

tically all the institutions of the local community participated" (86). Addressing the matter of motivation, Kõll suggests that "participants"—a term that brings to mind the "shooters" in Christopher Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992)—were not inspired by the desire for revenge (as in Jan Gross's *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* [2001]) or even by ideology. Participation was simply the least bad option for local Estonian administrators (many of whom were not members of the Communist Party) who had to consider the fate of their own families and thus needed to demonstrate their loyalty to the new system.

For rural Estonians, the late 1940s was a time of conflicting loyalties (victims and participants were often closely related) and unpredictable outcomes. The local community "was not united against Soviet officials; it was still negotiating the boundaries of the permissible" (184). Indeed, the township archives of Viljandi County are replete with the alleged kulaks' appeals against the accusations they faced; these were accompanied by letters of support from family and friends. Letters of denunciation, on the other hand, are relatively rare, suggesting that popular enthusiasm for the dekulakization campaign was rather low. Those who managed to escape the deportations of March 1949—that is, about half the kulak families tallied in this study—had to live with "spoilt biographies." They subsequently experienced great difficulty finding work, opportunities to study, or even places to live. Such was the fate of millions who survived the Nazi occupation, for survival itself was an act of disloyalty.

According to Kõll, the story of Soviet repression in Estonia was not about evil persons and denunciations; it was about a drawn-out bureaucratic process that "was carried out through a systematic screening of the entire population with the help of records, archives and local knowledge" (109). "The face of evil," she concludes, "seemed to be more bureaucratic than personal" (240).

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***Nationalismus, Türkisierung und das Ende der jüdischen Gemeinden in Thrakien 1918–1942.*** By Berna Pekesen. Südosteuropäische Arbeiten 145. Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012. 334 pp. Appendix. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Tables. €44.80, hard bound.

This book is a bit of a hybrid: It is ostensibly—according to both title and overall structuring—about "the end of Jewish communities in Thrace" during the late Ottoman and Kemalist periods. However, it is perhaps more successful as a sustained attempt to understand the nationalizing and Turkicizing projects of the early republic, although this aspect of the study does not manage entirely to elude the many roadblocks that interpretation of this complex historical period presents. Finally, it is also, to an extent, more generally about the relationship between Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman empire and Turkish Republic, or, more precisely, about the historiography of that relationship, one that—in Berna Pekesen's (correct) view—is too often depicted in overly rosy terms.

The opening frame for the monograph as a whole is Muslim Turks' violent pogroms against Jews which took place in Thrace in the summer of 1934. During that June and July sustained attacks against the Jewish communities of Çanakkale, Edirne, Kırklareli, and Tekirdağ resulted in the flight of between seven and twelve thousand Jews from the region, an event known collectively as the *Trakya Olayları* (Thrace pogroms). Pekesen's book opens with a sketch, based largely on secondary sources, that

both situates the pogrom within the longer *durée* of Jewish presence in Turkey (and its Ottoman imperial precursor) and lays out the many complicated cultural and social forces on the ground that contributed to it.

These pogroms were closely linked to the passage of Law no. 2510, the so-called Resettlement Law, in the summer of 1934, which was designed to bring about the assimilation of minorities in Turkey via forced resettlement. The law granted the Turkish Ministry of the Interior the right to forcibly resettle any individuals deemed insufficiently Turkish—removing them from areas where they were isolated in minority communities and placing them instead within the culturally Turkish heartlands. Law no. 2510 is part and parcel of a whole host of policies that characterized eastern Europe, the Balkans, and the Levant in this period—most prominent among them the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne—that aimed to “solve” the “problem” of minorities through massive forced population movements. Just as the region was replete with such movements between nations, Turkey (among others) also pursued it at the internal level.

Alongside the local and broader regional frames, Pekesen’s study is also interested in a third—that of the longer-term history of Jewish-Muslim relations, first in the Ottoman empire and then in its republican successor state, Turkey. Here Pekesen seems interested—quite properly—in nuancing and, to a good degree, debunking the widely held view that the Ottoman context provided an unprecedented moment of happy multicultural cohabitation between Jews and Muslims. A number of important works in recent years have approached this theme, with varying degrees of optimism and rosiness in their interpretations of just how “happy” those relations were. Pekesen seems to come down quite firmly on the side that argues that, at best, the intercommunal relationship was a complicated one. Indeed, her work shows the tremendous violence that simmered beneath the surface and the ways in which a tremendously delicate communal balance was upset by Kemalist policies—with devastating and bloody results.

The work as a whole is interesting, if disturbing. It would have benefited from a clearer framing; most likely, the best frame would have been that of a sustained study of the Resettlement Law, setting it in the broader context of Kemalist policies of Turkicization. This would have required the author to wade much more deeply than she does into the internal dynamics of modernization (a term the author uses far too generically) and its relationship to nationalization and the creation of a supposedly homogenous nation, among other things. But, as it is, there is lots of interesting material here and many interesting observations, particularly about the different ways in which different “minorities” were understood as either “Turkicizable” or not and what implications that bore for those—like Jews and Armenians—who were the tragic victims of such formulations.

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***Zwischen Schonung und Menschenjagden: Die Arbeitseinsatzpolitik in den baltischen Generalbezirken des Reichskommisariats Ostland 1941–1944.*** By Tilman Plath. Essen: Klartext Verlag, 2012. 502 pp. Notes. Index. Illustrations. Tables. €34.95, paper.

To write about the Holocaust and Nazi terror as local history is a thought-provoking approach. Historian Tilman Plath’s focus on ordinary men and women shows how individuals changed roles, from bystanders to perpetrators, according to changing circumstances, and how local animosities of people identifying as Estonians, Latvi-