

Vedenieiev Dmytro

Doctor of history, Professor, Professor of the Department of Public Administration and Humanities of the National Academy of Managerial Staff of Culture and Arts;

Pechyborshch Victoriya

post-graduate student of the Chair of Diplomatic and Consular Service, Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
viktory.pechyborsh@gmail.com

"GERMAN WORLD" OR THE ORIGINAL CULTURE: SWISS-GERMAN CULTURAL RELATIONS IN 1930-1940

The objectives are to analyze the development of the relations in the sphere of the culture between Switzerland and Germany in the 1930-40's and to determine the reasons for termination of the cultural dialogue between the countries after the arrival of national socialists in German and conditions of its recovery after the Second World War. The historical-genetic and comparative **methods** were chosen for the study. With the use of the historical-genetic method, the evolution of the German-Swiss cultural relations in the first half of the XX c. was explored. Appeal to the comparative method has enabled to draw the conclusions about the features of the bilateral cultural relations between Switzerland and Germany in the period between the two world wars, during the war of 1939 – 1945 and post-war years. **Scientific novelty** of the proposed article is that for the first time in Ukrainian historiography an attempt to explore the development of the cultural relations between Switzerland and Germany in 1930 – 40's was made. **Conclusions.** The main reasons of the Swiss efforts to withdraw from the involvement in the German cultural world in the late 1930's – 40's were memories of the First World War, when the conflict between the French and German communities had put in jeopardy the peace within the Swiss society, and a desire not to create the pretext for the global public accusations against Switzerland of its involvement in the crimes of the national socialists, which could raise doubts about the issue of Swiss neutrality. The background for the restoration of the cultural dialogue between the countries was the desire of Swiss to support the formation of a new democratic regime in the neighboring country, which was realized through the activities of both individual private artistic associations and institutions, and the work of the Swiss diplomacy, which through the analysis of the cultural situation of the particular German states was searching for the potential areas and ways of cooperation.

Keywords: Swiss Confederation, Germany, cultural associations, the German-Swiss language community, the fund «Pro Helvetia», the German-Swiss Werkbund.

Веденієєв Дмитро Валерійович, доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри публічного управління та гуманітарних наук Національної академії керівних кадрів культури і мистецтв; Печиборщ Вікторія Юрієвна, аспірантка кафедри дипломатичної та консульської служби Дипломатичної академії України при Міністерстві закордонних справ України

«Німецький світ», або самотутня культура: швейцарсько-німецькі культурні зв'язки у 30–40-х роках ХХ століття

Мета роботи – проаналізувати розвиток відносин у сфері культури між Швейцарією та Німеччиною у 30-40-х роках ХХ ст.; визначити причини припинення культурного діалогу між країнами з приходом до влади у Німеччині націонал-соціалістів та передумови його відновлення після завершення Другої світової війни. Для висвітлення теми були обрані такі **методи дослідження**, як історико-генетичний та порівняльний. За допомогою історико-генетичного методу досліджено еволюцію німецько-швейцарських культурних зв'язків у першій половині ХХ ст. Звернення до порівняльного методу дало змогу зробити висновки про особливості двосторонніх культурних відносин між Швейцарією та Німеччиною у період між двома світовими війнами, у роки війни (1939-1945 рр.) та повоєнні роки. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше в українській історіографії здійснена спроба дослідити розвиток культурних зв'язків між Швейцарією та Німеччиною у 30–40-х роках ХХ ст. **Висновки.** Основними причинами намагання швейцарців наприкінці 30–40-х років відсторонитися від причетності до німецького культурного світу були пам'ять про події Першої світової війни, коли протиріччя між німецькою та французькою громадами ставили під загрозу спокій всередині швейцарського суспільства, та бажання не створювати привід світової громадськості для звинувачень на адресу Швейцарії у її причетності до злочинів націонал-соціалістів, що, в свою чергу, ставило під сумнів швейцарський нейтралітет. Основною передумовою відновлення культурного діалогу між країнами стало бажання швейцарців підтримати становлення нового демократичного режиму в сусідній країні, яке реалізовувалося через діяльність як окремих приватних мистецьких об'єднань та інституцій, так і через роботу швейцарських дипломатів, які крізь призму аналізу стану культури окремих німецьких земель шукали потенційні напрями та шляхи налагодження співпраці.

Ключові слова: Швейцарська Конфедерація, Німеччина, культурні об'єднання, Німецько-швейцарське мовне товариство, фонд «Pro Helvetia», Німецько-швейцарський Веркбунд.

Веденієєв Дмитрій Валер'євич, доктор исторических наук, профессор, профессор кафедры публичного управления и гуманитарных наук Национальной академии руководящих кадров культуры и искусств; Печиборщ Виктория Юрьевна, аспирантка кафедры дипломатической и консульской службы Дипломатической академии Украины при Министерстве иностранных дел Украины

«Немецкий мир», или самотытная культура: швейцарско-немецкие культурные связи в 30-40-х годах ХХ века

Цель работы – проанализировать развитие отношений в сфере культуры между Швейцарией и Германией в 30-40-х годах ХХ века; определить причины прекращения культурного диалога между странами с приходом к власти в Германии национал-социалистов и предпосылок его возобновления после окончания Второй мировой войны. Для

изучения темы были выбраны такие **методы** исследования, как историко-генетический и сравнительный. С помощью историко-генетического метода исследовано эволюцию немецко-швейцарских культурных связей в первой половине XX в. Обращение к сравнительному методу позволило сделать выводы об особенностях культурных отношений между Швейцарией и Германией в период между двумя мировыми войнами, в годы войны (1939–1945 гг.) и послевоенные годы. **Научная новизна** состоит в том, что впервые в украинской историографии осуществлена попытка исследовать развитие культурных связей между Швейцарией и Германией в 30–40-х годах XX века. **Выводы.** Основными причинами стараний швейцарцев в конце 30–40-х годов отстраниться от причастия к немецкому культурному миру были память о событиях Первой мировой войны, когда противоречия между немецкой и французской общинами ставили под угрозу спокойствие швейцарского общества, а также желание не давать повод мировому сообществу для обвинений в адрес Швейцарии в ее причастности к преступлениям национал-социалистов, что, в свою очередь, могло поставить под сомнение швейцарский нейтралитет. Основной предпосылкой возобновления культурного диалога между странами стало желание швейцарцев поддерживать становление нового демократического режима в соседней стране, которое реализовывалось через деятельность как отдельных частных творческих объединений и институций, так и через работу швейцарских дипломатов, которые с помощью анализа состояния культуры отдельных немецких земель искали потенциальные направления и пути установления сотрудничества.

Ключевые слова: Швейцарская Конфедерация, Германия, культурные объединения, Немецко-швейцарское языковое общество, фонд «Pro Helvetia», Немецко-швейцарский Веркбунд.

Formulation of the issue. The development and creation of Swiss culture was historically driven by belonging of the country to three major ethno-cultural centers of Europe: German-speaking, French-speaking and Italian-speaking world. In addition, the especial geographical location was the prerequisite for the emergence of interest of the artists from around the world, which as travelers or as emigrants had visited it. The Article 69 of the Federal Constitution enshrines the protection of the linguistic and cultural diversity of Switzerland. However, in the first half of the XX century such factors as the cultural conflict between the two largest communities of the country (German and French) as well as a factor of common language with Germany – active member of the sadly remembered events of 1910-40's – spoken by most of the Swiss population (63%), had created the threat for the national unity and the sovereignty of Switzerland. Success in the overcoming of this threats creates a reason to believe that an analysis of the relations in the sphere of the culture between Switzerland and Germany in the first half of the XX c. may be useful for searching the ways to overcome the current challenges of Ukraine related to the existence of Russian aggression, manifestations of which are quite bright because of an appeal to the common history and culture of the Ukrainian and Russian nations.

Objectives:

- to analyze the development of the relations in the sphere of the culture between Switzerland and Germany in the 1930-40's and
- to determine the reasons for cessation of the cultural dialogue between the countries after the arrival of national socialists in German and conditions of its recovery after the Second World War.

Condition of the scientific development of the topic. Some aspects of the topic chosen for study have found the coverage in the scientific papers of Swiss researchers, including the works of F. Reinhardt [6], J.- J. Langendorf, A. Cattani [5] and M. Gillibert [3]. At the same time, the comprehensive studies devoted to the development of German-Swiss cultural cooperation in the first half of XX c. are virtually absent.

Right after the end of the Second World War the topic of cultural relations between Switzerland and Germany in 1939-1945 was under the official taboo. Actually, the cultural cooperation between two countries was interrupted even in 1933 after the national socialists had come to the power. Trying to avoid further accusations of the involvement in the actions of the Nazis, the government of the Confederation had endeavored to hide any ties with its northern neighbor in every way. From this time by the definition of Swiss scientists J.-J. Langendorf and A. Cattani the factor of common language, which was used by the majority of the population of Switzerland and Germany, acted not for unifying but rather for pushing away [5].

For the understanding of the role of factor of common language and cultural tradition of Switzerland and Germany in the development of cultural dialogue between the two countries during and after the end of the Second World War, we consider to appeal to the brief historical excursion.

Even on the eve of the First World War leading intellectual and political circles of Switzerland had perceived the threat for the national unity from the so-called Swiss «Pan-Germans». However, to be honest, we have to note that the same threat of a split in the country at that time had come and from the members of French-Swiss radical elite, «Welsche» (German name of the Romanized Celts – A.N.) by their opponents.

According to the Swiss historian F. Reinhardt, trying to resist «becoming French» German-minded radicals had founded German-Swiss language community in 1904, on the model of German Union established in 1890. The most active representative of Community was its leader, the priest Edward Bloher, which through the publication in the newspaper «Deutsche Erde» («German land») had required to provide an advanced privileged status for German language in Switzerland, promoted German «national consciousness», ceased teaching French in the German-speaking cantons. However, despite this, the state Anschluss to Germany was never on the agenda of the German-Swiss linguistic society [6, 360].

Confrontation between the French and German cultural component in Switzerland remained a problem going beyond internal policy until the end of the war of 1914-1918. To illustrate we can take an example from the book «History of Switzerland. From the beginning to the nowadays» by F. Reinhardt. In December of 1914 Carl Spitteler – writer from Basel, who later won the Nobel Prize, had urged his countrymen to accept the pan-war disaster and to respect the position of the French-speaking population. The result of these appeals was the prohibition of his books on the German market because the intellectual circles of northern neighbor of

Switzerland recognized it as the critic of Western democracy from the preacher of his own (German) culture and therefore regarded his action as «treason» against Germany [6, 364].

Therefore, having the experience of the events of the First World War and recognizing the dangers from the policy of Adolf Hitler in the 1930's political and cultural elite of Switzerland was working towards phasing down and eventually to full break of any cooperation with Germany in the sphere of culture.

The process of the gradual cessation of the cooperation between the leading cultural institutions of both countries started on the eve of the Second World War. From the anonymous document, dated June 30, 1939, entitled ««The Guns Auction» in Lucerne. Commentary on the proposed action of the Fishers Galleries and concerned problems arising in this connection», known through the publication of materials from the archives of the Austrian art historian Otto Kallir-Nirenstein (1894 – 1978), we get an example of the German Museums failure to conduct an auction of paintings of its stock, because (as it is clear already from the title of the event) money that was supposed to get from it (estimated at 1 million. CHF) had to be used to meet the needs of the German army. According to the authors of the document, such action could lead to the series of public discussions on sympathies of Swiss government and intellectual circles in favor of the Third Reich, which had carried an openly aggressive foreign policy. In addition, the document also contained an appeal to the moral side of the issue, in respect of refugees seeking asylum from the policy of Holocaust in Switzerland [4].

From this example it becomes apparent that the issue of supporting of cultural ties and political and economic cooperation with one of the perpetrators of the war in Europe, the start of which was only a matter of time, Switzerland traditionally gave priority to keeping peace in their own country and made every effort to protect its neutral status.

The process of the restoring relations in the field of culture and art between the democratic Germany and the Swiss Confederation, the main precondition of which was the fall of the Nazi regime, was long and complex. Before the official proclamation of the course on the recovery of cultural relations with the northern neighbor by the Federal Council of the Swiss Confederation in 1946, numerous artistic associations and institutions of the Confederation initiated the restoration and development of cultural cooperation between the two countries. They supported the building of the new democratic social government in the neighboring country exclusively on the private basis.

Examples supporting this thesis could be found in the works of a researcher from the University of Freiburg M. Gillabert, who had studied the revival of the Swiss-German cultural relations in the second half of the XX century. As such first art events in 1945 were held on the joint «Days of Culture» in the border city Constance (Germany) and organized by the assistance of Walter Ulrich Guiyang, the Director of the Museum of Canton Schaffhausen, and Walter Bringolf, member of the National Council, exhibition of young German artists. The important place in these process had taken the activity of international cultural fund «Pro Helvetia», which had included the Swiss, Austrian and German sections [3].

The leading role among the artists in the establishing of the Swiss-German dialogue, according to M. Gillabert belonged to the architects. He explained that by the existence of a common architectural tradition that had arisen from the functioning of the German-Swiss Werkbund (association of the architects, artists of the decorative art and industrialists aimed at determining the reorganization of the sphere of building and arts on the modern industrial basis – A.N.), established in 1913 by the German model. The basis of the common artistic tradition in industrial design and civil engineering was created in the interwar period, but after coming to power in Germany of the national socialists in 1930's the return to the local architectural style could be traced back. Many German artists – members of the Werkbund were forced to immigrate to Switzerland. M. Gillabert associates the preservation of the common art traditions exactly with their professional activity and defines this group as one of the initiators of the restoration of the cultural cooperation between Germany and the Swiss Confederation in the second half of the 1940's [3].

However, the study of the documents from the Federal Archives of Switzerland (Bern) could provide the reason to believe that the initiative of establishment of the interstate cultural dialogue was based not only on individual artistic associations and institutions, but was defined by specific objectives of Swiss foreign policy towards the parts of Germany, belonged to the American, British and French occupation zones.

Thus, in the report of an officer of the Consulate General of Switzerland in Munich, Cornelia Shaupp, dated by the October 1945 there is an analysis of the cultural situation in Bavaria, which at that time was the part of the American occupation zone. At the beginning of the report, the author notes that in general with the arrival of US military the expectations of local people about the qualitative changes in all spheres of life, including in terms of culture, were not fully justified. She explains this by saying that after twelve years of domination of the national socialist propaganda, the Germans lost the understanding of what real democracy is [2, 1].

The report provides an analysis of the condition of media, music, literature, theater, cinema and visual arts. In particular, with regard to the fine arts, the author noted the decline of the branch, as the majority of artists and sculptors through the difficult financial situation were forced to work to make souvenirs for sale for American soldiers. Nevertheless, K. Shaupp notes that for the period from May till October 1945 none piece of art from Bavaria's museums wasn't taken to the United States [2, 4].

Another evidence (but of some later period) in support of this point is contained in the document entitled «Arguments for accession of Switzerland to UNESCO» dated December 6, 1947 and authored by the Swiss ambassador to Mexico Gaston Dzhakard. Thus, among other things, the author notes that the accession to

UNESCO of Germany will be possible only in the distant future. However, until then Switzerland could be the representative of German language and culture, which in its turn would have a benefit for Germany, which for objective reasons could not join this international organization at that moment [1].

Thus, we can see that in the postwar period, such factors as the common German language and culture, before and during the Second World War being a threat to Switzerland, since 1945 become the main point of contact for the construction of a new cultural dialogue between Switzerland and Germany, which in its turn presented a prerequisite and an integral part of the building of bilateral relations of a new type.

J.-J. Langendorf and A. Cattani called the events of 1968 connected to the German student movement, which was a part of an international movement emerged in the United States, the turning point in the attitude of wide circles of the Swiss society toward the cultural relations with Germany [5].

The basic requirements, put forward by the representatives of the movement had political nature. Among them, there were the harder denazification of Federal Republic of Germany, the removal from the power the «Hitler Youth generation» – people who began their careers before 1945, and conducting of the fundamental reforms in all major spheres of German society. These events have influenced the development of culture in Germany, the main theme of which was a critical and radical interpretation of Nazi past and return to the motifs that were characteristics of the German art of the 1920's. These changes were welcomed by Swiss artistic and intellectual circles what had resulted in strengthening of cultural cooperation between the countries.

Conclusions. Having studied the development of relations between Switzerland and Germany in 1930-1940's in the sphere of culture, we can conclude that the main reasons of Swiss efforts to withdraw from involvement in the German cultural world were memories of the First World War, when the conflict between the French and German communities had put in jeopardy the peace within the Swiss society, and a desire not to create the pretext for the global public accusations against Switzerland of its involvement in the crimes of the national socialists, which could raise doubts about the issue of Swiss neutrality. Regarding the preconditions of the restoration of cultural dialogue between the countries we should note the desire of the Swiss to support the formation of a new democratic regime in the neighboring country, which was realized through the activities of individual private artistic associations and institutions, and through the work of Swiss diplomats, who through the analysis of the culture of particular German states were searching for the potential areas of cooperation and ways of its realization.

The analysis of the Swiss-German relations in the sphere of culture in the 1930-1940's, even now represents a significant scientific interest in terms of study of a complex mechanism of correlation of certain cultural kinship and realities of international relations in the general context of the international situation.

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