

# A b s t r a c t s

Andreas Heinemann-Grüder

The Navalny paradox

A frontal attack; a consolidated regime

The Putin regime will continue to remain stable so long as it fulfils the fundamental obligations of a state towards the population. However, numerous resources of legitimacy of Putin's rule have been exhausted, as a result of which the regime is increasingly resorting to repressive measures and is barricading itself off from the outside world. With the publication of his video about Putin, Alexei Navalny orchestrated a frontal attack on the regime. However, while he may have triggered protests on the streets, the criticism of Putin's sultanism has contributed to a homogenisation of the elite. Any challenger who wants to be successful will have to offer attractive incentives to defect to those groups that are currently dependent on the patronage of the regime.

Maria Lipman

The active and the lethargic

Russian society after the Navalny protests

Despite prohibitions and attempts at intimidation, at the end of January, hundreds of thousands of mainly young people took to the streets in Russia to protest against the arrest and sentencing of Alexei Navalny. As yet, events have not led to the emergence of any stable political structures. However, the protests took place against a backdrop of growing dissatisfaction. The regime has responded with force, yet society refuses to go back into hibernation. What once seemed unimaginable is now becoming a real possibility: that Putin is no longer the source of all legitimacy, but is becoming a burden of which the establishment wishes to relieve itself.

Irina Rastorgueva

Black mirror

Political satire and protest culture in Russia

The more repressive the state, the sharper the wit. This insight from the cultural history of Russia and the Soviet Union resonates today with regard to the treatment of Alexei Navalny. His return to Russia, his arrest, his Kafkaesque trial

and the publishing of the video “A Palace for Putin” triggered different responses. While the Putin regime deployed force and intimidation, users of social media turned to jokes and irony. They posted memes, which may be short-lived and ephemeral, but which can also be so on point that they gain global notoriety within a very short space of time. In Russia, they mobilise people who are critical and dissatisfied.

### Olga Romanova “You can’t sit on bayonets”

The case of Navalny and Russia’s penal system

The founder of the NGO “Russia Behind Bars”, Olga Romanova, regards the conviction of Alexei Navalny as a legally nihilistic farce – but also as being representative of Russia’s judicial system. She reminds us that the penal system has not been reformed since the late Stalinist era, that secret service operatives are in charge, and that the conditions in normal prison camps like the one where Navalny will be held, are difficult.

### Grigory Okhotin “The protesters are not children!”

Russia: rule by law, not rule of law

Since the arrest of Alexei Navalny on 17 January 2021, protests have been held across Russia demanding his release. The authorities have responded with repressive measures, and over ten thousand people have been arrested. Grigory Okhotin analyses the background to the arrests and the abuse of the law. The founder of OVD-Info stresses the fact that freedom of assembly is a human right.

### Lukas Latz Russia: “No entry”!

The state, the law and arbitrary power

Russia is in the habit of issuing travel bans. It is not publicly known how often such bans are imposed every year. They affect academics, journalists, human rights campaigners and leaders of religious communities. The FSB, the state secret service, plays a key role in the imposition of the travel bans. The official reason given is that the people affected pose a threat to Russia’s national security. In some cases, this risk must be of monstrous proportions. For example, the German ethnologist Johannes Rohr, who has been conducting research on indigenous peoples, has been prohibited from entering Russia until 2069.

## Otto Luchterhandt A turning point in the South Caucasus

The defeat of Armenia in the war over Nagorno-Karabakh

The attack on Nagorno-Karabakh by Azerbaijan was a serious infringement of the prohibition of violence imposed on the country by the ceasefire agreement of 12 May 1994. The intervention by Turkey further exacerbated the violation of international law. It was only through Turkey's help that Azerbaijan was able to win this third war against the people of Nagorno-Karabakh, who were attempting to defend their right to self-determination. As was the case in the April War in 2016, the "Minsk Group" of the OSCE failed to restrain two of its members Azerbaijan and Turkey, from violating international law. Rather, they were encouraged to do so.

## Egbert Jahn Thawed and re-frozen

Continuity and change in the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh

From 27.9.2020 to 9.11.2020, Azerbaijan waged war against the united Armenian forces in order to regain control of the territories that had been occupied by the Nagorno-Karabakh Armenians for years. The war cost thousands of lives, and forced 100,000 Armenians to flee the region. At Russia's instigation, the warring parties signed a ceasefire agreement, which likely prevented Azerbaijan from taking over control of the entire Nagorno-Karabakh region. The Nagorno-Karabakh conflict has now been re-frozen, albeit under altered military power constellations that are disadvantageous to Armenia. In the meantime, the fundamental problems that have plagued the region remain unresolved.

## Réka Kinga Papp Shut down

Hungary's free media and the case of *Klubrádió*

In Hungary, the regime under Viktor Orbán has been systematically curtailing media freedoms for the last ten years. One of the last independent voices was the *Klubrádió* radio channel. *Klubrádió* has been under pressure for a long time, and now, its license has been withdrawn. The journalists are not giving up, and will fight the decision in court. However, doing battle with the regime comes at a high price.

## Andreas Kappeler The echo of the Holodomor

The famine of 1932/33 in the Austrian press

News about the famine of 1932/33 that raged in Ukraine, Kazakhstan and southern Russia, was suppressed by the Soviet government, which banned the publication of any information about the catastrophe and denied its existence. An analysis of the contemporary press in Austria reveals that despite this, the

general public did have access to broad information about the famine, which was even reported in local newspapers. The Secretary General of the “Congress of European Nationalities”, Ewald Ammende, and Cardinal Innitzer, played an important role in the dissemination of information. Cardinal Innitzer’s authority gave greater credibility to the news of the famine.

Peter Oliver Loew

High performance cum grano salis

German-language research into Poland: an overview

The level of academic interest in Poland is now considerably high, with a large number of institutions, researchers and publications. However, there are also problems, in that research into Poland is too historiographical in nature, with little expertise when it comes to the analysis of politics and society. Furthermore, in academic circles and among the general public, research into Poland tends to be a niche area.

Hans Günther

The psychopathology of totalitarianism

Andrei Platonov’s *The Macedonian Officer* and *Rubbish Wind*

Andrei Platonov’s short prose written in 1933-1934 is among his most radical work. The central theme of these texts is the psychopathology of totalitarian rule. The oriental despotism depicted in *The Macedonian Officer*, with its psychotic ruler and masochistic subordination rituals, is like a distorted reflection of the Soviet Union under Stalin. By contrast, the setting for *The Rubbish Wind* is a dehumanised National Socialist Germany, where the protagonist, a critical scientist, must inevitably undergo terrible suffering. Both systems suppress all forms of independent thought. The fact that these stories were not allowed to be published until the late 1980s is due not to their political content, however, but rather to their drastic nature and the level of cruelty portrayed.

“My Book on Soviets is Making the Rounds in Pirated Form“

With Oskar Anweiler on a Tour d’Horizon

The educationalist and historian of Eastern Europe Oskar Anweiler associates something in particular with *Osteuropa*: He and the journal were launched in 1925. This provides an occasion to accompany Anweiler on a biographical tour d’horizon. It begins in multi-ethnic Galicia, follows the Hitler-Stalin pact and explores the consequences of the Second World War for the intellectual conflict with Eastern Europe in the post-war era. Anweiler witnessed the construction of a new style of German East European Studies and held discussions with the 1960s student movement on state communism and the Soviet system. Here, he reflects on the meaning of détente and the political position of East European Studies and ponders the consequences of the end of the East-West conflict for his own world view and his perception of himself as an academic. Interdisciplinary and comparative studies remain centre stage. Oskar Anweiler’s life and the 80 years of *Osteuropa* have something in common. Both are a mirror of their times.