyi mentalitet: problemy izucheniia, puti preodoleniia: Materialy mezhdunarodnoi nauchnoi konferentsii (g. Kemerovo, 18–20 sentiabria 2001 g.). Seriiia ‘Germanskie issledovaniia v Sibiri’. Vyp. 3* [Totalitarian Mentality: Problems of Studying, Ways of Overcoming: Materials of the international scientific conference (Kemerovo, 18–20<sup>th</sup> September 2001). Series: German studies in Siberia. Issue 3]. Kemerovo, 2003, p. 390.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid, p. 392.

<sup>42</sup> See for example: *Razrushenie i vrozozhdenie v istorii Germanii i Rossii* [Destruction and Revival in the History of Germany and Russia]. Tomsk, 2010; *Perelomnye epokhi v istorii Germanii i Rossii v antropologicheskom izmerenii* [Turning Points in the History of Germany and Russia in Anthropological Dimension]. Kemerovo, 2010; *Social'naia politika i social'noe gosudarstvo v Germanii* [Social Policy and Social State in Germany]. Kemerovo, 2014 and others.

contemporary history of Germany. For several days, in the two sections of the operating 'school', the straight and winding paths of development for this country and its interaction with the neighbors were vigorously discussed.



Meeting with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt at German Historical Institute Moscow (2007)



Professor Bernd Bonwetsch (Volgograd, 2010)

Bernd Bonwetsch introduced us to the prominent representatives of the German historical school, to whom we, members of the ZSTSGL, are very grateful for the knowledge that they have brought us, and that they were not afraid to come to the faraway Siberia to participate willingly in the activities of the Center. These were Professors Hans-Heinrich Nolte (Hanover), Bernd Faulenbach (Bochum), Wolfram Wette (Freiburg), Norbert Fries (Jena), Günther Heidemann (Leipzig, Dresden), Christian Jansen (Berlin), Wolfgang Benz (Berlin), Joachim Szoltysek (Bonn). Doctors, researchers Gerd R. Ueberschär (Freiburg), Jörg Morré (Berlin), Jürgen Tsaruski (Munich), Bernhard Schalhorn (Lüneburg), Helmut Stubbe da Luz (Hamburg), etc. During the meetings and panel discussions at the universities of Kemerovo, Barnaul and Tomsk, not only the historians from Siberia met their German colleagues, however also scientists from the capital of Russia and other cities of Russia, Kazakhstan and Ukraine.

The cooperation with Bernd Bonwetsch is the unforgettable chapter of ZSTSGL history and in the life of the author of this article.

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For citation: Korneva Li. The history of Russia and Germany in the destiny of the German academic. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 86–103. DOI: 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-5

DOI 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-6  
UDC 069.5(470.316)

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## **In the World of Gothic. Books in German of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries in the collection of Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve**

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*Abstract.* The article analyses the collection of books of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries, printed in Gothic script in German, from the collection of Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve: theological works, philological, historical and political contributions as well as practical-books. The Yaroslavl collection is regarded to be a mirror of the evolution of the German books from the Middle Ages towards the early modern period. The library of Yaroslavl Theological Seminary is accentuated, whereby the museum serves as the heritage center at the crossroads of cultures.

*Keywords:* German books, Gothic type, the Spaso-Preobrazhensky Monastery, Yaroslavl Theological Seminary, Protestantism, Pietism, Orthodoxy, cultural influence, the Baroque

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### **Introduction**

In 2015, the Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve celebrated its 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary, summarizing the enormous work of many generations of research workers. The attention of historians and local history experts was once again focused on the multifaceted collections bearing the imprint of various eras, the skilled labor and spiritual needs of the distant ancestors. A special place among them is occupied by books published in Germany, which has always been regarded in Russia as the country with scholarly standards. Today, they serve to us as ‘windows’ to the world of rich foreign culture. However, the Gothic books are only part of the large ‘German collection’, which includes a variety of subjects (phaleristics, numismatics, fabrics, etc.) from the Late Middle Ages to the present. These subjects reflect the increasingly intensified inter-

cultural contacts between the two nations, which, according to Boris Groys, have always been characterized by "mutual attraction and repulsion".<sup>1</sup> In our opinion, it is promising to consider German books not only from the point of view of their quantitative representation, repertoire, the evolution of the graphic design styles, the history of existence and influence on Russian culture, but also as a 'mirror' reflecting the social and economic transformations in the new time.

### Main part

The starting point in the cultural exchange between the peoples of the Russian state and the Germans can be considered since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, when they begin to use the Gothic architecture to design the building facades and in the art of jewelry design, as well as the coins of Livonian Order as a means of payment. In Novgorod, in the court of Archbishop Gennady, the German printed books through Holy Scripture were used to clarify and correct the Old Church Slavonic translation of the Bible.<sup>2</sup> The contacts between the people from Yaroslavl and the Germans also established early on, mainly through the trade. It was the time of opening the trade route from Europe via the White Sea, through Vologda and Yaroslavl to Moscow. Many foreigners travelled along this route, and some of them left their notes about Muscovy. The Austrian diplomat Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein passed through Yaroslavl twice and noted its fertile soil and "abundance in everything".<sup>3</sup> An account on the foundation of the Church of the Ascension of Christ («Сказание о построении деревянной Вознесенской церкви») (the 16<sup>th</sup> century) mentions Gottlieb, the German, a merchant by profession, who asked the Yaroslavl archbishop for permission to build a Protestant church in the city. The earliest known surviving German books, however, in Latin, are also dated by the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This is the whole collection of early works by Lutheran theologians: a colleague of Martin Luther and the first systematic theologian of the Protestant Reformation, Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), Burchard Harbart (1546–1611), Johannes Pappus (1549–1610), Aegidius Hunnius (1550–1603), a German Lutheran theologian and writer Daniel Cramer (1568–1637),

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<sup>1</sup> Groys B. *Poisk russkoi natsional'noi identichnosti. Rossiia i Germaniia: Opyt filosofskogo dialoga* [The Search for Russian National Identity. Russia and Germany: The Experience of Philosophical Dialogue]. Moscow, 1993, pp. 3–4.

<sup>2</sup> Angermann N. U istokov kul'turnykh svyazei Moskovskogo gosudarstva i nemetskikh zemel' (konets XV – nachalo XVI v.) [At the origins of cultural ties of the Moscovite state and German states (late 15<sup>th</sup> – early 16<sup>th</sup> century)]. *Nemtsy v obshchestvennoi i kul'turnoi zhizni Moskvy, XVI – nachalo XX veka* [The Germans in the Social and Cultural Life of Moscow, 16<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> century]. Moscow, 1999, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Baron Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein. *Zapiski o Moskovitskikh delakh* [Commentaries on Muscovite affairs]. Available at: [http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/rus8/Gerberstein\\_3/text4.phtml](http://www.vostlit.info/Texts/rus8/Gerberstein_3/text4.phtml)

the work 'Apology of the Formula of Concord' in German by Daniel Hofmann (1538–1611), etc. All of them, represented by 18 titles, are united using a single cover, i.e. are parts of the convolute. The works of Catholic authors, for example, representative of the Counter-Reformation, Adam Tanner (1572–1632) – an Austrian Jesuit professor and the opponent of witch trials – are less common.<sup>4</sup> This is a very important point – the Protestant works kept in the seminar library of the monastery. Transfiguration of the Saviour Monastery, the foundation of which dates to the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, has been a traditional center of book-learning for centuries. Here, the first school for all classes in the north-east of Rus was created, where the scriptorium was opened and the library was being collected. The presence of the local manuscript tradition and further on of a printed tradition, influence of the foreign literature and their close interaction gave rise to a special phenomenon of Yaroslavl book-learning, which flourished in the 17<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The book trade and the book market of Yaroslavl were second largest in the country after Moscow and Novgorod. The 17<sup>th</sup> century in Yaroslavl history referred to as the 'Golden Age', not only due to the active masonry construction of the temples, but also because of the close connection of all aspects of life with the books.

On the territory of the Spassky Monastery, there were several libraries: the library of the monastery itself, the main library of the Slavic Greek Latin Academy (founded in 1747 on the initiative of Metropolitan Arsenius (Matseyevich)), where there was a pupils' library and the library with books for sale, as well as the library at Bishops' House (i.e. the library used by the archbishops). In 1875, there were 7,500 books in the seminary's main library and 450 copies in the pupils' library in 1862. Books from Rostov, the oldest archbishops in Russia, were brought to the library of the Bishops' House after the relocation of the Archbishop's residence to Yaroslavl in 1787. In 1853, it included 988 titles of printed books and manuscripts. It is well known (thanks to provenance records, book-plates and other certificates) that the owners of the German books were the following hierarchs of the Diocese of Yaroslavl and Rostov: Arsenius (Matseyevich) (1697–1772), Volodymir Kalihraf (? 1760), Arseny Vereshchagin (1736–1799), Antony (Znamensky) (1765–1824), Nil (Isakovich) (1799–1874). All of them were outstanding church leaders, highly educated intellectuals, experts in ancient and new languages and collectors of old books. Currently, approximately a thousand of books in foreign languages of the 16<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries, including books in German, have survived. There are only four dozen of Gothic books in German, originating from the seminary alone as well as the personal collections of

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<sup>4</sup> In addition to Tanner, there is also the work of the Jesuit Johannes Dolman (1556–1590): Dolman M. Johan *Andächtige Herzensseuffzes und Gebet*. Gedruckt in Riga, durch Gerhard Schröder, 1640.

archbishops. The seminary library changed its location several times. It was housed in various buildings inside the monastery; then, after the construction of the new seminary building in 1875, moved to another building (where today the Natural-geographical faculty of the Yaroslavl Pedagogical University is housed); in the 1920–30s, it was moved to the building in the main square of the city – Soviet square – and, finally, returned to the fold of the monastery. It survived three revolutions, the fire of the Russian Civil War that destroyed one-third of the city's housing stock, the mess-up of the 1920s, gradually becoming smaller and being dispersed through various collections and storages. Two people who were related to the library and the book collection of the Museum-Reserve in the Soviet period should be mentioned here. One of them was Adam (Yegorovich) Bahdanovič (1862–1940), the Belarusian member of 'Narodnaya Volya', the historian of culture and ethnography, the father of the poet and publicist Maxim Bahdanovič (1891–1917). In December 1920, Adam Yegorovich was appointed head of the scientific library at the Yaroslavl State Museum-Preserve, where he worked until 1931. The second important person was Igor Erichovich von Kleinenberg (1904–93), a teacher of German at Leningrad State University, a participant in the creation of the Leningrad historical school in the 1930s and a specialist in ancient manuscripts. In 1941, Igor Erikhovich as a native German was exiled to Siberia for tree felling, then worked as a worker in a sovkhoz (state farm), and then in a rural school as a teacher. His term of exile ended only in 1954, and he could reunite with his family that moved to Yaroslavl after the war. In the 1960s and 1970s, Igor Erichovich, reading in two dozen languages, attributed and compiled brief annotations of most books in German and other languages.

Here it is necessary to make a digression from the topic and give a small reference about printing in Germany and the concept of 'Gothic type'. Hans Bechstein in his study '*Reise in die Renaissance*'<sup>5</sup> noted that the dramatic rise of science, its wide spreading and relationship development between various people became possible only due to the invention that changed the world and was aimed to pave the road for wisdom of the past and all future thoughts and actions of people, good and not so good. What it involves is a seal with cast letters. Having spread from Mainz, the printing of books in Germany by the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century had already counted about 50 locations (the most important were: Strasbourg, Cologne, Basel, Augsburg, Nuremberg, Lübeck and Erfurt). The miniatures of medieval manuscripts, produced with the help of watercolor paints or tempera, replaced the woodprint. After the first editions, which were issued mainly for the needs of the church, the printing acquired its unique and attractive power for all those who could and wanted to write or express some of their ideas. And if in most cases, the manuscripts made in the

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<sup>5</sup> Bechstein Hans. *Reise in die Renaissance*. Leipzig, 1980, S. 85–86.

monasteries served theology and scholasticism, then the secular word, science and poetry now widely made advantage of the new situation too. The epoch of 'Ars magna' ('ultimate general art'), however, was not particularly favorable to the grand poetry. Nevertheless, the same century gave birth to the creator of the language of outstanding rank as well. When Luther translated the New Testament in Wartburg, a new, energetic and common language was presented to the Germans. The Orthodox researcher of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, N.D. Terent'ev, for all his dogmatic rejection of Protestantism, wrote: "In general, the symbolic books of Lutheranism are not a dusty old tome that speaks only of the forgotten, but a live voice, in which the speech of the German reformers is heard hitherto. Here we see a testament for all eternity – a grant in which the wealth and the rights of Lutheranism are forever established, we feel the form in which the burning and seething thought of Luther and Melanchthon is still beating".<sup>6</sup> As for the concept of 'Gothic typeface', its name has no direct relation to the 'barbarian' tribe of Goths. It was suggested in the 15<sup>th</sup> century by the Italian Revivalists, who considered the manuscript types with ornate letters, strong contrast and broken strokes 'barbaric'. The Italians opposed them to the ancient Roman writing with straight, unbroken letters. The well-known art historian Erwin Panofsky, explaining the origin of the modern letter and printed characters from the Italian Renaissance, wrote: "It can be said that the Gothic writing symbolizes the fragility of the medieval Renaissances".<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, a long life prepared for such fonts, especially in Germany. With the beginning of typography, there appeared movable Gothic types, which also evolved, because each master compositor sought to contribute to the image of letters. Thus, Textura, Fraktur type, Schwabacher and Rotunda successively replaced each other.

A whole era in theological and cultural history of Germany and the whole West represented the Baroque Period (1575–1770), coinciding with the formation of absolutism and national states. Being the result of the Counter-Reformation, the Baroque spread from the territory of Rome and Spain to Protestant Europe. It gained great popularity in the east of the continent: Vienna, Prague and Poland. In the ideological sense, there were two strands in the Baroque – materialism and idealism, which were often strongly intertwined. Materialistic views developed with the material and technical progress, the revelation of the laws of nature, mechanicalism and the idea of

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<sup>6</sup> Terent'ev M.D. Liuteranskaia veroispovednaia sistema po simvolicheskim knigam liuteranstva (fragmenty) [Lutheran religious system based on symbolic books of Lutheranism (fragments)]. *Protestantizm kak faktor formirovaniia rossiiskoi gosudarstvennosti i kul'tury. Antologiya*. [Protestantism as a Factor in the Formation of Russian Statehood and Culture. Anthology]. St Peterburg, 2012, p. 308.

<sup>7</sup> Panofsky E. *Renessans i "renessansy" v iskusstve Zapada* [Renaissance and 'Renaissances' in the Art of the West]. St Peterburg, 2006, p. 182.

arithmetic calculations. The idealism rested on faith in God, raising questions about the relationship between the soul and the body. The tension between the irreconcilable opposites – the life-affirming attitude and alienation as well as religious seclusion – was especially typical for the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The main expressions of the Baroque were *carpediem*, *memento mori*, as well as the symbols of luxury, skeletons and theater. At the time it appears in the modern sense of the word, with theatrical mechanisms and backstage. On the stage an illusion was created, which could be exposed to the viewer. The theater became the image of human life in general: brilliance, glory and insignificance. The main events of the policy were the counter-reformation, the Thirty Years' War and a robust stratification of classes. The politics, fine arts and architecture were brought together by bends, changing points and intrigues. The painting was dominated by luxury, the desire for external effects and a sense of transience for everything that exists, the thought of the beauty death. The literature and texts were dominated by a combination of earthy and heavenly things, attention to dreams, with the help of which life was compared by the poets. "The Baroque thinkers and artists have revealed significant contradictions between man and his social environment, man and nature, man and the laws of the universe. In this new world landscape, the individual acquired new qualities – tragic in their dismay in this large and unknowable world and heroic in their efforts to cognize this world and the laws that govern it, and thereby to find their place in it".<sup>8</sup>

Regarding the political events of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, a decline of the printing industry was observed in Germany. A certain revival was observed in the field of 'scientific' literature. Richly illustrated and decorated tomes were published – the works on natural sciences, architecture, as well as descriptions of travel and geographic atlases. The appearance of the book changed noticeably because of the reproduction of illustrations in the technique of engraved copperplate. The quality was reduced due to using bad materials. The book was often opened with a frontispiece engraved on copper (a picture placed on one center spread with the title) with the author's portrait. Then the typographical front page followed. It was typed, as a rule, with the help of various, mostly large-format types and often printed in two colors – black and red; its overall design was maintained in the style of lush baroque. Further, there were lengthy, ornate dedications to dukes and other high patrons. The images engraved on copper were in most cases printed on separate sheets and intertwined with the whole book. The non-expressive ornamental lines and vignettes were either printed from wooden boards or composed of movable ornament elements.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Sofronova L.A., Lipatov A.V. Barokko i problemy istorii slavianskikh literatur i iskusstv [The Baroque Period and the problems of history in Slavic literatures and arts]. *Barokko v slavianskikh kul'turakh* [The Baroque Period in Slavic cultures]. Moscow, 1982, p. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Funke F. *Knigovedenie* [Bibliology]. Moscow, 1982, pp. 72–74.

The end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century was a period in the history of Russia extremely rich in the events, mainly of a political nature. The 17<sup>th</sup> century was of great importance for the history of Russia. As a matter of fact, the country, where we currently reside, was born during that period. In this critical period, the domestic Russian market was formed, which was gradually integrated into the world market. Because of the troubled time, a new dynasty came to power, the ruling of which was accompanied not only by the social riots, but also by the split of the church - the "belated Russian reformation"<sup>10</sup>. At that time, religion was the basis of the worldview, both in the Western society and in the Orient. Religion was ideology, i.e. the set of ideas, values and feelings through which people experienced their society. The flow of Western goods and technologies was growing, which was really in demand. The paradox was that, confronting everywhere with the Western culture, the Russian person of the 17<sup>th</sup> century would oppose themselves to it. Thus, in the famous frescoes of the Church of Elijah the Prophet in Yaroslavl, there are engravings with the new interpretation given by the Russian masters of the Piscator's Chronicle (Jan Veescher). The viewer can easily recognize the 'Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse' from the 'Apocalypse' of Albrecht Dürer's series of fifteen woodcuts 'Apocalypsis cum figuris'. At the same time, in the fresco with the plot about the Last Judgement, 'the Germans' along with blackamoor figures and 'the Jews' follow to hell. In the library of the Bishop's House, we find the most important for the Christians Protestantism trend (*sola Scriptura*), the text of the Bible in Luther's translation (1697 edition in Nuremberg and several later editions)<sup>11</sup>. The book contains notes and underlined text, which indicates that it was actively studied. The English scientist Christopher Hill calls the 17<sup>th</sup> century "the empire of the Bible, which was accepted as the main authority in all spheres of intellectual life"<sup>12</sup>. In addition to the Bible, there are works of Lutheran theologians: Superintendent Christophorus Martinus (1664–1726), Johan Lassenii and Lutheran theologian and spiritual poet Christoph Porsch<sup>13</sup>. A small booklet by Porsch is a collection of cemetery epitaphs, which was characteristic of the sentiments of the Baroque Period. Christoph Porsch himself is

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<sup>10</sup> Kagarlitskii B. *Periferiinaia imperiia: Rossiia i mirosistema* [Peripheral Empire: Russia and the World System]. Moscow, 2004, pp. 212–216.

<sup>11</sup> *Biblia. Verdeutscht durch D. Martin Luthern. Vürzberg, In Verlegung Joh. Hofmanns, gedruckt bey Christian Sigm.* Nürnberg, 1693.

<sup>12</sup> Hill Christopher. *Angliiskaia Bibliia i revoliutsiia XVII veka* [The English Bible and the Revolution of the 17<sup>th</sup> century]. Moscow, 1998, p. 21.

<sup>13</sup> Christophorus Martinus Sam. *Die wahre geistliche Christen Freude...* Dresden und Leipzig, Verlegts Johann Christoph Mith und Johann Christoph Zimmermann, druckts Georg Balthasar Ludewig, 1697; lassenii Joann. *Beseitigte Atheisteren.* Hamburg, bei Johann Nauman und Georg Wolff, 1673; Porsch Christoph *Elbingens. Geistliche Kirch-Hoff, darstellende biblische Grabschriften.* Leipzig, gedruckt dey Johann Koeler, 1674.

considered one of those people who made a significant contribution to the development of the German language and culture; his works are included in the 15-volume edition of *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (German: Universal German Biography). The book that is preserved in Yaroslavl is unique, since it has a dedicatory inscription by the author himself. The book was presented to the outstanding German composer and organist of St. Mary's Church (German: *Marienkirche*) in Danzig, to Thomas Strutius and his sons. The availability of Evangelical Lutheran books in the seminary and archbishop libraries (even if one is not to consider the fact that there were Protestant communities in Moscow, Yaroslavl, Vologda and other cities<sup>14</sup>) confirms the talking point of the German scientist Ludolf Müller<sup>15</sup> about the influence of Protestantism ideas on the development of Russian theology and philosophy. However, Müller made this conclusion more towards the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Nevertheless, the Protestant influence can already be related to the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

In addition to the purely theological literature, the collection of the Museum-Reserve includes some secular literature in German. Typography, according to Hill, "first stimulated the development of biblical sciences and only then the exact sciences".<sup>16</sup> The collection features the world's first illustrated textbook of the great Czech teacher of nations Jan Amos Komensky, 'The Visible World in Pictures' translated into German, and *Delicia Physico-Mathematicae* by German scientist Daniel Schwenter (1585–1636)<sup>17</sup>. It is worth paying attention to the five-volume work on the German language '*Ausführliche Arbeit Von der Teutschen HauptSprache*' by the well-known philologist, writer and theorist of literature Justus Georgius Schottelius (1612–76), '*Politischer Weltman*' by Martinus Husanus' and '*Faber Fortunae*

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<sup>14</sup> In the first third of the 17<sup>th</sup> century in the Russian state, up to 40 Protestant baptism ceremonies were held annually, and Moscow pastors tried to support the communities in the large cities. By the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the number of Protestants in Moscow reached 20 thousand people, and throughout country – up to 30 thousand. See: Kerbikov M.D. Nemetkii protestantizm i Russkaia pravoslavnaia tserkov' v pervoi polovine XVIII veka [German Protestantism and the Russian Orthodox Church in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century]. *XI Chteniia po istorii i kul'ture drevnei i novoi Rossii: Materialy nauchnoi konferentsii (Iaroslavl', 25–27 sentiabria 2014 goda)* [The 11<sup>th</sup> Readings on the History and Culture of Ancient and New Russia: Materials of the Scientific Conference (Yaroslavl, 25–27<sup>th</sup> September 2014)]. Yaroslavl, 2016, pp. 235–243.

<sup>15</sup> Müller L. *Poniat' Rossiiu: istoriko-kul'turnye issledovaniia* [To understand Russia: Historical and Cultural Studies]. Moscow, 2000, p. 260.

<sup>16</sup> Hill Christopher. *Angliiskaia Bibliia i revoliutsiia XVII veka* [The English Bible and the revolution of the 17th century]. Moscow, 1998, p. 27.

<sup>17</sup> *Orbis sensualium pictus. Die sichtbare Welt*. Nürnberg: sumptibus Michaeli et Joannis Griderici Endteri, 1658–1662(?); 1. Schwenter Daniel. *Geometriae practicae novae et auctae. Tractatus I*. Nürnberg: bey Simon Halbmayer, 1623.

*politicae*' by Christian Georg Bessel<sup>18</sup>, which had a huge impact on the ethos of the politicians of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Into the same group, the following can be included: the German translation of 'The Court Man' by the Spanish Jesuit, philosopher and literary theorist Balthasar Grazians-y-Morales (1601–58).<sup>19</sup> As for fiction books, translation of Virgil's works by Oswald Beling (published 1649) should be noted here. The book was published with the support of Adam Olearius (better known for as 'A Journal of the Travels of the Ambassadors from the Duke of Holstein into Muscovy, Tartary, and Persia') published just like the Virgil's works, in Schleswig by the ducal publishing house, only two years earlier).<sup>20</sup> Erwin Panofsky poetically expressed the periodically awakening interest in antiquity: "The Middle Ages left the antiquity unburied and alternately revived and conjured its corpse. The Renaissance sobbed at its grave and tried to resurrect its soul".<sup>21</sup> The second book is the translation of the 'Plays by Molière' by a certain J.E.T. 1694–1710 (as the translator signed "without the hope of being equal (to Moliere))"<sup>22</sup>.

The era of the Bible ended in the West by the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Austrian art historian Hans Sedlmayr writes about "the loss of the center", i.e. Christocentricity of Western culture and staging a person with his problems and opportunities in the center of the universe: "In pantheism and deism of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the abyss opens between man and God. There is the endowment of man with the theomorphic and 'Godlike' (*Gottförmige*) qualities... Man is incredibly exalted, striving for his own exhaustive fullness"<sup>23</sup>. The background knowledge had changed in Russia in the times of Peter the Great and the subsequent Romanovs. The autocracy of the state became truly boundless, concerning its attitude both regarding the cities, the virtuous farmers and great landowners, the Boyars and the church, not to mention the peasants. Hegumen Ioann Economtsev points out: "If the flesh of the national idea is

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<sup>18</sup> Balthasar Gracians. *Uomo di corte oder Kluger Hof-und Weltmann...* von D. Christoph Heinrich Freisleben. Altenburg, Bey Johann Ludwig Richtern, 1723.

<sup>19</sup> Virgilius Maron Oswald Belings. *Verdeutsche Waldlieder oder 10. Hirtengespräche des allerfürtrefflichsten Lateinisch: Poeten Virg. Marons...* Gedruckt in der Fürstl. Druckerey zu Schließwig bey Jacob zur Glocken. Im jahr 1649.

<sup>20</sup> Moliere Derer *Comödien des Hern von Moliere Königlichen französischen Comödianten; ohne Hoffnung seines gleichen. In das Teutsche übersetzt durch J.E.T. Mit schönen Kupfferen gezeichnet und das erstmal also gedruckt. Nürnberg; zusinden bey Johann Daniel Taubern. Buchhändlern, 1694–1710.*

<sup>21</sup> Panofsky E. *Recessans i "recessansy" v iskusstve Zapada* [Renaissance and 'Renaissances' in the Art of the West]. St Peterburg, 2006, p. 189.

<sup>22</sup> Moliere Derer *Comödien des Hern von Moliere Königlichen französischen Comödianten; ohne Hoffnung seines gleichen. In das Teutsche übersetzt durch J.E.T. Mit schönen Kupfferen gezeichnet und das erstmal also gedruckt. Nürnberg; zusinden bey Johann Daniel Taubern. Buchhändlern, 1694–1710.*

<sup>23</sup> Zedlmayr H. *Utrata serediny* [The Loss of the Centre]. Moscow, 2008, p. 176, 217.

the people, the church, the creative elite, then the idea of the empire materializes in the abstract, faceless power of the state apparatus. At the triumph of centralization policy, the latter acquires incredible power and can implement fantastic, monstrous projects."<sup>24</sup> According to the Protestant scheme, the synodical reform took place; the church became part of the new bureaucratic absolutist empire. The political works of Samuel von Pufendorf, which developed the concept of natural rights and restrictions related to the power of the church, were spreading after being published in Germany and translated in Russia<sup>25</sup>. There appeared works on world history, chronicles of various 'memorable events' and different calendars<sup>26</sup>. One can learn about the sovereigns, courts, political situation, wars of the past and present, from ten volumes of the German writer, the author of school books in the field of history, poetics and evangelical pedagogy Johann Hübner (1668–1731) *Kurze Fragen aus der Politischen Historia biß auf gegenwärtige Zeit*<sup>27</sup>. In the museum, the seven volumes are preserved, which originate from the library of the theological seminary. There are many books of 'applied nature': how to make fireworks, hunt birds, do gardening, ride horses and build houses<sup>28</sup>. Among them, the most curious by the name are: *Allgemeine Oeconomische Holzspahrkunst* and *Manesson (von Paries)* translated

<sup>24</sup> Ekonomtsev I. Natsional'no-religioznyi ideal i ideia imperii v petrovskuiu epokhu. K analizu tserkovnoi reformy Petra I [National-religious ideal and the idea of the Empire in the reign of Peter the Great. To the analysis of the church reform of Peter the Great]. Igumen Ioann Ekonomtsev. *Pravoslavie. Vizantiia. Rossiia. Sbornik statei* [Hegumen Ioann Ekonomtsev. Orthodoxy. Byzantium. Russia. Digest of articles]. Moscow, 1992, pp. 160–161.

<sup>25</sup> In the museum's collection – Puffendorff Samuel Freiherr von. Vierter Theil zu Herrn Samuel Freyherrns von Puffendorff. Einleitung zu der Historie der vornehmsten Reiche und Staaten von Asia, Africa und America... Die zweite Auflage durchauß vermehrt und verbessert. Franckfurt am Mayn, 1710.

<sup>26</sup> About Russia from the times of Peter the Great and Catherine I. 1. Die veränderten Rußlandes. Zweytes Theil... durch den Verfasser des Ersten Theils. Hannover: Verlegt von seel. Nicol. Förster und Sohns Erben, 1739. 2. Die veränderten Rußlandes. Dritter Theil. Die Regirung der Keiserin CATHARINA und des Kaisers PETRI SECUNDI... durch den Verfasser des Ersten Theils. Hannover: Verlegt von seel. Nicol. Förster und Sohns Erben, 1740. Also, Meiners C. *Vergleichung des ältesten und neuen Rußlandes in Rücksicht auf die natürlichen Beschaffenheiten der Einwohner, ihrer Kultur, Sitten usw. Bd. I.* Leipzig, 1798.

<sup>27</sup> Hübner Johann. *Kurze Fragen aus der Politischen Historia biß auf gegenwärtige Zeit continüret, und mit einem vollständigen Register versehen.* In 10 Thelen. 1697.

<sup>28</sup> Alex. Sincerum. *Der wohlerfahrne Salpetersieder und Feuerwerker... Andere Aufg.* Frankfurt und Leipzig, zu finden bey Georg Christoph Weber, Buchhand in Nürnberg, 1755; Die edle Reitkunst mit Kupfern und einem Anhang von der Roß-Artzney. Verlegts Michael Gottlieb Griesbach. Eisenach, 1755; Blonds Alexander *Gärtner-Akademie oder die Kunst Pracht und Luft Gärten. Aus dem Französischen ins Deutsche übersetzt von Franz Anton Danreitter.* Augsburg, 1753; De la Lande *Die Kunst Papier zu machen, von Herrn de la lande. Aus dem Französischen der «Descriptions des arts et metiers» der Pariser Academie übersetzt und mit Anmerckungen versehen von Johann heinrich Gottlob von Justi. Mit Kupfern.* Berlin; Stettin und Leipzig, 1762; J.N.J. *Jagdkunst. Neue lustige und vollständige.* Leipzig, 1762.

from French<sup>29</sup>. The works on geography, statistics and mathematics remained the desk companions for educated people in Russia for a long time. The German specialist Fritz Funke criticized the repertoire of German books for a mass reader at the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. He wrote that 'fair-literature' appeared at that time, which speculated on the sensations, superstitions and low culture of the reader. Calendars, dream-books and books on traditional medicine, often of strange content, massively came on stream. In this literature, "terrible events, fantastic natural phenomena and astrological predictions" were savored. Instructive literature was published in constant flow. Songbooks, prayer books, schedules of church services, homiliaries and funeral sermons were of great importance.<sup>30</sup>

Indeed, the 18<sup>th</sup> century was also characterized by the fact that science in modern understanding had not yet separated from the parascience. In the museum collection, there are such 'scientific' works, as for example, '*Achtenmäßige und umständliche Relation von denen Vampiren*' published in Leipzig in 1732 by an unknown author.<sup>31</sup> As the name implies, this small book was written by the 'famous professor from Leipzig' on the materials of Serbia, or rather a place called 'Medvedja'. Andrei Sharyi in his work 'The Danube: The River of Empires' mentions that Europe since the Middle Ages was not free from prejudice, and that the belt of the territories in the lower reaches of the Danube was associated with the legends about vampires. "Obviously, the state authorities were also worried about this: in the 1730s, the Austrian military command in Belgrade formed a commission led by Johannes Flickinger to find out whether there vampires existed in Serbia, part of which at that time fell under Habsburg Monarchy. Near Belgrade, the commission studied the graves with the remains of those who were considered vampires; the dead bodies preserved surprisingly well in the years after their burial. This raised concern whether the vampires would move up the Danube to Vienna. Flickinger compiled a detailed report of his mission; his work gave scientific material to generations of scientists and writers".<sup>32</sup> One can assume that the book from the Museum-Reserve can be either the publication of Flickinger's report or its early literary adaptation. Scientific and socio-political jour-

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<sup>29</sup> Lehmann Johann Christian. *Allgemeine Oeconomische Holzspahrkunst...* Leipzig, 1754; Mallet Allain Manesson (von Paries). *Kriegsarbeit oder Neuer Festungsbau so wohl der Lehrmäßige als Unlehrmäßige in drei Teilen abgehandelt. Verfasst durch Allain Manesson Mallet von Paris des Portugallischen Königs Kriegsbaumeistern als auch Geschüßmeistern in der Landschaft Alentejo. Und nunmehr aus seiner Muttersprache verhochdeuschet durch Filip von Zesen.* Amsterdam, 1672.

<sup>30</sup> Funke F. *Knigovedenie* [Bibliology]. Moscow, 1982, pp. 76–77.

<sup>31</sup> *Achtenmäßige und umständliche Relation von denen Vampiren.* Leipzig, gedruckt Augusto Martini, 1732.

<sup>32</sup> Sharyi A. *Dunai: reka imperii* [The Danube: The River of Empires]. Moscow, 2015, p. 95.

nals became notable phenomena in the public life, such as *'Die europäische Fama'*<sup>33</sup> published from 1702 to 1735 by Sinold von Schütz, Philippe Balthasar and Christian Stieff or the journal on 'scientific affairs' by Johann Gottlieb Krause (1684–1736). The use of the emblem became symbol of the transition from the Middle Ages to the New Age and embodiment of peculiarity of the European culture of the era. The Protestant books about emblems come to us as early as in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the Yaroslavl collection, there are all three volumes of the work 'Emblematic Parnassus' by the theologian Pastor Laurentius Wolfgang Woyt (1672–1739) published in 1727–28 in Augsburg.<sup>34</sup> The books were kept in the library of the theological seminary. Each book contains about 1500 different symbols and emblems with their interpretation. This 'theological baroque' was not unfamiliar to the Yaroslavl and Rostov writer and preacher St. Demetrius (Dimitri), Metropolitan of Rostov. Even more so, the emblems and allegories were studied in the theological education of Ukraine for a long time, in the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy. In Germany, a new trend developed at that time – pietism "grown up based on Lutheranism and associated with the names of Philipp Spener, August Hermann Francke and Nicolaus Zinzendorf".<sup>35</sup> The collection of the museum contains the work of the pietism predecessor in East Prussia, German theologian Georg Friedrich Rogall (1701–33), as well as the founder of pietism and genealogy and a connoisseur of *heraldry* Jacob Spener (1635–1705).<sup>36</sup> There are also works of such 'icons' of pietism as Augustus Hermann Francke and Johann Arndt (six books of 'True Christianity'), in Russian translation. As the leading Protestant theologian of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Josef Hromadka wrote: "The German theology of that time set the tone for theology as a whole – not only continental, but also the English one. Deservedly or undeservedly, but until recently it was

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<sup>33</sup> Die europäische Fama, welche den gegenwärtigen Zustand der vornehmsten Höfe entdeckt. I Teil, 1702 bis XII Teil, 1703; Neues Zeitungen von Gelehrten Sachen auf das Jahr 1719. Erster Theil. Leipzig, bey Joh. Christian Martini; Hamburgerisches Magazin. Bd. VIII, Stück 1-6, Hamburg, bei Georg Christ. Grund, und in Leipzig bei Adam Heinr. Holle, 1751; Ideenmagazin für Liebhaber von Gärten, Englischen Anlagen und für Besitzer von Landgütern. Works of the Swedish Royal Academy of Sciences – Abhandlungen der Königl. Schwedischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (aus der Naturlehre, Haushaltungskunst und Mechanik) auf des Jahr 1741, aus dem Schwedischen übersetzt, von Abraham Gotthelf Kästner. Bd.III., Hamburg, bey Georg Christian Grund und Adam Heinrich Holle, 1750.

<sup>34</sup> Woyt M. *Laurentius Wolfgang. Emblematischer Parnassus... in einem Gefilde von 1500...Sinn-Bildern. Erster Theil. Augdburg, in Verlag Jeremias Wollfs, Kunsthändlers seel. Erben, 1727.*

<sup>35</sup> Veber M. *Protestantskaia etika i dukh kapitalizma* [Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism]. Ivano-Frankivsk, 2002, p. 135.

<sup>36</sup> Rogall Georg *Friedr Hern alter und neuer Lieder, so in dennen Königl. Preußischen und Chur. Brandenburg. Landen gebräuchlich sind... Königsberg, druckts und verlegts Joh. Heinrich Hartung, 1757; Catalogus verhandener Bücher... des D. Philipp Jacob Speners.*

the leading Protestant theology".<sup>37</sup> However, in the reality of the civilization of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the ideological world of which was influenced by Descartes, Newton, Spinoza and Kant, the biblical thinking 'degraded'. Hans Sedlmayr called that era the age of an autonomous person. Everything that pertained to the transcendent reality ceased affecting thinking. Therefore, several works on economy, politics and geography, law and anatomy appeared in the collection. Among them, the anatomical tables compiled by Dr. Johann Adam Kulmus, *'Naturgeschichte des Mineralreichs mit besonderer Anwendung auf Thüringen'* by Johan Wilhelm Baumer, lavishly illustrated books about beetles, butterflies, flowers, etc. are of some interest.

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the books on travel, picturesque places and lyric poetry became popular. A valuable book in the collection is *'Triumph-Lied von den herrlichen Siegen der Deutschen über die Französer und ihrer groß gewesenenen Exkeiser Napoleon'*,<sup>38</sup> originating from the imperial home library in Berlin.

### Conclusion

In the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the library space was taken up with the shelves of law books, works on natural sciences, literary works of such iconic writers as Goethe, Schiller, Kotzebue, Novalis and authors who are not well-known today. The 'disenchantment of the world' takes place, as part of the grandiose process of rationalization and the evolvement of modern science. All the German books, mentioned above, which originate from the monastery library, the theological seminary and private collections, testify to the gradual and irreversible changes in the secular outlook, the transition from medieval and the religious contemplation in the early modern period, didacticism in practical mastery of the real world. According to the famous American Protestant theological ethicist of German origin, Helmut Richard Niebuhr, "cultures are always striving to unite piece with prosperity, justice with order, freedom with prosperity, truth with beauty, and scientific truth with moral welfare... Among such a variety of values, there is room for Kingdom of Heaven as well, however hardly as the value of utmost importance".<sup>39</sup> The enduring value of German books from the collection of the Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve is not only in the diversity of knowledge facets that they touched upon, however also in the history of their existence and belonging, in the special German 'architecture' of the book, preservation of the 'barbar-

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<sup>37</sup> Gromadka J.L. *Perelom v protestantskoi teologii* [A Turning Point in Protestant Theology]. Moscow, 1993, p. 29.

<sup>38</sup> *Triumph-Lied von den herrlichen Siegen der Deutschen über die Französer und ihrer groß gewesenenen Exkeiser Napoleon*. Leipzig, 1814.

<sup>39</sup> *Khristos i kul'tura. Izbrannye trudy Richarda Nibura i Rainkhol'da Nibura* [Christ and Culture. Selected Works of Richard Niebuhr and Reinhold Niebuhr]. Moscow, 1996, pp. 40–41.

ian' Gothic type and the remarkable engraving on metal and wood. Undoubtedly, the German printed books contributed to Russia entering the European literary medium, played the role of cultural transition and influenced Russian Baroque. The latter (unlike Western Baroque) had a life-asserting character and differed in its educational character. In our opinion, a more detailed study (quantitative examination, repertoire, records, etc.) of the book collections at the seminaries, monasteries and priest's libraries of the Upper Volga, is quite promising. This would give a more detailed answer to the question of the degree of impact of the Protestantism in Germany on Russian theological views and secular science, on the organization of pedagogical processes in religious and secular educational establishments and identify the circle of representatives of the church hierarchy who would be the readers and collectors of the German books.

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For citation: Kerbikov M. In the World of Gothic. Books in German of the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries in the collection of Yaroslavl Museum-Reserve. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 104–120. DOI: 10.23859/2587-8352-2018-2-2-6

UDC 94(47+57) '1905/1917'

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**Review of the collection: *The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. International academic conference, St Petersburg, Tauride Palace, 8–9<sup>th</sup> December 2016. Collection of scientific works; in A. B. Nikolaev (Ed.). St Petersburg: ElekSis, 2017, part 1. 338 p.; part 2. 313 p.; part 3. 98 p.***

The modern Russian parliamentary system is often seen and presented by the parliamentarians themselves as the continuation of the experience of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. One can argue whether such judgments are justified or, on the contrary, rather speculative; however it is obvious that the right to decide on this matter does not belong to the representatives of any specific field of knowledge – neither history nor political sciences or jurisprudence. This decision can only arise because of their mutually enriching collaboration.

The collection of the materials of the 2016 Tauride Readings that were held for the 10<sup>th</sup> time that year, demonstrates that the tradition of the multi-disciplinary approach to the study of the parliamentary system has not only been formed, but also dynamically develops, combining the efforts of scientists representing different generations and various countries. Among the authors of the collected volume of scientific articles are both well-known specialists and young researchers from St Petersburg, Moscow, Astrakhan, Yekaterinburg, Yelets, Kazan, Kaliningrad, Kaluga, Nizhny Novgorod, Orel, Perm, Ryazan, Tver, Chelyabinsk, Cherepovets and Yaroslavl. International scientists from Belarus, Poland, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and the United States of America also took part in the said conference.

The range of the topics covered in the articles is very impressive, starting from the reviews of archival collections and proceeding to theoretical reconstructions and detailed problem-solution analytical essays. However, specific historic and historical-legal research still prevails.

The topics vary in such a way that the collection is published in three separate parts, or volumes, with the total number of almost six hundred and fifty pages. Probably, due to some technical issues, this division into three parts does not always correspond to thematic and chronological bibliography of the composition. The reports on the history of European parliamentary institutions and social ideas are somewhat artificially distributed between the second and the third parts; for that reason, most of these reports are separated from the main array of the texts.

The foreword written by A. B. Nikolayev, Professor of Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia (RSPU), who initiated the annual Tauride Readings that have been held since 2007<sup>1</sup>, opens the collection of scientific works<sup>2</sup>. In essence, it represents a synopsis, a brief chronicle on preparation and arrangement of the Tauride Readings. The public resonance of the conference itself as well as of the presented works is accentuated by the participation in the Readings of representatives of the Interparliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States (IPA CIS) and the State Duma of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, A. I. Sergeev and V. Yu. Zorin. The speech by A. O. Rodzyanko, the great-grandson of the last chairman of the State Duma of the Russian Empire, is, of course, a memorial narrative – a token of respect for the famous ancestor; however at the same time, it is a valuable illustration of the message regarding the succession of epochs.

The reports of the next group, at first glance, stand out due to their rather culturological orientation. The main object of study in them is the Tauride Palace, but not in its familiar role of the location for the first State Duma meetings, but rather a historical and cultural landmark and a place of memory. Yu. I. Kashaverskaia in her research traces the history of repair and restoration works in the palace, showing how it first became a parliamentary building followed by a museum. T. I. Nikolaeva focuses on the palace and garden complex laid out around the Tauride Palace as the memorial dedicated to the art of building in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. I. G. Lander refers to the history of celebrations of the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Al-

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<sup>1</sup> Predislovie [The Foreword by A.B. Nikolayev]. *Tavrisheskie chteniia 2007: Aktual'nye problemy istorii parlamentarizma v Rossii v nachale XX veka. Nauchno-prakticheskii seminar, S.-Peterburg, Tavrisheskii dvorets, 11 dekabria 2007. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva* [The 2007 Tauride Readings. Actual problems in the history of parliamentarism in Russia in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. International Academic Conference, St Petersburg, The Tauride Palace, 11<sup>th</sup> December 2008. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2008, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Predislovie [The Foreword by A.B. Nikolayev]. *Tavrisheskie chteniia 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva* [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2017, part 1, pp. 6–10.

exander Sergeevich Pushkin that took place in the palace. According to the author, it was the next step on the way of 'canonization' of the Russian classic by means of official aesthetics. The material of O. A. Patrikeeva is highly interesting in the context of the collection, as it describes how the convention of the State Duma in 1906 transformed the "depressed St Petersburg lonely spot" into "one of the most fashionable districts of the city"<sup>3</sup>. The rapid development of the urban landscape and the concentration of the infrastructure around the Tauride Palace in due course led to the creation of a special communicative space, where, using the opportunities of informal communication, it was possible to solve the most uncomfortable issues, reconcile disputants and find a compromise that would seem unreal in the meeting room. The conversation between P. N. Milyukov, the leader of the Cadets, with the Commandant of the Imperial Palace, Dmitri Feodorovich Trepov, who retained influence with the Tzar Nicholas II, is the best example of how the State Duma policy easily transformed into non-institutional forms. The conversation took place on the eve of the First Duma being dissolved in the summer of 1906, in the restaurant called 'Kyuba' and among other things was devoted to the prospects of forming a government in Russia that subordinated directly to the parliament. As an element of the question regarding the responsible ministry, this conversation was studied out in the articles of S.V. Kulikov (Saint-Petersburg Institute of History of the Russian Academy of Sciences – SPbIH RAS) and K.A. Soloviev (Institute for Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences – IRH RAS). Both works, included into the first part of the collection, are among the most interesting ones. Justifying the possibility for the supreme power to make any concessions to the Duma majority for the sake of preserving domestic political stability, Kulikov and Soloviev consider it from various angles. The former points to the ambiguity of D.F. Trepov's position, revealing the signs of sympathy for the liberals in it; the latter indicates that the positions of both sides were rather ambiguous or even not quite definite. There was no solidarity on the question of the government neither in the ranks of the upper bureaucracy nor among the Cadets. According to K.A. Soloviev, "the Cadets were not ready to negotiate anything with the representatives of bureaucracy", they "did not have the freedom of maneuver in discussing the program guidelines of the future cabinet". Therefore, in many respects, "they did not understand that as fate would have it, they had a long chance to

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<sup>3</sup> Patrikeeva O.A. Gosudarstvennaia дума Rossiiskoi imperii v prostranstve Peterburga [The State Duma of the Russian Empire in the city space of Petersburg]. *Tavrisheskie chteniya 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'*. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2017, part 1, p. 61.

gain some power...”<sup>4</sup>. I.V. Lukoyanov (SPbIH RAS), summing up the results of the discussion, did not agree with any of its participants and noted the physical impossibility of starting a ministry in Russia, directly responsible to the Duma. He showed that the very issue of practical legal responsibility of ministers in any negotiations was in fact replaced by other more important issues – regarding the personal composition of the government and dedicating the portfolios, as well as the appointment of the future prime minister.

One more discussion – the newspaper controversy between S. S. Tatishchev and A.S. Suvorin regarding the nature of the future government in Russia, became the subject matter of A.E. Kotov’s report (St Petersburg State University – SPbU). The report of the historian D.V. Aronov from Oryol was devoted to the problem of reconstruction of the liberal constitutional draft based on surviving news sources. A. V. Kostylev (SPbSAU) and A.A. Kuznetsov (Kaliningrad) analyzed the Duma electoral mechanics itself in their articles – development of the election legislation, as well as the significance of the ‘institute’ of electoral delegates. Chelyabinsk researchers V.V. Musatov and N.S. Sidorenko presented the results of a historical and linguistic analysis of the discourse that emerged in the press in the Urals around the topic of convocation of the State Duma. However, one should regret that the authors, having identified the ideological segmentation of this discourse into three different ‘camps’, did not point out their regional features as clearly.

In the section ‘Duma elections in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century’, the work of K. V. Karpenko, Candidate of Juridical Sciences (PhD), Docent of MGIMO University, comes under notice, which questions the traditional interpretation of the events of 3<sup>rd</sup> June 1907 as an ‘upheaval’ in the historiography<sup>5</sup>. The author concludes that the Emperor, according to the Russian Constitution of 1906 (Fundamental Laws of the Russian Empire), possessed constituent authority, which enabled him to dissolve the State Duma, exercising this right being long-approved in the constitutional practice for the head of state. Whereas the introduction of the new electoral law is interpreted as the amendment by the Emperor of the procedure for execution of some of his

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<sup>4</sup> Soloviev K.A. Kadety i otvetstvennoe pered Dumoi pravitel'stvo. 1906 god [The Cadets and the government responsible to the Duma. Year 1906]. *Tavrisheskie chteniya 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'*. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2017, part 1, p. 138.

<sup>5</sup> Karpenko K.V. “Tret'eiiun'skaia” monarhiia i polozhenie o vyborakh 1907 g.: opyt iuridicheskoi kvalifikatsii [The Monarchy of the 3<sup>rd</sup> June 3 and the Russian electoral law of 1907: The experience of a legal qualification]. *Tavrisheskie chteniia 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'*. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2017, part 1, pp. 174–183.

rights. Just as the Autocrat of All Russia 'granted' the country with the State Duma, which was partially delegated with his authority, the procedure of elections to the State Duma was harmonized in exactly the same manner.

The same section features a few reports on regional elections and the factors impacting their results. The works focus on Kaluga Governorate (A.A. Ivanov), Nizhny Novgorod Governorate (F.A. Seleznev), Northwestern Krai (E.V. Ivankov) and St Petersburg (D.A. Timokhin).

The last two sections of the first part of the collection ('The Russian parliament in 1906–17: Composition and activities' and 'Parliament, power structure and society in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century') draw the reader's attention primarily to two main topics: the Duma's legislative work in interaction with the government, the State Council and the actions of specific actors in various political environments of Russia. I. V. Ryabukhin (Perm) devoted his research to the practice of deputy inquiry in the First State Duma. The reports of I.V. Ambartsumov (SPbSU), A.B. Bogomolov (SPbSU) and V.A. Demin (IRH RAS) show how complex the process of discussing the legislative initiatives was as related to matrimonial relations, reforms of primary education and to the activities the Department of Orthodox confession. The system of relations 'Duma – the Council of Ministers' and 'Duma – the State Council' included at that time the third member – the Most Holy Governing Synod, the position of which was impossible to ignore. In his report, A.N. Michurin, Associate Professor of St Petersburg State University, tries to restore the personal composition of influence groups that formed the opposition in the State Council. The material of I. K. Kiryanov, Professor of Perm National Research Polytechnic University, is a little close to the work of A.N. Michurin, in which, with the application of quantitative methods, he studies the composition of the special 'parliamentary sub-elite', i.e. the composition of the most active deputative layer that was already established among the First Duma deputies ('pervodymtsy'). The article of N.A. Portnyagina (SPbSU) shows the first and second State Duma from the perspective of the correspondence between British diplomats who unwittingly applied various concepts and categories only suitable to describe a mature parliamentary system and the institutions referring to it (as was the British Parliament itself), to the unstable delegate body.

The relationship between the chairman of the State Duma and representatives of the press as a factor in the Duma policies are problematized in the report of P.S. Nitkin (SPbSU). The report of D.V. Shchukin (Yelets) is devoted to how, in the political communication connected with the activity of the State Duma, the metaphor of the 'kitchen' and the imaginary space defined by it, were superimposed onto the real space of the buffet and the restaurant, where the deputies gathered, and how the 'kitchen' images became a significant part of the language describing the authorities.

Here, for the third time, Milyukov's negotiations with Trepov are mentioned – precisely as an example of connection between metaphors and practice.<sup>6</sup>

A.N. Egorov (Cherepovets) devoted his research to the question of influence of the State Duma and the reports on its work on the public sentiments among the population of Vologda Governorate. According to his opinion, confirmed by the records management of the provincial gendarme department, this influence was rather insignificant. The reasons for the indifferent attitudes towards the State Duma did not only lie in the poor awareness or semi-illiteracy, however partially, also in the conscious abstraction of the public from the State Duma on the grounds of common sense. In doing so, at the regional level “the version about the serious role of the State Duma in ‘rocking the boat’ on the eve of the February Revolution was not confirmed”<sup>7</sup>. Pragmatism, as it is shown in the article of R. Ya. Yurkovski (the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland) dictated the position of the Polish deputies, who refused to support the famous Vyborg Manifesto in the summer of 1906.

The report of E.S. Gavroeva (RSPU, St Petersburg) on the complex relationship between M. V. Rodzyanko and the Prime Minister Baron Boris Vladimirovich Stürmer, where the chairman of the State Duma did not always play the role of the middleman of the government course<sup>8</sup>, shapes the transition to the second part of the collection, which is also devoted to the topic of ‘transit of power’ during the revolutionary period. The report of S.V. Kholyaev (Yaroslavl) is also somewhat ‘transitional’ in terms of its content, as it focuses on the threat of dissolution of the State Duma that

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<sup>6</sup> Shchukin D.V. Ot tarelki i bufeta do restorana: «kuhnia» v politicheskikh processakh i povsednevnosti rossiiskogo parlamentarizma nachala XX veka (po vospominaniyam chlenov partii kadetov) [From the plate and the buffet to the restaurant: ‘Kitchen’ in the political processes and daily routine of the Russian Parliamentarism in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (as remembered by the members of the Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadets)]. *Tavrisheskie chteniia 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'*. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2017, part 1, p. 301.

<sup>7</sup> Egorov A.N. K voprosu o stepeni vliianiia Gosudarstvennoi dumy na politicheskie nastroeniia naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii (po materialam Vologodskoj gubernii) [On the question of the State Duma influencing the political sentiments of the population of the Russian Empire (based on the materials of Vologda Governorate)]. *Tavrisheskie chteniia 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'*. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2017, part 1, p. 315.

<sup>8</sup> Gavroeva E.S. M.V. Rodzianko i B.V. Shtürmer v 1916 g. [Mikhail Rodzyanko and Boris Stürmer in 1916]. *Tavrisheskie chteniia 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'*. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2017, part 1, pp. 317–325.

held its meetings at the end of 1916; however such a threat did not materialize. At the same time, the ministry responsible to the Duma was not formed either, although Nicholas II, according to the author of the report, did brood over such plans.

The reports in the second part of the collection are grouped into three sections: the activities of the Russian Imperial Duma and the sources on the history of pre-revolutionary parliamentarism; evolution of parliamentary institutions in the late Soviet Union and the CIS states and, finally, foreign parliamentarism in its actual and historical forms. The materials of the first section are devoted to the analysis of the role of the State Duma in the February Revolution. F.A. Gaida (Lomonosov Moscow State University – MSU) examines the State Duma, on the one hand, as the element of Imperial Manifesto of June 3, 1907 and the newly formed political system as ‘the centre of the revolution activities’, and on the other hand, as a potential locus of power in the political crisis during February–March 1917. From his point of view, such duality in the status prevented the State Duma from becoming the leading authority in the new system of power. The Provisional Government considered it as the not quite legitimate ‘fragment’ of the former regime and hence, as its political rival. A.B. Nikolaev ascertains that on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1917, a specific political system was created in the country (called by him as ‘the political system of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March’), where the State Duma and the Petrograd Soviet acted as the legitimate guarantors of the Provisional Government, defining the new state structure that was entrusted to the All Russian Constituent Assembly, prior to the convening of which, the adherence of the constitutional monarchy employing a parliamentary system was declared formally, whereby the supreme authority was to be exercised by the Provisional Committee of the State Duma<sup>9</sup>. In the summary report of A.B. Nikolaev’s contribution, Professor V.V. Kalashnikov notes the polemical character of the term ‘the political system of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of March’, whereby the conclusions regarding the rapid transformation of the Provisional Committee of the State Duma into the main force of the revolution and setting up the ‘Duma-Soviet’ authority from 27-28<sup>th</sup> February seem to him to be innovative and well-founded<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>9</sup> Nikolaev A.B. Gosudarstvennaia дума i Fevral'skaia revoliutsiia: 27 fevralia – 3 marta 1917 g. [The State Duma and the February Revolution: 27<sup>th</sup> February – 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1917]. *Tavricheskie chteniia 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i so-vremennost'. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva* [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)]. St Petersburg, 2017, part 2, p. 40.

<sup>10</sup> Kalashnikov V.V. Gosudarstvennaia дума i Fevral'skaia revoliutsiia: noveishaia istoriografiia [The State Duma and the February Revolution: The latest historiography]. *Tavricheskie chteniia 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva* [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems

The materials in the section 'The Duma biographics', which focuses on the facts or events in personal biographies, show how the first Russian parliament functioned at the level of interpersonal interactions, and how the social and political background and personal characteristics of deputies influenced the activities of the internal structure of the State Duma (the article of the Astrakhan researcher A.Ya. Sedova about Alexander Ivanovich Guchkov, Chairman of the Third Duma). Provoking various incidents, such as the parliamentary duel – Alexander Guchkov vs Count Sergey Uvarov, or 'the greatcoat case' of P.F. Mershchiiy, were immediately covered by the press and provided the publicity for the State Duma meetings (see the works of A.A. Ivanov and A.A. Chemakin). The political portraits of such deputies as A. V. Yeropkin (the author is A.S. Sokolov from Ryazan), N.N.L'vov (by N.V. Samokhvalova, Saratov) and V.A. Kharlamov (by A.A. Panina, Rostov-on-Don), more traditional content-wise, are also placed in this section.

In the source study section of the second part, I would highlight the work of T.A. Barkhatova (Tver), containing the overview of the documents of the Tver Governorate election commission. The article not only suggests the index composition and the information asset of the documental complexes, but also provides valuable concrete-historical data, characterizing the public sentiments of the population in Tver Governorate during the time of preparing for holding elections to the First State Duma, as well as the maturity degree of the political consciousness of the voters during the said elections. Thus, the example provided by T.A. Barkhatova of how one of the clergymen complained about violation of his rights to nominate recommendations of electoral delegates as per the principle of seniority-based hierarchical relations<sup>11</sup> can be compared with similar facts noted at the district gatherings of the clergy as early as in the 1860s and 1870s. The analysis by D.M. Usmanova (Kazan) conducted with regards to the set of welcoming telegrams received by the Russian Provisional Government from the Muslim communities in Russia is undoubtedly interesting.

The article of V.L. Zemlyanskiy (Komsomolsk-on-Amur) is devoted to the little-known episode of political struggle in the early 1920s in the Russian Far East, the dissolution of Primorsky regional People's Assembly by the Priamur Provisional Government under Merkulov in an effort to form a new representative body that

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of parliamentarism: history and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)). St Petersburg, 2017, part 2, pp. 47–53.

<sup>11</sup> Barkhatova T.A. Obzor dokumentov Gosudarstvennogo arkhiva Tverskoi oblasti po vyboram v I Gosudarstvennuiu dumu Rossiiskoi imperii [Review of the documents of the State Archives of Tver Region regarding the elections to the First State Duma of the Russian Empire]. *Tavrisheskie chteniia 2016. Aktual'nye problemy parlamentarizma: istoriia i sovremennost'. Sbornik nauchnykh statei; pod red. A.B. Nikolaeva* [The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. In A.B. Nikolaev (Ed.)). St Petersburg, 2017, Part 2, p. 115.

would be more loyal to the executive power. Fairly placed into a separate section, this contribution makes it possible to understand the peculiarity of the political dynamics of the region in the pre-Soviet period.

The block of reports focused on the development of the parliamentary system in the CIS states is started by such researchers as R.A. Yalyshev (Saint Petersburg Electrotechnical University – LETI), devoted to the discussion of the draft of the Union Treaty at the Congresses of People's Deputies in 1989–91, and F.V. Malkhozova (IRH RAS) on the organization of elections of people's deputies in the Russian SFSR in 1989–90. In the block, extensive factual material regarding the activities of congresses as state institutions is collected and summarized, alas, still very poorly studied in Russian historical sciences. In this respect, the work of E.A. Tarasova (SPbSU) reveals the role of the Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR directly within preparing the draft of the New Union Treaty. Political content-wise and with polemic sentiments, the essay of Vladimir V. Kara-Murza (the USA) on the parliamentary activities of B. E. Nemtsov, in my opinion, continues a little the line already 'scribed' in the section 'The Duma biographics' and reveals the obvious potential for a comparative study of the life journeys and political paths of the deputies in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the contemporary history. The reports of I.V. Uzlovaya (SPbSU) regarding the relations of the State Duma of the first convocation and the Government of V.S. Chernomyrdin and that of A.V. Evdokimov (Nizhny Novgorod) on deputies-representatives of the region in the State Duma in 1995–99 are a wake-up call to identify the prospects of comparative studies related to the State Duma (although limited). The reports of E.A. Kochkarova (Bishkek) and M.I. Rosenko (Sevastopol) reveal the essential characteristics and the peculiarities of the post-Soviet parliamentary system on the examples of the unicameral Parliament of the Kyrgyz Republic and the Verkhovna Rada in the Ukraine. The report of I. S. Kuchanov (State Historic Library of Russia) describes the role of various parliamentary institutions in the formation of the system of power 'from scratch' under the conditions of Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) and Luhansk People's Republic (LPR), the landlocked proto-states in eastern Ukraine with limited international recognition. The problems of Eurasian political and economic integration within the context of activities of the Interparliamentary Assembly of Member Nations of the Commonwealth of Independent States are highlighted in the articles of T.S. Kalenova (Astana), E.Yu. Treschenkov (SPbSU) and A.A. Nikulina (RANEPA, St Petersburg).

The concluding block of reports consists of the materials on the foreign parliamentary system throughout the history and in today's world. Without characterizing its content in details, I would like to note that the submitted articles describe the various models of parliamentary systems – in Latin America, Germany after World War II, Poland in the early modern era, America, and Austria. The works of S.V.

Bochkarev (RSPU, St Petersburg) and O.S. Berezkina (MSU) focus on the comparative and legal analysis of the activities of parliaments in the contemporary Western Europe. It is not without reason that as many as eleven articles are devoted to the history of the Parliament of the United Kingdom in the 16<sup>th</sup> – the middle part of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. These reports are gathered in the third part of the collection. Among them, there is a contribution of one of the leading Russian Anglicists, Professor T.L. Labutina (Institute of World History, Russian Academy of Sciences), on the political party debates in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century regarding the issues of constitutional legislation.

The reviewed collection seems to be able to equip the wide audience with a clear idea of the present state, range of problems and the quality of research in the domain of history, theory and practice of Russian and foreign parliamentary systems, globally. It will be certainly useful for any expert readers (historians, political scientists or lawyers) in their own research.

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For citation: Vsevolodov A. Review of the collection: The 2016 Tauride Readings. Actual problems of parliamentarism: History and modernity. International academic conference, St Petersburg, Tauride Palace, 8–9<sup>th</sup> December 2016. Collection of scientific works; in A.B. Nikolayev (Ed.). St Petersburg: ElekSis, 2017. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 121–132.

UDC 94(47+57) '1905/1917'

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**Book review: Nikolaev A.B. *'The Duma revolution': 27<sup>th</sup> February – 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1917: in 2 volumes.* St Peterburg: The Herzen State Pedagogical University (RSPU), 2017.**

The study of the history of Russian Revolution of 1917 is the most important trend in the historical sciences in Russia. Despite enormous amounts of literature on the topic of the February Revolution, many controversial questions remain, including the place and role of the State Duma in the events of that February. The debates on this issue began immediately after the abolition of the monarchy, and it is the non-stop discussion today. In the spring and summer of 1917, the liberals, hoping to 'channelize' the people's movement in the right direction, emphasized the great role of the 4<sup>th</sup> State Duma in the revolution. "It is true that the revolution started not because of a planned conspiracy but because of the spontaneous mass activity. It is not true that it owed its success to the disorder and anarchy. The revolution owes its victory to the State Duma, which granted sanction to this coup and that united not the individual parties but the whole nation", P. N. Milyukov declared at the Moscow State Conference in August 1917<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the socialists gave an outright denial of the revolutionary role of the parliament. Typical were the statements similar to that of the famous socialist-revolutionary M. V. Vishnyak, that the State Duma of the third and fourth convocations were the helpless 'ball of fortune' for the authorities that lacked credibility for the wide range of the public and the lower classes. According to his opinion, the role of the parliament in the February events "could not be more insignificant", since the Duma, as an institution, "was always against the revolution, did not want it, was afraid of it, and even hated it". The Provisional Committee of the State Duma that replaced the Duma "did not control the events but was ra-

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<sup>1</sup> Milyukov P.N. *Istoriia vtoroi russkoi revoliutsii* [The History of the Second Russian Revolution]. Moscow, 2001, p. 315.

ther controlled by the events themselves"<sup>2</sup>. Such evaluations originated in the socialist environment already during the days of the revolution. On 28<sup>th</sup> February 1917, Zinaida Gippius wrote about the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, "The revolution toppled this regime without their participation. They did not topple the government. They only 'mechanically' stayed on the surface – on the top. By the passive and secret procedure"<sup>3</sup>.

The Soviet historiography always linked the key events of the February Revolution with the people's uprising on 27<sup>th</sup> February, whereof it followed that the Provisional Committee of the State Duma joining the revolution was belated and was not of any importance. Even in 1923, Ilya Vardin emphasized that the State Duma became the heart of the revolution "only because *the building of the Tauride Palace* [hereinafter marked by the author. – A. Egorov] ... was the central spot for the people's rebellion". In it, the Petrograd Soviet was formed to become the center of the rebellion. In such a situation, the liberals had no choice but to accept the revolution, otherwise they would have faced the 'poetic justice' exercised by the people. "Such a travesty of the historical evidence are these words about the liberals 'leading' the revolution! Rodzyanko and Milyukov *did not take the lead in the revolution but rather appeared to have been 'captured' by the said revolution*. And the naive revolutionary 'leaders' gave them the ministerial portfolios, i.e. allowed them to get what they wanted because of the people's revolution, by means of an agreement with Tsarism!"<sup>4</sup>, Vardin notes. In the 1930s, the first volume of 'The History of the Civil War in the USSR' formulated the official point of view on the conduct of the State Duma opposition during the February Revolution. According to it, the revolution was carried out by soldiers and workers alone, without any support from the State Duma that rather tried to help the Tsarist autocracy to suppress the uprising. When the revolution succeeded, the liberals decided to form their own government hoping to suppress the people's movement and to establish its class authority<sup>5</sup>. In the 1960s, this point of view shifted ground. The historians of the USSR began to believe that the State Duma opposition had their own policy orientation in the February Revolution, which in many respects did not agree with the position of the old regime. The researchers emphasized the confusion and indifference of the State Duma opposition during the first days of the revolution, believing that the liberals did not really tried to help Tsarism to suppress the people's movement but rather waited to see how events would finally

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<sup>2</sup> Vishnyak M.V. *Dva puti: Fevral' i Oktiabr'* [Two Ways: February and October]. Paris, 1931, pp. 106–107.

<sup>3</sup> Gippius Z.N. *Peterburgskie dnevniki. 1914–1919* [Petersburg Diaries. 1914–1919]. New York, Moscow, 1990, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> Vardin I.V. Liberalizm – tsarizm – revoliutsiia [Liberalism – Tsarism – Revolution]. *Krasnaya Nov'* [Krasnaia Nov'], 1923, book 2, p. 288.

<sup>5</sup> *Istoriia grazhdanskoi voiny v SSSR* [History of the Civil War in the USSR]. Moscow, 1936, vol. 1, pp. 116–131.

unfold. When the victory of the people became obvious, they decided to assume power, holding a course for entrenchment of the bourgeoisie. In the 1990s, this point of view did not undergo any significant changes.

Since the late 1990s, A.B. Nikolaev has focused on the study of the role of the State Duma in the February Revolution<sup>6</sup>. He is also among the organizers of the annual international academic conference 'The 2016 Tauride Readings' held at the Tauride Palace since 2007. The event is dedicated to the study of various problems of Russian and foreign parliamentary systems. Within the framework of this conference, the most controversial problems of the participation of the State Duma in the February Revolution were repeatedly raised. The monograph of A.B. Nikolaev 'The Duma Revolution' published in 2017 sums up the multi-year research of the author and takes to the next level the discussion of the role of the parliament in the February events. The work was carried out based on the large source base, which included the entire complex of documentary and narrative sources on the declared problem. It includes the documents of the State Archive of the Russian Federation, the Russian State Historical Archive, the Russian State Historical Archive, St Petersburg; and many others, materials of the printed media, journalists' research, memoirs, diaries, letters, and interviews with the contemporaries and participants of events. Russian and foreign historiography of the raised problems is analyzed by A. B. Nikolaev in detail.

The main idea of the monograph is that "the State Duma played a leading role in the February Revolution starting from 27<sup>th</sup> February 1917, working their way from the attempt to carry out the idea of creating a responsible ministry (government) and to taking actions aimed at seizing power, creation of the Provisional Government, and the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy in Russia"<sup>7</sup>. All the information used by the author focuses on the verification of this idea. A. B. Nikolaev's attempt to show that the State Duma began to get involved in the revolution as early as on the morning of 27<sup>th</sup> February 1917 is very convincing. Even at the meeting of the Council of Elders and the private meeting of the members of the State Duma, several steps were taken that predetermined the transformation of the State Duma into the heart of the revolu-

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<sup>6</sup> Nikolaev A.B. *Gosudarstvennaia дума v Fevral'skoi revoliutsii: ocherki istorii* [The State Duma in the February Revolution: Essays on the History]. Ryazan, 2002; Idem. [Revolution and Power: The 4th State Duma of February 27 – March 3, 1917]. St Petersburg, 2005; *Revoliutsiia i vlast': IV Gosudarstvennaia дума 27 fevralia – 3 marta 1917 g.* [Revolution and Power: The State Duma of the 4th convocation February 27 – March 3, 1917: Doct. Dis. in Historical Sciences]. St Petersburg, 2005; Glava IV. *Gosudarstvennaia дума i Fevral'skaia revoliutsiia. Pervaia mirovaia voina i konets Rossiiskoi imperii* [Chapter IV. The State Duma and the February Revolution. The First World War and the End of the Russian Empire: in 3 volumes. In R. Sh. Ganelin. (Ed.)] St Petersburg, 2014, vol. 3: The February Revolution, pp. 186–342, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Nikolaev A.B. *Dumskai revoliutsiia: 27 fevralia – 3 marta 1917 goda* [The Duma Revolution: February 27 – March 3, 1917: in 2 volumes]. St Petersburg, 2017, vol. 2, p. 267.

tion. In the first place, the question was about the non-recognition of Nicholas II's decree on the dissolution of the State Duma for vacations and about the participation of the Duma deputies in the abolishment of the old authority and replacing it with the new one. Having adopted the decision to create the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, the deputies made it clear that the State Duma was ready to assume the leading role in the revolution and to form a new government. The researcher refers various things to the revolutionary arrangements of the Committee: publication of a leaflet without censorship specifying the composition of the Committee, granting sanction to publish the first free newspaper in Russia 'The News of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers Deputies', and the negotiations with Nikolai Golitsyn, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia, and Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich of Russia, during which the deputies demanded the abdication of Nicholas II and threatened to arrest the Tsarist ministers<sup>8</sup>.

Contrary to the assertions in Soviet historiography about the participation of the State Duma in the revolution only in the sense of the Tauride Palace becoming center of the people's movement, A.B. Nikolaev brought into sharp focus the transformation of the State Duma on the morning of 27<sup>th</sup> February into the real 'headquarters' of the uprising. The soldiers and workers who came to the Tauride Palace fell under the organizational influence of the emerging Military Commission, which the author calls 'the headquarters of Kerensky'. It was that informal structure, as it is proved in the monograph, that played a central role in the organization of the soldiers' uprising. By the evening of 27<sup>th</sup> February, 'the headquarters of Kerensky', soon transformed into the Military Commission of the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, received at their disposal not only the disorderly crowds of soldiers, but also the military units that retained the command officers. According to the author, the strategy of revolutionary violence pursued by Alexander Kerensky and the staff of his 'headquarters', such as the orders to occupy buildings and arrests of the supporters of the Tsarist regime, contributed to the fact that the State Duma got the extension of its influence.

The monograph also pays significant importance to the analysis of the activities of the Provisional Committee of the State Duma. Having become the governmental authority, the State Duma began to issue various legislative documents, acquired the rights of the judiciary, and moved in the direction of obtaining the functions of the supreme power. The most important element of this new government was the appointment of commissioners with emergency powers. As shown by A. B. Nikolaev, these commissioners were important because they were an essential link in the new combination of powers, having provided the State Duma Committee with the nature of governmental authority, with the reservation of the right to supreme power<sup>9</sup>.

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<sup>8</sup> Nikolaev A.B. *Dumskaiia revoliutsiia: 27 fevralia – 3 marta 1917 goda* [The Duma Revolution: February 27 – March 3, 1917: in 2 volumes]. St Petersburg, 2017, vol. 2, p. 263.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 264.

In the opinion of A.B. Nikolaev, taking the central administration into the hands of the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, contributed to the 'revolutionizing' of the whole country, because it was from the telegrams of M.V. Rodzyanko, A.A. Bublikov and others that the country learned about the events in the capital, and these telegrams insisted on "the special role of the State Duma in the revolution"<sup>10</sup>. It seems, though, that at the provincial level, the role of the State Duma was not as significant as in the capital – for the provinces, the very fact of the collapse of the Tsarist regime was more important than those who replaced it. This can be easily illustrated by the following example. On 1<sup>st</sup> March 1917, a telegram of M.V. Rodzyanko was received in Vologda that was addressed to the municipal government with an appeal to form a governmental committee. An urgent meeting of the councilors with representatives from local community-based organizations, cooperatives, workers, peasants – 'the crowd', was held in the building of the City Duma with over thousand people participating. After the speech of the socialist-revolutionary S.S. Maslov on behalf of the representatives of the parties currently operating in the city – socialist-revolutionaries, social democrats and cadets, it was decided to oust the governor and the local administration from power, to form the Provisional Committee of Vologda Governorate and hand over power to them<sup>11</sup>. Maslov's speech was not an impromptu one – they knew in Vologda about the events unfolding already since 28<sup>th</sup> February. By that, the telegram of Rodzyanko did not revolutionize the country, but it was simply used by the local revolutionary circles to seize the power. It seems that the question of the State Duma influencing the revolution development in the regions still requires a background study.

In his work, A.B. Nikolaev disagrees with the point of view of Soviet historiography on the development of the 'duality of power' in the revolutionary days. He believes that it is more correct to talk about the formation of the so-called 'Duma-Soviet power', which started to be in effect after 9 pm on 27<sup>th</sup> February, when N.S. Chkheidze became Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet, with A.F. Kerensky as his comrade, and they were both delegated by the general meeting of the Petrograd Soviet to the Provisional Committee of the State Duma. As the monograph shows, the policy of this co-operation with the Soviets was mostly initiated by the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, and the activity of the Petrograd Soviet corresponded to it only to a lesser extent. The coordination of military and food issues led to the emergence of the Duma-Soviet Military Commission and the Food Supply Commission of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, the activities of which are also examined in

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<sup>10</sup> Nikolaev A.B. *Dumskaiia revoliutsiia: 27 fevralia – 3 marta 1917 goda* [The Duma Revolution: February 27 – March 3, 1917: in 2 volumes]. St Petersburg, 2017, vol. 1, p. 539.

<sup>11</sup> Egorov A.N. Kadetskie organizatsii Vologodskoi gubernii v 1917 godu [Cadet organizations of Vologda Governorate in 1917]. *Istoriia: fakty i simvol'y* [History: Facts and Symbols], 2017, no. 4 (13), p. 53.

detail by A. B. Nikolayev. The author also analyzes the cooperation between the Provisional Committee of the State Duma and the Petrograd Soviet in terms of creation of city militia(s). In fact, this cooperation took place without the creation of joint commissions. The study proves to satisfaction that the Provisional Committee of the State Duma and the Petrograd Soviet, having arranged the cooperation with the Petrograd Soviet, acted as the creator of the new authority. The author of the monograph calls it 'the Duma-Soviet authority', with the obvious supremacy of the State Duma over the Petrograd Soviet<sup>12</sup>. It is also worth mentioning that this idea is supported by the opinion of A.F. Kerensky, who wrote in his memoirs, "... the State Duma remained the only locus of power in the whole country. Its Provisional Committee acted without any intrusions from the far-left parties; the Committee took the lead in the revolution simply because the time has come"<sup>13</sup>.

The pioneering approach used by A.B. Nikolaev consists in the proposal to replace the term 'duality of power' with a new term 'March 3<sup>rd</sup>: a set of liberal principles'. The researcher refers the following features:

- 1) acknowledgment of the Provisional Government of the State Duma represented by its Provisional Committee and of the Petrograd Soviet represented by its Executive Committee, as the main sources of authority in the country;
- 2) presence of conditionally unaccountable Provisional Government;
- 3) the constitutional monarchy employing a parliamentary system;
- 4) solution of the question on the political system by the Constituent Assembly;
- 5) implementation of the new approach with regards to the separation of powers in April 1917, according to which the supreme power, prior to the convocation of the Constituent Assembly, passed into the hands of the Provisional Committee of the State Duma with the simultaneous operation of two legislative chambers (the State Duma and the State Council) and the responsible ministry<sup>14</sup>.

Introduction of the term 'March 3<sup>rd</sup>: a set of liberal principles' into scientific nomenclature allows to demonstrate the role of the State Duma in the creation of the new government and its influence on the future events. Thus, the Provisional Committee of the State Duma did not quit the political stage after the formation of the Provisional Government but continued its work until early October 1917. As estimated by A. B. Nikolaev, only during the period from 4<sup>th</sup> March to 19<sup>th</sup> March 1917, 12 meetings of the Provisional Committee of the State Duma were held, where executive decisions were taken, including personnel matters – appointment of commissioners

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<sup>12</sup> Nikolaev A.B. *Dumskaiia revoliutsiia: 27 fevralia – 3 marta 1917 goda* [The Duma Revolution: February 27–March 3, 1917: in 2 volumes]. St Petersburg, 2017, vol. 2, p. 266.

<sup>13</sup> Kerensky A.F. *Rossiiia v povorotnyi moment istorii* [Russia at the Turning Point in History]. Moscow, 2006, p. 197.

<sup>14</sup> Nikolaev A.B. *Dumskaiia revoliutsiia: 27 fevralia – 3 marta 1917 goda* [The Duma Revolution: February 27 – March 3, 1917: in 2 volumes]. St Petersburg, 2017, vol. 2, p. 261.

on sites. Up to the end of August 1917, private meetings of the members of the State Duma were held on a regular basis, a certain influence of which over the political processes was recognized even by the Soviet historiography, with all the underestimation of the parliamentary institutions<sup>15</sup>. Thus, the introduction of the new term allows to integrate the powers of authority given to the State Duma, the Provisional Committee of the State Duma, the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, as well as the Provisional Government into a sole political system. However, the weakness of this statement lies in the absence of any official documents authorizing this system. In addition, the author of the monograph notes that contemporaries perceived the course of events preeminently through the prism of 'duality of power', as no one, except for M. V. Rodzyanko, was interested in the existence of 'March 3<sup>rd</sup>: a set of liberal principles'.

The argument about the State Duma being the center of the February Revolution is not accepted by all historians. Thus, in the review of the first monograph by A.B. Nikolayev on the role of the parliament in the February events, I. V. Lukoyanov considered it more correct to talk about not the leading role of the Duma, however about its desire to temperate the mass movement, to place it under rules, or 'bring to heel' in order to prevent chaos<sup>16</sup>. He also emphasized that it was necessary to talk not about the position of the entire State Duma during the Revolution, but only about that part of the State Duma that stood in opposition to the autocracy. A.B. Nikolaev, who disagreed with this position, introduced information on the active participation in the revolutionary events of about 150–200 deputies out of total 403, half of the State Duma overall. He had revealed and provided the names of 137 members of the State Duma known as active participants of the February events<sup>17</sup>. Effectively, the participation of parliamentarians in the February Revolution was quite impressive.

A.B. Nikolaev believes that in the days of the February Revolution, the Duma liberals transformed from oppositionists to revolutionaries. Without denying the active participation of the State Duma opposition in the revolution, one is inclined to note that the position of the liberals was strictly determined by the specific historical situation, where the evolutionists in fact found themselves in the middle of social upheavals. This position is clearly seen through the actions of P. N. Milyukov. In the

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<sup>15</sup> See: *Burzhuziia i pomeshchiki v 1917 godu. Chastnye soveshchaniia chlenov Gosudarstvennoi dumy; pod red. A.K. Drezena* [The bourgeoisie and the landlords (pomestchiks) in 1917. Private meetings of the members of the State Duma. In A.K. Drezen (Ed.)]. Moscow, Leningrad, 1932.

<sup>16</sup> Lukoyanov I.V. Rets. na: A.B. Nikolaev. *Gosudarstvennaia дума v Fevral'skoi revoliutsii: ocherki istorii* [Review on: Nikolaev A.B. The State Duma in the February Revolution: Essays on History]. *Otechestvennaia istoriia* [Russian History], 2004, no. 4, p. 166.

<sup>17</sup> Nikolaev A.B. *Dumskaiia revoliutsiia: 27 fevralya – 3 marta 1917 goda* [The Duma Revolution: February 27 – March 3, 1917: in 2 volumes]. St Petersburg, 2017, vol. 2, p. 267.

middle of the day on 27<sup>th</sup> February 1917, he said in a conversation with N. N. Sukhanov, "We, as responsible opposition, undoubtedly strived for power and embarked on a course towards it; however we did not want to come to power by means of a revolution. We rejected this way, it was not our approach..."<sup>18</sup>. Sukhanov added that he did not vouch for the quote to be unedited, however the precise meaning 'with full guarantee' was like that. When the revolution became a fact, the liberals found themselves in quite tricky situation. They were not going to save the old regime, as they did not take the liking to the government bureaucrats, including the Tsar himself and his closest associates. However, it was also impossible for them to take the side-line, thus smoothing path to power for the left-wing parties, as this would mean, at the very least, to show irresponsibility and frivolity. The only solution that remained in this situation was to try to take the lead in the revolution and 'channel' it in the right direction, en route with their own designed evolutionary reforms. In this case, the liberals had to say the 'left-wing' words and 'make' the revolution, as it is shown in the monograph. Therefore, it is not surprising that some liberals quite sincerely considered themselves as the leading force of the February Revolution. In July 1917, at the private meeting of members of the State Duma, the Progressist member A.M. Maslennikov said, "The State Duma is responsible for this revolution. I am blunt about that the coup was staged by the State Duma, and not the proletariat or the workers"<sup>19</sup>. It appears that the motives for participation of the State Duma oppositionists in the February Revolution needs further study, first, from the point of clarifying the ideological attitudes of the participants in this revolutionary drama.

A number of extremely informative appendices to the monograph by A.B. Nikolaev should not go unnoticed, the most important of which is the general list of members of the Military Commission containing 500 names, including those previously unknown<sup>20</sup>. Thus, the research breaks new ground and makes a significant contribution to the study of the role and place of the State Duma in the February Revolution. The importance A.B. Nikolaev's contribution is not only in the introduction into scientific discourse of a huge number of facts about the activities of the State Duma deputies in the February events, however also creating a new conception of 'the Duma revolution' on its basis. Undoubtedly, this monograph is an important milestone

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<sup>18</sup> Sukhanov N.N. *Zapiski o revoliutsii: v 3 t.* [Notes on the Revolution: in 3 volumes]. Moscow, 1991, vol. 1, p. 88.

<sup>19</sup> *Burzhuziia i pomeshchiki v 1917 godu. Chastnye soveshchaniia chlenov Gosudarstvennoi dumy; pod red. A.K. Drezena* [The bourgeoisie and the landlords (pomestchiks) in 1917. Private meetings of the members of the State Duma. In A.K. Drezen (Ed.)]. Moscow, Leningrad, 1932, p. 220.

<sup>20</sup> Nikolaev A.B. *Dumskaia revoliutsiia: 27 fevralia – 3 marta 1917 goda* [The Duma Revolution: February 27 – March 3, 1917: in 2 volumes]. St Petersburg, 2017, vol. 2, pp. 270–349.

in the study of the history of the February Revolution, and the controversial nature of several ideas expressed in the book inspires further scientific research dedicated to the turning points of Russian history.

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For citation: Egorov A. Book review: Nikolaev A.B. 'The Duma Revolution': 27<sup>th</sup> February – 3<sup>rd</sup> March 1917: in two volumes. SPb.: The Herzen State Pedagogical University of Russia (RSPU), 2017. *Historia provinciae – the journal of regional history*, 2018, vol. 2, no. 2, pp. 133–142.

# GUIDE FOR AUTHORS

## MANUSCRIPT STRUCTURE AND STYLE REQUIREMENTS

### 1. General requirements to the contents of articles

**1.1** Articles presenting results of original scientific research are accepted for publication in the journal, as well as reviews, scientific reports and bibliographical reviews on the latest Russian and international studies in history and political science.

**1.2** The journal publishes only original research papers not previously published elsewhere and not containing any incorrect or excessive citation.

**1.3** Submitted articles should correspond to the subject matter of the journal in the following key areas:

- History
- Political Science

**1.4** Submitted materials should be characterized by academic novelty and integrity. This presupposes that an article contains a historiographical overview.

- Per international standards of publication, a reference list should include no less than 20 sources, where international editions amount to one third of the total number of publications.

- Most of the references should be from Scopus, Web of Science, with DOI and URL.

- Excessive self-citation should be avoided (references to the author's works should not exceed 10 % of overall number of references).

**1.5** Manuscripts, which do not correspond to the subject matter of the journal or do not meet the style requirements, will not be considered for publication.

### 2. General style requirements

**2.1** Manuscripts should be in the format of .doc (Word 1997-2002) or .docx.

**2.2** The recommended volume of an article is one publication base sheet (40 000 characters with spaces).

**2.3** Page parameters: 210 x 297 mm (A4 format), portrait orientation. Page margin: all 20 mm. Normal font, TimesNewRoman. Font size: 12 point in the main text, 10 point in footnotes. Line spacing: one and a half. The text should be without automatic hyphenation at the end of the line. The title of the article: bold font, center aligned. Page numeration: right bottom.

**2.4** The text of the manuscript should be in a single file. Provisionally, the manuscript is divided into two parts: the first one contains UDC, information about the author, an abstract, key words, the text of the article and a list of references; the second one should be entirely in English and includes information about the author, an abstract (not mandatory), key words (not mandatory), a list of references.

### 3. Composition and presentation rules for the section in the Russian language

**3.1.** Information about the author of the article: last name, first name and patronymic (if applicable) of the author in full, degree/s (if any), title (if any), position, affiliation (name of the organization, place of work/study (in full), city, country, author's contact details: telephone number and email address.

**3.2.** UDC and the title of the article.

**3.3.** An abstract of **400-600 characters**, which must be informative and informative (it should briefly reflect the content of the article as close as possible, as well as its structure and conclusions).

**3.4.** Key words (8–10).

**3.5.** The text of the article. The article should have the following structural elements:

a) Introduction;

b) Main text;

c) Conclusion.

**3.6.** List of references.

### 4. Rules on graphic presentation data

**4.1.** Drawings, tables, diagrams, charts, etc. are to be numbered, the sources are to be provided and printed within the margins of the page.

**4.2.** All highlights in the text of the article must be only in italics (not in bold or underlined).

**4.3.** Depending on the complexity of graphic materials, the Editorial Board retains the right to remove them from the text.

### 5. References in the text and in footnotes

All footnotes are given per page in 10-point size. (*Author*. Title. Place of publication (without publisher's name), year of publication. Pages) at the bottom of each page.

When referring to an electronic resource, a full and accurate link to the Internet resource and the date of retrieval are to be added at the end of the footnote.

In case the source is an archive document, the name of an archive in full without abbreviation is to be given first followed by an abbreviation in brackets. Fund. Series. Record. Sheet. When referring to documents from the same archive, only abbreviation is used for its name.

#### **Examples:**

*Glebov S.* Evraziistvo mezhdru imperiei i modernom. Istoriia v dokumentakh [Eurasianism between Empire and Art Nouveau]. M., 2009. P. 27.

*Starostina T.* Posleblokadnyi tranzit. Dnevnik [Transit after the blockade. Diary] // Sever. 2005. No. 5–6. Pp. 127–133.

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The State Archive of Vologda region (SAVR). F. 366. S. 1. R. 1188. L.3. (when referred for the first time)

SAVR. F. 3105. S. 1. R. 3. L. 1 verso. (when referred for the second time)

*Vysochaishe utverzhdennoe Polozhenie o gubernskikh i uezdnykh zemskikh uchrezhdeniakh ot 1 ianvaria 1864 g.* [Statute on governorate and district institutions approved by the Imperial, dated 1 January 1864] // *PSZ*. S. 2. Dep. 1 V. XXXIX. St.-P., 1867. N 40457. Pp. 18–20.

*Stocking M.K.* (ed.) *The Journals of Claire Clairmont. 1814–1827.* Cambridge, 1968. P. 325.

*Boisbouvier Ch.* Mali : le retour de la Françafrique? // *RFI.fr*. 23.07.2013. URL: <http://www.rfi.fr/afrique/20130722-mali-presidentielle-francafrique-hollande-fabius-traore-tiebile-drame> (retrieved: 26.02.2014).

## 6. Rules for arranging the list of references

6.1. The list is to be numbered in alphabetical order.

6.2. The list is to include only scientific works.

6.3. **All references to sources should be given as footnotes and not included in the list of references at the end.**

6.4. **Monographs** should be presented as follows:

- *Last name, first name and patronymic (if applicable) of the author/s;*
- Title of the book;
- Information about the book in the following order: place of publication, publishing house, year of publication. Pages.

### **Examples:**

*Potemkina M.N.* Evakuatsiia v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny: liudi i sud'by [Evacuation in the years of the Great Patriotic War]. Magnitogorsk: MaGU, 2002. 264 p.

*Cross A.G.* 'By the banks of the Neva': chapters from the lives and careers of the British in 18<sup>th</sup> – century Russia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. 474 p.

6.5. **Dissertations and published summaries of dissertations:**

*Arslanova Ch.R.* Evakuirovannoe i deportirovannoe v Bashkirskuiu ASSR naselenie v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (1941–1945) [Population evacuated and deported to Bashkirskaya ASSR in the years of the Great Patriotic War]: published summary of dissertation. Ufa, 2006. 25 p.

*Iskhakova G.R.* Sotsial'naiia politika Sovetskogo gosudarstva v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny (na materialakh Bashkortostana) [Social policy of the Soviet State in the years of the Great Patriotic War]: PhD dissertation. Ufa, 2002. 147 p.

6.6. **Articles in journals / collections of articles** are to be presented as follows:

- Last name, first name and patronymic (if applicable) of the author/s;
- Title of the article // Title of the collection of articles/journal;
- Publisher's imprint in the following order: Year of publication. Number. Pages. DOI index (if available)

**Examples:**

*Kumanev G.A.* Voina i evakuatsiia v SSSR. 1941–1942 gody [The war and evacuation in the USSR in 1941-1942] // *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia*. 2006. No. 6. Pp. 7–27.

*Solodyankina O.Y.* European widows as governesses in the 18<sup>th</sup> – and 19th-century Russia // *Women's History Magazine*. 2010. Issue. 63. Pp. 19–26.

6.7. **References to electronic resources** are to be provided in a similar manner, as in the previous sections, but at the very end of the reference the exact link to the internet resource and the retrieval date are to be added.

**Example:**

*Stansfield G.* Iraqi Kurdistan: political development and emergent democracy. Taylor & Francis e-library, 2003. URL: [https://www.academia.edu/3271178/Iraqi\\_Kurdistan\\_Political\\_development\\_and\\_emergent\\_democracy](https://www.academia.edu/3271178/Iraqi_Kurdistan_Political_development_and_emergent_democracy) (retrieved: 04.10. 2014).

6.8. When reference is made to an electronic publication (articles or monographs), the full name of the site is to be provided.

## 7. Composition and presentation rules for the section in the English language

7.1. Information about the author of the article:

- Last name, first name and patronymic (if applicable) in full, transliteration (for automatic transliteration we recommend using the site <http://translit.net/>; **it is essential to select LC standard** in the main menu of the site, in the 'Options...' section), degree (if applicable), title (if applicable), position, author's email address;
- Affiliation (name of the organization, place of work/study in full (full official name of the organization in English, post code, country, city, street (in transliteration), building).

7.2. The title of the article – English translation.

7.3. Not mandatory: Abstract in English, **between 400-600 characters in volume** (must be written using commonly used terms and expressions in the field, must constitute an independent text, be informative and rich in contents, as far as possible reflecting the contents, structure and conclusions of the article).

7.4. Not mandatory: key words in English (8–10 words or word combinations).

7.5. References.

## 8. Presentation rules for 'References' section

8.1. The structure of references to publications is to be totally identical to the list of references in Russian.

8.2. In the 'References' section, as in the list of used literature, only scientific articles and monographs are to be included.

8.3. All references to sources are to be given as footnotes.

8.4. **Monographs** are to be presented as follows:

- Last name, first name, patronymic (if applicable) – transliteration (for Russian authors), **LC standard**;

- *Title of the book in italics* – transliteration, **LC standard**, if the book is published in Cyrillic characters, followed by the English translation of the title in square brackets;

- Year of publication;

- Information about the publication as follows: location of publishing house, name of the publishing house;

- Pages,

- if the book is in Russian, add (In Russian) at the end.

### **Examples:**

Ter-Minasova S.G. *Rossiia i Zapad: dialog kul'tur* [Russia and West countries: dialogue of cultures]. Moscow: Tsentr po izucheniiu vzaimodeistviia kul'tur, 2000. 320 p. (In Russian)

Bevir M., Rhodes R.A.W. *Interpreting British governance*. London: Routledge, 2003. 150 p.

8.5. Articles **in journals** are to be presented as follows:

- Last name, first name, patronymic (if applicable) of the author/s – transliteration (for Russian authors) **LC standard**;

- Title of the article – transliteration, **LC standard**, if the article is written in Cyrillic characters, followed by the English translation of the title, in square brackets;

- Information about the publication as follows: *Name of the journal (in italics)* – transliteration, **LC standard**, year of publication, number, pages, DOI index (if available);

- if the article is in Russian, add '(In Russian)' at the end.

### **Examples:**

Dunin A. *Guvernery v starinu v pomeschchich'ikh sem'iakh* [Tutors in landowner families in old times]. *Istoricheskii vestnik* [Historical Herald], 1909, vol. 117, July, pp. 185–194. (In Russian)

Cross A.G. An Anglo-Russian Medley: Semen Vorontsov's other son, Charles Cameron's daughter, Grand Duke Alexander Pavlovich's English playmate and not forgetting his English nurse. *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1992, vol. 70, no. 44, pp. 708–721.

*Cross A. English – A Serious Challenge to French in the Reign of Alexander I? The Russian Review*, 2015, vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 57–68. DOI: 10.1111/russ.10756

8.6. Articles **in collection of articles** are to be presented as follows:

- Last name, first name, patronymic (if applicable) – transliteration (for authors whose name is in Cyrillic characters), **LC standard**;
- Title of the article – transliteration, **LC standard**, if the article is written in Cyrillic characters, followed by the English translation of the title, in square brackets;
- Information about the publication of the collection of articles as follows: In last name, first name, patronymic (if applicable) of the editor – transliteration, **LC standard, (ed.)**. *Name of the collection of articles (in italics)* – transliteration, **LC standard**, followed by the English translation of the title (if written in Cyrillic characters), in square brackets; place of publishing: the name of the publishing house in transliteration, year of publication; pages, DOI index (if available);
- if the article is in Russian, add (In Russian) at the end.

**Examples:**

Chudinov A.V. Frantsuzskie guvernery v Rossii kontsa XVIII v.: stereotipy i real'nost [The French tutors in Russia at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century: stereotypes and reality]. Karp S.Ia., Mezin S.A. (eds.) *Evropeiskoe prosveshchenie i tsivilizatsiia Rossii* [European Enlightenment and civilization of Russia]. Moscow: Nauka, 2004, pp. 330–334. (In Russian)

Solodyankina O.Yu. Personal transfer of the message and undesirable acquaintance to the addressee: reputation of the governess. Stogova A.V. (ed.) *Incidents and Failures in European epistolary culture*. Moscow: IVI RAN, 2016, pp. 125–154.

8.7. **Links to electronic resources** are to be provided similar to the previous sections, but at the very end of the entry the exact link to the internet resource and the retrieval date is to be added.

**Examples:**

Dabla-Norris E., Minoiu C., Zanna L.-F. 2010. *Business cycle fluctuations, large shocks, and development aid new evidence* [Washington D.C.], International Monetary Fund. Available at: <http://site.ebrari.com/id/10437418> (accessed: 20.06.2014).

Frot E. 2009 *Aid and the financial crisis: Shall we expect development aid to fall?* Stockholm Institute of Transition Economics, Stockholm School of Economics. Available at: [http://papers.ssrn.com/so13/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=1402788](http://papers.ssrn.com/so13/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1402788) (accessed: 28.05.2013).

