

GERMANY AND ITS PLANS FOR “REVOLUTIONIZATION” OF THE ISLAMIC WORLD DURING WORLD WAR I

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Introduction

In the years of the First World War, when Germany was countering the forces of the Entente countries (namely, Russia, France and Britain), its military and political authorities looked for ways to cause the enemy camp to disintegrate. The factor of religion was chosen to play a key role in this endeavour.¹ Islam seemed to be the ideal political tool for propaganda that would impact the Muslim world.²

“Revolutionisation,” “jihad” and Max von Oppenheim

The foreign policy of the German Empire during Wilhelm II’s rule was committed to sustaining an active rapprochement with the Ottoman Empire. Germany was interested in weakening possible enemies by means of aggravating mutual contradictions between them, as well as in “revolutionizing” their Eastern colonies by means of Pan-Islamic propaganda,³ interacting in this way primarily with the Ottoman Empire, which had assumed the role of Caliphate - the pan-Muslim spiritual centre with nominal domination over the whole Muslim world. During Wilhelm II’s trips to Istanbul in 1889 and 1898 and to Syria and Palestine in 1898, a more effective framework was established for the future advance of German interests in the Muslim East and for German consolidation.⁴ The toast, given by Wilhelm II during a formal dinner in Damascus in 1898,⁵

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¹ Kröger 1994.

² Oberhaus 2012.

³ Pan-Islamism: religious-political ideology based on the idea of the spiritual unity of Muslims of the whole world regardless of social, national or state identity, and the necessity of their political association under the authority of the highest spiritual head - the Caliph.

⁴ Regarding German-Turkish relations up to 1914, see Mühlmann 1929; Kampen 1968; Schulte 1980.

⁵ When the Kaiser visited the grave of Salakh-ad-din (the Egyptian Sultan from 1175-1193 and head of the Muslims’ struggle against the Crusaders) in Damascus, a formal dinner was

became the legend that, allegedly, the German Kaiser treated Islam and Muslims on friendly terms, that Germany had never held enmity towards Muslims and that it was their only friend among the European states, which were mostly hostile to Muslims.

The legend developed into gossip: with the efforts of German agents in many mosques and in the markets of Near Eastern countries, rumours were spread that Emperor Wilhelm had secretly adopted Islam, that he had made a pilgrimage to Mecca incognito and that he should be called Haji Wilhelm Muhammad. Some Muslim theologians managed to “discover” encrypted information and hints in the Koran that Emperor Wilhelm was selected by Allah to unyoke the faithful from the rule of the infidel. There were even rumours that the entire population of Germany had followed the lead of the Kaiser and adopted Islam on a mass scale.⁶

Respect was expressed and officially stated to the Sultan and all Islamic world by their “friend for all times,” Wilhelm, but in practice it turned out that Germany took no steps towards rapprochement with the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the 19th-20th centuries. On the contrary, Berlin refused any requests for essential political support from Turkey. For example, Germany stood by in 1908 when Austro-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, hesitant to do anything that would have an impact on their ally in support of the interests of the Turks.

An almost identical situation arose in 1911 when Italy annexed the territory of Libya: Germany again distanced itself from this event, as though expecting Turkey to be weakened by this conflict.⁷

It is possible to believe that at the beginning of the 20th century Germany itself expected serious political initiatives from the Ottoman Empire and the Muslim world as a whole. At this time, politicians, scientists and military men were all considering the potential effects of Pan-Islamic ideology.

Pan-Islamism was established at the end of the 19th century, during the colonial enslavement of the countries of the East by Europeans, as an anti-colonialist movement calling for resistance against alien domination.

organised. During the visit one of the sheikhs assured Wilhelm II that it would bring him not only the gratitude of Ottomans, but also the love and inspiration of 300 million Muslims who held the Caliph in veneration as their spiritual leader. Inspired by these words, the Kaiser proposed a toast: “Let his Majesty, the Sultan and the 300 million Muslims scattered around the world and honouring the Caliph, be sure that the German Kaiser will be their friend for all times. All the best to the Caliph, his Majesty, Sultan Abdoul-Hamid” (Hopkirk 1996, p. 43).

⁶ Ibid., p. 20-21.

⁷ Kampen 1968, p. 70-77; Oberhaus 2012, p. 39.

Afghan theologian J. Al-Afghani, who put forward the idea of the “religious and political union of the Muslim people,”⁸ is considered its founder. This union was originally intended to be purely religious in character. However, it later gained political value and began to be interpreted as a religious-political movement, with the idea of the unity of the whole Muslims world and the need for the formation of a united Muslim state at its heart.⁹ In this regard, Pan-Islamism came to be seen as especially favourable by the Ottoman Sultan Abdoul-Hamid II, as it was a conservative ideology and an ideology of domination which legitimised the designation of the Ottoman Emperor by the title of Caliph¹⁰ - the nominal head of all Muslims of the world.¹¹ Kaiser Wilhelm II was primarily interested in supporting the anti-colonial direction of Pan-Islamic ideology, therefore he gave support to those activities of Sultan Abdoul-Hamid which weakened the position of England, France and Russia in those of their colonies that were occupied by Muslims. To the leadership of Germany, Islam seemed to represent the perfect ideological background for military, political and diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire. The general conceptions of Islam, its doctrines and its prospects in Germany in the late 19th-early 20th centuries were very primitive: for many people, it was seen as an exclusively aggressive religion characterised by “fanaticism, [with a] bloodlust for occupation and the spoils of war.”¹²

The use of the Ottoman Sultan’s authority to exert influence on multitudes of Muslim people became one of the priority directions in German policy in the East, but the German strategists obviously had little knowledge of the Muslim world. Before World War I, connections between Germany and Muslims in the sphere of military-political cooperation were rare and Germans had only a passing acquaintance with the Islamic world.

During World War I, the concept of the “revolutionization” of the colonial world was developed in Germany. To the German authorities it seemed that the colonised people, generally Muslims, were ready to rise against their oppressors, and that Germany could truly help them.

Basic conceptual issues were stated in the memorandum *Revolutionisation of Islamic Areas of Our Enemies*, which represented, in practical

⁸ Hagen 1988, p. 26.

⁹ Ref.: e.g., definition of Pan-Islamism by Landau: Landau 1990, p. 7.

¹⁰ Caliph: title of the Islamic ruler as the head of believers and successor to Mohammed, the Supreme head of the Islamic community who exercises spiritual and secular leadership in the Islamic world.

¹¹ Kampen 1968, p. 62; Hagen 1988, p. 26.

¹² Oberhaus 2012, p. 88.

terms, a project to organise German propaganda in the Islamic world. The famous diplomat Max von Oppenheim was the author of this project.¹³

Oppenheim was born on 15 July 1860 in Cologne, to the family of successful financier and banker, Albert Oppenheim. He studied law in Strasbourg and Berlin. From the early 1880s, his inherent lifelong passion for travel made him the supporter of the expansion of German colonial possessions. Most of all he was attracted by Eastern countries - Turkey, Africa, the Middle East - where more than once he took part in large-scale archaeological excavations. Though Oppenheim was not a qualified, fully-trained orientalist, he had a wide range of acquaintances among politicians, diplomats and scientists from Near Eastern countries. Despite the fact that he was Catholicised right after birth, Oppenheim's background at first meant that he was not allowed to enter the diplomatic service because of his Jewish origin on the paternal side; however, thanks his knowledge, commitment and natural persistence, he became one of the chief architects of the grandiose German propaganda campaign which covered the whole continent.

It was not until 1896 that he was officially engaged by the diplomatic service, having become an attaché in the German Consulate in Cairo. However, in 1910 he was relieved of his duties at his own request and left the diplomatic department, having received the honourable title of "Resident Minister" (one of the diplomatic ranks of that time) and concentrated on archaeological excavations in the Middle East. However, in 1913 he returned to Berlin, and by 1914 was again engaged in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Auswärtiges Amt - AA) where he became the author of the theory of the "revolutionization" of Eastern people. At that time, "he was the only expert on the East who had the required experience and demonstrated his skills and knowledge in numerous papers."¹⁴

In 1915 he was sent to the German Embassy in the Ottoman Empire, where he actively promoted the advance of German interests in the East.¹⁵ From the 1920s, Oppenheim concentrated only on scientific work: in 1922 he became the founder of the Institute for Oriental Studies (Institut für Orientalforschung - IfO) in Berlin, after which he carried out archaeological excavations in different countries and published the results of his study. He died on 15 November 1946.¹⁶

¹³ See regarding Max von Oppenheim: Caskel 1951; Studt 1999; Kröger 2001; Schwanitz 2004c; Bragulla 2007, p. 20-23, 91-92; Kreutzer 2012, p. 35-50.

¹⁴ Kröger 1994, p. 368.

¹⁵ Bragulla 2007, p. 20-23.

¹⁶ Müller 1991, p. 193-200.

It should be noted that during his extensive travels to Eastern countries Oppenheim developed the persistent beliefs that Pan-Islamism as a unifying ideology possessed serious potential,¹⁷ that the Turkish Sultan as the nominal head of all Muslims had huge influence on them, and that Germany had considerable authority within the Islamic world.¹⁸ He came to these conclusions after considering the results of the analysis of the Muslim press (this was one of the main directions of his activity in General Consulate in Cairo), as well as through numerous meetings and conversations with various representatives of the Muslim world.

The memorandum *Revolutionisation of Islamic Areas of Our Enemies* was the result of his activity in Cairo and, later, his service in the political department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Germany. Oppenheimer submitted this detailed document in October 1914 to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, from where it was transferred up to the Supreme Headquarters for presentation to the Kaiser.¹⁹

The concept of revolutionization was based on the theory of “jihad,”²⁰ i.e. the struggle for the protection and dissemination of Islam, by means of which, Oppenheim considered, it was possible to raise the Muslim world against alien domination. It is worth mentioning the fact that Oppenheim cherished the idea of jihad in the interest of Germany and related it to the revolutionization of the Muslim world for quite a long time. Even in 1898 when he was on diplomatic service in Cairo, he had made an informative note, which was sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, entitled *Pan-Islamic Movement*. According to some historians, this document, which was full of fancies and conjectures, was the initial step in the German policy of the revolutionization of Muslims.²¹ I here take the liberty of offering a rather expansive quote, as it clearly illustrates what the German diplomats, politicians and military expected from “sacred war.” Regarding jihad, the diplomat wrote:

“Jihad, sacred war against the Unfaithful or the infidel, has changed its ideas and philosophy throughout time: instead of the purely aggressive character

¹⁷ Kon 2012, p. 211-252.

¹⁸ Schwanitz 2004b, p. 28-59.

¹⁹ The memorandum *Die Revolutionierung der islamischen Gebiete unserer Feinde* is stored in the Political Archive of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Germany in Berlin (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes - Parch.AA), R 20937, Bl. 53-195. When cited below, separate references are not given. The text in full was published in 2001: Epkenhans 2001, p. 121-163.

²⁰ Jihad: a notion in Islam meaning diligence on Allah’s way. Commonly, jihad is associated with armed fighting, however the notion is much wider.

²¹ Hagen 1988, p. 31; McCale 1997, p. 201; Schwanitz 2004a, p. 29.

it had in earlier times, it now has more defensive character. Moreover, today it is difficult to predict in advance its consequences and aftereffects if a passionate appeal and exhortation to fight is made, for which Muslim people are adequately prepared. Even without declaring jihad at all, the Sultan of Constantinople in the last war against Russia received monetary donations and volunteers from all Muslim countries [...]. The Muslim world ceased to be a uniform state long ago, but the Pan-Islamic idea has remained and will always remain.... It is worth remarking that Germany has great authority with the Muslim people, as it proved to be a friend of the Sultan when he was in a distressing situation.”²²

Oppenheim considered influence on the Ottoman Empire to be the key element, having great impact upon Muslims; as he wrote in the opening passage of this voluminous document, “The main prerequisite for revolution in Islamic areas controlled by our enemies is intensive interaction with Turks under the banner of the Sultan-Caliph, namely the establishment of an organisation with clear aims.”

Oppenheim outlined the main directions for the implementation of this “campaign”:

“1. Propaganda: Overcoming all dubious military communications distributed by our enemies regarding the state of the war, correct explanation of the military situation, [encouragement of] sedition and appeals to revolts against our enemies as well as support of those.”

2. Military advance of Turkey without which it would be absolutely impossible to consider the ‘revolutionization’ of certain countries, such as Egypt or the Muslim regions of Russia.”

Oppenheim considered weakening England, as the largest colonial power, to be the primary mission objective. It was clear that the most important (according to him “even crucial”) focus of propaganda activity had to be Egypt and India. Subsequently, the “successful war of Turkey against Russia in the Caucasus” had to be the next step. The third most important undertaking was the revolutionization of French colonial areas in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

The main tool in preparing for military action, according to Oppenheim, was

“propaganda explaining the true martial situation and at the same time taking aim at other countries’ domination, to be distributed among all Muslims of the enemy countries, which will be more effective if it is systematic and purposeful.”

²² Oberhaus 2012, p. 95.

Such propaganda had to “bear the sign of the Sultan’s glory and be carried out on his behalf and in his name.” Oppenheim believed that the Sultan would call for a sacred war and for freedom from foreign domination as soon as Turkey entered the war. However, he warned that this call for jihad should not be turned against the “Kafir” (the Unfaithful) as a whole, but only against particular “rulers.” “Turkish military engagement on the Black Sea or somewhere else,” according to the author of the document, “will be the best tool for propaganda.”

The text of the memorandum confirms that Oppenheim best understood the general political and military situation in those in Eastern countries that he had been to. Owing to this, he gave lengthy comments on what policy Germany ought to pursue concerning these states. At the same time, he had only a vague idea of the conditions in which the Muslim people of Russia lived and how they understood their mission in life. His idea of the position of the Caucasian people was slightly better, but his reasoning about people in Central Asia, and even more so those in Inner Russia, was specious. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that the memorandum was related to the revolutionization of all Muslim people who were under the domination of the Entente (which included the Russian Empire), so it is worth examining in detail Oppenheim’s judgments and observations concerning the present and the future of the Muslim peoples of Russia as stated in the memorandum.

To the German diplomat, Russian Muslims represented quite a powerful force - according to his data, 19 million Muslims lived in the Russian Empire, i.e. 11% of the population of the whole country. As described in Oppenheim’s project, a “campaign in the Caucasus” against Russia was of primary importance: he considered this the ideal place to carry out the functional propaganda of “revolutionization.” In his opinion, it was possible to carry out propaganda in Caucasian countries only after the destruction of the Russian fleet, though it was necessary to work only where the local population would accept Turkish troops as liberators. Propaganda was primarily supposed to influence Muslims in the Caucasus, to support their insurrectionary movements by all means, since

“despite their small numbers, in certain areas in particular, Muslims represent the most effective, courageous and strong part of the population of the Caucasus, which even in times of peace have created major problems for Moscow.”

To support Muslims in the Caucasus, Oppenheim suggested using former Caucasian refugees - the so-called "Muhajirun"²³ - who had moved to Turkey because of conflicts with Russians. To start with, he recommended estimating the number of combat-effective Muhajirun in Turkey, then to carry out propaganda work among them and to form military units for subsequent departure to the Caucasian front. He emphasised that many authoritative Muslim émigrés lived in the Ottoman Empire who could be useful in organising propaganda, placing special emphasis on newspaper and magazine publishers. It is curious to note that Oppenheim suggested seeking support among Russian citizens as well - specifically naming in the memorandum Zeynalabidin Tagiyev, an Azerbaijani millionaire businessman and patron of arts (who was also an "ardent enemy of Russia who has recently been seeking to organise cooperation of the Russian Muslims with Constantinople"). Allegedly, Tagiyev, who had visited Berlin after the beginning of war, promised upon return home "to secretly work on countrywide revolutionization." Probably in this case Oppenheim was indulging in wishful thinking, as by the start of the First World War Tagiyev was more than 90 years old and a genuine pragmatist not inclined to political adventures. The fact that during the war years his name is not mentioned in archival documents as a propagandist or revolutionary on the part of Germany proves this.

As for other Muslims of the Russian Empire, Oppenheim noted that "the population of Bukhara, Samarkand, etc. is mainly quiet" and that only the Muslims of Fergana would probably respond to a call for "jihad." Meanwhile, to raise the European Muslims, he considered, would hardly be possible, despite their being "in most cases highly spiritually developed and adherents of the Sultan-Caliph." This then, was the limit of everything Oppenheim knew about the Muslims of Russia. Practical steps concerning this part of the population of the Empire also followed from this "knowledge:"

"The activity begun in Constantinople needs to be continued vigorously. It is also necessary to try and use the press and, first and foremost, the religious schools in the Muslim centres of European Russia, especially in Kazan, Orenburg and Ufa."

The general conclusion of the memorandum is stated in very optimistic tones for Germany, with a special emphasis that "Islam for us is the most effective weapon in the fight against England" and that in all parts

²³ Muhajirun: Originally designated Muslims who, in the time of Prophet Mohammed, moved from Mecca to Medina in 622. It is often used in the sense of immigrant or settler.

of the Muslim world the Kaiser “has outstanding authority and universal, deep and heartfelt respect.”

Oppenheim’s activity at the beginning of the jihad campaign has led some researchers to describe his role as the founder of the concept of revolutionization and even to call him “the father of jihad.”²⁴ However, the origin of the idea of revolutionizing the Islamic world cannot be attributed to only one individual; as S. Oberhaus notes, “jihad didn’t have one father, there were several among whom Max Oppenheim was the major birth attendant.”²⁵ Oppenheim was not actually the author of the master plan of “revolutionization,” he only systematised available information, supplementing it with ideas and documented processes that had already begun.

According to German historian Maren Bragulla, in the memorandum Oppenheim “made the strategy of destabilisation be conceived of as a liberating war of the Muslim people against western colonial domination.”²⁶ German Islamic scholar H. L. Müller, evaluating the role of Oppenheim in the jihad campaign organisation, suggests that he was certainly the first supporter of the alliance of Germany with Turkey and the Pan-Islamic movement. However, his project, he noted, was only a comment upon all the offers and information that had been sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from the Ottoman Empire previously.²⁷ The reason Oppenheim - who was not admitted to the diplomatic service despite trying three times - could gain the trust of ruling elite and take such a significant position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in late 1914 - early 1915, Oberhaus explains, is that he was in the right place at the right time. When military circles recognised the failure of the Schlieffen plan and stated the hopelessness of the situation, there was no alternative left to Oppenheim’s project: it was beyond competition. This contributed to his social significance in the eyes of the governing body.²⁸ This was the pinnacle of his decisive role in the Eastern policy of Germany: in March, 1915 he left Berlin and went to Istanbul to organise the Representative Office of the Information Service for the East. There he continued his activities on propaganda as an auxiliary, indirect worker. Such a fast dispatch of the main inspiration and author of what was apparently a promising and successful military-political and

²⁴ Hagen 1988; Schwanitz 2004a, p. 9 (in this paper V. Schwanitz calls Max von Oppenheim “Abu Jihad”).

²⁵ Oberhaus 2012, p. 118.

²⁶ Bragulla 2007, p. 3.

²⁷ Müller 1991, p. 201.

²⁸ Oberhaus 2012, p. 119.

propaganda project perhaps proves that it went wrong and left much to be desired; that the idea of revolutionization needed adjustment.

Generally speaking, in historical literature, opinions on Max von Oppenheim and his role in the history of World War I (primarily regarding the Eastern direction taken by German diplomacy and policy) are contradictory. For some, he was the main guiding force of German military policy in relation to colonised populations, its soul and key personality,²⁹ whereas for others his role in Germany's Eastern diplomacy before and during World War I was not particularly great.³⁰ In our opinion, there is no unambiguous assessment of this undoubtedly complex and questionable personality. It is enough to remember and consider that the concept of jihad (as the call of the Ottoman Empire to "sacred war against the Unfaithful" was referred to) was widely used in the vocabulary of the German military and diplomats in July-August, 1914, whereas Oppenheim's memorandum in its final form was submitted to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs only in October 1914. Nevertheless, without doubt it is possible to consider that Max von Oppenheim was, if not the "father" of the idea of jihad, one of the initiators and leaders of "sacred war" propaganda.³¹ Having stirred the large-scale propaganda campaign into action, he was not, however, responsible for its consequences.

Still we agree with the opinion of Herbert Müller who noted:

"Oppenheim's 'achievement' lies in his attempt to put together a series of vague, complicated, uncoordinated, and partially fantastic projects which were sent to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the political section of the General Staff, to check whether they were true, and to collect them within one establishment. In this sense he really was the pivotal figure of the German military policy in the East."³²

Revolutionisation did not, in practice, work out as Oppenheim envisaged it - the Islamic world was too distinctive and diverse; the great collapse of the idea was noticed practically immediately, though Germany did make efforts to bring Muslims onto their side in their campaign against the Entente countries. Life made allowances: the plans made at the beginning of war,

²⁹ McCale 1997.

³⁰ Treue 1969.

³¹ It is interesting that Peter Hopkirk, in his very clearly and vividly-written book, calls Max von Oppenheim not only the "father of the idea of jihad," but also gives him a very extraordinary name, calling him one of the "hawks of Kaiser Wilhelm" (as he calls the Chief of General Staff, H. von Moltke, steel manufacturer A. Tissen, etc.) (Hopkirk 1996, p. 76-77).

³² Müller 1991, p. 203.

“were in consecutive communication with pursued policy in the East, but at the same time they could not be considered to follow the course of former concepts. On the contrary, they were aftereffects of the cliché foreign policy accepted by the public that had already gone down. In these conditions the strategy of revolutionization could never succeed.”³³

Conclusions

Max von Oppenheim’s memorandum is an extremely important document which provides an opportunity to discover what Germany expected from cooperation with Islam and the Islamic world in the years of war, as well as how it planned to bring about this cooperation. The document is certainly highly verbose, full of repetitions, nonsense and unreasonable expectations; however, its analysis is useful in understanding specific actions of Germany concerning the Muslim world as a whole, and Muslim prisoners of war in particular.³⁴ The memorandum has many weaknesses, as many of the author’s proposals were reduced to mere declarations; he paid scant attention to the difficulties which could emerge in the implementation of his plan of revolutionization and, therefore, could not supply any clues as to how these difficulties might be overcome. It is necessary to say that Oppenheim’s biggest mistake was his belief that the Muslim world, despite its variety and diversity, could be manipulated as a whole, and that a small push would be enough to raise it up against “the Unfaithful.” In other words, revolutionization in the years of World War I can be considered as a chimera, a myth. Nevertheless, a more profound and detailed study of the plans for revolutionization, as well as analysis of all attempts of the German Empire in the years of World War I to use the Islamic factor to achieve political goals, are relevant and timely. Now, in times of the growth of Islamophobic tendencies around the world, when the Islamic world is evaluated one-sidedly and often very superficially, re-evaluation of the experiences of collaborative engagement and interaction between Germany and Muslims in 1914-1918 would be very useful both for historical researchers and for politicians.

³³ Kröger 1994, p. 372.

³⁴ Interestingly, Oppenheim in 1940, under completely new conditions revived the idea of revolutionizing the Muslim world in German interests, although he had long been retired from politics. See: Schwantz 2004b, p. 39-42.

Germany and Its Plans for “Revolutionisation” of the Islamic World During World War I

(Abstract)

The article dwells on the attempts of Germany to use the Islamic factor as a tool to apply pressure on the Entente countries during the First World War. Representing itself as “the friend of Islam,” Germany tried to oppose the so-called “colonial world” of England, France and Russia. Muslim prisoners of war were subjected to propaganda manipulation in “special” camps, in order that they might, according to the understanding of German strategists, become proponents of German influence in Muslim countries. The German diplomat and famous archaeologist, Max von Oppenheim, became the main theorist behind the idea of using “sacred war” and the author of the idea of the “revolutionization” of the Muslim world. The purpose of this article is to define the main characteristic features of the specified policy of revolutionization. The concept of revolutionization was based on the theory of “jihad” (i.e. struggle with the aim of defending and disseminating Islam) by means of which, Oppenheim believed, it would be possible to raise the Muslim world against alien rule and domination. The Ottoman Empire was to carry out a leading role in the revolutionizing of Muslims. It was thought that the declaration of jihad by the Sultan would create internal difficulties for the Entente military forces, whose colonial holdings were home to millions of Muslim citizens. Max von Oppenheim’s memorandum is an extremely important document, which provides an opportunity to observe what Germany expected from the collaboration with Islam and the Islamic world in the war years, as well the methods it planned to use to bring about this cooperation. It could be said that Max von Oppenheim’s biggest mistake was to believe that the Muslim world, despite its variety and diversity, could be controlled and manipulated as a whole, and that a small push would generally be enough to direct its energies against the “Unfaithful.”

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Germany and Its Plans for “Revolutionization” of the Islamic World during World War I

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Keywords: World War I, Islam, foreign policy, Germany, Entente, revolutionization of the Islamic world.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	- Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.
AAL	- Asien Africa Lateinamerika. Zeitschrift des Zentralen Rates für Asien-, Afrika- und Lateinamerikawissenschaften in der DDR. Berlin.
AAMT	- Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory. Orlando.
AAnt	- American Antiquity. Society for American Archaeology. Washington.
ABM	- Alaska Business Monthly. Anchorage.
Acta Asiatica	- Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture. Tokyo.
AO	- Arkheologicheskoye otkrytiya (1965-2013). Moscow.
AOASH	- Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Institute of Oriental Studies. Budapest.
AP	- Arkheologiya Podmoskov'ya. Materialy nauchnogo seminara. Institute of Archaeology Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
ArchOttoman	- Archivum Ottomanicum. Wiesbaden Ottoman Archives. Wiesbaden.
Ars Judaica	- Ars Judaica. Bar-Ilan University. Ramat Gan.
Art-menedzher	- Art-menedzher. Business magazine considering culture and art as a resource for the social and economic development of society and offering various technologies and methodologies of management of this process. Moscow.
Bibliosfera	- Bibliosfera. The Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Novosibirsk.
BKF	- Baltiiskii filologicheskii kurer. Immanuel Kant Baltic Federal University. Kaliningrad.
BM	- Byulleten' Moskovskogo obshchestva ispytateley prirody. Otdel biologicheskoy. Moscow Society of Naturalists. Moscow.
BMMS	- Byulleten Muzeya Marka Shagala. Marc Chagall Museum. Vitebsk.
Byilye godyi	- Byilye godyi. Sochi State University. Sochi.
CAn	- Current Anthropology. Chicago.
CHR	- The Canadian Historical Review. University of Toronto Press. Toronto.

CIS	- Culturologicheskie issledovania Sibiri. Omsk State University. Omsk.
Comparativ	- Comparativ. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung. Universität Leipzig, Global and European Studies Institute. Leipzig.
CRJ	- Classical Reception Journal. The Open University (UK). Oxford.
Den'gi	- Den'gi. Publishing House "Kommersant." Moscow.
EDV	- Ekonomicheskaya zhizn Dalnego Vostoka. Geographic Society. Khabarovsk, Amur.
EHQ	- European History Quarterly. University of London. London.
EJNH	- European Journal of Natural History. The Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Ethnos	- Ethnos. Journal of Anthropology. London.
Études/Inuit/Studies	- Études/Inuit/Studies. Association Inuksiutiit Katimajüt Inc. Québec.
EZ	- Evolucijazni na Zemle. Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Femida	- Femida. Media Corporation "ZAN." Almaty.
Florilegium	- Florilegium. The journal of the Canadian Society of Medievalists. Ottawa.
Forsait	- Forsait. Higher School of Economy. Moscow.
Francia	- Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschichte, hg. vom Deutschen Historischen Institut Paris (Institut Historique Allemand). Paris.
Fundamental Research	- Fundamental Research. Russian Academy of Natural History. Moscow.
Genetics	- Genetics. Genetics Society of America. Bethesda (USA).
Genetika	- Genetika. Russian Journal of Genetics. Moscow State University. Moscow.
Geologiya i geofizika	- Geologiya i geofizika. Institute of Geology and Geophysics of the Siberian Department of the Science Academy in the USSR, Novosibirsk. Published by the Siberian department of the Science Academy in the USSR. Novosibirsk.
Gyanovashchya	- Gyanovashchya. Dnepropetrovsk State University. Dnepropetrovsk.
HN	- Hraniteli naslediya. Altay State Pedagogical Academy. Barnaul.
HZ	- Historische Zeitschrift. Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt am Main.
Karavan	- Karavan (newspaper). Almaty.
KAS	- Der Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung - Auslandsinformationen. Berlin.

KPZ	- Kazanskij pedagogicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Pedagogy and Psychology. Kazan.
IAIAND	- Istoriko-arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v g. Azove i na Nizhnem Donu v 2006 g., Don.
Istoriografiya	- Istoriografiya i istochnikovedenie istorii stran Azii i Afriki. Leningrad State University. Leningrad.
Istoriya i sovremennost'	- Istoriya i sovremennost'. Moscow.
Izvestia Ugo	- Izvestija Ugo-Zapadnogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kursk.
IzvSamarsk	- Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra RAN. Samara.
JBAA	- Journal of the British Archaeological Association, British Archaeological Association. London.
Kulturnoe nasledie	- Kulturnoe nasledie. Altai State University, Altai Territory, Barnaul.
Lesnoi Zhurnal	- Lesnoi Zhurnal. Izvestiia Vysshikh Uchebnykh Zavedenii. Bulletin of Higher Educational Institution. Arkhangelsk.
LKK	- Literatura i kultura v Kitae. Moscow.
LSJ	- Life Science Journal. Acta Zhengzhou University Overseas. Zhengzhou University. New York.
JAMT	- Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory. New York.
JAR	- Journal of Archaeological Research. Journal of Archaeological Research. New York.
JISV	- Jekonomicheskie i istoricheskie issledovaniya na Severo-Vostoke SSSR. Economic and historical research in the North-East of the USSR. Magadan.
KT	- Kazakhskaya tsivilizatsiya. University Kaimar Almaty. Almaty.
Marketing	- Marketing. Centre for Marketing Research and Management. Moscow.
MBD	- Molodyye v bibliotechnom dele. Youth in Library Science. Moscow.
MEJSR	- Middle-East Journal of Scientific Research. International scientific journal published by the international digital organization for scientific information (IDOSI).
Memoirs SAA	- Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology. Society for American Archaeology. Washington DC.
MENP	- Materialy po evolycii nazemnykh pozvochnykh. Moscow.
MIA	- Materialy po istorii i archeologii SSSR. Moscow, Saint Petersburg.
MIFFK	- Materialy po istorii fauny i flory Kazahstana. Kazakhstan.

Mir bibliografii	- Mir bibliografii. Moscow.
Mir obrazovaniya	- Mir obrazovaniya - obrazovanie v mire. Scientific-Methodological Journal. Moscow Psychology and Sociology Institute. Moscow.
MNKO	- Mir Nauki, Kul'tury, Obrazovaniya. Gorno-Altaysk.
Molodezh' Tatarstana	- Molodezh' Tatarstana. Newspaper. Kazan.
MUSEUM	- MUSEUM. UNESCO.
Narodnaya shkola	- Narodnaya shkola. Saint Petersburg.
Nauchnoye obozreniye	- Nauchnoye obozreniye, series 2, Gumanitarniye nauki. Lomonosov Moscow State University. Moscow.
Nauch.-tekhn. Inform	- Nauchnaya i tekhnicheskaya informatsiya. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Naukovedeniye	- Naukovedeniye. Institute of History of Natural Sciences and Technics named after S. I. Vavilov of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Neues Leben	- Neues Leben [newspaper]. Berlin.
NIV	- Novyy istoricheskiy vestnik. Obshchestvo s ogranichennoj otvetstvennost'yu "Izdatel'stvo Ippolitova." Moscow.
NKOGK	- Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae: XXXIX nauchnaia konferentsiia. Moscow.
NNZ	- Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya. Istoriya i arkhologiya. Veliki Novgorod.
Novosti	- Russian News Agency "Novosti." Moscow.
NT	- Nauchnyi Tatarstan. Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan. Kazan.
NTB	- Nauchnyye i tekhnicheskkiye biblioteki. The State Public Scientific and Technical Library Russia. Moscow.
Odyssey	- Odyssey. Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Universal History. Moscow.
ONS	- Obshchestvennuyye nauki i sovremennost. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
OT	- Otechestvennyye zapiski. Saint Petersburg.
Panorama iskusstv	- Panorama iskusstv. Sovetskii khudozhnik. Moscow.
Pervye amerikancy	- Pervye amerikancy. First Americans (Almanac). Russian Society of Indianists. Saint Petersburg.
PGI	- Problemi Gumanitarnih Issledovaniy. Russian State Institute for Regional Issues in Northern Caucasus. Pyatigorsk.
Polar Record	- Polar Record. A Journal of Arctic and Antarctic Research. Scott Polar Research Institute. Cambridge (UK).
Politische Wissenschaft	- Politische Wissenschaft. Deutsche Hochschule für Politik Berlin.

Polzunovskiy vestnik	- Polzunovskiy vestnik. Altay State Technical University. Barnaul.
Pozdneplejstocenovy	- Pozdneplejstocenovy i rannegolocenovy kul'turnye svyazi Azii i Ameriki. Institute of History, Philology and Philosophy. Novosibirsk.
Prizrenie	- Prizrenie i blagotvoritel'nost' v Rossii. Izdanie Vserossijskogo sojuza uchrezhdenij, obshhestv i dejatelej po obshhestvennomu i chastnomu prizreniju. Saint Petersburg.
Problemi filosofii	- Problemi filosofii. Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Proceedings Volgograd	- Proceedings of the Volgograd State Pedagogical University. Volgograd.
PsZ	- Psikhologicheskij zhurnal. Institute of Psychology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
PT	- Perspectives on Terrorism. The Terrorism Research Initiative (TRI) headquartered in Vienna, and the Center for Terrorism and Security Studies (CTSS) headquartered at the University of Massachusetts' Lowell campus. Massachusetts.
RA	- Rossiiskaia Arkheologija. Moscow.
Reka vremen	- Reka vremen. Moscow.
Rivista di Bizantinistica	- Rivista di Bizantinistica. Bologna.
RossEconom	- Rossiski ekonomicheski jurnal. International Academy of Business and Management. Moscow.
Rossiyskaya Gazeta	- Rossiyskaya Gazeta. Russian government daily newspaper. Moscow.
SA	- Sovetskaja Arkheologija. Institute of Archaeology, Russia, Moscow. Moscow.
SC	- Sviyazhskie chteniya. Sviyazhsk.
Scientometrics	- Scientometrics. Akadémiai Kiadó. Budapest.
Serdalo	- Obschenacionalnaya gaseta Respubliki Ingushetiya "Serdalo." Nazran.
SGV	- Saratovskie gubernskie vedomosti. Saratov.
Shagalovskii sbornik	- Shagalovskii sbornik. Marc Chagall Museum. Minsk.
SI	- Sociologicheskije issledovaniya. Science Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Soziale Geschichte	- Soziale Geschichte. Zeitschrift für historische Analyse des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts. Bremen.
Spectrum	- Spectrum. The Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies. Astana.
SS	- Sibirskaya stolitsa. Tobolsk State Historical and Architectural Museum-Reserve. Tobolsk.

SSM	- Social Sciences and Modernity. The Presidium of the Russian Academy of Sciences "Science." Moscow.
SV	- Sovremennaya filologiya. Ufa.
SZ	- Sociologicheskiy zhurnal. Moscow.
Tarih Dergisi	- Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi. Istanbul.
TKA	- Tulski kraevedchesky almanah. Tula.
Tradizionnaya kultura	- Tradizionnaya kultura. An academic almanac representing the perspective direction in complex study of ethnoculture: national outlook, pedagogics, life, mythology, customs, ceremonies, poetry and music. Moscow.
Trudovaya pomoshch'	- Trudovaya pomoshch'. Izdanie Popechitel'stva o trudovoj pomoshhi. Saint Petersburg.
Vestnik AAJ	- Vestnik arheologii, antropologii i jetnografii. Institute of Problems of Development of the North, Russia. Tyumen.
Vestnik Chelyabinsk	- Vestnik Chelyabinskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, Istoriya. Publishing house of Chelyabinsk State University. Chelyabinsk.
Vestnik Chuvashskogo	- Vestnik Chuvashskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta im I. Ya. Yakovleva. I. Y. Yakovlev Chuvash State Pedagogical University. Cheboksary.
VestKrasno	- Vestnike Krasnoyarskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta imeni V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarskiy gosudarstvennyj pedagogicheskij universitet im. V. P. Astafeva. Krasnojarsk.
Vestnik Kazak	- Vestnik Akademii nauk Kazakhskoy SSR. Academy of Science of the Kazakh SSR. Kazakhstan.
Vestnik RAN	- Vestnik Rossiyskoy Akademii Nauk. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Vestnik Samara	- Vestnik Samarskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Samara State University. Samara.
Vestn Tomsk Gos Univ.	- Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Bulletin of Tomsk State University. Tomsk.
Vestnik Semej	- Vestnik gosudarstvennogo universiteta imeni Shakarima goroda Semej. Shakarim State University of Semej.
Vestnik Ufa	- Vestnik Vostochnoy ekonomiko-yuridicheskoy gumanitarnoy akademii. East Economic-Legal Humanitarian Academy. Ufa.
Vestnik VyatGGU	- Vestnik Vyatskogo gosudarstvennogo gumanitarnogo universiteta: Vyatka State University of Humanities. Kirov.

Vizantiysky vremennik	- Vizantiysky vremennik. Institute of General History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosy Istorii	- Voprosy Istorii. Russian academic journal for historical studies. The Institute of Russian History of the Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
Voprosi Literatury	- Voprosi Literatury. Writer's Union of the USSR. Moscow.
Voprosy filosofii	- Voprosy filosofii. Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
VTP	- Istoricheskiye, filosofskiy, politicheskiye i yuridicheskiye nauki, kul'turologiya i iskusstvovedeniye. Voprosy teorii i praktiki. Tambov.
WASJ	- World Applied Sciences Journal. International Digital Organization Scientific for Information "IDOSI Publications" UAE. Dubai.
Zapiski	- Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Russkogo arkhologicheskogo obshchestva. Archaeological Society. Saint Petersburg.
ZDMG	- Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Berlin Magazine of the German East Society. Berlin.