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# Proceedings of Topical Issues in International Political Geography

 Springer

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Editors

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# Preface

This volume contains the papers submitted (and accepted for publication) to the International Conference “Topical Issues of International Political Geography” (TIPG-2020). The volume focused on specific aspects of contemporary political geography and international relations. The volume provided a platform for discussion and collaboration of academicians and experts in the fields of political geography, human geography, geopolitics, urban studies, demography and population studies, migration politics, natural resources politics, international organizations and integration, conflicts and security, international law and other related areas of studies. TIPG is a continuation of the International Conference “Topical Issues of International Relations in the Current Geopolitical Context”, which has been held in St. Petersburg annually since 2016.

The Program Committee comprising of the recognized researchers from 15 countries had conducted a rigorous peer review.

The volume consists of seven parts. The titles of parts 1, 2, 5 and 6 were represented in the last TIPG conference of 2019. Discussion of 2019 has generated new works collected in the proceedings under this umbrella. At the same time, the volume discovered new directions for the studies. The titles of parts 3, 4 and 7 are new topics of TIPG. These parts consist of the papers presented on new sections of TIPG.

The chapters of the Part 1 “Ideologies of Regionalism and Globalization in Historical Context. Philosophy of politics” focus on the spatial aspects of two parallel processes—globalization and regionalism. The authors discuss the effects of globalization on the ideology, identity and symbolics of the nations and communities. The authors discuss such trends as Asianization and shift of the power from West to East. The context of the section is designed by historical framework of geographical issues with the use of historical geographical approach to studying the politics. Following Élisée Reclus, “geography is history in space while history is geography in time.”

The Part 2 “National Policies & International Politics” moves from cases at the local level to national, bilateral, multilateral and global ones. The chapters cover such issues of domestic and international politics as anticorruption policies, digital

strategies, elections, etc. The main idea of the section is to discuss effects of national policies on the international politics and effects of international politics on the national policies. The geographic space is a background for this discussion. The section contains a set of examples of comparative analysis focused on national cases (for instance, a comparative study of eHealth strategies in EAEU countries). Some studies represent the international platforms as a context of politico-geographical processes (for instance, Eurasian Economic Union and Belt and Road Initiative as platforms for Russia–China cooperation).

The publication of Part 3 “Geopolitics & Security” became possible due to cooperation with the Research Committee on Geopolitics and Security (Russian Association of Political Science). The chapters of the section discuss the international and domestic security issues related to the power distribution depending on the geographic location. The contemporary background is the COVID pandemic. The chapters study Eastern countries cases such as China, Kazakhstan, as well as non-traditional threats to national and international security, including food security.

The chapters of the Part 4 “Sustainable Development & Environment Protection” present the studies of international organizations and countries’ activities in the field of sustainable development as well as theoretical issues (for instance, the concept of Geo-Eco-Ideology). The authors analyzed the cases of the United Nations, European Union, BRICS and Arctic Council as well as national cases (for instance, Germany).

The chapters of the Part 5 “Migration and Socio-demographic Processes” deal with the migration and socio-demographic issues. They focus on cases of European countries, China and Russia. The authors make conclusions about challenges of migration to education and tourism, as well as the multiculturalism issues. In the context of COVID pandemic, online education became more and more topical. It changes our views on the place and time and effects on the migration flows.

The chapters of the Part 6 “Cultural Dimension of International Relations” represent the culture as a factor of geography (for instance, international cultural exchanges, cultural policy, etc.). Can Korean pop culture affect Chinese politics? What is the place of the concept of cultural diversity in the cultural policy of the European Union? Is the cultural expansion of the Gulf states an instrument of their religious and economic influence in Europe? The section is intended to answer these and other questions. The studies focus on national, regional and local cases in the EU, Asian and post-Soviet countries.

Finally, the Part 7 “Discourses of Political Geography” starts with the chapters which discuss theoretical and historical issues on the crossroad of the politics, geography and discourse. Then, the authors study the cases of the USA, China and Caucasian countries with demonstration of discourse analysis application to political studies of geographic space.

We would like to thank those who made this event possible and successful. We especially express our gratitude to the Program Committee members for their contribution to the event. We thank the authors for submitting their papers. We are proud to attract a great team of scholars from different countries and disciplines. We

will work further to sustain and expand the TIPG community through joint research and collaboration.

We will keep monitoring the evolution of COVID-19. We hope that TIPG-2021 will take place in St. Petersburg on time and everyone can safely make it through this global issue.

Radomir Bolgov  
Vadim Atnashev  
Yuri Gladkiy  
Art Leete  
Sergey Pogodin  
Alexey Tsyb  
Andrei Znamenski



# Contents

<b>Ideologies of Regionalism and Globalization in Historical Context. Philosophy of Politics</b>	
<b>The “Non-west” Methodological Concept for Building a System of International Relations in the Eurasian Space</b> . . . . .	3
Natalia Vasilieva, Zeinab Bakhturidse, Nikita Ivannikov, and Alexey Tsyb	
<b>Asianization as a Main Trend in World Politics</b> . . . . .	11
Zeinab Bahturidze, Natalia Vasilieva, and Ziad Shahoud	
<b>“Digital Panopticon” as an Objective Reality of the Global World: The Dilemma Between Social Control and Civic Engagement</b> . . . . .	22
Nikolai Baranov	
<b>Greek Myth as the Beginning of Political Geography: Heracles in Ancient Spain</b> . . . . .	31
Vadim Atnashev and Alexey Tsyb	
<b>Geography of Russia’s Foreign Trade in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries</b> . . . . .	44
Olga Pavlova and Anna Ryabova	
<b>The Role of Svalbard in the Policy of the Soviet Union and Norway Amid the Cold War</b> . . . . .	58
Sergei Nabok	
<b>Review of the Training of Grassroots Officials Since the CPC Became the Governing Party</b> . . . . .	67
Xing Xu	
<b>National Policies and International Politics</b>	
<b>Geography of International Activities of St. Petersburg Legislative Assembly of the Sixth Convocation</b> . . . . .	85
Anastasiia Zotova and Sergei Poltorak	

<b>Problems and Prospects of Promoting Digital Trade in Russia</b> . . . . .	102
Anastasia Osypa, Sergey Pogodin, and Anna Matveevskaya	
<b>Institutional Analysis of eHealth Development in EAEU Countries</b> . . . . .	112
Vitalina Karachay, Gennadii Orlov, and Radomir Bolgov	
<b>National Policy Against Corruption in the Framework of Global Integration Processes</b> . . . . .	125
Anna Mokhorova, Dmitriy Mokhorov, Bella Kerefova, and Sergey Kosarev	
<b>Russia-China Cooperation: Linking the Eurasian Economic Union and Belt and Road Initiative</b> . . . . .	133
Darya Railian, Jingcheng Li, and Sergey Pogodin	
<b>The Continuity of the US Policy Towards Central Asia</b> . . . . .	140
Aigerim Ospanova, Andrei Shenin, Aiyim Shukyzyhanova, and Kilybayeva Banu	
<b>Geopolitics and Security</b>	
<b>Xinjiang. The New Development Trends</b> . . . . .	151
Svetlana Kozhirova	
<b>The State Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan in the Field of Combating Religious Extremism</b> . . . . .	161
Li Yang and Svetlana Kozhirova	
<b>Forming the Package of Framework Documents and Laws of Azerbaijan in the Sphere of Military Security in 1994–2019</b> . . . . .	171
Niyazi Niyazov and Galina Niyazova	
<b>Development Trends of the Strait of Malacca Countries in the Field of Countering Non-traditional Threats to National Security in the Context of the Indo-Pacific Region in 2010s–2020s</b> . . . . .	178
Adam Titovich and Vadim Atnashev	
<b>Fluctuations in the Global Food Market: Politics Versus Economics?</b> . . . . .	197
Yury Gladkiy, Viacheslav Sukhorukov, and Svetlana Kornekova	
<b>Sustainable Development and Environment Protection</b>	
<b>Geo-Eco-Ideology: Modern World in Search of Common Values</b> . . . . .	213
Vladimir Belous, Vitaly Volkov, and Leonid Baltovskij	
<b>Climate Change and the UN 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development</b> . . . . .	226
Marina Ermolina, Anna Matveevskaya, and Mikhail Baranuk	

<b>Sustainable Development in BRICS Countries: From Concept to Practice</b> .....	238
Jingcheng Li	
<b>The Development of Cooperation Between Member States of the Arctic Council 1996–2019: Environmental Partnership or Struggle for Resources</b> .....	249
Anastasiia V. Sboychakova	
<b>Evolution of the Environmental Policy of the European Union: Stages, Actors and Trends</b> .....	257
Yuri Kovalev, Alexander Burnasov, Anatoly Stepanov, and Maria Ilyushkina	
<b>The Development of International Sustainable Industrial Tourism on the Example of Germany</b> .....	270
Yulia Kozina and Nadezhda Bogdanova	
<b>Migration and Socio-Demographic Processes</b>	
<b>Muslim Community in France: Problems of Adaptation</b> .....	283
Anastasia Umnova, Anna Matveevskaya, and Sergey Pogodin	
<b>The Sino-Russian Relations in the Field of International Tourism</b> .....	298
Irina Platinina, Victory Pogodina, Vladimir Evseev, and Tamara Tarakanova	
<b>International On-Line Collaboration in the Context of Contemporary Higher Education</b> .....	310
Anna Riabova and Olga Pavlova	
<b>Sociocultural Problems of Adaptation of International Students in a Non-native Language Educational Environment and Techniques to Overcome Them (at Universities of Russia, Finland, Sweden and China)</b> .....	318
Nikita Ivannikov, Dmitry Kolesnikov, Marina Sablina, and Alexey Tsyb	
<b>Role of Volunteer Organizations in Providing Food Security for Discriminated Groups</b> .....	328
Nikita Ivannikov, Olga Lofichenko, and Daria Peregudova	
<b>Cultural Dimension of International Relations</b>	
<b>From Class to Culture: Ideological Landscapes of the Left Thought Collective in the West, 1950s–1980s</b> .....	337
Andrei A. Znamenski	
<b>In the Shadow of the Korean Wave: The Political Factors of the Korean Wave in China</b> .....	355
Sunyoung Park	

<b>The Issue of Cultural Diversity in the EU Cultural Policy at the Beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century</b> . . . . .	372
Natalia Bogolyubova, Yulia Nikolaeva, and Elena Eltc	
<b>The Cultural Expansion of the Persian Gulf States in Europe: Dynamics, Specifics, and Consequences</b> . . . . .	382
Regina Biktimirova, Konstantin Eidemiller, Andrey Anufriev, Yury Gladkiy, and Valery Suslov	
<b>Russia and Post-Soviet Central Asia in the CIS Framework of Cultural Cooperation</b> . . . . .	395
Ksenia Muratshina	
<b>Discourses of Political Geography</b>	
<b>From Geopolitics to Linguopolitics: Studying the Language Factor in International Relations (A Pre-history)</b> . . . . .	407
Igor Chernov, Igor Ivannikov, and Nikolay Gudalov	
<b>National Minorities at Saint Petersburg Imperial University in 1905 in the Focus of the Press</b> . . . . .	416
Evgeny Rostovtsev, Victoria Andreeva, and Ilya Sidorchuk	
<b>Modern Socio-political Crisis in the USA Based on Materials of the Russian Portal InoSMI</b> . . . . .	427
Andrei V. Grinëv	
<b>Speech Image of a Political Leader: Cases of President of Azerbaijan Ilham Aliyev and Prime Minister of Armenia Nikol Pashinyan</b> . . . . .	446
Galina Niyazova and Niyazi Niyazov	
<b>Indirect Evidentiality and Its Manifestation in Chinese Language Political Discourse</b> . . . . .	453
Aleksandra Nechai and Uliana Reshetneva	
<b>Geographic Images of the Four Cardinal Directions (East, West, North, South) in the Linguistic Consciousness of Russian and Chinese Students</b> . . . . .	462
Galina Vasilieva and Zishan Huang	
<b>Author Index</b> . . . . .	475



# National Minorities at Saint Petersburg Imperial University in 1905 in the Focus of the Press

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**Abstract.** The objective of this paper is to consider the mapping of the national question in focus of periodical press, referring to the fact that the press not only served as a mirror of the events unfolding at the University in 1905, but it acted as an important lever of influence on the public opinion and the University world, and in this sense acted as a factor of the processes unfolding within the University. The source base of this research was made up of materials published in St. Petersburg newspapers that represented various political trends: “Birzhevye vedomosti” (“Stock exchange news”), “Novoe vremja” (“New time”), “Russkie vedomosti” (“Russian statements”), “Peterburgskij listok” (“St Petersburg sheet”), “Svet” (“Light”). This allowed us to reveal how various political forces related to the national movement of students and what importance they attached to it. The authors turned to the method of content analysis in order to collect data on the events connected with St. Petersburg University, its professors, and students. The research suggests that the beginning of the First Russian revolution in 1905 was a catalyst for the growth of activity and radicalization of the national movement among the students of St. Petersburg University. In the conditions of the general revolutionary rise in the whole Empire, various national and political preferences and a system of self-identification in relation to the Empire and the Russian liberation movement were formed among the national student communities. The right-wing press, seeing national minorities as a potential threat to the monarchy, used news stories about the activity of national student associations as an additional opportunity to discredit them. The liberal press, also not missing such events, thus promoted national movements, considering them as an important element of liberalization. Thus, it promoted their institutionalization and self-identification of national elites.

**Keywords:** History of education · National movement · National minorities · Russian revolution of 1905 · St.-Petersburg University

## 1 Introduction

The role of Saint Petersburg University in the events of the First Russian revolution of 1905–1907, as well as higher education in general, regularly attracts the attention of

historians [2, 7–10, 21, 24, 27, 29, 36, 42, 43, 46, 58, etc.]. We should also mention that Richard Pipes had seen the roots of the First Russian Revolution in student turmoil [30, p. 31]. Daniel Brower proves that universities were cradles of revolution [6]. A number of studies have also been devoted to the role of student organizations in the events of the First Russian revolution [5, 22, 28, 60, etc.]. At the same time, the topic of St. Petersburg University as the center of the national movement in Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century in the literature devoted to this educational institution has not yet been raised much. The point is probably that for both the Ministry of national education (MNE) and the University administration, as well as for the police Department (documentation related to the activities of these institutions is the basis of research on the history of the University), the national movement was still less important than the activities of the socialist parties [38]. While paying attention to the topic of the student movement, one more important source – the periodical press – is almost ignored. During the period under review, the press was the main means of promoting certain political views and forming public opinion and was one of the main sources of forming a picture of the world. The most prominent political figures of the era, in particular, Vladimir Lenin and Pavel Milyukov, recognized the crucial role in the success of propaganda of their parties' ideas through their party's press. Only the press could broadcast information about the events taking place in the country to a sufficiently large audience; it was the most powerful source of forming public opinion among various segments of the population [37, 40, 41]. The objective of this paper is to consider the mapping of the national question in focus of periodical press, referring to the fact that the press not only served as a mirror of the events unfolding at the University in 1905, but it also acted as an important lever of influence on the public opinion and the University world, and in this sense acted as a factor of the processes unfolding within the University. It can be assumed that popular narratives on the national issue among students contributed to the processes of national self-identification and the formation of national organizations.

Chronological frames of the research are September – October of 1905. Due to the Provisional Rules for the Management of Institutions of Higher Education adopted on August 27, 1905, which restored the University autonomy, the Capital University became the center of country's social and political life, revolutionary movement until the all-Russian October political strike. Public debate on most of the important issues took place inside the walls of the university. Shmuel Galai and Theodor Shanin considered that the returning of autonomy transformed universities into "islands of liberty" [8, p. 261; 42, p. 83]. The national question was not the most significant, neither from the point of view of political forces, nor from the point of view of intra-university life, but it attracted constant attention of the press. The university was the center of St. Petersburg students, and student organizations were of a city-wide character. It was also the center of the revolution and demonstrations, and it was one of the centers of coordination of protest and public activity. Students, including national minorities, took part in revolutionary demonstrations, and revolution served nationalism.

The source base of this research was made up of materials published in the most popular newspapers that represented various political trends: *Birzhevye vedomosti* ("Stock exchange news") reflected mildly liberal views, *Novoe vremja* ("New time") together with *Svet* ("Light") promoted right-wing ideas, *Peterburgskij listok* ("St Petersburg

sheet”) and *Peterburgskaya gazeta* (“Petersburg newspaper”) can be considered as centrist press focused on local news, *Russkie vedomosti* (“Russian statements”) was a liberal best-selling Moscow newspaper which covered news in all parts of Russia, and the latter was taken in order to compare its discourse with the Petersburg ones. This allowed us to reveal how various political forces related to the national movement of St. Petersburg students and what importance they attached to it. Official governmental newspapers are not analyzed here as they didn’t participate in public debate and didn’t cover the student movement and national question issues. The press in that informational situation is one of the main sources for the formation of a picture of the world. It can be assumed that popular narratives on the national issue among the student community contributed to the processes of national self-identification and the formation of national organizations. Liberalization of legislation related to student organizations started in 1903. During the described period, unlike during the period after 1907, there was no practice of official organization of student national circles, and legal registration was not required. That is why the press, but not the documentation of national organizations, is of particular importance.

## 2 Methods of Research

The authors first turned to the method of content analysis in order to collect data on the events connected with St. Petersburg University, its professors, and students. An article (news, feature or editorial) was taken as a unit. There were 466 units found in the newspapers of September – October 1905. The materials were organized in several categories, including “national question”, “student movement”, “academic issues”, “university charter debates”, etc. [36] This article is devoted to the category “national question”, which deals with 51 units, concerning Jews (32), Poles (13), Ukrainians (4), Latvian (1) and Chinese (1) as national minorities. There were no leading articles mentioning national minorities, these were mostly chronicle and a few editorials. When implementing the study, the authors turned to a number of primary research and historical methods:

- To reconstruct the key moments in the history of the national communities of St. Petersburg University, the authors used the comparative historical method.
- The historical-genetic method made it possible to identify and trace changes in the consideration and assessment of the national student movements by the press;
- The comparative method allowed us to juxtapose the features of the coverage in the press of the activities of Jewish, Polish, and Ukrainian student organizations of St. Petersburg University.

These methods helped to identify a significant amount of materials that touched on events related to the activities of national organizations of the St. Petersburg University, and to see the dynamics of the presentation of their activity in the press. This approach is particularly relevant, because despite all the differences in the coverage of these episodes of University life in the periodical press, they are characterized by the active independent role of the newspaper word in the formation of the main attitudes of both public and corporate consciousness related to the problems of University life. These approaches

helped to analyze the role that print played in the construction of social reality and the image of the University, which was formed in society and among the teachers and students of the University themselves.

### 3 Results of Research

According to current studies, the number of visiting students (not from the St. Petersburg educational district) at the Capital University at the turn of the century fluctuated in the region of 45–50%, and their base was made up of people from the national outskirts of the Russian Empire. Thus, St. Petersburg University later became one of the centers of formation of the elites of the future independent states formed after the First World war [39]. Unfortunately, the available sources do not allow us to fully reconstruct the national composition of students. According to a study by Dmitry Barinov, at the beginning of the 20th century, numerous student national associations, corporations and clubs were already active here; in 1903–1917, there were 17 nationally and regionally oriented research circles, in 1907–1917 there were 3 national student funds, in 1901–1917, 15 national corporations and circles [3, pp. 243–245]. The most active of them at the time of 1905 were Polish, Jewish and Ukrainian, which is explained by high number of students and the current political situation, when Jewish and Polish issues were widely discussed not only at the University.

A feature of the professors of St. Petersburg University was the commitment of the vast majority of them to liberal and cosmopolitan ideas. They were not members of student associations, but they could sympathize with their activities. In particular, cadet party professors sympathized with the struggle of national minorities for self-determination, but were opposed to radical revolutionary ideas.

The press and the public opinion it created influenced both the university administration and the state authorities. For example, a campaign against the Jewish percentage rate, widely reported in the press, led to its actual abolition in 1905 till 1908. The University Council adopted the first motion to abolish the percentage rate at a session on September 13, 1905 [34, p. 87.]. Subsequently, this issue was continuously discussed, and the university invariably acted in a favorable way for Jewish applicants [35, p. 189]. In 1905, the Jewish percentage norm was de facto abolished, the number of Jews rose significantly from 172 in 1904 to 1200 in 1907, when they became the second largest group after Orthodox students [3, p. 57]. A separate problem was the issue of assigning governmental scholarships to Jewish students – In this regard, the university persistently sought to equalize the rights of “persons of the Jewish faith” with other students [35, pp. 5–6.]. During the ministry Ivan Tolstoy and Petr von Kaufman, the government in general met the needs of universities, allowing admission in excess of the percentage rate, and Tolstoy, following the requests of universities, unsuccessfully tried to achieve the complete abolition of the percentage rate [52]. Tolstoy’s petition, supported by the Council of Ministers, was rejected by The Emperor in January 1906 [26; 1, pp. 236–237].

The events of the First revolution contributed to the radicalization of Polish University students. It represented a separate “cultural and political unit” in the capital’s University. Among the Polish University organizations, some almost did not participate in University life, among them: the nationalist Union of people’s youth (*Sojuz narodnoj molodezhi*) and



the Union of youth named after Adam Mickiewicz (*Sojuz molodezhi imeni Micevicha*). The unions leaders refused to participate in the elections of the Council of elders, stressed their desire not to interfere in Russian affairs [4, p. 63–64].

According to the reports of the “Stock exchange news”, a split between internationalists and “chauvinists” was immediately apparent within the Polish students from the beginning of the revolution. Characteristic in this regard is a newspaper article published on September 21: “Yesterday, in the Assembly hall of the University, a meeting of Polish students took place, which brought together more than 600 students in higher education institutions and a lot of invited audience. The debate was very heated and lasted well into the night. By twelve o’clock, the debate on the first of the five issues was still going on. The normal flow of the meeting was hindered mainly by Polish “nationalists” and “chauvinists” [51]. The next day the newspaper published an extensive report from this meeting, which described in detail the “struggle of the parties” and the tactics of “chauvinists” and “nationalists” to delay the meeting, which still managed to pass a resolution on “solidarity with the Polish workers” and an indication of the desirability of introducing autonomy in the Polish region” [48]. Right-wing newspaper “New time” characterized the same meeting somewhat differently, presenting to readers not the differences of the Poles, but the result of discussions: “First of all, upon the choice of the chairman, the question was raised about the attitude of the students of St. Petersburg to political life in the Kingdom of Poland. The essence of the speakers’ demand was as follows: full autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland; an elected Sejm in Warsaw, equalization of Poles in rights with the native Russian population, education of the Polish population in the Polish language, etc.” [14, 54].

The next meeting of Polish students took place on September 24 and aroused mainly the interest of the right-wing press, which, among other things, focused the readers’ attention on the fact that “many outsiders and ladies were present at the meeting”, and “the debates were conducted in Polish” [15]. Covering the meeting on September 26, “New time” noted that “most speakers recognized the merger of Russian and Polish parties as quite desirable, provided that the views of the Russian parties on the autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland as a national unit were clarified” [16]. A completely different view of the same meeting is found on the pages of the “Stock exchange news”. The newspaper described the confrontation between “true Polish people” (“Polish chauvinists”) and the Polish radical party. The latter, following the newspaper’s account, won thanks to the passionate revolutionary speech of the Russian worker. However, the fact that the Polish students failed to reach a consensus is evidenced by the final resolution of the meeting, which has a very distant relation to the events in St. Petersburg: “In conclusion, the Assembly decided to send a welcome telegram to Ignatius Dashinsky, a member of the Austrian reichsrat: “Vienna. To Deputy Ignatius Dashinsky. It was with a feeling of irrepressible indignation that we read the telegram from Vienna that the Polish club had voted against universal suffrage. We are happy that there are Poles in the Austrian Parliament who did not participate in this act. Radical Polish youth. At the meeting (*veche*) on September 26” [56]. The polemic between the poles-internationalists and “chauvinists” continued on September 27, which is enthusiastically described as the “most interesting” meeting of the day by the “Stock exchange news”. According to the newspaper, the victory was won by the Polish socialists, about whose position the

journalist writes very pompously: “In the foreground they have universal interests, class struggle, begging, dark, downtrodden people – the proletariat. Before this world-wide question, purely Polish questions pale. Let it be good for humanity – let it be good for Poland. Our Russian brothers are fighting for the eternal ideals of freedom and equality... Let’s give them a hand, let’s go together and together, perhaps, create a better new life...” [50].

The Jewish question, or rather the question of the abolition of the percentage limit for Jewish students in universities, has been actively discussed in the press since the first decade of September [11, 12, 19, 20, 32, 33]. The liberal press emphasizes the efforts of the new rector of the University Ivan Borgman to cancel the percentage limit [18, 31, 33]. The norm that restricts the admission of persons of the Jewish faith to the University seems to journalists not only immoral, but also inherently illegal [59]. The need to cancel it was constantly discussed at student meetings, where there were even discussions between students who considered the “Jewish question” so fundamental that it could be the basis for a new strike and the majority who considered it subordinate to the more important question of the revolutionary reconstruction of society, for which the University should be opened [45]. The debate was sometimes very heated. “New time” described the events sarcastically: “Passions flared up to such an extent that the chairman had to stop the meeting due to the “excessive excitement of the audience”. The students’ outrage was caused by indignation at the scandalous behavior of Jewish students. They were not more than 100 in number, and they insisted that the whole assembly should submit to their wishes in the matter of the open doors of the University. The assembly wanted to pass a general resolution on this issue, while the Jews demanded a separate resolution for themselves on their free admission to universities. When the meeting objected to this, the Jews noisily began to protest and caused a 10-min. break. They used it to develop a further plan of their actions. After the break, they trooped from the IX auditorium, where they had been conferring, to the meeting and continued to behave as before” [13].

The episode with the mentioned meeting on September 15 became an occasion for further speculations of “New time”. A week after the meeting, the publication derided the Jewish newspaper “Sunrise” (*Voskhod*), which tries to ““explain” and justify the behavior of those Jewish students who were outraged at the University-wide meeting” and concluded: “The more freedom is given to the Zionists to express their hidden thoughts and carry out their methods of political struggle, the sooner it will become clear what an “unfortunate appendage” of all academic life are such wildly national unions” [23].

Of course, the liberal press described this incident differently, but it also wrote about the accusations of “obstruction by fellow Jews” that were made by the leaders of the meeting [44]. However, as the same newspaper noted, a few days later, returning to this issue, the meeting already adopted without any significant debate a resolution in which “decided to open the doors of the University to all persons, without distinction of nationality or religion” [57]. There is no doubt that the MNE’s decision (at least temporarily) to admit Jews to higher educational institutions in excess of the percentage limit helped to calm the situation.

The next time the “Jewish theme” surfaced was in mid-October in connection with an unsuccessful “party” organized by Jewish socialists in the student cafeteria. It is

interesting that if “New time” simply stated that “the party failed” [11], “Stock exchange news” gave a brief and very ironic report about it: “The party in the dining room was organized by a Jewish socialist organization and attracted a huge number of guests, so there were not enough tickets or seats. Everyone complained about the closeness, that they could not hear anything. It is clear that the organizers cared more about the income than about the guests. At the party, Prof. Tarle, Prof. K.N. Eristov, attorney-at-law Sokolov, sculptor Ginzburg... Due to the fact that many people who promised their presence at the party did not arrive – the party soon ended” [47].

At the end of September 1905 the University also became the center of the Ukrainian national movement. Newspapers reported in detail about “the first Ukrainian rally in Russia for 250 years”. It was originally planned as a meeting of Ukrainian students in the building of the old physical Institute. However, since there gathered about 2000 people, with the permission of the rector, the meeting was moved to the Assembly hall. In addition to University students, students from other higher educational institutions, female students and workers attended the event. However, quite quickly the number of participants thinned out: the organizers of the meeting decided to conduct the discussion “exclusively in the Little-Russian [Ukrainian] language, which was not clear to all those present” and many went to the nearby IX audience to discuss General political issues. As for the main ideas put forward, they largely repeated the slogans of the Polish meetings: the autonomy of Ukraine, protection of the Ukrainian language, accusations against Russian student societies, which “in relation to the liberation movement of the Ukrainian people acted in concert with the Russian government” [17, 49].

The Ukrainians were followed by Latvians who organized their own meeting. According to the “Light” newspaper, the meeting was quite national-revolutionary in nature. The following topics were discussed: “The situation in the Baltic region, the liberation movement in Russia, and the organization of the state Duma”. The newspaper succinctly conveyed the mood of the participants: “The State Duma, which under the terms of the election will be dominated by Germans, cannot be expected to benefit the Baltic States. The only useful party for the present is the extreme party” [53].

The authors met only one mention of another national minority at the university – the Chinese. The centrist *Peterburgskaya gazeta* reported on the approval of the charter of the Student Research Society “The Far East” formed by the initiative of Chinese students, which aimed to study the life of China, Manchuria and Korea [55].

In addition to those mentioned above, other national student groups that were holding meetings at the University at that time were mentioned in the press: Lithuanians, Georgians, and others, but these topics did not receive significant attention from press [25].

## 4 Discussions of Research

The national question was one of the key issues for the Russian Empire, where more than half of the populations were not representatives of the titular nation. It largely determined the relevance of the political agenda and was one of the key events in the subsequent revolution. The enthusiasm with which many minorities joined the revolutionary movement is traditionally seen as one of the most obvious proofs of the failure of the tsarist government’s national policy, which also affected the situation of higher education in

the country. The diverse ethno-confessional composition of the radical St. Petersburg students, combined with the struggle for national interests, led to an increase in the political activity of students-representatives of national minorities. At the same time, it is not possible to talk about their unity. First, they preferred to defend their national interests, sometimes reluctantly adjusting to the agenda proclaimed by the Russian students. Second, there was disagreement among the communities themselves. In particular, this is clearly seen in the example of a community of Polish students, divided by their political views into two camps.

The press materials allow us to draw a number of original conclusions regarding the national movement at St. Petersburg University in 1905. First of all, we should mention their relatively low attention to the topic, both in the liberal and right-wing press. Apparently, national gatherings were not such an important and interesting news event for readers as the confrontation between the Ministry and the professor's corporation or the confrontation between students and the police. There is also some skepticism about events organized by national student organizations. And if it could be expected from the right-wing press, which used all sorts of ways to criticize Jewish and Polish people, then in the liberal press, which is very sensitive, for example, to the Jewish question, it looks quite unusual.

Some blame for ignoring the student national movement, according to the press materials, lay with the organizers themselves. Their desire to defend exclusively their local national interests, especially in combination with holding meetings in their native languages, turned away from them both the rest of the students and the press. Moreover, the events discussed at their meetings might seem insignificant to the Russian students, who perceived the struggle for national self-determination or the reduction of the percentage limit only as part of the desired revolutionary changes.

## 5 Conclusions

The research suggests that the beginning of the First Russian revolution in 1905 was a catalyst for the growth of activity and radicalization of the national movement among the students of St. Petersburg University. In the conditions of the general revolutionary rise in whole Empire, various national and political preferences and a system of self-identification in relation to the Empire and the Russian liberation movement were formed among the national student communities. The most active national student associations were Polish, Jewish, and Ukrainian. At the same time, their positions and goals differed significantly from each other. Thus, among Polish students there was a split between those who categorically refused to become part of the general revolutionary movement, putting the priority of defending exclusively national interests, and those who supported the existing socialist movements called "chauvinists". For Jewish students, the most urgent issue was the abolition of the percentage limit, which they planned to achieve by using the revolutionary rise among Russian students. Ukrainians also did not separate themselves from the general student's movement, but used it to promote national culture.

The right-wing press, seeing national minorities as a potential threat to the monarchy, especially when it came to Polish and Jewish, used news stories about the activity of national student associations as an additional opportunity to discredit them. The liberal

press, also not missing such events, thus promoted national movements, considering them as an important element of liberalization. Thus, it promoted their institutionalization and self-identification of national elites.

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