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Oleksandr KADOL

PhD (History), Associate Professor of Department of engineering pedagogics and language preparation of Kryvyi Rih National University, apartment 16, house 1, Nevskaya Street, Kryvyi Rih, Ukraine, postal code 50029 (aleksandr_kadol@ukr.net)

ORCID: <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6565-6878>

ResearcherID: A-5719-2019 (<http://www.researcherid.com/rid/A-5719-2019>)

Олександр КАДОЛ

кандидат історичних наук, доцент кафедри інженерної педагогіки та мовної підготовки Криворізького національного університету, квартира 16, будинок 1, вул. Невська, м. Кривий Ріг, Україна, 50029 (aleksandr_kadol@ukr.net)

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POLICY OF TSARISM AND SOVIET LEADERSHIP CONCERNING THE ETHNIC GERMANS DURING THE FIRST AND THE SECOND WORLD WAR

Summary. The purpose of the research. The goal of the research is to study the policies of the imperial and Soviet leadership regarding ethnic Germans in the period of the First and Second World Wars and to conduct their comparative analysis. **The research methodology** of work is based on the principles of historicism, systemic, scientific, objectivity, as well as on the use of general scientific and special-historical methods and on the theoretical basis of modern historiography, according to which First and Second World War are considered as two phases of one historical event. This approach opens up the new opportunities for researchers, both in generating ideas, and in the context of the factual reproduction of the past war. **The scientific novelty** lies in the fact that for the first time in historiography there was made the search for historical parallels between anti-German campaigns concerning the civilian population that took place in two world wars. This allowed us to illustrate the inadmissibility of collective allegations in collaboration based on the ethnic grounds. **Conclusions.** Numerous deportations of ethnic Germans in 1915 were due to the declarative goals – to prevent the entry of ethnic Germans into the armies of the enemy during the withdrawal of the imperial army. The greatest difference of the policy of the «German issue» in 1914 – 1915 between the policy of 1941 – 1942 was that the actions of the imperial government directly have depended on the military failures of the Russian army. Until the beginning of the Second World War, the victims of repressions except the Germans were also Ukrainians, Russians, Poles and others peoples; officially this side of repression was not being propagated by the authorities. Close to 1941, such repressive actions had a class character. Deportation of the German population during the Second World War was of a purely ethnic character and was carried out as a preventive measure. Only the Soviet security forces in the peacetime resorted to restrictions on the right to life and to direct physical destruction of ethnic Germans. It is noted that the fear of tsarism and Soviet leadership before the fifth column during the war years has played a decisive role in the fate of the German ethnic minority. It is emphasized that in the extraordinary circumstances (war, occupation, the policy of total unification of non-indigenous nations) the ruling government tends to practice the use of the ethnic image of the enemy. Therefore, there is quite logical rhetorical question: who they are – the German colonists, the German refugees, the German special settlers and the Ukrainian «Volksdeutsche», if not «their own» convenient enemies?

Key words: ethnic Germans, «Volksdeutsche», anti-German campaign, war policy, World War I, World War II.

ПОЛІТИКА ЦАРИЗМУ І РАДЯНСЬКОГО КЕРІВНИЦТВА ЩОДО ЕТНІЧНИХ НІМЦІВ ЧАСІВ ПЕРШОЇ ТА ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВИХ ВОЄН

Анотація. Мета дослідження – проаналізувати політику Російської імперії та Радянського Союзу щодо етнічних німців у ході двох світових воєн. **Методологія** роботи базується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, об'єктивності, а також на використанні загальнонаукових та спеціально-історичних методів і на теоретичному підґрунті сучасної історіографії, згідно з якою Перша і Друга світові війни розглядаються як дві фази однієї історичної події. Означений підхід відкриває перед дослідниками нові можливості як у генерації ідей, так і в площині фактологічного відтворення минулої війни. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в історіографії здійснено пошук історичних паралелей між антинімецькими кампаніями щодо цивільного населення, що мали місце у час двох світових воєн. Це дало можливість проілюструвати неприпустимість колективних звинувачень у колабораціонізмові за етнічною ознакою. **Висновки.** Численні депортації етнічних німців (1915) пояснювалися декларативними цілями – унеможливити їхнє потрапляння до лав армій противника під час відходу царської армії. Найбільшою відмінністю політики в «німецькому питанні» 1914 – 1915 рр. від подій 1941 – 1942 рр. є те, що дії царського уряду безпосередньо залежали від бойових невдач російської армії. До початку Другої світової війни жертвами репресій, окрім німців, були українці, росіяни, поляки та ін. народи; офіційно цей бік репресій владою не пропагувався. Упритул до 1941 р. такі репресивні акції мали класовий характер. Депортація німецького населення часів Другої світової війни мала суцільно етнічний характер і була проведена як превентивний захід. Лише радянські органи безпеки в мирний час вдалися до обмежень прав на життя і прямого фізичного знищення етнічних німців. Зазначено, що острах царизму й радянського керівництва перед п'ятою колоною в роки війни зіграв вирішальну роль у долі німецької етнічної меншини. Наголошено, що в надзвичайних умовах (війна, окупація, політика тотальної уніфікації некорінних народів) правляча влада тяжіє до практики використання етнічного образу ворога. Тому цілком логічне риторичне запитання: хто вони, німецькі колоністи, німецькі біженці, німецькі спецпоселенці й українські фольксдойче, як не «свої» зручні вороги?

Ключові слова: етнічні німці, фольксдойче, антинімецька кампанія, воєнна політика, Перша світова війна, Друга світова війна.

Problem statement. This article is generated by a discussion within the researches concerning the expediency of studying of the fate of the German population in the period of the First and Second World Wars, while understanding the heredity of the policy of the imperial leadership regarding the German ethnic group as a lack of national-political tolerance in the society.

The analysis of sources and recent researches. The researches of O. Beznosova, S. Bobilyeva, M. Kostyuk, M. Shevchuk, Y. Lapteva, N. Wenger, L. Sinyavska (Sinyavska, 2013) are dedicated to the studying of the fate of the German population in the First World War. The dissertation works of S. Petkov and S. Harkavy are devoted to the historical and legal analysis of measures of restriction the property and civil rights of the German population. The postulates of the theory of nationalism are highlighted in the works of E. Smith and B. Anderson, O. Miller (Russia), A. Kappeler (Germany), M. von Khaghen (USA), P. Holkvist (USA), E. Lor (USA). They abandoned the mono-ethnic Russo-centric view of the Russian Empire as a state of one nation. The modern discourse of nationalism on the «German issue» is represented by the works of foreign researchers M. von Khaghen (Khaghen, 1999, p. 392), E. Lor (Lor, 2012, p. 304).

The publication's purpose. The goal of the research is to study the policies of the imperial and Soviet leadership regarding ethnic Germans in the period of the First and Second World Wars and to conduct their comparative analysis.

Statement of the basic material. The guide point for the theoretical foundation of the article is the methodological thesis of the modern historiography, according to which the First and Second World Wars are the two phases of one historical event, not being separate and self-sufficient wars. Therefore, it is expedient, in our opinion, to pay special attention to the events having taken place in the country from the angle of ethno political processes, which were caused by the geopolitical interests of the Russian (Soviet) state in the conditions of military conflicts of 1914 – 1917 and 1941 – 1945, having pursuing at the same time the goal of building of a comparative model of anti-German campaigns in the specified period.

So, we will define the criteria for a possible analysis and comparison of the policy of tsarism and Soviet leadership regarding the German population of the country during the period of world wars, with a focus on the general and specific features of this policy. These criteria should include:

- origins of this policy and its ideological foundations;
- forms of manifestation and the nature of application;
- international experience of the state nationalism concerning the punitive and restrictive actions against foreigners;
- evaluation of anti-German actions of political leadership in the context of historical alternatives.

We should note that this approach does not pretend to be the final solution to the problem and is considered by the author as an option for a possible discussion. Taking into account the specifics of this development, as well as its definite laconism, let us dwell on some aspects.

Origins and ideology. The intensification of attention from the Russian imperial side to the German population during the First World War did not become an unexpected phenomenon of political life and was conditioned by the historical background – the discussion on the solution of the «German issue» in Russian public opinion in 1880 – 1914 (Shevchuk, 2001, p. 56).

The German ethnic group that lived on the territory of the Russian Empire was characterized by a specific West European mentality. The hope that the reforms of Alexander II (the abolition of colonial privileges, the cancellation of their special governance, the introduction of general military conscription, the change of social status) would lead to the Russification of German settlers did not come true.

The great dissatisfaction of the orthodox clergy with the spread of stundism among the peasantry, the accusation of lutheran and mennonite pietists in this (Gherman, 1999, p. 62), the failures of the administrative and political restriction of German colonization of the south-western provinces – these all embarrassed the nationalist-oriented part of society, first of all the conservative element. The presence of a large German diaspora in the country, the nature of its resettlement in the strategically important regions from the point of view of the military interests, the remarkable success of the Germans in the sphere of state administration – all this especially bothered the imperial authority after 1871 (the moment of the creation of a single German state) because it automatically transformed the majority of Russian Germans into the citizens of the German Empire (Bovua, 1998, p. 293).

Therefore, it is not surprising that in the late 1880's – early 1890's these plots contributed to the formation of the thesis of «peaceful conquest of Russia» by Germany. The only possible lever of influence on the German diaspora, the imperial power chose the path of land restrictions, which was accompanied by forcing of anti-German sentiments in dependence on the level of good-neighborly relations with Germany. The dynamics of Russian-German trade-economic, military-diplomatic and political relations (until 1914) have feed the

«German issue» by impulses, creating, supposedly, a peculiar ideological form for internal filling with political decisions of tsarism. As a result, in the society such phenomenon as germanophobia has started to form. It gained full speed during 1915 – 1916.

Thus, in particular, assessing the pre-war political reality, general O. Brusilov has noted that «German external and internal ... the most powerful; he occupied the highest government positions, he was «persona gratissima» at court ... the Russian-German party demanded at the cost of any humiliation a strong alliance with Germany, which despised us» (Brusilov, 2002, p. 293). In the spirit of the idea of «peaceful conquest» of the lands, A.O. Brusilov pronounced that «the Germans reigned in all spheres of people's life» (Brusilov, 2002, p. 293).

The issue of the governance of the occupied territories was regulated by the article of the «Regulations concerning the administration of troops during the wartime». It provided the organization of civilian control on the occupied territory, the creation of special establishments for this and the formation of a military Governorate-General (Lozinsjka, 2017, p. 23).

Russia's unpreparedness to war in the moral and psychological aspect was also seen in the powerful influence that Russian politics suffered from by «internal» Germans. This example proves that even quite progressive figures of the royal era have fallen under the influence of Russian nationalism and official marches, which allowed numerous Russian military leaders during the First World War to decide the fate of foreign national settlements in one only known way – deportation.

The attitude of the Soviet leadership to the German population of the country in the pre-war period was due to the changes in the priorities of the national policy of the Bolsheviks Party, which have passed the path from the party-class approach in the post-revolutionary period to the ethnic selectivity in the 1930s – 1940s during the genocide and deportation of entire nations. First years of the Soviet leadership for the ethnic Germans occurred in the spirit of relatively democratic understanding, the existence within the national-territorial areas, the active participation of the Germans in social activities, the cultural and educational activities of the party among the national minorities (Vasyljchuk, 2001, p. 23).

All this was a temporary phenomenon, the calm before approaching changes in the socio-economic system of the former colonists. The same way as before the war in 1914, the authorities found a way of influencing the German minority – through the reform of the administrative system (German zoning) and according to it the redistribution of the land (Vasyljchuk, 2001, p. 23). Undoubtedly, there comes to mind an analogy with the reforms of the colonist system and the restriction of the purchase and lease of the land for the Germans in the Podillya, Volyn, Kyiv region in the late XIX century. Subsequently, the introduction of collectivization in wealthy German villages, especially in Ukraine, drastically changed the loyal attitude of government towards them. Since then, the authorities began to consider the Germans to be the class enemies, at the same time the slow pace of collectivization were explained by leaders as the counter-revolutionary activity of German kulaks.

The era of the «great changes» of 1929 – 1933 was painfully reflected on the life of the German ethnic group, striking hard on its material and spiritual values (Beznosov, 2001, p. 76). This became possible due to a number of actions of the Soviet leadership – provoked hunger, the introduction of collectivization, anti-religious struggle. In addition, the first mass evictions of the Germans were carried out within the framework of dispossession and under the slogans of the class struggle against the former landowners (Kryvec, 1998, p. 268). In particular, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was especially concerned about the border areas, places of compact residence of the Germans.

Obviously, by analogy with the ethnic deportations of Germans, Jews and Galician Ukrainians during the First World War, the border areas were considered to be a potentially unreliable regions (Khaghan, 1999, p. 392). Right here the class accusations (kulaks element) were combined with political, traitorous (fascist agents, etc.) (Kryvec, 1998, p. 269). However, the repressions have not yet had such a systematic character as during the Second World War.

Repressions of the state security bodies against the Germans of Ukraine in 1937, where at that time one third of all Soviet Germans were living, has reached unprecedented levels. (Nikoljskyj, 2001, p. 54). At that time, besides the Germans, the victims of repressions were Ukrainians, Russians, Poles and others nations; officially this side of repression by the authorities was not propagated. Nevertheless, by 1941, such repressive actions were of a class character.

Estimates. The process of solving the «German issue» in the Russian Empire and the USSR was characterized by a coincidence of the interest of both the imperial and Soviet authorities in depriving the ethnic Germans of their national identity through all sorts of restrictions on faith, status and property rights. However, only the Soviet security forces in the peacetime resorted to restrictions on the right to life and to direct physical destruction of ethnic Germans.

Policy. The policy of tsarism and the Soviet leadership on the «German issue» pursued similar goals; however, differed in the nature of the events that were carried out as well as quantitative indicators (Nelypovych, 1997, p. 47). The royal government officially did not recognize the fact that the forced eviction and internment of the German civilian population had the character of deportation. These actions were explained by the tactics of the so-called «scorched earth policy» (Khaghan, 1999, p. 404) and were conducted within the framework of the evacuation of the population from theater of warfare. Numerous deportations of ethnic Germans took place in 1915; nevertheless they were explained by quite humane goals – to exclude the entry of ethnic Germans into the ranks of the enemy’s armies during the withdrawal of the imperial army. The greatest difference of the policy of the «German issue» in 1914 – 1915 between the policy of 1941 – 1942 was that the actions of the imperial government directly have depended on the military failures of the Russian army.

Despite the lack of officially recognized nationalism in the Soviet Union, the deportation of the German population during the Second World War was of a purely ethnic character and was carried out as a preventive measure. It was fundamentally different from the policies of the First World War by the mass exodus from the inner regions. Also the Soviet leadership saw a great danger in German border residents and ethnic Germans in Ukraine.

For both wars the typical things were the Germans' accusations of espionage and potential sabotage, collaboration in general. As one of the means of promotion of such policy, the Soviet authorities used the falsification of history, appealed to historical-popular studies, historical analogies of Russian-German conflicts. Thus, in particular, the most impressive example of this was the publication of documents of the «internal use» of political workers, such as «The German Espionage in Imperial Russia» (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine, Kyiv – CSHAUK, f. 2233, d. 2, c. 353, p. 319). From such special literature came the idea that all German colonists – spies and informers of German intelligence, as well as the fact that the country through the system of commercial and industrial enterprises is infiltrated by the spy system of the Germans. However, some historians have attempted to separate the state's betrayal from the forms of cooperation of people with occupiers, justified by the circumstances, by using the term with less pronounced negative coloration. They replaced the term «treason» with the French

term «collaborationism», the foreign origin of which gave it a neutral character in Russian historiography in comparison with such term as a traitor (Sukhovska, 2018, p. 150).

The common feature of two wars was the use of forced labor of ethnic Germans. However, during the Second World War, this phenomenon has become much more terrible. Also the similar fate encountered the German military personnel in the royal and Soviet army. From the areas of direct warfare, they were transported to the rear parts or altogether were not allowed to be mobilized. A fundamentally important difference is in the determination of the status of the German population after the war, which directly depended on its outcome for the country. Thus, for many years further, the special settlement of the Germans as exiles of the Soviet regime was a standardized measure, a component of the repressive policies of the Soviet leadership. After the victory of 1945, this issue was first raised in 1950 at the diplomatic negotiations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany. This process also took place by analogy of royal diplomacy in the late nineteenth century, when the fate of German settlers depended on the barometer of the Russian-German confrontation in the foreign policy.

Conclusions. The attitude of society to the foreign ethnic population during disasters of a national scale is a barometer of the presence or, conversely, lack of social harmony in the country. Unfortunately, the sad experience of two world wars reveals a common punitive and repressive policy of the Imperial and Soviet states regarding ethnic Germans. Such a coincidence is not accidental. To find an adequate explanation should become one of the leading tasks of the discourse of nationalism on the «German issue».

A comparative analysis of the military policy of the Russian Empire and the USSR makes it possible to argue that under extreme conditions (war, occupation, the policy of total unification of non-indigenous nations) the ruling government tends to practice the use of the ethnic image of the enemy. Therefore, there is quite logical rhetorical question: who they are – the German colonists, the German refugees, the German special settlers and the Ukrainian «Volksdeutsche», if not «their own» convenient enemies?

At the same time, ethnic radicalization, considered in this research study on the example of the «German issue», was not the only possible alternative of the mobilization of national consciousness. And although the imperial ethnopolitics concerning the ethnic Germans as controlled «from above» changes in the ethno-national, ethno-confessional and ethno-territorial component of the population of the state at the specified time had a largely chauvinistic character, this phenomenon should not be considered as a normalized expression of Russian mentality. Otherwise, the way back of comprehension of the phenomenon of nationalism inevitably leads to an abyss of xenophobia inside the society, as well as to the marginalization of historical memory, etc. Therefore, even comprehension of negative historical experience should serve to national reconciliation and act as an instrument of forgiveness.

The broad research perspectives in the field of historical ethnopolitics open the concept of «population policy» (from German – Bevölkerungspolitik), that is politically «motivated» repressions against the certain categories of people of the country by ethnic, ethno-confessional and ethno-territorial characteristics. «Historia est magistra vitae» – it was said by the ancient ones. The comprehensive study of the ethnic conflicts aims to prevent something like that in the future.

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