

General Editor: Andreas Umland,
Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, Kyiv, umland@stanfordalumni.org

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE*

DOMESTIC & COMPARATIVE POLITICS

- Prof. Ellen Bos, *Andrássy University of Budapest*
Dr. Ingmar Bredies, *FH Bund, Brühl*
Dr. Andrey Kazantsev, *MGIMO (U) MID RF, Moscow*
Prof. Heiko Pleines, *University of Bremen*
Prof. Richard Sakwa, *University of Kent at Canterbury*
Dr. Sarah Whitmore, *Oxford Brookes University*
Dr. Harald Wydra, *University of Cambridge*
SOCIETY, CLASS & ETHNICITY
Col. David Glantz, "Journal of Slavic Military Studies"
Dr. Marlène Laruelle, *George Washington University*
Dr. Stephen Shulman, *Southern Illinois University*
Prof. Stefan Troebst, *University of Leipzig*
POLITICAL ECONOMY & PUBLIC POLICY
Prof. em. Marshall Goldman, *Wellesley College, Mass.*
Dr. Andreas Goldthau, *Central European University*
Dr. Robert Kravchuk, *University of North Carolina*
Dr. David Lane, *University of Cambridge*
Dr. Carol Leonard, *Higher School of Economics, Moscow*
Dr. Maria Popova, *McGill University, Montreal*

ADVISORY BOARD*

- Prof. Dominique Arel, *University of Ottawa*
Prof. Jörg Baberowski, *Humboldt University of Berlin*
Prof. Margarita Balmaceda, *Seton Hall University*
Dr. John Barber, *University of Cambridge*
Prof. Timm Beichelt, *European University Viadrina*
Dr. Katrin Boeckh, *University of Munich*
Prof. em. Archie Brown, *University of Oxford*
Dr. Vyacheslav Bryukhovetsky, *Kyiv-Mohyla Academy*
Prof. Timothy Colton, *Harvard University, Cambridge*
Prof. Paul D'Anieri, *University of Florida*
Dr. Heike Dörrenbächer, *Friedrich Naumann Foundation*
Dr. John Dunlop, *Hoover Institution, Stanford, California*
Dr. Sabine Fischer, *SWP, Berlin*
Dr. Geir Flikke, *NUP, Oslo*
Prof. David Galbreath, *University of Aberdeen*
Prof. Alexander Galkin, *Russian Academy of Sciences*
Prof. Frank Golczewski, *University of Hamburg*
Dr. Nikolas Gvosdev, *Naval War College, Newport, RI*
Prof. Mark von Hagen, *Arizona State University*
Dr. Guido Hausmann, *University of Munich*
Prof. Dale Herspring, *Kansas State University*
Dr. Stefani Hoffman, *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*
Prof. Mikhail Ilyin, *MGIMO (U) MID RF, Moscow*
Prof. Vladimir Kantor, *Higher School of Economics*
Dr. Ivan Katchanovski, *University of Ottawa*
Prof. em. Andrzej Korbonski, *University of California*
Dr. Iris Kempe, "Caucasus Analytical Digest"
Prof. Herbert Küpper, *Institut für Ostrecht Regensburg*
Dr. Rainer Lindner, *CEEER, Berlin*
Dr. Vladimir Malakhov, *Russian Academy of Sciences*

* While the Editorial Committee and Advisory Board support the General Editor in the choice and improvement of manuscripts for publication, responsibility for remaining errors and misinterpretations in the series' volumes lies with the books' authors.

Commissioning Editor: Max Jakob Horstmann,
London, mjh@ibidem.eu

FOREIGN POLICY & INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

- Dr. Peter Duncan, *University College London*
Prof. Andreas Heinemann-Grüder, *University of Bonn*
Dr. Taras Kuzio, *Johns Hopkins University*
Prof. Gerhard Mangott, *University of Innsbruck*
Dr. Diana Schmidt-Pfister, *University of Konstanz*
Dr. Lisbeth Tarlow, *Harvard University, Cambridge*
Dr. Christian Wipperfürth, *N-Ost Network, Berlin*
Dr. William Zimmerman, *University of Michigan*
HISTORY, CULTURE & THOUGHT
Dr. Catherine Andreyev, *University of Oxford*
Prof. Mark Bassin, *Södertörn University*
Prof. Karsten Brüggemann, *Tallinn University*
Dr. Alexander Etkind, *University of Cambridge*
Dr. Gasan Gusejnov, *Moscow State University*
Prof. em. Walter Laqueur, *Georgetown University*
Prof. Leonid Luks, *Catholic University of Eichstaett*
Dr. Olga Malinova, *Russian Academy of Sciences*
Prof. Andrei Rogatchevski, *University of Tromsø*
Dr. Mark Tauger, *West Virginia University*

- Dr. Luke March, *University of Edinburgh*
Prof. Michael McFaull, *Stanford University, Palo Alto*
Prof. Birgit Menzel, *University of Mainz-Germersheim*
Prof. Valery Mikhailenko, *The Urals State University*
Prof. Emil Pain, *Higher School of Economics, Moscow*
Dr. Oleg Podvintsev, *Russian Academy of Sciences*
Prof. Olga Popova, *St. Petersburg State University*
Dr. Alex Pravda, *University of Oxford*
Dr. Erik van Ree, *University of Amsterdam*
Dr. Joachim Rogall, *Robert Bosch Foundation Stuttgart*
Prof. Peter Rutland, *Wesleyan University, Middletown*
Prof. Marat Salikov, *The Urals State Law Academy*
Dr. Gwendolyn Sasse, *University of Oxford*
Prof. Jutta Scherrer, *EHESS, Paris*
Prof. Robert Service, *University of Oxford*
Mr. James Sherr, *RIA Chatham House London*
Dr. Oxana Shevel, *Tufts University, Medford*
Prof. Eberhard Schneider, *University of Siegen*
Prof. Alexander Shnyrkov, *Shevchenko University, Kyiv*
Prof. Hans-Henning Schröder, *SWP, Berlin*
Prof. Yuri Shapoval, *Ukrainian Academy of Sciences*
Prof. Viktor Shnirelman, *Russian Academy of Sciences*
Dr. Lisa Sundstrom, *University of British Columbia*
Dr. Philip Walters, "Religion, State and Society", *Oxford*
Prof. Zenon Wasylisz, *Ithaca College, New York State*
Dr. Lucan Way, *University of Toronto*
Dr. Markus Wehner, "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung"
Dr. Andrew Wilson, *University College London*
Prof. Jan Zielonka, *University of Oxford*
Prof. Andrei Zorin, *University of Oxford*

Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society (SPPS)

ISSN 1614-3515

Founded in 2004 and refereed since 2007, SPPS makes available affordable English-, German-, and Russian-language studies on the history of the countries of the former Soviet bloc from the late Tsarist period to today. It publishes between 5 and 20 volumes per year and focuses on issues in transitions to and from democracy such as economic crisis, identity formation, civil society development, and constitutional reform in CEE and the NIS. SPPS also aims to highlight so far understudied themes in East European studies such as right-wing radicalism, religious life, higher education, or human rights protection. The authors and titles of all previously published volumes are listed at the end of this book. For a full description of the series and reviews of its books, see
www.ibidem-verlag.de/red/spps.

Editorial correspondence & manuscripts
should be sent to: Dr. Andreas Umland, Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation, vul. Volodymyrska 42, off. 21, UA-01030 Kyiv, Ukraine

Business correspondence & review copy requests should be sent to: ***ibidem*** Press, Leuschnerstr. 40, 30457 Hannover, Germany; tel.: +49 511 2622200; fax: +49 511 2622201; spps@ibidem.eu.

Authors, reviewers, referees, and editors
for (as well as all other persons sympathetic to) SPPS are invited to join its networks at
www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=52638198614
www.linkedin.com/groups?about=&gid=103012
www.xing.com/net/spps-ibidem-verlag/

Recent Volumes

- 176 *Markus Soldner*
Politischer Kapitalismus im postsowjetischen Russland
Die politische, wirtschaftliche und mediale Transformation in den 1990er Jahren
Mit einem Vorwort von Wolfgang Ismayr
ISBN 978-3-8382-1222-7
- 177 *Anton Oleinik*
Building Ukraine from Within
A Sociological, Institutional, and Economic Analysis of a Nation-State in the Making
ISBN 978-3-8382-1150-3
- 178 *Peter Rollberg, Marlene Laruelle (eds.)*
Mass Media in the Post-Soviet World
Market Forces, State Actors, and Political Manipulation in the Informational Environment after Communism
ISBN 978-3-8382-1116-9
- 179 *Mikhail Minakov*
Development and Dystopia
Studies in Post-Soviet Ukraine and Eastern Europe
With a foreword by Alexander Etkind
ISBN 978-3-8382-1112-1
- 180 *Aijan Sharshenova*
The European Union's Democracy Promotion in Central Asia
A Study of Political Interests, Influence, and Development in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan in 2007–2013
With a foreword by Gordon Crawford
ISBN 978-3-8382-1151-0
- 181 *Andrey Makarychev, Alexandra Yatsyk (eds.)*
Boris Nemtsov and Russian Politics
Power and Resistance
With a foreword by Zhanna Nemtsova
ISBN 978-3-8382-1122-0
- 182 *Sophie Falsini*
The Euromaidan's Effect on Civil Society
Why and How Ukrainian Social Capital Increased after the Revolution of Dignity
With a foreword by Susann Worschel
ISBN 978-3-8382-1131-2
- 183 *Andreas Umland (ed.)*
Ukraine's Decentralization
Challenges and Implications of the Local Governance Reform after the Euromaidan Revolution
ISBN 978-3-8382-1162-6
- 184 *Leonid Lukš*
A Fateful Triangle
Essays on Contemporary Russian, German and Polish History
ISBN 978-3-8382-1143-5

Leonid Luks

A FATEFUL TRIANGLE

Essays on Contemporary Russian, German
and Polish History

ibidem-Verlag
Stuttgart

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Coverabbildung: jhnri4 / openclipart

∞

Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem, säurefreien Papier
Printed on acid-free paper

ISSN: 1614-3515

ISBN-13: 978-3-8382-1143-5

© *ibidem*-Verlag
Stuttgart 2018

Alle Rechte vorbehalten

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Jede Verwertung außerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes ist ohne Zustimmung des Verlages unzulässig und strafbar. Dies gilt insbesondere für Vervielfältigungen, Übersetzungen, Mikroverfilmungen und elektronische Speicherformen sowie die Einspeicherung und Verarbeitung in elektronischen Systemen.

All rights part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the prior written permission of the publisher. Any person who does any unauthorized act in relation to this publication may be liable to criminal prosecution and civil claims for damages.

Printed in the EU

Contents

Introduction

7

Part I. Bolshevism and Fascism: Two Faces of Totalitarianism

The Totalitarian Double Revolution in the Twentieth Century
(1917/1933) and Its Ideological Roots—An Outline 11

Bolshevism, Fascism, and National Socialism—
Related Opponents? 43

Part II. Late Soviet and Post-Soviet Russia in Search of Identity

Farewell to Class Struggle 69

The Aggrieved Great Power: Russia after the Crimean War
and after the Dissolution of the Soviet Union—
A Comparative Outline 73

“Weimar Russia?”—Notes on Controversial Concept 81

A “Third Way”—Or Back to the Third Reich? 105

Part III. Poland and Its Neighbors

Polish Perceptions of Russia in the Nineteenth and
Twentieth Centuries 129

Aleksandr Wat about the Janus-Faced Russia 135

The German Question in Polish Unofficial Journalism of the 1970s	149
---	-----

Polish Antiauthoritarian Revolutions, the Euromaidan, and Putin's Neo-imperial Doctrine	161
--	-----

Part IV. The Jewish Question

The Craving for "Organic National Unity" and the "Jewish Question" in the Writings of Fedor Dostoevsky and Heinrich von Treitschke	167
--	-----

Cosmopolitanism as an Anti-Jewish Stereotype under Stalin	201
---	-----

The Catholics in Postwar Poland and the Jews	221
--	-----

Concluding Remarks:

Does Russia Belong to Europe?	233
--------------------------------------	-----

Introduction

The twentieth century, which ended with the triumph of the liberal-democratic systems in Europe, had begun with an extraordinarily deep identity crisis of parliamentarism and liberalism, with a revolt against pluralistic societies and their values. In its radicalism, this revolt exceeded all previous revolts of this kind. Germany and Russia formed the center of this insurrection against the values that are usually associated with the West. It should, however, be pointed out that this revolt had been inspired in Germany, on the one hand, and Russia, on the other hand, by diametrically different ideas. In Germany, the insurrection against the West was directed primarily against the ideals of the French revolution, the so-called ideas of the year 1789. These ideals were opposed by the ideas of the summer of 1914. At that time, Germany seemed to have created a kind of alternative to the Western model: the German society clarified by the war experience of 1914. In the spirit of optimism of the summer of 1914, the Germans seemed to have overcome all political, denominational, social, and regional tensions. The otherwise torn nation “no longer knew any parties.”

Despite the fact that Germany belongs to the West, the discussion of many values constitutive of the occident is an old *topos* of German cultural history. In their acrimonious rejection of the so-called Western decadence, many German authors did not differ too much from the Russian Slavophiles. Helmuth Plessner explains the German protest against the West, which reached its first climax in 1914, among other things by the fact that Germany “missed” the seventeenth century, the century in which the triumph of Enlightenment and political humanism began. Not least this “missed” century had turned Germany into a “belated” nation, an adversary of the West and the ideas that shaped it.¹

1 Plessner, Helmuth: *Die verspätete Nation*. Stuttgart, 1974.

In Russia, at the beginning of the twentieth century, the revolt against the West took place under completely different conditions. It was inspired primarily by the ideas of the year 1789. In 1917, Russia seemed to have become a new home to the ideals of 1789, the ideals that the Western bourgeoisie had, in the view of the Russian revolutionaries, allegedly betrayed.

The first section of this book deals with the causes and consequences of the two revolts.

The second section is dedicated to the development of late-Soviet and post-Soviet Russia, which in 1991 was built on the ruins of the Bolshevik regime that had been established in 1917. The focus will thereby be on the causes of the erosion of the “second” Russian democracy that emerged immediately after the disempowerment of the CPSU in August 1991.

In the third section of the book, I shall deal with the third part of the “fateful triangle” mentioned in the title, namely, Poland. The focus of this section will be on the so-called geopolitical trap, in which Poland—constrained by its powerful neighbors—was caught for centuries.

All three countries of the “triangle” had a special relationship with Judaism. This problem will be the subject of the fourth section of the book.