

## Summaries

### ***Dietrich Beyrau, Wehrmacht Generals before Soviet Courts. How the Soviet Judiciary Dealt with Nazi War Crimes***

This article is based on German and Russian documents relating to Soviet charges of war crimes against Wehrmacht generals. In this context, the author addresses the question of the Soviet initiative to establish aggressive warfare as a crime under international law. It deals with both the Soviet political and tactical approach to this problem area and the legal handling of war crimes. The study also examines the non-public proceedings and the Soviet judiciary's handling of war crimes within the sphere of command of the accused Wehrmacht generals. This issue is compared with similar proceedings by the British and American military justice systems against Japanese and German generals in Nuremberg and the so-called follow-up trials. Last but not least, it deals with the behaviour of the accused Wehrmacht generals under the pressure of non-public proceedings with opaque rules.

### ***Sebastian Fahner, Democratisation through the Representation of Nations. The Social Democratic Suffrage Movement in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1897–1907***

This article examines how the Social Democratic suffrage movement in the Habsburg monarchy employed national references and what independent dynamic they unfolded. The focus is on the German section of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei, SDAP) between its first entry into the House of Deputies in 1897 and the first elections by equal and universal male suffrage in 1907. In 1899 the SDAP began to demand a re-establishment of the empire as a »democratic confederation of nations«. This was tied to the hope that democratisation would automatically defuse national conflicts. Yet the national conflicts within the SDAP only increased with suffrage reform, pointing to a basic flaw in the reform model: the nations were to be the bearers of democratic sovereignty. The party subsequently underpinned its demands for working-class political participation with a claim to national representation. German-Austrian Social Democracy claimed to be the bearer of German culture in the Habsburg monarchy, thereby distancing itself from both the Austrian state, which it considered regressive, and the Christian-social and German national movement. The close link between democratisation and national autonomy made the national identification of candidates put up for election a relevant and contested category.

**Jan de Graaf, Squeezed between Participation and Representation. Local Party Notables and the Origins of Consensus Politics in Western Europe**

This article aims to shed fresh light on participation and representation under the »postwar consensus«. The consensus politics practised by Christian and Social Democrats after the Second World War has often been attributed to the fateful lessons of the interwar era and the anti-communist contingencies of the Cold War. This article challenges this narrative by arguing that the impetus for consensus politics came from beleaguered local party notables, whose post-liberation experience saw them lose trust in their own rank and file. In doing so, the article will offer a new perspective on three core assumptions about the role of »mass parties« in the postwar consensus. First, it calls into question the widespread notion that the postwar era constituted a »golden age« of party machines as vehicles of popular representation. Second, it interrogates the reciprocal trust between grassroots and elites that supposedly characterised participation and representation under the postwar consensus. Third, it reconsiders the extent to which the mass party served as a channel of participation and representation for those disaffected by the postwar consensus. To make these arguments, the article studies a wide cross-section of postwar Europe, with the Belgian, French, West German, and Italian cases taking centre stage.

**Pasi Ihalainen, Representative Democracy Legitimised through »Participation«. The German Federal Parliament in the Northwest European Context since 1968**

The meaning of »democracy« has been extended considerably since the 1970s, democracy becoming an all-encompassing super-concept but remaining contested and evolving. By the beginning of the twenty-first century, »participation« became a near synonym of democracy. The analysis of such conceptual transformations benefits from long-term and comparative perspectives that go beyond national historical narratives and present-day concerns. This article explores changes in qualifiers of the representative form of democracy, starting with the postwar situation, reviewing post-1968 developments and focusing on major transformations since the late 1990s. As an empirical case it takes the parliament of the German Federal Republic in a comparative northwest European context. Digitised parliamentary debates provide an analytical nexus for combined quantitative and qualitative conceptual history that shows how the concept of democracy has changed synchronously in several national parliaments, reflecting transnational trends. Since the 1990s these parliaments presented parallel responses to the challenges of digital communication, European integration and discourses on disenchantment with democracy. In the early 2000s, a near consensus emerged on the need to increase participation in representative democracy to strengthen its legitimacy. This consensus emphasised MPs' responsibility to the electorate, inclusiveness and interaction with civil society. In German parliamentary discourse, direct and participatory democracy remained semantically amalgamated while associations between »democracy« and »civil society« strengthened. German MPs redefined representative democracy through a

multifaceted discourse on citizen participation without changing the Basic Law. This consensus disintegrated by the late 2010s, however, with a partisan polarisation over the desirability of direct democracy. The far right called for referendums as a form of participation and the value of the representative system was highlighted again in the discourse of other parties, yet participation remained a synonym for democracy that no one could oppose.

**Harm Kaal/Solange Ploeg, Television: Classroom or Parallel Parliament? Political Education and Political Participation in Dutch Television Programmes in the Long 1960s**

This paper examines the relationship between participation and representation in postwar Dutch political culture. Using Dutch television programmes as a lens, we explore the tension between these two concepts as an inherent dynamic in normative theories of both democracy and the media system. Our central question is how Dutch television programmes about politics reflected and shaped contemporary understandings of democracy during the long 1960s. We focus specifically on the so-called »neutral« Dutch broadcaster NTS. This case study demonstrates how the broadcaster's vision of its responsibility to the public remained largely informed by a »formal« conception of democracy throughout the long 1960s, emphasising its role in educating the public.

**Ariane Leendertz, Governing beyond the Political Public Sphere. The Parallel Arena of the Executive Branches in the Democratic German Federal State**

In 1948 and 1949, members of the Parliamentary Council devoted much intense discussion to the creation of a »second chamber« of the legislature, ultimately deciding in favour of the Bundesrat. The alternative – a senate consisting of members elected by state parliaments – gained insufficient support. This decision proved consequential for the subsequent development of the democratic federal state in Germany. It consolidated a tradition of executive federalism in which the Federal Republic circumvented the transparency demanded by a democratic order and made it harder for citizens to scrutinise political decision-making and to locate political responsibility. The decision in favour of the *Bundesrat* marked the emergence of an arena of political action of nearly equal status in which the executive branches of both federal and state governments were able to act largely without public scrutiny and parliamentary control. This parallel arena of the executive branches still exists, consisting of hundreds of mostly informal cooperative and decision-making instances which are barely known to the public and form a blind spot for research. Of particular importance here are the numerous conferences of state ministers, the conference of state prime ministers, and the regular meetings between the federal chancellor and the heads of the state governments, which have been a firm part of political praxis since the chancellorship of Ludwig Erhard.

**Anton Liavitski, *Between Political Diversity and Unity of Interests. Democratisation and the Crisis of Representation in Belarus, 1990–1995***

The goal of this paper is to scrutinise the relationship between the ideals of ideological pluralism and the discourse surrounding participation and representation in post-Soviet Belarus. By juxtaposing political developments in Minsk with those in the rural periphery, this study explores both the actual pluralism observable on the ground – as reflected in vote tallies from several early-1990s elections – and the ways in which this pluralism was reflected upon and contested in contemporary political discourse. In doing so, the article examines how politically engaged segments of society grappled with the logic of participation and, above all, the meaning and function of political representation in the new system. While many political actors emphasised the necessity of political diversity and mutual tolerance, political discourse often revealed more authoritarian ideas and tendencies. This was particularly evident in the perceived crisis of political representation. Many actors in Belarus believed that parliament and the multi-party system had failed to adequately represent the full range of societal interests, rendering citizens' participation in the system ultimately meaningless. Although this perception still endorsed the normative ideal of a government accountable to the people, it relied on a homogenising view of the people's interests, leaving little space for legitimate political conflict. By exploring both the perceived crisis of representation and alternative conceptions of it, this study highlights the complex and often contradictory logic of democratisation during the early years of Belarusian independence.

**Sebastian Petznick, *On the Claim to Be Heard. Unemployed and Taxpayer Protests in France in the Early 1930s***

This article examines local protest movements in France in the 1930s and asks how, in certain circumstances, economic crises can turn into political ones. At its centre stands the connection between social conflicts and demands for political representation. Protests are understood as a form of non-institutionalised political participation through which deficits of the political system can be made visible and corrections demanded. The study challenges the frequently encountered assumption that economic and political crises invariably follow parallel courses, instead analysing the concrete dynamics through which economic difficulties became politically charged. The analysis centres on two protest movements: the *Comités des chômeurs* (unemployed committees), which attracted mostly industrial workers, and the *Ligues des contribuables* (taxpayer leagues), which drew mainly on middle-class support. Both linked material demands to fundamental critiques of existing relations of representation. They are examined here in the context of two local spaces: the industrial and socialist-dominated northern city of Lille, and the mercantile and bourgeois south-western city of Bordeaux. This local perspective makes visible how social experiences became linked to questions of political legitimacy and could give rise to fundamental questionings of democratic order.

**Daniel Schrader, *Duty, Deliberation, Contest, Battle. Visions of Electing and Being Elected in Russian Provincial Newspapers during the Spring and Summer of 1917***

I explore liberal and moderate socialist perspectives on democratic representation and participation in Russian revolutionary provincial newspapers from March to October 1917. Earlier research has emphasised the intellectual contradictions of moderate visions, which advocated democratic devolution but concurrently expected voters to prioritise the state's wartime needs over individual interests and to follow intellectual guidance on the duties of citizenship. Acknowledging these tensions, I explore how they delimited a broad and vociferous debate on the mechanisms, rights and duties of representation and electoral participation. While often frustrated with electoral outcomes, urgent and experimental press reactions seldom questioned open-ended contests. They instead navigated core tensions between (broadly speaking) particularist and homogenising interpretations of how disparate voter interests could add up to a vote of the people at the ballot box, be reflected in representative institutions and then bundled into binding decisions. While never resolved before the Bolshevik seizure of power, such tense and experimental interpretations of democracy do not signify belated political development, but rather place 1917's debates about participation and representation squarely into the mainstream of an interwar democratic laboratory characterised by democratic urgency and heightened fragility.

**Moritz Sorg, «One of us». Did the Representational Change of European Monarchy in the First World War Usher in a Century of Descriptive Representation?**

Representation is a key concept in democracy research. Historically, however, the concept has been closely associated not only with democratic republics but also with other forms of government, including monarchy. Already in the second half of the nineteenth century, the functional changes discernible in European monarchy prompted intellectuals to use the widespread term »representative monarchy« as a lens through which to examine, for instance, the relationship between kingship and representation. At the same time, participatory elements came to play an increasing part in legitimating and depicting monarchical rule as the nineteenth century progressed. Drawing on the work of Hanna F. Pitkin, this article uses a concept of representation augmented by symbolic and performative elements to highlight a fundamental change in representational patterns in nineteenth- and twentieth-century European monarchies. The study outlines these processes by which monarchy adapted to increasing social demands for participation and descriptive representativeness, identifying the First World War as the key turning point in the process. In light of the large-scale slaughter, monarchical pomp and pageantry came to seem less convincing between 1914 and 1918. They were replaced by a normalisation and nationalisation of monarchical self-presentation, already begun in the nineteenth century, which were intended to make kings and queens look more like »one of us«, like ordinary people. This marked a representational change which, this article

suggests, may have fundamentally altered the self-presentation and perception not only of monarchy but also of politicians in the twentieth century more generally.

**Caner Tekin, Political Participation by Migrants. Struggles for Recognition and Debates between Self-Organisation, Foreigners' Advisory Councils, Cities and Trade Unions in Hessen**

The struggle of migrant communities in the Federal Republic of Germany for democratic rights has hitherto largely played only a marginal role in research on the history of migration. If at all, this article argues, their struggle against the deficit in their democratic participation has led to open discussions at the level of trade unions and local politics. In the 1970s labour migrants were brought into the political process above all through self-organisation and trade unions. The establishment of municipal »foreigners' advisory councils« (*Ausländerbeiräte*) offered representation in local politics for the first time, though their impact was limited and their political significance controversial. Where the local franchise was concerned, the debate over democratic participation was conducted, until the late 1980s, mostly between trade unions, self-organisations and foreigners' advisory councils. Based on struggles for democratic rights in the state of Hessen, this article examines the campaign for the right to vote in local elections and its interplay with trade unions and foreigners' advisory councils in the period between the recruitment stop and the late 1980s. It seeks to answer two questions: how did migrants fight for the local franchise in their self-organisations and trade unions, and how did this influence trade union policy both locally and at the federal level? How did the struggle for the local franchise relate to foreigners' advisory councils? To answer these questions, this article looks at the struggle for the local franchise as it was fought by migrant associations, local trade union organisations and within the councils forming part of the Hessen-wide association of foreigners' advisory councils.

**Katharina Thielen, »Rhenish politicians«. Participation and Representation between Ideal and Reality in the Early Nineteenth Century**

The period between the reordering of Europe at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and the European revolutions of 1848/49 is widely considered one of both restoration and transition. Forms of political participation were suppressed and democratic convictions penalised. In histories of democracy, the Prussian provinces in the west of the Hohenzollern kingdom are often overshadowed by their south German neighbours. Yet from Kleve in the north to Saarbrücken in the south, the nearly twenty years of French government (1794–1815) brought about fundamental changes in all aspects of society which could not be reversed even when these territories reverted to Prussian rule. Retaining and protecting newly won rights and liberties became the goal of an elite consisting of and defining itself in terms of property and merit. These notables regarded themselves as the legitimate representatives of the people and called themselves »Rhenish politicians«. These claims to participation were justified through forms of representation familiar from French

rule, which were strategically deployed under that of Prussia: the public sphere, the common good, the region, the nation, and ideals of civic liberty and equality. Invoking these basic historical and political concepts offered a chance to effect change within the Prussian state despite or even because of its repressive political structures. Drawing on recent research in political and administrative history, this study highlights the reciprocal tension between participation and representation in the administrative centres of the Prussian Rhine Province. It foregrounds forms of protest that put to the test both universal notions and social problems of participation.

**Naima Tiné, Between Revolution and Reproduction. Communist Party and Trade Union in the Struggle to Mobilise Proletarian Women**

In 1923 the Weimar Republic was rocked by an economic crisis. Hyperinflation caused a surge in infant mortality, unemployment and malnutrition. It also made protests and strikes an everyday occurrence, particularly in Saxony. In this situation, which was both tense and likely to prove decisive, different ideas of successful organisation could be observed. This also involved women being identified by political actors as potential political allies. The present study examines why, in the course of hyperinflation, neither the Communist Party of Germany (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*, KPD) nor the German Textile Workers' Union (*Deutscher Textilarbeiterverband*, DTAV) succeeded in lastingly organising proletarian women. Although women made up a large share of the workforce in the Saxon textile industry, both the party and the union remained male-dominated. Both sought to win support among women by focusing on reproductive politics, with topics such as pregnancy and motherhood. While the KPD sought to involve women in the class struggle, the DTAV foregrounded gender-specific care. Yet neither approach corresponded to the reality of female workers' lives. Neither organisation adequately represented women or gave them a meaningful role in its decision-making processes. Many women rejected both party and union, turning instead to spontaneous, subaltern forms of protests like wildcat strikes or local revolts. The article argues that in doing so, women put themselves at odds with standing hierarchical structures, thereby eluding political organisation. The textile workers' protests show how questions of reproduction could become a part of political economy – and how little political organisations were prepared for the self-willed praxis of female actors.

**Benjamin Ziemann, The January 1918 Mass Strike: A »Dress Rehearsal« for the November Revolution? (Part 1)**

From 28 January 1918, around 530,000 industrial workers in at least 69 German cities and municipalities embarked on a strike. The strike had been prepared by the Independent Social Democratic Party (USPD) in accordance with its commitment to a concerted effort to achieve peace through mass movements, made at the third



conference of the Zimmerwald movement of oppositional socialist parties at Stockholm in September 1917. In Berlin, the Revolutionary Shop Stewards – oppositional shop stewards of the German Metalworkers Union DMV who were aligned with the USPD – were in charge of preparing the strike. The stoppage had been planned as a »demonstration strike«, a three-day mass action that would put pressure on the German government. While the USPD had planned and prepared the strike, it was not able to conduct it on its own. On the first day of strike action in Berlin, only 87,000 workers stayed away from their workplace. Only when the around 400 factory delegates who met on the afternoon of 28 January elected three Majority Social Democrats – including Friedrich Ebert – with a large majority to the Action Committee that led the strike, alongside three USPD representatives and eleven Revolutionary Shop Stewards, participation increased. In many major strongholds of the USPD – including Stuttgart, Braunschweig, Frankfurt am Main – the strike did not go ahead at all or only with minuscule participation. The Revolutionary Shop Stewards and radical-left USPD politicians extended the strike and tried to turn it into a general strike for peace. But the Reich government refused outright to meet with their representatives in the Action Committee. On 3 February, the Revolutionary Shop Stewards called off the strike.