

A b s t r a c t s

Peter Graf Kielmansegg
The Second October Revolution
A Stroke of Luck in European History

The historical significance of the Revolution of 1989 can be most clearly defined, on the one hand, by examining one of the exemplary moments of this complex event, but, on the other hand, by also putting the event as a whole into the context of the century that it ended. The Leipzig demonstration on 9 October is one of those exemplary moments. In it, one can study the conditions for overcoming fear, which, according to Montesquieu, is the "principle" of despotism. The centenary significance of the Revolution of 1989 lies in the fact that it refutes the October Revolution of 1917.

Karl Schlögel
Fighting a Losing Battle?
Russia and Its Friends 20 Years after 1989

The end of the Soviet Union was no mere change of political order. It was the dissolution of a way of life. The impact of destruction and regeneration affected every aspect of everyday life. Taste, individual behaviour, traffic have become different; the cell phone has dissolved the vastness of the Russian expanse. Another sense of time reigns. But Russia remains a country of different tempi. What is mutually exclusive elsewhere stands next to one another here: boom towns and ghost towns, dynamism and rigidity, modernity without modernisation, personal responsibility and authoritarian state. The practice of authoritarian rule perplexes. Russia's friends are tired of hearing that the outside world is primarily to blame for the country's weakness. Pseudo-patriotic retro-culture, stereotypes of the enemy, and self-pity will not impress in the long term. However, there is no cause for triumphal gestures. The crash of the global economy in 2009 has burst some illusions in the West as well. But disillusionment is a form of self-enlightenment.

Bogusław Bakula
The Burden of Freedom
Polish Culture 1989–1999

For Poland, the year 1989 marks the return from Socialist alienation to a responsible handling of history. This change was carried forward by euphoria, but it also brought about risks, breaks with the past, and burdens. The historical challenge lay not least of all in combining the once separate cultural spheres of dissidence, exile, and official policy. The debates of the 1990s often fundamentally called into question Poland's conventional self-image. However, through these debates, Polish culture gained in freedom.

Severin Fischer, Barbara Lippert

Making tracks

EU Energy Policy and the Neighbourhood

With the European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP) and the beginnings of a common energy-driven foreign policy, the European Union is integrating increasingly different strategies of co-operation. With the ENP, energy-policy rules are to be exported and guarantees of supplies improved. A multi-level course of action that takes into consideration regional differences promises success: *Vis-à-vis* the eastern neighbours, the emphasis should be on a differentiated, bilateral approach. With the neighbours in the south, the EU should bet on multilateral and regional solutions. But with regard to an energy-driven foreign policy, the ENP has its shortcomings, for the two key countries, Russia and Turkey, are ignored.

Eckart D. Stratenschulte

Sur(f)plus Value Baltic Sea

EU Baltic Sea Strategy – and Russia

The European Union considers the Baltic Sea to be an inland sea. Eight of the countries located around it belong to the EU, but they are marked by great disparities. The Baltic is threatened by overuse. In June 2009, the European Commission submitted a draft Baltic Sea strategy, which the European Parliament and European Council have passed. The goal of this policy is to boost security and the sea's ecological quality and to promote the prosperity of the region. Now 160 projects are to be realised. Success will depend on whether it is possible to integrate the ninth country on the Baltic: Russia. So far, there is no sustainable concept. This weakens the EU and raises doubts as to whether the Baltic Sea strategy can be realised.

Mykola Riabchuk

Longing for the Bomb

Ukraine, Myths, and Nuclear Weapons

Parts of the Ukrainian elite and public are quarrelling over Ukraine's nuclear disarmament after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Some see it as a mistake. This nostalgia for the bomb feeds on a widespread inferiority complex. The occasionally hysterical, anti-Ukrainian tone in Moscow, worries about the escalation of a conflict over the Crimea, and the feeling that Ukraine is being ignored by the West do the rest. But this nuclear nostalgia is harmful. It confuses myth and reality and distracts society from real security and economic problems as well as substantial reforms that must have one goal: the country's integration into western structures.

Andreas Umland

The Orange Revolution as Crossroad

Democratisation Surge in Ukraine, Restoration Impulse in Russia

The Orange Revolution, which marks its fifth anniversary on 21 November 2009, was a significant step in the democratisation of Ukraine. This concerns in particular the emancipation of the mass media, the strengthening of civil society, and the

institutionalisation of free elections. By contrast, Russia's leadership reacted with continued regression in its domestic and foreign policies. Some new elements of Putin-style authoritarianism can be described as "para-totalitarian". However, Western support for the colour revolutions cannot be held responsible for the strengthening of autocratic tendencies in the post-Soviet realm.

Sören Urbansky

Off to the Provinces!

Research in Russia's Regional Archives

It is easier to work in most of the archives in the Russian provinces than in the centre. Restrictions that encumber archival work in Moscow are not put into practice outside the Russian capital. Thus historians are able to dig up treasures here and there. Nonetheless, there are archives in the provinces where arbitrariness and a lack of transparency impede access to the sources.

Claudia von Selle, Dirk von Selle

Take Responsibility!

Nazi Looted Art between Law and Morality

The handling of art looted by the Nazis remains a current issue. The semi-official publication *Taking Responsibility* makes clear that the German government derives from the singularity of the Holocaust a moral obligation that will never fall under the statute of limitations. It therefore follows: The call for an end to requests for restitution is out of place. The search for art looted by the Nazis must continue, and restitution must be made for such artistic property. Surprisingly, to this day, there is no law that would provide public facilities a constitutional basis for restitution, which is often worth millions. But museums and the art market are beginning to look for systematic solutions.

Andreas Heinemann-Grüder

"Second National Rebirth"?

Nationalism in Late and Post-Communist Europe

The flourishing of national movements was a central phenomenon throughout late and post-Communist Europe. A three-volume collection of articles dedicated to the study of nationalism traces this development. In it, special attention is given to language and cultural rights. Unfortunately, this collection largely neglects the fact that post-Communist nationalism has a lot to do with a Communist-Socialist elite's determination to survive, the instrumental use of the past for political ends, the struggle over redistribution, and protectionism. Nonetheless, these three volumes provide a comprehensive, empirically rich orientation for post-Communist nationalisms.

