

Belonging to the nation: inclusion and exclusion in the Polish–German Borderlands, 1939–1951, by John J. Kulczycki, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2016, 416 pp., \$49.95 (hbk), ISBN 978-0674659780

There is a considerable literature analyzing the Polish–German borderlands during World War II and its aftermath. Much of this scholarship has highlighted the manner in which populations were reconfigured through programs of forced migration/expulsion. In *Belonging to the Nation*, Kulczycki discusses the violence and the scale of population reconfiguration during the period 1939–1951, but his focus is on how governments came to develop policies and practices *not* to expel certain people. He makes use of a range of primary and secondary material to consider the ways in which some groups were differentially included within a broader imagined community and, importantly, were allowed to stay in the areas where they lived.

The book focuses on the period from the German invasion of Poland in September 1939 to the passing of the Law on Polish Citizenship in January 1951, which broke the link between nationality and citizenship (4, 293). This coherent periodization allows Kulczycki to provide an engaging analysis of the years of Nazi rule and the early years of Communism in Poland. The discussion of the post-war period is more extensive than that of the period 1939–1945, as this is where the author seeks to make a significant contribution to the literature. Kulczycki traces in some detail how “German and Polish policies in the years 1939–1951 bear a striking similarity” (3).

The opening chapter of the book provides a discussion of approaches to nationality. Kulczycki follows Rogers Brubaker in viewing the “nation as a category of practice” (5). From this theoretical standpoint, Kulczycki offers an insightful analysis of German and Polish nationality practices across the years of his study. Significantly, the author emphasizes that “national indifference continued to exist in the mid-twentieth century” (5). This indifference is mapped in different Polish–German areas, in Silesia and in Mazuria, for example. Local affiliations often trumped nationalists’ calls for loyalty to a nation.

Nationalists of various hues subscribed to a teleological model which positioned those indifferent to the call of nation as underdeveloped and needing assistance so that they would recognize and accept their true (ascribed) national identity. Prior to World War II, German and Polish scholars sought to lay claim to people and territory for their nation-state. State-sponsored ethnographic studies had political implications. German geographers in 1921 viewed it as a patriotic duty to publish maps that showed territory lost in World War I settlement as belonging to Germany (20). Polish scholars engaged in similar activities to document Polish histories in Germany. In the post-war period, as Kulczycki notes, the confrontation between German and Polish claims for territory and people, expressed through *Ostforschung* and *Polska myśl zachodnia*, continued. It had important domestic implications in the Cold War context: “the Polish Western Idea contributed not insignificantly to the Communist hold on power as *Ostforschung* encouraged the revisionist tendencies of the Federal Republic of Germany” (72).

Throughout *Belonging to the Nation*, Kulczycki highlights that practices of inclusion and exclusion varied geographically and over time. The manner in which the Nazi authorities implemented the German Nationality List (*Deutsche Volksliste*) was not consistent. Kulczycki notes that after World War II “Nazi nationality policies provided a justification

as well as a model for Polish policies" (52). The German Nationality List, with its various categories that bestowed particular privileges and responsibilities, was exploited by the Polish authorities as they sought to "rehabilitate" people to an ascribed Polish national identity. Polish practice evolved over time with scope for local initiative. Kulczycki offers compelling analyses of differences in practices of "rehabilitation" in various regions.

The story of inclusion and exclusion in the Polish–German borderlands is embedded within the broader history of World War II and the subsequent emergence of the Cold War. Kulczycki provides some discussion of the attitudes and responses of the Polish Underground and the Polish Government in Exile to German wartime population policies. In addition, Kulczycki offers a brief overview of how, during World War II, the Underground and Government in Exile thought about Poland's future territorial and population composition and notes that Poland's Western Allies favored a nationally homogeneous Poland. Some further comment on Polish and British thinking on Poland's borders in early 1940 would have provided helpful contextualization.

In *Belonging to the Nation*, the author draws attention to how the post-war attempts of the Communist authorities in Poland to include various groups such as Silesians, Kashubians, and Mazurians within the Polish nation were undermined to some degree by the alienating processes of "rehabilitation," by rampant looting and by general insecurity that was accentuated by acts of violence against civilians, including acts committed by Soviet soldiers. Kulczycki also considers Jews in the borderlands and reflects on the particular challenge that German Jews posed for the Polish authorities. The extension of the certification of Polish nationality in July 1945 to include "victims of Nazi persecution because of their nationality and their spouses" seems to have been "an afterthought" (202). Analysis of the practices of inclusion and exclusion of Jews in the borderlands can shed additional light on nationality policy in Poland in the immediate aftermath of World War II.

The mass departures of the so-called autochthons in the 1950s are discussed in the final chapter of the book. Kulczycki notes that "families of activists who had fought for Polishness" were among those who departed, and that this indicated the "failure of nationality policies even to prevent a renunciation of Polishness" (299). The Polish Communist government failed to promote a notion of the Polish nation that honored the "legacy of memories" of the autochthons, which could have "won their consent to be part of a Polish nation shorn of strict ethnic requirements" (306). But as Kulczycki recognizes, nationality policy was used by the Communists to maintain power. During the 1956 demonstrations and disturbances in Poznań, for example, "the authorities spread the word among the troops mobilized to pacify the situation that *Volksdeutsche* had stirred up the unrest" (297). The demands of managing social anger within the framework of Communism in Poland militated against the full inclusion of various groups within the imagined community of the nation.

Belonging to the Nation is particularly timely. It provides a detailed account of nationality policy practiced by Nazi and Communist regimes, and of the problems of connecting ethnic origin with national loyalty and citizenship. Kulczycki's argument that nationality policy and practice, following the defeat of Germany, "initiated the questioning of the 'genuine' character of various groups that marks the history of postwar Poland" (4) draws attention to the exclusionary practices visible in contemporary Polish politics and historical politics (*polityka historyczna*). This important study, which highlights that "the widespread preference for ethnic homogeneity frequently results in violations of democracy and individual rights" (307), casts the current drift toward ethnocentrism in many places in

Europe and elsewhere into sharp relief. *Belonging to the Nation* offers meritorious arguments and valuable insights for scholars and the wider public.

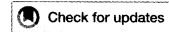
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The Europeanisation of contested statehood, by George Kyris, Farnham, Ashgate, 2015, 168 pp., \$112.00 (hardback), ISBN 978-1472421593

Europeanization remains one of the most difficult concepts to clarify and quantify. Too often its meaning appears too abstract and its facets are lost in the discussions. Often, the term is also used by authors as shorthand rather than as a detailed study of the processes connected to it. George Kyris' book is therefore a real gift and helpful contribution to the literature as it provides a comprehensive overview of different aspects of Europeanization while also introducing the complexity of the European Union's (EU's) approach to contested statehood. Kyris discusses in dedicated chapters the Europeanization of civil society, of political parties, and of state institutions. These chapters consist of a very helpful – but rare to find in International Relations texts – detailed recount of EU policies and processes while putting these in a greater theoretical context. Firstly, the reader therefore gains detailed insight into the relationship of the EU and the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), thereby providing a fundamental contribution to the literature on this case study. Secondly, the chapters demonstrate how detailed empirics can inform theoretical discussion of Europeanization.

The Cyprus conflict and the continued division of the island despite the EU accession has demonstrated the limits of EU integration as a peace project. Histories of the conflict have been published and the role of the international community within this has been highlighted and criticized by different authors before. Kyris focuses instead on the specific EU influence on Turkish civil society, political parties, and institutions and thereby provides a unique contribution and detailed insight to the reader. He manages to draw out in detail where the EU has been successful in supporting reconciliation and its limits have been.

Kyris engages with the concept of Europeanization while also tackling an understudied area in international relations, that of contested states and their effect on the foreign policies of other states. Although Europeanization has taken into consideration the effect on non-states actors, the concept has been state-centric. Analyses of Europeanization of member states and third countries has populated the literature. Kyris addresses the conceptual difficulty posed by the fact that, officially, in the case of Northern Cyprus for the EU there is no state to Europeanize. He considers this characteristic of the TRNC particularly in regard to how the lack of recognition, its international isolation, the influence of a so-called patron state, and the regional dispute for domestic affairs affect the Europeanization process. Considering the contested nature of the TRNC, the geopolitical considerations of the EU and of the process of Europeanization become much more evident than in more general Europeanization studies. While the book makes no normative claim over the legitimacy of the status of the TRNC, it draws out various political tensions with detail on policies and processes both from the EU and from domestic actors.