

Museum's attempt to represent the Holocaust in documentary fashion. Finally, Thomas Jung discusses the evolution of East German attention to the question of Jewish suffering in the Holocaust in literature and film.

Overall, *Kulturelle Repräsentationen des Holocaust in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten* leaves the impression of being something less than the sum of its parts. Without an introduction or conclusion, the volume lacks an overarching interpretive thrust that would help place it in the increasing body of literature in the 1990s that has explored the subject of the ongoing confrontation with the Nazi past. Moreover, the volume's focus on such topics as *Schindler's List* and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum lends it somewhat of a dated feel. It is not that such sources are unworthy of continued study, but they have been investigated quite thoroughly and more originally by other scholars in recent years. This is not to take anything away from the individual contributions, all of which have something to offer. But as a broader exploration of its subject, *Kulturelle Repräsentationen des Holocaust in Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten* ultimately promises more than it delivers.

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Redrawing Nations: Ethnic Cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944–1948. Edited by Philipp Ther and Ana Siljak. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. 2001. Pp. 243. \$34.95. ISBN 0-7425-1094-8.

Use of the term “ethnic cleansing” to describe the expulsion of entire national groups from one country to another has become general only in the past decade, mainly in the wake of Yugoslavia’s messy breakup. Previously, a variety of euphemisms, such as transfer, resettlement, or repatriation, were used to denote, or to obscure, what had actually happened. The present volume is an unusually good and valuable collection of scholarly work on history’s most ambitious ethnic-cleansing project. The thirteen individual contributions are by scholars from six different countries, all currently active in the field, and most are able to draw on recent archival research; much of what they present has previously not been available in English. Although they treat historical events that still have their contentious aspects, they remain uniformly free of the polemical terminology, strained rationalizations, and recriminations that long dominated the discussion. Most importantly, this volume addresses a significant, but still relatively neglected historical problem; indeed, it is difficult to think of another aspect of the World War II experience that has had a comparable impact, but attracted less scholarly attention outside the circle of its immediate victims.

The essays in this volume serve also as a good introduction to some of the trends in recent scholarship on post-World War II ethnic cleansing. For example, there is a tendency, even on the part of German scholars, to avoid an exclusive focus on its primary victims (i.e., Germans) and to establish some distance from a traditional *Vertriebenenliteratur* that is often victimological and one-sided. As in the recent works by Norman Naimark (*Fires of Hatred*), for whom the Germans are one of five classic cases of twentieth-century ethnic cleansing, and Philipp Ther (*Deutsche und Polnische Vertriebene*), who gives almost equal space to Poles expelled from eastern Poland, this volume treats the expulsion of Germans in a larger context. It includes, for example, three contributions on the removal of Ukrainians from southeastern Poland; some of them to Ukraine, others to Poland's newly acquired northern territories. Three articles apiece deal with the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans and with the integration of the expellees in East and West Germany. They are sandwiched between substantial and informative introductory essays by editor Ther and series editor Mark Kramer and a forward-looking conclusion by editor Ana Siljak, all of which seek to put this particular case of ethnic cleansing in a larger context.

A second trend that is reflected in several of the contributions is a certain backing away from traditional notions that only a Stalin could have conceived of so radical a demographic revolution, and that it acquired local and Western support (and perceived justification) mainly as an ad hoc reaction to Germany's appalling wartime behavior. As demonstrated by Eagle Glasheim's work on the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans, more attention is now being paid to older and deeper "eliminationist" currents (to borrow a Goldhagenism) that long simmered in this region. Thus the first ethnic-cleansing proposals surfaced early in the war, before the worst German crimes were known, and issued from Czech representatives whose country did not (Lidice aside) suffer that badly during the war even earlier than from the Poles, who did suffer a particularly brutal occupation. Glasheim suggests that the sudden outbreak of a "violence unprecedented in Czech history," i.e., the "wild expulsions" that accompanied Czech reoccupation of the Sudetenland in May 1945 (and included the use of racial categories, theories of collective guilt, concentration camps, and even the armbands associated with Nazism), were less a response to the harshness of German occupation than to the national humiliation that it represented in the context of a polarizing Czech-German conflict dating from the 1890s. The near-unanimity of Czech (and Polish) opinion on the desirability of expelling the Germans, and the pretty consistent support of Britain and the United States for this project, are also at odds with older accounts that focus primarily on Stalin and his agents; indeed, Czech Communists were relatively late to indicate their support. The ongoing debate in the Czech Republic regarding its legacy of ethnic cleansing suggests also that this near-unanimity of popular support persists: while President Václav Havel has expressed regret for what happened

in 1945, and Ján Mlynárik has contended even that Czech society has paid a heavy price in “economic damage, cultural stagnation, and moral decline” for its ethnically homogeneous homeland, a solid majority continues to believe that it was okay, in effect, for two-thirds of Bohemians and Moravians to expel and expropriate the remaining third on grounds of ethnicity alone.

Another recent and welcome development is the growing interest of younger Polish and (to a lesser extent) Czech scholars in the historical event that did so much to make their countries what they are today, but which were difficult to address candidly before 1989. The contributions by Krystyna Kersten, Stanisław Jankowiak, and Bernard Linek concerning the Oder-Neisse territories are particularly interesting; not just because of the new information they produce from Polish archives, but also because their tone of objectivity, candor, and reflectiveness contrasts so sharply with the rationalizations, denials, and defensiveness of most pre-1989 Polish historiography. They even employ, for example, some of the eye-witness accounts of the brutality that marked the period of “wild expulsions” that were previously to be found only in the works of expellees and their advocates. Jankowiak concludes not only that the decision to expel the German population (of Pomerania) was hardly carried out in the promised “humanitarian manner,” but that it was “morally wrong” to begin with. Several of these authors also focus on the degree to which the newly settled lands became home to a quasi-pioneer, less traditional, and fundamentally different Polish society, although some also wonder about the negative impact of the ethnic cleansing experience on the new population’s legal and moral sensitivities. For while it is the mass expulsion of people that attracts most of our attention, there was also an economic revolution, including a historically unprecedented transfer of property from a particular population to particular regimes, and several authors emphasize how this rare opportunity facilitated the establishment of the new Communist regimes. In addition, Linek and Claudia Kraft concentrate on the special problem of ethnic cleansing in Upper Silesia and Masuria respectively, the two regions inhabited by large numbers of “Polish-speaking Germans.” Most of them were exempted from the ethnic cleansing measures, only to decide later that they would rather live in Germany, after all, where most of them currently reside.

To be sure, the new focus on ethnic cleansing as a generic problem rather than on specific cases comes at the expense of some of the issues of law or principle that were formerly so prominent. And yet, some of these formal distinctions still seem pertinent. For example, expelling a minority population that has always lived as such far from its putative homeland (e.g., the Germans of Bukovina) is one thing; expelling a minority population that has recently acquired that status because of the establishment of new states and frontiers, but which remains a local majority adjacent to its “home country” (e.g., the Sudeten Germans) would seem to be another; and waging war with the intent

to incorporate part of an enemy's territory, expel its population, and replace it with another (i.e., Hitler's approach, but also the Grand Alliance's with respect to Germany east of Oder-Neisse) would seem to be something else again.

In her concluding essay, Ana Siljak addresses some of the larger questions lingering from the ethnic cleansing of East-Central Europe more than fifty years ago. One of these, ironically, is a function of its apparent success; for while Stalin may originally have sought an Oder-Neisse boundary (the prerequisite for most of the ethnic cleansing) in order to ensure permanent German-Polish enmity, and thus Polish reliance on the Soviet Union, German-Polish relations today are probably the best they have ever been; the expellees have been fully integrated in a (formerly) burgeoning economy; Germany itself is thoroughly debellized, no longer even feigns interest in its former lands, and is no longer procreating at a rate to keep even its reduced state stocked with people. Does this not suggest, since things have turned out so happily in this case, that ethnic cleansing might meet the test of a universal maxim according to the Categorical Imperative? And thus recommend itself as a solution of various other, similarly intractable ethnic problems in today's world (e.g., the Palestinians)? The argument of America's engineer-president, Herbert Hoover, that demographic engineering of this kind is in fact a "heroic remedy" much preferable to the perpetuation of unhappy minorities (or unhappy majorities) still has its supporters. Siljak surveys their arguments, but concludes with a measured and effective rebuttal. Those who have looked more closely at the vast human tragedy that was ethnic cleansing in East-Central Europe, 1944-1948, will doubtless concur; they will also benefit from the many informative essays in this fine volume.

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Zwei Seiten der Geschichte: Lebensbericht aus unruhigen Zeiten.

By Wilma and Georg Iggers. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
2002. Pp. 320. Eur 25.00. ISBN 3-525-36265-X.

The book is the fascinating autobiography of Georg Iggers, the distinguished historiographer, and his wife Wilma, a well-known literary scholar, to which each of them contribute complementary individual sections. As Jews, both were deeply affected by events in the Nazi period. Georg was born in Hamburg in 1926 as the son of a businessman, and Wilma Abeles in 1921 in the Sudetenland, then part of Czechoslovakia. While Wilma noticed little antisemitism before the *Anschluss*, this changed in the following months. In