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A View from the East:
The Russian Germans, the Russian Electronic Library
and Russian Scholarship on the German Diaspora¹

People have used comparison to discover much of what they know about the world. We can use comparison to broaden how we think about Germans in America. America is part of a global German diaspora, and Russia is also part of it. Germans were living together in Russia at least by the first half of the 1500s, when Moscow already had a *nemetskaia sloboda*, or Germantown. We can use knowledge about Germans in Russia to better understand Germans in the United States, their history, experience and connections to Germans elsewhere. Much of the knowledge about Germans in Russia is freely available to us online, thanks to Russia's digital information revolution and to all the open access to information in Runet, the Internet domain for Russia and for information resources in the Russian language. The Russian electronic library of scholarship in all disciplines, at elibrary.ru, contains over twenty-eight million journal articles, book chapters, dissertations and other writings.

Comparative history is a thriving practice, as we can see in the growing number of historical works that bear the word "comparative" in their titles. Comparative history is also the subject of much thought and debate. Contributors to a 2004 volume on the subject consider comparative history as everything from a method to a "tool to provoke thought" and even a form of liberation. For Marta Petrusiewicz, "the aim of comparison . . . is to lead the researcher to new ways of posing questions," while for Nancy L. Green, "comparisons offer a powerful means of breaking down the monolithic, blindered national narratives that historians often take for granted." In another edited volume on comparative history (2009), this one from Israel, Benjamin Z. Kedar writes in the introduction that a "historian who limits his study to a single country . . . is very often unable to perceive the true contours

of its uniqueness or to comprehend that the local phenomena he studies are merely variants of some general ones; transnational comparisons may help him overcome such shortcomings.”²

We can imagine many topics for comparative study that might well reward us with productive new understandings and perspectives on the Germans in the United States and in Russia, despite the great differences between these two large and widely separated states and societies. Consider ethnic territoriality and war experience as two such topics. Germans, like immigrant ethnic groups everywhere, tended to settle together in certain locations, from rural districts to city neighborhoods. These local ethnic communities developed their own public life, elites and sense of identity, but they also became part of the state’s local administrative territories, and they became subject to the state’s local governments. Immigrant ethnic groups occupy territory that belongs to their host state, but the state may allow the immigrant population to participate in local politics, and it may allow or even grant various kinds of autonomy to the immigrant community, which also creates “autonomies” (cultural, economic, religious) on its own. How did the German immigrant ethnic group imagine and practice its territoriality within the very different national practices of territoriality in America and Russia? One striking contrast is that in Russia, where pre-conquest ethnic territoriality remained mostly intact, the new Soviet state created an Autonomous Republic of Volga Germans, which the Russian Germans strived to restore for decades after World War II. Harvard historian Terry Martin even called the Soviet Union, boldly, an “affirmative action empire.”³

The two world wars connect Russia, America and their respective populations and communities of German ancestry, because both Russia and America were at war with Germany in both wars. German-Americans and Russian Germans found themselves in a similar situation, one that came over them suddenly and one that unsettled and distressed them: they were singled out, entered a special, diminished status, and suffered suspicion and hostility. How did their situations differ? For America, Germany was an ocean away, while Russia struggled with invasion by formidable German armies. In Russia, Empress Alexandra was from Hessen, Germans were prominent in the institutions of state, and German Socialism inspired the revolution, while America’s German elites were different in their configuration and standing. In Russia, individuals declared their ethnicity and carried it as a marker in their official documents, while in America ethnicity was more informal. What wartime measures, actions, restrictions, attitudes and treatment did German-Americans and Russian Germans face from the state, employers, schools, other institutions and their fellow citizens? How did German-Americans and Russian Germans react and adapt? What happened to their emotions, outlook

and identity? How were Germans and things German silenced, concealed and erased, perhaps in part by Germans themselves? And how has it all changed in the decades since the wars, in the two countries on different sides of the world?⁴

Besides such comparative perspectives, secondary migration from Russia to the United States also connects Russian Germans and German-Americans. LaVern J. Rippley estimated that “nearly 120,000 [Russian] Germans emigrated to the United States from Russia between 1870 and 1920,” and that “substantial numbers also migrated to Canada, Brazil, Argentina, and, to a lesser extent, also to Mexico.” New state policies of Russification, especially in school instruction, and revocation of Russian German privileges from the 18th century, especially exemption from military service, started the migration to the United States, where, at the same time, the Northern Plains were becoming attractive to farmers, all the more so to the Russian Germans, because the physical conditions there were quite familiar to them. Chain migration and growing instability in Russia, racked by revolution in 1905–1907, accelerated Russian German emigration. By 1920, the Federal census found 303,532 first- and second-generation Russian Germans in the United States. The Russian Germans, divided into insular Protestant, Catholic and Mennonite subcultures, and into Volga Germans and Black Sea Germans, remained a distinct immigrant ethnic group in America, where their dialect and century in Russia estranged them from other German-Americans. So, they published their own periodicals in America, chief among them the *Dakota Freie Presse*. In 1980, the landmark *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* recognized their separate identity and included an entry on the “Germans from Russia,” written by LaVern J. Rippley. The four German-language periodicals that he mentioned for the group all ceased by 1954, but since 1968 the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, and also the Germans from Russia Heritage Society (1971), have issued publications, held annual conventions, built library and museum collections, and gone online.⁵

The Germans in Russia since the 1500s

The earliest German community in Muscovy was the *nemetskaia sloboda* in Moscow. It appeared by the reign of Czar Ivan III, and it was one of many *slobody* in the city. A *sloboda* was an area reserved for a class of artisans or for an ethnic group, where the group enjoyed self-rule and other privileges and freedoms. Moscow also had *slobody* for Ukrainians, Georgians and Tatars. The German *sloboda* did not remain in its original location, and its people were not just Germans. To Muscovites, all Europeans were “Germans.” Many

kinds of West Europeans also lived in the *nemetskaia sloboda*, but they became German-speaking. Germans and West Europeans were useful to Muscovy, because they brought superior skills and technologies to the Slavic state on the edge of Muslim and Turkic Eurasia. They also brought the Catholic and Protestant religions and churches. So, the *sloboda* was a place to segregate Germans away from the Orthodox Russian population.⁶

The *nemetskaia sloboda*, on the banks of the Yauza River on the east side of Moscow, attracted the young Peter the Great and inspired his later effort to Europeanize Russia as czar from the 1680s to the 1720s. Peter's new capital on the Baltic Sea, St. Petersburg, had its own *nemetskaia sloboda*, and so did Voronezh, on the southern steppes, where German shipbuilders served Peter's naval ambitions. The academy of sciences, another of Peter's innovations, was German in composition and language for decades. Peter's victory over Sweden in the Great Northern War brought Estonia, Latvia and their Baltic German landowners, burghers and educators into the Russian Empire and into the czarist court, ministries, schools, armed forces and administration.⁷

In 1761, Catherine, a minor princess from Sachsen Anhalt, became czarina of Russia, and invited German peasants to settle on the middle Volga, the great river that flows into the Caspian Sea. Some twenty thousand came in the 1760s by ship across the Baltic Sea to St. Petersburg and then overland to Saratov. They became the Volga Germans. Other migrations of Germans followed from the 1800s to the 1860s, to Crimea and the Black Sea steppes in Ukraine, which Catherine took from the Ottomans, to the northern Caucasus, which Russia depopulated in its 19th-century wars against the Circassians, and to Volhynia in western Ukraine, where Russia pressed Polish noblemen off the fertile black-earth lands to end the cycle of Polish uprisings.⁸

In the Russian Empire's final fifty years, its Germans expanded their secondary migrations eastward to the Pacific and westward across the Atlantic to North America. Russian Germans became their own global diaspora within the global diaspora of all Germans. The Transsiberian *magistral* (railway), completed in 1904, brought Siberia and the Russian Far East into the railroad network and economy of European Russia, and Germans from the Volga and Black Sea founded new farming colonies near Omsk in Western Siberia. They also went to other destinations, such as the Altai Mountains in Central Siberia, where mining and metallurgy developed, and to Turkestan, which we now call Central Asia, after Russia conquered this vast region in the 1860s. Emigration of Russian Germans to the Great Plains in the United States and Canada began after 1871, when Russia ended exemption from military service for its Germans. This emigration accelerated after the Revolution of 1905, as Germans lost confidence in the empire and in their own security there. In the century from 1796, when Empress Catherine the Great died, to 1897, when

Russia conducted its first national census, the empire's German population grew by 755%, from 237,000 to 1,790,000. And in North America, Volga Germans remained a community, separate from other Germans.⁹

The 20th century was a calamity for many of Russia's 180 nationalities, including Russians, each in its own way. For the Germans, the ordeal already began in 1914, when Russia went to war with Germany. As Russia's enormous losses grew, so did hostility against its own Germans. Revolution in 1917 brought bandits and Red and White armies, which took what they wanted. The Germans, prosperous farmers and tradesmen, were ripe targets, like they were, when they first came to the Volga steppes, for the Turkic nomads. World War I brought five million young men to Russia—Chinese and others Asians to work, and Europeans as prisoners of war, most of them German-speaking. The Bolsheviks used the foreigners to wage the civil war and Red terror. They also sent Red Germans and Austrians, former prisoners-of-war, into the Russian German settlements to impose their new regime. As internationalists, the Bolsheviks gave the Russian Germans autonomy: already in 1918, to forestall imperial Germany's designs and emigration to Germany, they created an Autonomous Republic of Volga Germans. Its head was Ernst Reuter, a German prisoner-of-war turned Bolshevik, who went on to become a Social Democrat in Germany and mayor of West Berlin from 1948 to 1953. The Bolsheviks were also millenarians, who tolerated no other religion, and in the Russian German countryside, Christian religions and churches were central to socialization, education, social life and identity. The real collision came after 1928, when Stalin turned industrialization, collectivization and his own homicidal pathologies into a war against the peasants and nationalities.¹⁰

On June 22, 1941, Germany invaded the Soviet Union. On August 28, the Supreme Soviet abolished the Volga German republic and decreed the deportation of all Soviet Germans from Europe to *spetsposeleniia*, "special settlements," which they could not freely leave, in Siberia and Central Asia. NKVD security forces deported almost a million Soviet Germans in the first two weeks of September. In 1942, Soviet German men and women made up most of the *trudarmii*a, the wartime "labor army" sent to harvest timber, mine coal and do construction and other heavy labor under guard in remote locations, where many died from exposure and hunger. In 1955, the Supreme Soviet abolished the regime of "special settlements" and rehabilitated the Germans, but it did not allow them to return to their homes on the Volga, and the triple traumas of deportation, the special settlements and the labor army continued to preoccupy the Soviet German psyche unresolved. The wartime actions scattered the Germans and their communities and families. German-language schools were no longer possible. Animositities persisted in a country

where the German invasion took so many lives, and Soviet Germans married outside their ethnic group, became Russian-speaking and assimilated.¹¹

But German identity continued, not least because ethnicity continued as an obligatory identifier for citizens in the Soviet and Russian state, an identifier carried with one's internal passport. From the 1960s, ethnic German delegations petitioned Soviet leaders and then Russian President Yeltsin to restore the German republic on the Volga, to no avail. Germans, more than Russians and others, stayed in agriculture and on the land, where they had more children than their urbanized Soviet fellow citizens. In 1989, the last Soviet census became the high point for the German population—2,040,000, 47% of them in Kazakhstan, 9% in the other four Central Asian republics, 41% in Russia, 2% in Ukraine, and 2% in the remaining eight Soviet republics. By 2010, Russia's German population fell by 47%, to just 394,000, because the mass emigration of Germans had taken 2–3 million people from the former Soviet Union to Germany, where the *Russlanddeutsche* (Russian Germans) are among the largest immigrant ethnic groups.¹²

The Russian Electronic Library and Russian Scholarship on the German Diaspora

If we want to compare the migration experience of Germans in Russia to their experience in America, so as to better understand the American experience and the global German diaspora, then we need access to scholarship in Russia. The Russian electronic library at elibrary.ru gives us open access to this scholarship, and so do many other information resources online in Russia. This may surprise us, because American stereotypes about Russia do not encourage us to expect open access to information, freedom of scholarship, modernity or even competence in Russia. We may also think of the global digital information revolution as mostly American, Western and Anglophone, because the sense of our own exceptionalism in Western Europe and America is so strong. But the information revolution really is global, and Russia is a good example to help us see this and to reimagine the world's scholarship and our own.¹³

The Russian electronic library became a platform for the country's periodical scholarship in all disciplines in 2005 and long since fully covers most all academic journals published in Russia. It also includes Russia's citation index, which tracks usage and measures impact factor for every publication and author, in order to encourage academic productivity and quality, although this (Western) assessment system may have other effects. [Elibrary.ru](http://elibrary.ru) now offers about as many texts as Google Books, approaching 30 million. In the Russian electronic library this is the work of 827,980

authors in 1.6 million issues of 60,125 journals and 3.3 million books. Of the journals, 14,824 (25%) are published in Russia, 5,594 of them in digital full-text, 4,721 of these with open access. Of the books, 0.7 million (21%) are in digital full-text. Over 1.8 million registered users in 125 countries open 90 million abstracts and download 12 million full-text articles per year in elibrary.ru. Only 1,225 users are in the United States. Access is free (upon registration) to anyone in the world with an Internet connection.¹⁴

How much literature can we find in elibrary.ru about Germans in Russia and elsewhere? If we search for the keywords *rossiiskie nemtsy* (Russian Germans) everywhere, even in the full text of all publications and in their bibliographical references, we get 46,080 publications. That's too many, and most will be irrelevant, because the Russian electronic library's search interface does not offer phrase searching. So, we get all publications that mention "Russian" and "Germans" not just as a phrase but also separately. But if we limit our search just to the titles, abstracts and keywords assigned to publications, we get 956 articles, almost all of them relevant. Of these, 424 (44%) have a PDF file of their full text, which we can freely download, read and carry with us anywhere on a memory key. Another title-abstract-and-keyword search, this time for "Germans Kazakhstan," gives us 56 more articles, almost all with full-text PDFs. For "Mennonites," we get another six articles. Searches that produce mostly false hits are "Germans Ukraine" (56 results), Khortitsa (20 results) and "German Americans" (30 results), but at least we learn that Russian scholars are not writing much about Germans in these places. (Khortitsa, or Chortitza, now part of Zaporizhia, Ukraine, was a Mennonite colony on an eponymous island in the Dnepr River.) We also find two articles about the Pennsylvania Dutch language.¹⁵

So, what kind of result set are the almost 500 full-text, open-access articles in elibrary.ru that mention "Russian Germans" or "Germans Kazakhstan" in their titles, abstracts and keywords? It is a big result set that compares well to EBSCO's *Historical Abstracts* database, where we find 733 articles with "Russian Germans" as a subject term, but most of these are not academic and only 40 are full-text. Forty-six *Historical Abstracts* articles are in German and 42 in Russian, but only 2 German articles and no Russian ones are full-text. In elibrary.ru, all but two articles are from the year 2000 or later, whereas in *Historical Abstracts*, 409 articles (56%) are older, back to 1956. So, elibrary.ru adds a lot to our research in American databases on a subject like Russia's Germans. [Elibrary.ru](http://elibrary.ru) is useful even if we cannot read Russian, because most all articles have titles, abstracts, keywords and even sources in both Russian and English. So, we can search in English, read the abstracts in English, and inform ourselves about the Russian literature beyond our reach.¹⁶

In elibrary.ru, we can survey all the recent literature in Russia and keep up with new literature. Most of our 500 articles are about Russian German history, linguistics and identity in the 20th century and in the present post-1991 period in Siberia, other Russian locations, Kazakhstan and Germany. Few articles are about the four centuries of German experience in czarist Russia. Linguists examine dialectology and sociolinguistics. Russian Germans have much to teach us about language and identity in dispersal since their 1941 deportation from the Volga and European Russia, and no less interesting to scholars of language and identity is their situation in Germany as a large Russian-speaking population that is diverse, and not just German, in descent.¹⁷

Articles about the Republic of Volga Germans can be a pole of comparison to past discourses and projects in ethnolinguistic territoriality among Germans in the Americas. And the Volga was not the only site of German autonomy in the Soviet Union: German districts, villages and collective farms appeared from Ukraine to Siberia. In Kazakhstan, Germans gained their own schools in 1957 and then radio and television programs, a newspaper, a writers union, all kinds of associations and a professional theater by 1980. In 1976, Yuri Andropov, then head of the KGB, launched an operation to create a German autonomous republic in northern Kazakhstan. Without their Volga republic, Germans were becoming discontent and receptive to emigration, while Kazakhs were becoming too dominant in their multiethnic republic. Both problems worried the KGB, and a new German republic was a solution to both problems, but Kazakh resistance, both elite and popular, defeated the KGB. Sattar Kaziev at North Kazakhstan State University reveals all this to us in his article on the “‘Golden Age’ of Soviet Internationalism and Problems of Interethnic Relations in Kazakhstan.”¹⁸

Books are more important than articles in the social sciences, but we can rely on elibrary.ru only for articles, and only back to 2005 or later. These two limitations are not as serious as they seem: our 500 articles are full of references to books about Russian Germans and to older articles. [Elibrary.ru](http://elibrary.ru) also gives us essays from edited volumes and links to the PDFs of entire edited volumes, such as the 2017 volume of papers from a conference on the Germans of Kazakhstan and Siberia in the past and present, which we can download for free from the publisher. Articles give us more perspectives on more aspects of our subject, and some articles summarize what would take us many hours to read in books. So, on just two pages in German, Barno Mamatovna Sattarova summarizes literature on three successive waves of German migration to Russia in the century after Catherine the Great’s decree of 1763. Sattarova is an Uzbek scholar at Termez State University. On seven pages in Russian,

Tatiana Borisovna Smirnova at Omsk State University summarizes the population history of Russian Germans since 1763.¹⁹

As for the Russian electronic library's shallow reach into older bodies of literature, only back to 2005, it's not so big a problem for a subject like Russian Germans, because scholars in Russia could only begin writing about it in the 1990s. Sixty years before them, in the late 1920s, scholars at the universities in Leningrad and Odessa organized research projects about the German colonies in their respective regions. They did fieldwork and produced scholarship. But the secret police saw their collaboration as a "counter-revolutionary, fascist German organization" and carried out a massive 1930s operation that targeted 99 individuals and put 53 of them in prison. Vera Vladlenovna Solodova lays out this episode for us in painful detail, along with insights into this early and ambitious research on Russian Germans.²⁰

Arkadii Adolfovich German and Irina Vasilevna Cherkazianova survey the new scholarship on Russian Germans in their 2015 article on twenty years of the International Association of Researchers on the History and Culture of the Russian Germans. German (b. 1948), a founder and chairman of the Association, and a former colonel in the Soviet and Russian armed forces, is a historian at Saratov State University on the Volga. He has written more about the Russian Germans in the 20th century than anyone else. As late as 1982, the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party troubled itself with historians and heritage enthusiasts who wanted to form a Russian German research center, which this high party authority would not allow. The silence ended in November and December 1988, in the Gorbachev era, when *Pravda*, the Communist Party's daily newspaper, and other national publications, printed long articles about the Soviet Germans on the 70th anniversary of their long-lost republic on the Volga. After that, scholars interested in the Russian Germans, most of them Russian Germans themselves, organized annual conferences, launched their Association, and began their remarkable research and writing. Today the field of Russian German studies and its scholars in Russia can be a productive partner to the Society for German American Studies and to us in the United States as we seek a better understanding of the global German diaspora. And the Russian electronic library at elibrary.ru gives us free and full access to all the new scholarship in Russia.²¹

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Notes

¹ This article is a revision of the author's paper, "The Russian Electronic Library and Russian Scholarship on the German Diaspora," contributed to the Society for German-American Studies, Annual Symposium, Indianapolis, Indiana, April 20, 2018.

² Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor, "Introduction: Comparative History, Cross-National History, Transnational History—Definitions," in *Comparison and History: Europe in Cross-National Perspective*, edited by Deborah Cohen and Maura O'Connor (New York: Routledge, 2004), ix–xxiv (quotes from pp. xii, xv, xvii). Benjamin Z. Kedar, "Introduction," in *Explorations in Comparative History*, edited by Benjamin Z. Kedar (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2009), vii–ix.

³ The literature on ethnicity and on nationalities policy in Russia is vast. For a brief survey, see Jeremy Smith, *Encyclopedia of Russian History*, s.v., "Nationalities Policies, Soviet" (US: Gale Group, 2004), accessed online at <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/nationalities-policies-soviet> on March 8, 2019. See also Sven Gunnar Simonsen, "Inheriting the Soviet Policy Toolbox: Russia's Dilemma over Ascriptive Nationality," *Europe-Asia Studies* 51, no. 6 (September 1999), 1069–1087. Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001). For the locations of the German settlements on the Volga, on the Black Sea steppes, in Crimea and in the Caucasus, see the maps on pp. 84 and 100–101 in Karl Stumpp, *The Emigration from Germany to Russia in the Years 1763 to 1862* (Lincoln, Neb.: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1973). For a gazetteer, see Armand Bauer, "Place Names of German Colonies in Russia and the Rumanian Dobrudja," in Richard Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements in the United States*, translated by LaVern J. Rippley and Armand Bauer (Fargo, ND: North Dakota Institute for Regional Studies, 1974), 130–183. For a map of the population distribution of Russian Germans in the last years of the Soviet Union, with their numbers in individual union republics and in individual administrative regions of the Russian and Kazakh union republics, see the map on the front pastedown and flyleaf in Benjamin Pinkus and Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion: Geschichte einer nationalen Minderheit im 20. Jahrhundert* (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1987).

⁴ On Russia's measures against the Russian Germans in World War I before the 1917 Revolution, see, for example, Ivan Gennadevich Sobolev, *Борьба с «немецким засильем» в России в годы Первой мировой войны* (The campaign against "German predominance" in the years of World War I) (Sankt-Peterburg: Rossiiskaia natsionalnaia biblioteka, 2004), who drew on the papers of the Особый комитет по борьбе с немецким засильем (Special committee for the struggle against German predominance) at the Российский государственный исторический архив (RGIA, Russian state historical archive) in St. Petersburg. The Council of Ministers of the Russian Empire formed this special committee in the spring of 1916. It survived until the summer of 1917 and produced statistics on the Russian German land holdings that it liquidated and on 711 commercial enterprises marked for liquidation, all of which Sobolev presents in six appendices on pp. 133–174.

⁵ LaVern J. Rippley, "An Introduction ...," in Richard Sallet, *Russian-German Settlements in the United States*, 3–16 (quote on p. 6). LaVern J. Rippley, *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, s.v., "Germans from Russia" (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1980), 425–430. LaVern J. Rippley (1935) has been on the faculty of St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, teaching the German language, since 1967. See "LaVern J. Rippley, Ph.D., Presented with the Albert Nelson Marquis Lifetime Achievement Award by Marquis Who's Who," an October 30, 2018, press release, accessed online on March 11, 2019. For the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia online, see <https://www.ahsgr.org/>, and for the Germans from Russia Heritage Society see <http://www.grhs.org/>.

⁶ Oleg Viktorovich Lariushkin, “Немецкая слобода Москвы: статистико-демографический анализ (середина xvii- середина xviii вв.)” (The German quarter in Moscow: statistical-demographic analysis, mid-17th century-mid-18th century), *Вестник Московского государственного областного университета. Серия: история и политические науки*, no. 3 (2013), 58–64, accessed in the Научная электронная библиотека (НЭБ, Russian electronic library of scholarship) at elibrary.ru in April 2018, as were all other journal articles cited below, unless otherwise indicated. Note: the English translations given here and below of the titles of Russian publications are taken from elibrary.ru, despite their shortcomings as translations, because they may be used to retrieve these publications in elibrary.ru with searches limited to publication title. Otherwise, the English translations of publication titles are from the author and indicated by the initials “dzc.” Victor Dönninghaus, *Die Deutschen in der Moskauer Gesellschaft: Symbiose und Konflikte, 1494–1941* (München: Oldenbourg, 2002). Tatiana Borisovna Smirnova and T.S. Kisser, “Многообразие немцев России” (Russian Germans diversity) *Уральский исторический вестник*, no. 2 (55) (2017), 44–54, review the Russian Germans and their diversity since the 16th century.

⁷ N.N. Petrukhintsev, “Раннее европейское влияние на Петра I: Патрик Гордон и Франц Лефорт в конце XVII в.” (Early European influences on Peter the Great: Patrick Gordon and Franz Lefort at the end of the 17th century), *Quaestio Rossica* 5, no. 1 (2017), 198–218, at <http://elar.urfu.ru/handle/10995/47066>, accessed on May 21, 2018. V.S. Delvig, “Образование и развитие новой солдатской (лефортовской) слободы в 1692–1740 гг.” (Formation and development of new soldierly Lefortovo *sloboda* in 1692–1740), *Актуальные проблемы гуманитарных и социально-экономических наук*, no. 9–1 (2015), 32–39. Anastasiia Alekseevna Kruzhalina, “Немецкое влияние—российское величие: взгляд изнутри российской общественности XIX столетия” (German influence—Russian greatness: view from within the Russian public of the XIXth century), *Исторические, философские, политические и юридические науки, культурология и искусствоведение. Вопросы теории и практики*, no. 1 (2011), 123–125.

⁸ V.N. Shaidurov, “История немецкой колонизации в России второй половины XVIII в. в отечественных публикациях (1860-е гг.-1917 г.)” (History of German colonization in Russia in the second half of the XVIII century in local works, 1860s–1917), *Гуманитарные науки в Сибири*, no. 3 (2008), 59–63.

⁹ On the Russian Germans in the last pre-revolutionary decades, see Victor Dönninghaus, *Revolution, Reform und Krieg: Die Deutschen an der Wolga im ausgehenden Zarenreich* (Essen: Klartext, 2002). (See a review of the Russian edition by V.S. Kononov in the НЭБ). On secondary migration to Siberia, see V.N. Shaidurov, “Европейские диаспоры в России: общероссийские и региональные особенности формирования” (The European diasporas in Russia: national and regional aspects of organization and development), *Ежегодник МАИИКРН* 1 (2015), 39–48. On secondary migration to Kazakhstan, see T.A. Apendiev, Zh.M. Asylbekova, N.M. Abdukadyrov and E.Zh. Satov, “Историческая картина переселения немцев в Казахстан (коней XIX-начало XX вв.)” (Historical picture of the resettlement of Germans in Kazakhstan), *Вестник Российской академии наук* 86, no. 12 (2016), 1154–1156. On the demographic history of the Russian Germans, see T.B. Smirnova, “Динамика численности немцев в России от манифестов Екатерины II до наших дней” (Dynamics of the number of Germans in Russia from the manifestos of Catherine the Great to the present days), *Современные проблемы науки и образования*, no. 6 (2012), no pagination. On Volga German emigration to Canada, see E.E. Khodchenko, “Эмиграция немцев поволжья и их ранние поселения в Канаде” (The emigration of the Volga Germans and their early settlements in Canada), *Ежегодник МАИИКРН* 2 (2016), 54–73, and “Канадский фронт глазами иммигрантов (конец XIX-начало XX вв.)”, (The Canadian frontier through the eyes of the immigrants, late 19th-early 20th century—dzc), *Харківський історіографічний збірник* 15 (2016), 241–251.

¹⁰ Ivan Gennadevich Sobolev, *Борьба с «немецким засильем» в России в годы Первой мировой войны* (see note 4 above). On the Russian Germans during the Russian Revolution, see A.A. German, “Октябрьский переворот 1917 г. и российские немцы” (The October coup d’état and Russian Germans) *Ежегодник МАИИКРН* 2 (2016), 96–112. On the Bolsheviks’ reliance on German prisoners of war and other foreigners in the civil war, see Aleksandr Trushin, “Нечего терять, некого жалеть” (Nothing to lose, no one to pity—dzc), *Ogonek* no. 50 (December 18, 2017), 16–18; Leonid Maksimenkov, “Армия чужих: тема ‘иностранцы в русской революции’ в советские времена была частью лакированной истории. Реальная история была другой” (An army of foreigners: in Soviet times, the subject of “foreigners in the Russian Revolution” was part of a manicured historiography—dzc), *ibid.*, 18–20; and “Подавляющее меньшинство: триумфальное шествие советской власти было обеспечено эффективным использованием иностранных вооруженных отрядов в подавлении антибольшевистских выступлений” (An overwhelming minority: the triumphant advance of Soviet power relied on the effective use of units of armed foreigners to stamp out anti-Bolshevik uprisings—dzc), *ibid.*, 18. On the Russian Germans in the 1930s, see A.A. German, “СССР в 1930-е годы: ‘борьба с немецким национализмом’” (USSR in 1930: “the fight against German nationalism”), *Известия Саратовского университета. Новая серия. Серия История, Международные отношения* 16, no. 1 (2016), 28–34. On the Russian Germans in the entire 1917–1941 period, see Vladimir G. Petrovich and Sergei I. Samsonov, “Революция пожирает своих детей, или магический круг чередования революций и реакций (на примере саратовского поволжья)” (Revolution devours its children, or the magic circle of alternating revolutions and reactions [on the example of the Saratov Volga region]), *Историческая и социально-образовательная мысль* 9, no. 6/2 (2017), 33–41.

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¹² Sven Gunnar Simonsen, “Inheriting the Soviet Policy Toolbox: Russia’s Dilemma over Ascriptive Nationality” (see note 3 above). On the Russian Germans since the 1950s, see A.A. German, “Послевоенное общественное движение российских немцев (1954–2014 годы): попытка системного анализа” (The post-war social movement of the Russian Germans [1954–2014]: an attempt of a system analysis), *Известия Саратовского университета. Новая серия. Серия история, международные отношения* 15, no. 3 (2015), 34–40. T.B. Smirnova, “Динамика численности немцев в России от манифестов Екатерины II до наших дней” (Dynamics of the number of Germans in Russia from the manifestos of Catherine the Great to the present days) (see note 9 above). On the Russian Germans in Germany since the 1990s, see Sabine Ipsen-Peitzmeier and Markus Kaiser, eds., *Zuhause fremd: Russlanddeutsche zwischen Russland und Deutschland* (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2006), reviewed by K.G. Timofeeva in *Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии* 10, no. 3 (2007), 201–208.

¹³ For news and research about the Internet in Russia, albeit only in the Russian language, see the Web site of the Ассоциация электронных коммуникаций (РАЭК), or Russian Association for Electronic Communication, at <https://raec.ru/>, accessed on March 12, 2019. This trade group was founded in 2006 and includes over 150 private and public entities. RAEC’s new research projects and publications about the Internet in Russia are available at <https://raec.ru/activity/analytics/>, and its archive of research publications from 2011–2016 is at <http://old.raec.ru/analytics/>. For an English-language page about RAEC, see <https://raec.ru/en/about/>.

¹⁴ Content and usage statistics about the НЭБ are on its Web site at elibrary.ru. Gennadii Eremenko, “elibrary.ru: курс на повышение качества контента” (elibrary.ru: efforts to raise

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¹⁵ On the Mennonite settlements on the Sea of Azov, see Taisa Konstantinovna Zakharchenko, “Образование немецких и меннонитских колоний на побережье Азовского моря” (Formation of German and Mennonite colonies on the coast of the Azov Sea), *Актуальные научные исследования в современном мире*, no. 10–5 (30) (2017), 137–142. Daniil Aleksandrovich Petrenko and Kristina Konstantinovna Soloveva, “Особенности немецкого языка на территории США в штате Пенсильвания” (German language in the USA in the state of Pennsylvania), in *Культурология, филология, искусствоведение: актуальные проблемы современной науки: сборник статей по материалам VI международной научно-практической конференции* (Cultural studies, philology, study of the arts: papers from the 6th international scholarly conference) (Novosibirsk: Sibirskaiia akademicheskaiia kniga, 2018), 74–80.

¹⁶ The author searched *Historical Abstracts* in April 2018.

¹⁷ On schools, education and language in the Russian German communities, see Tatiana Aleksandrovna Maskarova, “Роль школьного образования в процессе формирования единого языка общения в колониях немцев Поволжья” (Role of school education in process of forming common language of communication in colonies of the Volga Germans), *Филологические науки. Вопросы теории и практики (часть 2)* 43, no. 1 (2015), 142–146; and A.V. Miroshnichenko, “Особенности конфессионального образования немцев-колонистов южных регионов Российской империи в XIX веке” (Confessional education of German colonists in southern parts of the Russian Empire in XIXth century), *Вестник РУДН, серия Русский и иностранные языки и методика их преподавания*, no. 4 (2012), 140–149. I.U.P. Shabaev, I.A. Goncharov and A.P. Sadokhin, “Жизненные стратегии российских немцев” (Life strategies of Russia’s Germans), *Социологические исследования*, no. 1 (2016), 100–107. N.M. Markdorf and A.A. Dolgoliuk, “Методика поиска архивной информации о судьбах российских немцев” (The search methods archival information of Russian Germans’ fates), *Ежегодник МАИИКРН 2* (2016), 254–270, review sources on Russian Germans in Russian archives. I.B. Toman, “На перекрестке культур: новые маршруты по старой Москве” (At cultures crossroad: new routes about old Moscow), *Современные проблемы сервиса и туризма*, no. 4 (2008), 56–67, identifies and describes a walking tour of German Moscow for tourists.

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²⁰ V.V. Solodova, “Ленинградские ученые и их вклад в этнографическое изучение советских немцев на рубеже 1920–1930-х годов” (Leningrad scientists and their contribution to the ethnographic study of the Soviet Germans at the turn of 1920–1930), *Ежегодник МАИИКРП* 1 (2015), 257–266.

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