

Zitierhinweis

Naimark, Norman M.: Rezension über: Michael Schwartz, Ethnische "Säuberungen" in der Moderne. Globale Wechselwirkungen nationalistischer und rassistischer Gewaltpolitik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013, in: Südost-Forschungen, 72 (2013), S. 404-406, <https://recensio-stag.lorax.syslab.com/r/bee92d3107fe4cf6a36c2b97ccb2d243>



copyright

Dieser Beitrag kann vom Nutzer zu eigenen nicht-kommerziellen Zwecken heruntergeladen und/oder ausgedruckt werden. Darüber hinausgehende Nutzungen sind ohne weitere Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber nur im Rahmen der gesetzlichen Schrankenbestimmungen (§§ 44a-63a UrhG) zulässig.

Michael SCHWARTZ, *Ethnische „Säuberungen“ in der Moderne. Globale Wechselwirkungen nationalistischer und rassistischer Gewaltpolitik im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.*
München: Oldenbourg Verlag 2013. 697 S., ISBN 978-3-486-70425-9, € 69,80

Schwartz's new book on ethnic cleansing is big (almost 700 pages, with more than 3300 footnotes!) and encyclopedic. Yet despite the sheer bulk and comprehensiveness of the volume, it is also interesting, insightful, and nicely written. There is no new archival or documentary research here. Instead, Schwartz immerses himself in many little known sources, traditional standard works, and the quickly developing recent historiography of ethnic cleansing and genocide, including Philipp Ther's fine book,¹ soon to appear in English, to construct his narrative. His story begins earlier than most histories of ethnic cleansing, in the aftermath of the French Revolution, and he includes many episodes that rarely find their way into the literature, including many from the Americas and the Antipodes. By adopting a definition of ethnic cleansing that is both pragmatic and unproblematic, Schwartz then explores the complex terrain of mass killing, genocide, and forced deportation that has plagued the modern era.

Like Ther, Michael Mann, Marc Levene, and others, Schwartz sees ethnic cleansing as part and parcel of the modernizing process, especially linked to democratization, nationalism, and state building. No doubt ancient and early modern historians would have their quibbles with this kind of approach. One wonders whether we are dealing with the hubris of contemporary historians about modernity when it comes to beginning this story with the nineteenth century. But generally, Schwartz is very open-minded and inclusive in his approach. The analysis is filled with historiographical argumentation; the views of other authors who have written on the subject are carefully considered. More than other books on the subject, Schwartz's volume is also a genuine "world history" of ethnic cleansing, one that attempts to historicize the subject in such a way that all of the far-flung episodes are linked to each other in a complex web of influences and interactions.

For readers of this journal, Schwartz's emphasis on Southeastern Europe, the Balkans, with their "relative early, quasi-avant-garde traditions of ethnic cleansing", will be of particular interest (21). This region, in his view, is where ethnic cleansing originated and was taught to the rest of Europe, beginning with the Serbian uprising of 1804 and the Greek war of independence in the 1820s. He sees this process continuing in the area in the wake of the Congress of Berlin in 1878, the Balkan Wars (which saw the first treaties regulating "population exchange"), the First World War, into the Second World War and the wars of Yugoslav succession in the 1990s. But he shares the views of Maria Todorova that these campaigns of ethnic cleansing took place in response to the incipient Europeanization of the Balkans and the adaptation of European models of nationhood and sovereignty.

Schwartz also spends a great deal of effort demonstrating the linkages between European colonial rule and the practices of forced deportation frequently employed by colonial military forces and the campaigns of ethnic cleansing that infused the fighting during the First World War. On the Western and Eastern fronts, and, of course, during the ethnic cleansing and genocide that occurred in the Ottoman Empire, colonial models permeated civilian and especially military planning for securing borders, conquering territories, and

eliminating alleged enemies. This “learning” process continued after the First World War in Europe in the 1930s and the Second World War, and then spread to the rest of the world, including the partition struggles in India and in Palestine, to which he devotes substantial sections of his book. Schwartz is justifiably skeptical that incidences of ethnic cleansing have come to an end, especially since so many were initiated by modern governments that operated on principles of reason and justice and an international system that believed that the humanistic goals were being served by forced transfer.

Like many other German historians of ethnic cleansing, Schwartz is particularly focused on the origins and character of the “Vertreibung”, which he identifies as “the ethnic ‘cleansing’ of Eastern Germany and Eastern Europe of almost all of the Germans who lived there between 1944 and 1950”. It was, he notes, “the largest *forced migration* until that time not only during this high point of ethnic violence [World War II], but in the whole of European history, if not actually world wide” (426). He appropriately cites Tony Judt’s observation that after the First World War the borders of countries were redrawn while the peoples stayed mostly in place, while after the Second World War the situation was “exactly the reverse” (467). He also explores, as do few other historians, the close connections, both direct and indirect, between Hitler’s policies of ethnic cleansing, including the forcible resettling of East European and Soviet Germans in the Reich, and the ethnic cleansing that took place of the Germans at the end of the war and beginning of the peace. He notes how postwar Germans tended to turn up their noses at the “so-called” Germans coming from the “east”, and indicates that the Nazi attitudes were not terribly different, wryly quoting Goebbels: “What under the label of German comes into the Reich is not exactly exhilarating” (476). Schwartz is very sure-footed in his analysis of the “Vertreibung”, carefully distinguishing long-term causes from the more immediate, as well as the international factors, including the politics of the Big Three, from the domestic ones, including the political decisions of East European leaders, Władysław Gomułka and Edvard Beneš among them.

There is much to recommend in Schwarz’s book that cannot be adumbrated in a short review. However, it is worth adding that what is now necessary in the context of the quite substantial historiography of general books on ethnic cleansing are focused research monographs on particular episodes, especially those that are less well known to the general public in and outside of Europe. But even in the area of the “Vertreibung”, there is much interesting archival work that could and should be done to sharpen our understanding of the process of the flight and forced deportation of the Germans and its concrete causes, mechanisms, and effects. The work of Matthew Frank on British policy and Gregor Thum on postwar Breslau/Wrocław are good examples of the possibilities of new and innovative research.²

“Ethnische Säuberungen in der Moderne” is very nicely produced and remarkably clean of errors. But there is a problem in a book of this size and complexity that is present by not having a scholarly index. Generally in German scholarly literature, comprehensive contents pages are meant to serve as guides to big tomes like this one. But without an index (there is a “Personenregister”), the book is hard to use for the focused researcher who does not want to read the whole. In any case, this is a terrific contribution to the literature and a “must read” for anyone delving into the topic of ethnic cleansing.

¹ Philipp THER, Die dunkle Seite der Nationalstaaten. "Ethnische Säuberungen" im modernen Europa. Göttingen 2011.

² Matthew FRANK, Expelling the Germans. British Opinion and post-1945 Population Transfer in Context. Oxford 2007; Gregor THUM, Die fremde Stadt. Breslau 1945. Berlin, München 2003.

Serbien – Identitätskrise als Kontinuum. Äußere und innere Wandlungen in Literatur, Sprache und Geschichte. Hg. Michael MÜLLER. Nümbrecht: Kirsch-Verlag 2010 (ZOE. Schriftenreihe des Zentrums Osteuropa der Universität Köln, 2), 314 S., ISBN 978-3-933586-73-5, € 16,-

Der 2010 erschienene Sammelband, herausgegeben von Michael Müller, vereint die Beiträge eines wissenschaftlichen Symposiums, das im Juni 2007 vom Slavischen Institut der Universität Köln veranstaltet wurde. Der Band beleuchtet aus mehreren Perspektiven die Ursachen und Auswirkungen der „kontinuierlichen serbischen Identitätskrise“ (10). In diese Betrachtungen werden Bereiche wie Sprache, Institutionen, inhaltliche und rhetorische Ausdrucksformen der serbischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Zerfallsprozess Jugoslawiens, Literatur sowie die serbisch-deutschen Wechselwirkungen einbezogen.

Eingeleitet wird der Band durch die Beiträge von ULRICH OBST, WOLF OSCHLIES und ŽELJKO MARKOVIĆ, die sich mit dem Einfluss der deutschen Sprache auf das Serbische aus verschiedenen Blickwinkeln beschäftigen (13-54). Interessant ist dabei besonders die Darstellung der historischen Entwicklungen, die aufzeigen, dass schon seit dem 13. Jahrhundert solche Einflüsse zu erkennen sind, die vom Bergbau über das Militär bis hin zur Technik reichen und sich bis in die Gegenwart erhalten konnten, u. a. in der Alltagssprache oder dem toponymischen Wortschatz. Der Beitrag von DUŠANKA VUJOVIĆ schließt sich dem aus einer etwas anderen Perspektive an, indem die Autorin die Bedeutung der Nominalkomposita in der modernen serbischen Sprache betrachtet, bei denen der Einfluss der deutschen Lexik noch einmal besonders deutlich wird (55-63). Dieser Teil des Bandes soll aufzeigen, inwiefern die Sprache als Indikator für die Veränderungen und Umwälzungen innerhalb einer Gesellschaft gelten kann.

Welche Bedeutung Institutionen auf die Entwicklung einer Gesellschaft haben können, verdeutlicht BILJANA ŠIMUNOVIĆ BEŠLIN in ihrem Beitrag über die Kulturinstitution Matica Srpska (64-76), die in ihrer fast 200-jährigen Geschichte zahlreichen Veränderungen unterworfen war und wesentlich zur Entwicklung der serbischen Sprache, Kultur, aber auch Identität beigetragen hat.

TOMASZ MILEJ betrachtet die jugoslawische Regelung der Nationalitätenfrage aus serbischer Perspektive (77-82) und sieht dabei vor allem drei Punkte als ausschlaggebend an, die kontinuierlich zu einer Dezentralisierung Jugoslawiens führten und aus serbischer Sicht eine deutliche wirtschaftliche und politische Bedrohung darstellten: die Verfassungsreform