

schichten nieder, prägte insbesondere auch die Chancen ihrer Selbstrepräsentation. Ob und in welcher Weise gerade diese besondere Fragmentiertheit der behandelten Gesellschaften die sehr unterschiedliche Dynamik von Aufsteigen und Obenbleiben bedingten, wäre sicher eine im Weiteren bedenkenswerte Frage. Der niveauvolle Band dürfte gerade angesichts seiner Vielfalt ein brauchbares Repertorium sein, auf das sich künftige Überlegungen zur Elitengeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts stützen können.

**Peter Gatrell/Nick Baron (Hrsg.):  
Warlands. Population Resettlement  
and State Reconstruction in the  
Soviet-East European Borderlands,  
1945–1950, New York: Palgrave  
Macmillan, 2009, 276 S.**

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Peter Gatrell's and Nick Baron's edition of essays on population and settlement politics in the East European Borderlands in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War is a very valuable contribution to the study of a subject that has found increasing interest among historians in the last ten to twenty years. Recent studies had analyzed the relationship between nation-state building and cultural as well as ethnic homogenization in Eastern and Central Europe during the First World War and the interwar period from 1918 until 1939, for instance, which now constitute its own,

although still nascent field in historiography.<sup>1</sup> The topic of politically enforced population transfer and resettlement of ethnic minorities involves the analysis of radical concepts of nationalization by majority governments in multi-ethnic Empires and nation-states. Such a methodological approach includes examining specific governmental understandings of power and territorial hegemony to explain the dynamics of violence and enforced nationalization politics.

Gatrell's and Baron's edition on "Warlands" attempts such a multi-layered analysis and contributes to a broader time-frame that takes into account the effects of the First and the Second World War on the politics of ethnic state intervention. This volume is a follow-up essay collection to their edition titled "Homelands", which was published in 2004 and focused on the effects of the Russian Revolution, subsequent consolidation of the nascent Soviet Union, and military conflict immediately following after the First World War, especially with Poland and in the Baltic territories.<sup>2</sup> What the new edition on "Warlands" shows is how Eastern European states pursued comprehensive movements of ethnic minorities after 1945 to consolidate political boundaries and promote ethnic and political homogeneity. In spite of the multi-ethnic nature of the Soviet Union and the assumption of humanist equality that a Socialist Weltanschauung certainly entailed, the claim of homogenization was not always stated openly in Socialist propaganda. However, the attempts to craft ethnically and thereby politically homogeneous "homelands" was an underlying trajectory of resettlement efforts in the Soviet occupied realm.

The ten case studies in this volume are extremely insightful in their focus on post-war politics towards ethnic homogenization in Lithuania (Tomas Balkelis), Latvia (Aldis Purs), Estonia (Meike Wulf), Armenia (Joanne Laycock), and especially Poland (Konrad Zielinski). Two chapters illuminate the relationship between health, sanitation politics, and population replacement in post-war Leningrad (Siobhan Peeling) and the involvement of Quaker organizations in post-war relief and reconstruction work in German Displaced Person's camps (Jenny Carson). Kateryna Stadnik devotes her chapter to the Ukrainian-Polish population transfers between 1944 and 1946 and Ewa Ochman analyzes the legacy of ethnic and cultural conflict between Germans and Poles in Upper Silesia after 1945.

As Gatrell emphasized in the introduction, between 1914 and 1945, the Western territories of the Soviet Union and of Eastern Europe had been highly contested as cultural and ethnic frontiers. Violent deportations and racial extermination politics of Nazi Germany between 1939 and 1945, as well as Soviet deportations of ethnic minorities between 1936 and 1944 contributed to enforced population resettlement that had severe demographic consequences. In addition to the Holocaust, which cost about six million Jews their lives, and the death of more than three million Soviet POWs, more than 1.7 million Polish and 2.8 million Soviet "Ostarbeiter" were drafted by German authorities by August 1944 as enforced labor and more than 2.2 million were again deported to the Ukraine until the end of the war.<sup>3</sup> After 1945, on the other side, the Soviet authorities severely punished collaboration

during the war by arresting 350,000 returnees and sending them to labor camps, for instance.

The respective case studies illuminate that migration and resettlement of large ethnic groups in Eastern Europe need to be embedded in the traumatic experience of displacement of populations during military occupation and the internment of POWs between 1939 and 1945 and the following attempts by the Soviet regime to create loyally organized Socialist societies in Eastern Europe. In Lithuania, for instance, 250,000 people left the country during the Second World War. The subsequent post-war repatriation politics of the Soviets and the Western Allies in 113 DP camps in Italy, Germany, and Austria added to the Cold War competition between the Soviets on one side and British and French political propaganda on the other side. Those 300,000 Latvians who fled to Germany during the war soon became the object of Soviet repatriation propaganda, especially those who had engaged in collaboration with Nazi Germany. Collaboration and resistance sometimes cut right through entire groups and made the definition of their political post-war status additionally complicated. As Meike Wulf remarks, the Estonian army was completely dissolved after the Red Army invaded in 1941 and 20,000 Estonians were recruited into the red Army, while by 1944 some 50,000 Estonians served in the brutal SS legions after its Nazi occupiers had granted Estonia limited self-governance two years earlier. Poland was certainly most affected by the national restructuring of its territory and inhabitants after 1945. More than 480,000 Ukrainians had been moved from Poland to Ukraine and 790,000 Poles were

transported from Ukraine to Poland to please Stalin's vision of an expanded Soviet Empire. The status of ethnic minorities, such as two million Germans, 162,000 Ukrainians, 108,000 Jews, and Roma, for instance, was determined by international law and bilateral agreements that Poland had signed after 1945. As Konrad Zieliński lays out, however, these stipulations did not explicitly guarantee legal, cultural, or educational provisions. The devastating experience of Nazi occupation left a significant mark on Polish collective memory and determined post-war national politics. Anti-German but also anti-Semitic sentiments had an enduring effect on the rather restricted definition of minority rights. In multi-ethnic Upper Silesia, for instance, 300,000 Germans were expelled between 1945 and 1949 and between 30,000 and 90,000 Upper Silesians were deported to the Soviet Union. Zieliński shows that expulsion and assimilation that were carried out in Poland were assigned the importance of a national project as almost four million Polish inhabitants had to be transferred into the new boundaries of the Polish nation-state. Communist propaganda of the Polish Worker's Party/Polish United Worker's Party for the recreation of a larger Polish nation-state laid claims to Polish territories of the medieval Polish dynasty. Polish Socialism and territorial nationalism, therefore, joined forces on paradoxical ideological grounds.

The examples provided in this volume speak to the disastrous legacy of the Nazi occupation and the impact of Stalinist territorial utopias after the Second World War. A further point of departure is the apparent contradiction of Socialist transnational ideology and the actual persist-

ence of nationalism, as well as the primacy of ethnicity in Eastern European nation-states after 1945. This edition, therefore, is a very welcome contribution to the study of nation-state building, population settlement, and cultural politics in post-1945 Socialist Europe.

However, the endurance of nationalism and ethnic conflict played out in far more countries than were introduced in this volume and it would have been helpful to extend the focus to Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and the German Democratic Republic, for instance.<sup>4</sup> A broader geographical focus would sharpen the underlying assumptions of the editors, that despite a humanitarian ideology, Socialism entailed a reality of "socio-ethnic engineering" and that resettlement and exclusion of minorities continue to shape the commemorative cultures of large groups in these countries. As Gatrell and Baron suggest in their conclusion, the history of Soviet East European borderlands provides a story of continuing violence and radical state intervention in population management that predated, spanned, and continued through the Second World War. Strategies of remodeling social and political order through ethnic homogenization of populations, therefore, were not exclusively Fascist or right-wing authoritarian, but constitute an inherent part of the ambivalent nature and the destructive potential of modernity.<sup>5</sup>

These broader aspects of competing political visions of modern population management, ethnic expulsion and political exclusion, as well as an enforced political homogenization of the subjects of early Socialist nation-states might be considered in future studies. In addition to taking

into account the legacy of the immense destruction of the Second World War, it seems necessary to include the dynamics of the Cold War, and the resulting competition between Eastern and Western European countries over the legitimacy of their political institutions, as well as territorial boundaries. Political conflict in the German Democratic Republic between 1953 and 1961 and in Hungary in 1956, for instance, helped increase emigration to Western Germany and Austria and, thereby, may not only have contributed to some political homogenization in both countries. In addition to a considerable drain of labor and regime opponents in the respective Socialist countries, emigration of Eastern Germans to Western Germany and of Hungarians to Austria left a mark on all of the new respective nation-states in tackling their political (if even Imperial) past and in defining their own ethnic post-war boundaries. These additional observations only speak to the need for another comparative edition on ethnic migration and the exercise of Socialist power in Eastern Europe during the 1950s.

#### Notes:

- 1 See, for instance, P. Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking. Refugees in Russia during World War I*, Bloomington 1999; E. Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire. The Campaign against Enemy Aliens during World War I*, Cambridge 2003; J. Sanborn, *Drafting the Russian Nation. Military Conscription, Total War, and Mass Politics 1905-1925*, DeKalb 2005; V. G. Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front. Culture, National Identity, and German Occupation in World War I*, Cambridge 2000; J. Oltmer, *Migration in der Weimarer Republik*, Göttingen 2005; T. Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire. Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939*, Ithaca 2001; A. Kappeler/Z. Kohut/F. Sysyn/M. v. Hagen (Hrsg.), *Culture, Nation, and Identity.*

- The Ukrainian-Russian Encounter 1600-1945, Toronto 2003; R. G. Suny, T. Martin (eds), *A State of Nations. Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, Oxford 2001.
- 2 N. Baron, P. Gatrell (eds.), *Homelands. War Population and Statehood in the Former Russian Empire, 1918-1924*, London 2004.
- 3 See also W. Benz (ed.), *Dimensionen des Völkermords. Die Zahl der jüdischen Opfer des Nationalsozialismus*, München 1991, C. Streit, *Keine Kameraden. Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941-1945*, Stuttgart 1978, U. Herbert, *Hitler's Foreign Workers. Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich*, Cambridge 21997.
- 4 P. Ther, *Deutsche und polnische Vertriebene. Gesellschaft und Vertriebenenpolitik in der SBZ/DDR und in Polen 1945-1955*, Göttingen 1998; A. Siljak/P. Ther (eds), *Redrawing Nations. Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe 1944-1948*, Oxford 2001; J. Reinisch (ed.), *Displacement and Replacement in the Aftermath of the Second World War*, Basingstoke 2009.
- 5 See also M. Mann, *Fascists*, Cambridge 2005; *ibid*, *The Dark Side of Democracy. Explaining Ethnic Cleansing*, Cambridge 2005; J. Snyder, *From Voting to Violence. Democratization and Nationalist Conflict*, New York 2000; N. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred. Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Harvard 2001; E. Weitz, *A Century of Genocide. Utopias of Race and Nation*, Princeton 2003.