

V. Vilkov, PhD, Associate Professor, research associate  
Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv, Kyiv, Ukraine

### THE NEOLIBERAL CONCEPTION OF NATION AND NATIONAL-STAT BUILDING OF WILL KYMLICKA

*The paper analyses the main neoliberal ideological and theoretical as well as methodological instructions of interpreting the processes of natiogenesis and modern democratic national-state building, set forth by W. Kymlicka. The study shows the primary postulates and analytical prescriptions of how W. Kymlicka modernistically interprets: the liberal and non-liberal processes of creating the national community and the nation-state; the concepts of ethnic and civic nation, societal culture, nation-stat; his axioms of the liberal political and philosophical approach to national minorities rights and ethnic conflicts in the globalized world system.*

**Keywords:** liberalism, societal culture, nation, national minority, nation-state, national-stat building, federalism, nationalism.

UDC 321

A. Kruk, Adjunct  
University of Zielona Góra, Zielona Góra, Poland

### CHRISTIAN LINDNER – LEADER IN TIME OF CRISIS?

*Until 2013 the Free Democratic Party exceeded the 5% threshold in parliamentary elections and had their representatives in the Bundestag. However, after the election held on 22 September 2013 the FDP became the non-parliamentary opposition. It was a crisis situation for the party and the Liberals decided that Christian Lindner should replace the chairman Philipp Rösler in December 2013 and try to fight for the FDP to return to the parliament. Taking up the position of the FDP chairman Ch. Lindner did not withdraw from his activities in North Rhine Westphalia. In 2017 he will lead the campaigns for the Bundestag and the Senate election in North Rhine Westphalia. He also promotes Project Lindner 17 and Beta Republic Germany.*

**Keywords:** Germany, Free Democratic Party, political party.

**Introduction.** After the Bundestag election on 22 September 2013 the Free Democratic Party became the non-parliamentary opposition for the first time in the history of post-war Germany. Not reaching the 5% threshold was a blow to the Liberals, who in 2009 won 14.6% of the votes. When recalling the election night at the Liberals Rainer Brüderle stressed that Christian Lindner "was dismayed" because of the failure [3, p. 5]. The defeat in 2013 was the effect of the criticism of current activities of the party leaders as well as the crisis engulfing the European liberal parties. In view of the structural problems in Europe voters stopped putting their hopes in liberal parties, and protest groups [7] began to gain support.

In the beginning, it must be emphasized that the political science literature distinguishes between the political manager and leader. Their common feature is to create the political elite [22, p. 93]. According to Jerzy Sielski party managers "hold office in the party or the state" but do not have to be leader. The leader is the chairman of a political party [22, p. 93]. His/her power depends on the effectiveness of forcing political decisions. Currently, Ch. Lindner is leading the FDP, which is struggling to return to the Bundestag. This is a crisis situation for the Liberals. The result of the next election to the German parliament will tell whether Ch. Lindner has managed to reach higher than in 2013 results. From observing other FDP politicians, e.g. Rainer Brüderle, it can be concluded that they believe in the leadership style of Ch. Lindner. Brüderle claims that "Lindner is young and smart. He charmed people with his charm and rhetoric during election campaigns. There were crowds at his election meetings" [3, p. 130; 3].

Ch. Lindner was a member of the Senate of North Rhine Westphalia from 2000 to 2009, from 2009 to 2012 he was a member of the Bundestag, and between 2009 and 2011 he was the General Secretary of the FDP. He became the leader of the FDP in December 2013.

**Origin.** After World War II the Free Democratic Party was a popular party in North Rhine Westphalia. It is where Christian Lindner, the current leader of the German Liberals born in Wuppertal, started his political career. His political activity started in the 1990s. He could observe the leadership style of the FDP leaders in North Rhine Westphalia after the reunification: Jürgen Möllemann (1983-1994), Joachim Schultz-Tornau (1994-1996), again

Möllemann J. (1996-2002); Andreas Pinkwart (2002-2010) and Daniel Bahr (2010-2012). Although after World War II North Rhine Westphalia mainly supported the Social Democrats, the Liberals were not in the Landtag only once (in 1995) after the German reunification [8].

**Table 1. The results of the FDP in North Rhine Westphalia in the Landtag election**

Year	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2012
Result, in %	5,8	4,0	9,8	6,2	6,7	8,6

Source: Ergebnisse der Landtagswahlen in Nordrhein-Westfalen, <http://www.wahlrecht.de/ergebnisse/nordrhein-westfalen.htm> (13 Oct 2016)

**Political beliefs.** Ch. Lindner admired the FDP thinkers. He also realised that some German politicians, for example Helmut Schmidt and Richard von Weizsäcker, were highly respected because the public valued "experience, excellence, credibility" [8, p. 144]. Ch. Lindner read the works of Karl-Hermann Flach, Ralf Dahrendorf and Friedrich August von Hayek. He also referred to other masters when he spoke of his vision of liberal policy, especially the President of Western Germany Theodor Heuss and the Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who was his political master. Lindner emphasised Genscher's contribution to the unification of Germany and European integration. The cooperation between Lindner and Genscher was very effective. The two politicians published an extended interview titled "Building Bridges. Two generations, one passion". In the book, they shared their insights on the future of Europe, a vision of the economy in the Federal Republic of Germany and programme work at the Free Democratic Party. After Genscher died on 31 March 2016 Lindner called for the continuation of foreign policy in "Genscher's tradition." Thus, he has been a supporter of genscherism, which is expressed in the Europeanization of German policy [8].

Lindner also admired Guido Westerwelle primarily for his activity in the 1990s. He believed that the FDP election campaign in 1994, when the Liberals were led by Klaus Kinkel, was "humiliating" [21, p. 10], and Westerwelle was the one who saved the image of the FDP. Westerwelle's success was the approval of the 1997 Wiesbaden

Programme, which anticipated the strengthening of civil society in Germany. Lindner understood the importance of civil society. He understood that in the future churches and trade unions, along with political parties, would play important roles in the political system. Expressing satisfaction at the development of direct democracy he was of the opinion that it should not eliminate representative democracy, but complement it.

As for modern liberals acting in the international arena, Lindner praised Alexander Graf Lambsdorff, who had experience in relations with Moscow. A. Graf Lambsdorff also gained experience while being a member of the European Parliament, where he was engaged in foreign policy [14].

Lindner believed that the FDP programme could be fitted into a triangle made up of the market economy, the rule of law and open society " [16]. He pointed out that freedom should take precedence over equality, but opted for intergenerational justice and respect for the principle of sustainable development. He defined freedom after the sociologist Ralf Dahrendorf as "the sum of life chances" [21, p. 19], and added: "those who are afraid of illness, old age, social exclusion and discrimination are not free" [21, p. 19).

While Philipp Rösler persuaded the Germans to opt for "compassionate liberalism", Lindner believed that the liberal programme should take into account the thoughts of Adam Smith and be an expression of the responsibility for the next generation. Lindner stressed: "I am a liberal. Full stop" [15].

After Walter Scheel, T. Heuss, H.-D. Genscher, Klaus Kinkel and Guido Westerwelle, Lindner is an advocate of European integration. Despite the economic crisis and the citizens' resentment towards the European Union he sees advantages in the integration process. Referring to Theodor Heuss's metaphors according to which Europe is based on the "three mountains – Golgotha, the Acropolis Hill and the Capitoline Hill" Lindner emphasized that the European Union was a community of values. In his opinion, the European Union is more than a free trade zone. He admits that in Germany a "profound loss of confidence in the social market economy" has occurred [8, p. 93; 14]. But against the critics of the market economy he emphasizes its advantages and but opts for reforms. He supported the use of new solutions in the market economy, e.g. the model of flexicurity, which had been successfully introduced in Denmark. The Danish solution was based on a combination of the standards of flexibility and security in the labour policy. According to Lindner opportunities for development should be guaranteed to citizens. For this purpose he advocates building a knowledge society. He is of the opinion that nowadays the loss of skills is "a new risk, next to unemployment, sickness, accident or care needs" [8, p. 112].

On the initiative of Ch. P. Lindner and P. Rösler the Liberals developed a new programme after the Bundestag election in 2009. The work lasted till 21 and 22 April 2012. The Liberals passed "Karlsruhe Theses: Responsibility for freedom – for an open civil society" [11]. They wanted to create a document that would reflect the ideas of Wilhelm Röpké, Friedrich-August von Hayek, John Locke, John Stuart Mill, as well as the previous FDP programmes. The ambition of the Liberals was to update the earlier programme works and adapt them to current challenges in the internal and international policy.

Ch. Lindner listed an increase in world population, globalization, digitalisation and social changes caused by aging and immigration as the most important challenges in 2015 [1].

**The fight for leadership.** 2009 was an important year for the FDP. They won 14.6% of the votes in the Bundestag election. After the election, the coalition

agreement between the CDU / CSU and FDP was made. Angela Merkel negotiated 5 minister offices for the Liberals. Guido Westerwelle was appointed the Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister. P. Rösler joined the government as the Minister of Health, Sabine Leutheusser-Schnarrenberger became the Minister of Justice, Rainer Brüderle was the Minister of Economy and Dirk Niebel was the Minister of Development. When Lindner came to Berlin after winning parliamentary elections in 2009, he began his cooperation with P. Rösler. Ch. Lindner noticed that they both had come to the capital from other regions – P. Rösler was from Lower Saxony, and Ch. Lindner from North Rhine Westphalia. Although Ch. Lindner was engaged in election campaigns in North Rhine Westphalia in the nineties, 2012 was of particular importance in his political career, when a new election was announced in the federal state. The head of the FDP fraction in the Landtag Gerhard Papke supported the dissolution of the federal state parliament of North Rhine Westphalia, The reason for the decision to hold the new election were conflicts over the budget. The government led by the Socio-Democrat Hannelore Kraft received no support. At that point Lindner decided to return to Düsseldorf from Berlin. His decision to return to North Rhine Westphalia met with the approval of Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who praised Lindner for his sense of responsibility for the region. The master of the young politician recalled that "a weight was lifted from his heart" [8, p. 50; 14, p. 97–100], when he found out that Ch. Lindner would lead the election campaign. During the election Lindner opted for the social market economy. On election posters he placed the slogan: "solid finances instead of cheap promises", "New election rather than new debts". The SDP won again in the election, but the Liberals had their 22 representatives in the federal state parliament after winning 8.6% of the votes. Ch. Lindner gained experience in running the election campaign in that industrialized federal state [8, p. 49, 51].

Ch. Lindner was recommended as the head of the FDP after the defeat of the party in the parliamentary election of 22 September 2013. For the first time in the history of post-war Germany the party became the non-parliamentary opposition. The FDP lost arena where they could present their opinions. On 7 December 2013 the FDP congress was held in Berlin, at which the chairman P. Rösler handed over power. The fight for leadership of the FDP was lost by the older generation of the FDP as their candidate – Rainer Brüderle did not gain many supporters. A candidate to chair the Liberals Ch. Lindner presented his programme in which he declared that the FDP should be:

- the party that would support the market economy;
- the party that would promote civil rights;
- the party that would support private ownership;
- the party that would support fair measure of achievements;
- the pro-European party;
- the party that would be open to people "regardless of race, income and profession";
- the party that in the past strove for the reunification of Germany [17].

The federal election in Germany is scheduled for the autumn 2017 and in May 2017 the senate election will be held in North Rhine Westphalia. It is Ch. Lindner's responsibility to improve the image of the FDP among voters and prepare the party for the next parliamentary elections in 2017 and support politicians in the fight for power in the regions and the seats in the European Parliament. Ch. Lindner stressed that the FDP should face modern challenges and "from the perspective of freedom respond to current questions [8, p. 34].

During the 67th FDP Congress, held from 21 to 24 April 2016 in Berlin, the FDP supported the idea of building the "Beta Republic of Germany". The distinguishing feature of the Beta republic should be modernity. The term Beta was taken from the computer industry and the Liberals decided to use it to promote the modernization of the FDP. They made digitalisation one of the main topics claiming that it would give the society a chance to develop [10; 12].

The Liberals are also trying not to be perceived by the public as the "party of one topic," i.e. tax lowering. Ch. Lindner also emphasises that the European Union is facing identity and structural problems, which is the capital for politicians from the Alternatives for Germany (AFD) or the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) in the fight for voters. Commenting on the success of the AFD he points out that Germany needs the third way. In his opinion neither the policy of limitless openness towards immigrants, nor the isolation and closing borders is a beneficial solution. Therefore, Lindner criticized Chancellor Angela Merkel. He believed that there were limits to Germany bearing responsibility for the migration crisis as well as the economic crisis. However, he was also aware that the policy of open doors for immigrants represented by the FDP politician Frank Sitta in Saxony-Anhalt had failed. Ch. Lindner believed that the statements of some AfD politicians resembled the language of the Nazis. In his opinion, apart from "core voters who had right-wing radical views," there were many people among the AfD supporters who wanted to express protest against the situation in Germany, but they were not radicals [18]. On 6 January 2015, during the FDP meeting traditionally organized on Three Kings' Day, Lindner pointed out that: "the AfD is not a substitute for the FDP. The AfD is the contrary of everything that is sacred for us liberals" [20].

In his work programme for North Rhine Westphalia Lindner mainly addressed educational issues, building an open society and health policy. He pointed out that North Rhine Westphalia was a highly industrialized federal state, hence environmental policy was of great importance. His involvement brought profits.

For the 2017 election "Project Lindner 17" was prepared. The name referred to the Liberals' previous election campaigns. Owing to the effective campaign run by J. Möllemann the FDP won 9.8% of the votes in the 2000 election to the Senate in North Rhine Westphalia. G. Westerwelle decided to increase his success in the local politics and using his experience he suggested "Project 18" in the 2002 election campaign for the Bundestag. He wanted to gain 18% of the votes [4, p. 134]. Analogously to the ideas of J. Möllemann and taking into account the date of the upcoming elections Ch. Lindner started "Project Lindner 17". He wants to start the fight for the Bundestag votes during the senate campaign in North Rhine - Westphalia. However, the FDP started their fight to return to the Bundestag in October 2013. Initially, they lost in Saxony (31 August 2014), Brandenburg (14 September 2014), and Thuringia (14 September 2014). In May 2014 the Liberals won only 3.4% of the votes in the European Parliament election, but because the 5% threshold was abolished in that election Alexander Graf Lambsdorff, Gesine Meissner and Michael Theurer became the FDP representatives in the European Parliament.

In the elections to the Senates of the federal states that followed the European Parliament election the FDP situation became very dynamic. The string of failures was broken in the election to the Senate of Hamburg (15 February 2015) and Bremen (10 May 2015). The election campaign in Hamburg was run by Katja Suding, and the campaign in Bremen by Lenck Steiner. The two

politicians cooperated with Ch. Lindner, who supported their election campaigns. The press called K. Suding, L. Steiner and Nicola Beer "Lindner's Angels" for the effective usage of public relations techniques in the fight for the votes for the FDP. The Liberals exceeded the 5% threshold in Rhineland Palatinate (13 March 2016) and in Baden-Württemberg (13 March 2016). Lindner was satisfied with the success of the liberal Volker Wissing in Rhineland Palatinate, who contributed to the creation of the so-called "traffic lights" coalition government (SPD-FDP-Die Grünen) after the election, with V. Wissing as the deputy prime minister. However, the Liberals lost the next elections held in eastern federal states, despite the fact that the federal structures supported the regional candidates. The Liberals did not exceed the 5% threshold in Saxony-Anhalt (13 March 2016) and Mecklenburg-Vorpommern (4 September 2016). The situation improved only in the senate election in Berlin (18 September 2016), when they won 6.7% of the votes [7].

**Table 2. The FDP election results in federal states after the 22 Sep 2013**

Federal state	Election date	Result, in %	Major candidate
Hesse	22 Sep 2013	5	Jörg Uwe Hahn
Saxony	31 August 2014	3,8	Holger Zastrow
Brandenburg	14 Sep 2014	1,5	Andreas Büttner, Gregor Beyer
Thuringia	14 Sep 2014	2,5	Uwe Barth
Hamburg	15 Feb 2015	7,4	Katja Suding
Bremen	10 May 2015	6,6	Lencke Steiner
Baden-Württemberg	13 March 2015	8,3	Hans-Ulrich Rülke
Rhineland-Palatinate	13 March 2016	6,2	Volker Wissing
Saxony Anhalt	13 March 2016	4,9	Frank Sitta
Mecklenburg-Vorpommern	4 Sep 2016	3,0	Cécile Bonnet-Weidhof
Berlin	18 Sep 2016	6,7	Sebastian Czaja

**Source: author's own work.** Preparing "Project Lindner 2017" the politician stressed the need for the implementation of liberal values and the social market economy. Lindner believed that prosperity had to be built on the basis of the power drawn from innovation. To his mind civil society should be characterized by openness and creativity. Therefore, his programme contained the slogan "more courage" [1]. By suggesting this slogan Lindner wanted to meet the concerns of the German population about terrorism, the growing number of immigrants and economic problems. Ch. Lindner called for courage when in German cities – Cologne, Hamburg and Stuttgart – people were attacked. His call for calm and prudence was contradicted by the Alternative for Germany articulating concerns about increased crime in Germany. According to Ch. Lindner Germany could not alone shape immigration policy, but should strive for the development of its relevant elements within the European Union. For the liberal it was important to act in accordance with the international public law. He believed that the European Union needed solidarity actions within the framework of the European Security and Defence Policy, especially towards African countries and the Middle East. In his opinion, it was Germany's duty to participate in military missions of the European Union. Although he supported the cooperation with Turkey, he warned against Turkish politician. In the fight against terrorism he called for the increased involvement of the police, army and security services. He believed that the current problems should be resolved through the use of democratic procedures. In international affairs, he was an advocate of the primacy of the international law.

**Conclusions.** Ch. Lindner is a politician who built his political identity on the views of liberals. He is characterized by enthusiasm and youth. First he was a successful local politician in North Rhine Westphalia. Later he was involved in the creation of the FDP basic programme. The activity of Ch. Lindner and other representatives of the young generation of the FDP led to the approval of Karlsruhe Theses in 2012. Despite the programme work the Liberals were defeated in the Bundestag election in 2013, because the Germans stopped regarding the ideals of liberalism as reliable during the crisis of European integration and criticized the activities of the FDP politicians in 2009-2013. The FDP transition to the opposition was not comfortable for the party, which had been playing an important role in the German party system after World War II. Now Ch. Lindner is leading the FDP in the struggle to improve the image of the party and return to power.

#### References / Список використаних джерел:

1. Beschluss des 66. Ord. Bundesparteitages der FDP, Berlin, 16. Mai 2015 (vorbehaltlich der Überprüfung des Wortprotokolls). Mehr Chancen durch mehr Freiheit: Projekt für eine Republik der Chancen [Elektronisch Ressource]. – Zugriffsmodus : <https://www.fdp.de/sites/default/files/uploads/2016/01/25/beschlussmehrchancendurchmehrfreiheit-projektfuereinerrepublikderchancen.pdf>. – accessed October 13, 2016.
2. Bollmann Ralph. Porträt Christian Lindner / Ralph Bollmann // Der Spieler, "Frankfurter Allgemeine Wirtschaft". – 28.12.2015.
3. Brüderle Rainer. Jetzt rede ich! Ein Gespräch mit Hugo Müller-Vogg / Rainer Brüderle. – Reinbeck/München 2014.
4. Dittberner Jürgen. Die FDP. Von der Regierung in die außerparlamentarische Opposition. Und zurück? / Jürgen Dittberner. – Berlin, 2014.
5. Ergebnisse der Landtagswahlen in Nordrhein-Westfalen, [Elektronisch Ressource]. – Zugriffsmodus : <http://www.wahlrecht.de/ergebnisse/nordrhein-westfalen.htm>. – accessed October 13 2016.
6. Nicht alles gelb, was glänzt / Matthias Geis, Merlind Theile, Heinrich Wefing, Lindner Christian // Die Zeit. – 10.03.2016.
7. Güntner Joachim. Der deutsche Liberalismus Individualistisch leben [Elektronisch Ressource] / Joachim Güntner // Neue Züricher Zeitung". – 27.5.2016. – Zugriffsmodus <http://www.nzz.ch/feuilleton/zeitgeschehen/der-deutsche-liberalismus-individualistisch-leben-ld.85001>. – accessed October, 17, 2016.
8. Genscher Hans-Dietrich. Brückenschläge. Zwei Generationen, eine Leidenschaft / Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Christian Lindner. – Hamburg, 2013.
9. Jungholt Thorsten, FDP-Chef Lindner hat genug vom "Bullshit-Bingo" [Elektronisch Ressource] / Thorsten Jungholt // Die Welt. – 24.04.2016. – Zugriffsmodus : <https://www.welt.de/politik/deutschland/article154701041/>

FDP-Chef-Lindner-hat-genug-vom-Bullshit-Bingo.html. – accessed October 16, 2016.

10. Jungholt Thorsten. FDP-Chef Lindner: "Liberalismus und Populismus schließen sich aus" / Thorsten Jungholt // Die Welt. – 3.04.2016.

11. Karlsruher Freiheitsthesen der FDP für eine offene Bürgergesellschaft : Beschluss des 63. Ordentlichen Bundesparteitages der FDP. – Karlsruhe 22.04.2012.

12. Kröter Thomas. Bundesparteitag der FDP Lindner und Kubicki wollen die AfD einholen [Elektronisch Ressource] / Thomas Kröter // Kölner Stadt Anzeiger". – 22.04. 2016. – Zugriffsmodus : <http://www.ksta.de/politik/bundesparteitag-der-fdp-lindner-und-kubicki-wollen-die-afd-einholen-23935864>. – accessed October 16, 2016.

13. Kruk Aleksandra. Wolna Partia Demokratyczna po zjednoczeniu Niemiec (1990–2013) / Aleksandra Kruk. – Zielona Góra, 2015.

14. Lindner Christian. Europa darf sich nicht erpressen lassen' / Christian Lindner // Handelsblatt. – 2.06.2016 [Elektronisch Ressource]. – Zugriffsmodus : <http://www.christian-lindner.de/Europa-darf-sich-nicht-erpressen-lassen/6403c22043i1p60/index.html>. – accessed October 15 2016.

15. Lindner Christian. Ich bin liberal. Punkt [Elektronisch Ressource] / Christian Lindner // Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung". – 15.04.2012. – Zugriffsmodus : <http://www.christian-lindner.de/ich-bin-liberal-punkt/2789c14822i1p680/index.html>. – accessed October 15 2016.

16. Lindner Christian. Marktwirtschaft, Rechtsstaat, offene Gesellschaft – das liberale Dreieck (Rede auf dem außerordentlichen Bundesparteitag der FDP am 13.10.2011 in Frankfurt) [Elektronisch Ressource] / Christian Lindner. – Zugriffsmodus : [https://www.fdp.de/files/2061/LindnerRedeBPT13\\_11\\_2\\_.pdf](https://www.fdp.de/files/2061/LindnerRedeBPT13_11_2_.pdf). – accessed October 13 2016.

17. Lindner Christian. Vorstellungsrede als Kandidat für den Bundesvorsitz der FDP auf dem a.o. Bundesparteitag in Berlin am 7.12.2013 [Elektronisch Ressource] / Christian Lindner. – Zugriffsmodus : [https://www.fdp.de/files/2061/Vorstellungsrede\\_Lindner\\_BPT\\_Berlin\\_07\\_12\\_13.pdf](https://www.fdp.de/files/2061/Vorstellungsrede_Lindner_BPT_Berlin_07_12_13.pdf) – accessed October 13 2016.

18. Lindner Christian. Die Landesregierung darf gegenüber Rechtspopulisten nicht schweigen" am 28.01.2016 im Düsseldorf Landtag [Elektronisch Ressource] / Christian Lindner. – Zugriffsmodus : <https://www.landtag.nrw.de/portal/WWW/dokumentenarchiv/Dokument/MMP16-104.pdf>. – accessed October 13 2016.

19. Maron Thomas. Merkel regiert den Krisen nur hinterher [Elektronisch Ressource] / Thomas Maron // Stuttgarter-Zeitung.De. – 3.01.2016. – Zugriffsmodus : <http://www.stuttgarter-zeitung.de/inhalt/fdp-partei-und-christian-lindner-merkel-regiert-den-krisen-nur-hinterher.f2b6235-5934-4864-8889-0554073fd2af.html>. – accessed October 24, 2016.

20. Rede Christian Lindner MdL. Bundesvorsitzender der FDP beider Dreikönigskundgebung am 6.01. 2015 in Stuttgart [Elektronisch Ressource]. – Zugriffsmodus : <https://www.liberales.de/content/lindner-rede-wir-sind-freie-demokraten>. – accessed October 15 2016.

21. Rösler Philipp. Freiheit: gefühlt-gedacht-gelebt. Liberale Beiträge zu einer Wertediskussion / Philipp Rösler, Christian Lindner (eds.) Wiesbaden 2009.

22. Sielski Jerzy. Przywództwo w Unii Europejskiej / Jerzy Sielski // Przegląd Polityczny. – 1/2013.

Received Editorial Board 10.01.17

O. Крук, ад'юнкт (в роздрукованому варіанті "докторант" і PhD)  
Зеленогурський університет, Зелена Гура, Польща

### КРИСТІАН ЛІНДНЕР – ЛІДЕР ЗА ЧАСІВ КРИЗИ?

У 2013 р. Вільна демократична партія пододала 5-відсотковий бар'єр на парламентських виборах і мала своїх представників у бундестазі. Проте, після виборів, що відбулися 22 вересня 2013 р., ВДП стала парламентською опозицією. Це була кризова ситуація для партії і ліберали вирішили, що Крістіан Лінднер має замінити голову Філіпа Респера у грудні 2013 р. та спробувати поборотися за повернення ВДП у парламент. Обіймаючи посаду голови ВДП, К. Лінднер не полишив своєї діяльності в Північній Рейн-Вестфалії. У 2017 р. він буде вести виборчу кампанію до Бундестагу та до Сенату Північної Рейн-Вестфалії. Крістіан Лінднер також сприяє діяльності Проекту Лінднер 17 і Бета в Республіці Німеччина.

Ключові слова: Німеччина, Вільна демократична партія, політичні партії.

A. Крук, ад'юнкт (в роздрукованому варіанті "докторант" і PhD)  
Зеленогурський університет, Зелена Гура, Польща

### КРИСТИАН ЛИНДНЕР – ЛИДЕР ВО ВРЕМЯ КРИЗИСА?

В 2013 г. Свободная демократическая партия преодолела 5-процентный барьер на парламентских выборах и получила своих представителей в бундестаге. Однако, после выборов, которые состоялись 22 сентября 2013, СвДП стала парламентской оппозицией. Это была кризисная ситуация для партии и либералы решили, что Кристиан Линднер должен заменить голову Филиппа Респера в декабре 2013 г. и попробовать побороться за возвращение СДПГ в парламент. Занимая должность председателя СДПГ, К. Линднер не оставил своей деятельности в Северной Рейн-Вестфалии. В 2017 г. он будет вести избирательную кампанию в Бундестаг и в Сенат Северной Рейн-Вестфалии. Кристиан Линднер также способствует деятельности Проекта Линднер 17 и Бета в Республике Германия.

Keywords: Германия, Свободная демократическая партия, политические партии.