Hungarian authorities were also interested in focusing on the crimes of the Volksbund and Hungarian Germans, not necessarily on crimes against Jewish members of the labor service companies. B. sometimes refers to these kinds of testimonies as opportunistic. The competition for interpretation was frequently between explanations concerning escape, expulsion, and the Holocaust. This resulted in a lack of investigations—or at least of thorough ones— into the history of the mass murder of Jews in Pusztavám.

A new kind of testimony began to appear with the video interviews carried out by the Shoah Foundation's Visual History Archives at the University of Southern California.[2] Now the interviewers' questions could be heard, and gestures, narrative speed, and style could all be seen. There were new aspects to interpret, as well as new ways to analyze the testimonies concerning the mass murder in Pusztavám.

This is a very important book; one that deserves to be read by a wide audience. Scholars and students interested in the Holocaust in Hungary and the Holocaust in general will find this study fascinating. It should also be read by individuals interested in both Hungarian-German history and Hungarian as well as East Central European history more generally. When this reviewer conducted research on the Hungarian Germans, it was quite difficult to find material on Hungarian Germans and the Holocaust. This book provides a starting point for further research and should also spark a more thorough conversation about what scholars can learn from such testimonies.

Chattanooga John C. Swanson

[2] https://sfi.usc.edu/about (2021-10-31).

Violent Resistance. From the Baltics to Central, Eastern and South Eastern Europe 1944–1956. Hrsg. von Michael Gehler und David Schriffl. Ferdinand Schöningh. Leiden u. a. 2020. XI, 457 S. ISBN 978-3-506-70304-0. (€ 72,90.)

In recent years, historians have begun to devote increasing attention to a fact of which many inhabitants of Eastern Europe have long been aware: that violence and warfare did not end with the German capitulation in May 1945. After the defeat of the Axis powers, paramilitary and partisan groups engaged in armed struggle, and efforts to resist Communist rule and Soviet hegemony continued across the eastern half of the European continent for years.

This is the focus of the collection edited by Michael Gehler and David Schriffl, which contains 18 contributions from a conference on "Armed Resistance in Eastern Europe between 1945 and 1956" held in Vienna in 2017. It brings together well-researched articles about the "postwar" anti-Communist resistance in almost all the countries of Eastern Europe. (The exception is Latvia and its role in the guerrilla war of the "Forest Brothers" across the Baltic countries until 1956.) Not only does the collection reveal the extent of the violence that affected Eastern Europe after 1945, it also sheds light on contemporary European politics. As Schriffl notes in the introduction, the contributions clearly show "the importance that national narratives now give to the anti-Communist resistance as a focal point of self-identification" (p. 3).

What is the picture that emerges from the detailed accounts assembled here? It comes as no surprise that the resistance struggles in the various countries of Eastern Europe showed considerable diversity. As Sch. points out, "Every country, every society fought its own battles" (p. 10). Some (like in Lithuania) were more successful than others (e.g., Estonia) in mobilizing a significant military force; in some instances, resistance groups had grown out of the struggle against German occupation (e.g., the Armia Krajowa in Poland), while in others supporters of the resistance had collaborated with the Germans against the Soviet Union (e.g., in the Baltic countries). In some cases (e.g., in Ukraine) there was unofficial friendly interaction between anti-Communist and Soviet forces; and while some (e.g., the Forest Brothers, particularly in Lithuania) engaged in significant military vio-

lence and suffered thousands of casualties, in Czechoslovakia, anti-Communist resistance was "predominantly non-violent" (p. 183). In the Yugoslav lands, where postwar Communist rule was the product of home-grown partisans rather than Soviet pressure, and where postwar violence was substantial, the Tito regime was more than capable of hunting down its enemies; in Hungary, there was no substantial resistance during the immediate postwar period, but an explosion of anti-Soviet violence in 1956.

It thus is difficult to disagree with Monica Ciobanu (quoted by Roland Clark in his contribution on Romania) that "there is no single master narrative of repression and resistance to Soviet occupation and communization" (p. 310). Nevertheless, the resisters did share common features: they opposed Communism in Eastern Europe; they were nationalist and supported national independence (and many, such as the Romanian legionaries, saw their struggle as a defense of religion); they received support from rural populations opposed to collectivization; their proponents often received help from Western intelligence organizations and hoped (in vain, as it turned out) for Western military intervention against the Communist regimes; they were examples of what we now describe as asymmetric warfare (discussed in a general essay by Keith Dickson and referred to by a number of the contributors); and, by the mid-1950s, they had been crushed.

Many postwar resistance movements had roots in the period of German occupation—in some cases they had collaborated with the Wehrmacht, and in other cases had fought against the German occupiers—and a number of the contributions (e.g., those on Poland and Ukraine) devote space to the often complicated origins of these movements. Nevertheless, the resistance struggles in Eastern Europe after the Second World War were all fueled by a combination of anti-Communism and nationalism; in the words of a resistance group in Bulgaria, their fight was against "Russian slavery and communist terror" (p. 404). These interests were bound up with one another: as Beata Katrebova Blehova notes for Slovakia, "it is hardly possible to separate primarily anti-Communist resistance from the nationalist component" (p. 193). Not only did Communism—in the shape of collectivization and persecution of political enemies of the Left—alienate and threaten the lives and livelihoods of millions of people, but its servility to the USSR also appeared to betray national identity and national interest. More positively, anti-Communist resistance could serve as a means of building and mobilizing national identity.

At the same time, close examination of those associated with the resistance struggles reveals that motives could be less than clear-cut, that the anti-Communist resistance movements were often permeated with xenophobia and antisemitism, that contingency and opportunism often played a significant role, and that it would be mistaken to view them as straightforward expressions of ideological commitment. This observation cuts across both the narrative favored by the USSR and its satellites in which resisters appear as "bandits" and "fascists" (a label that in some cases was richly deserved, as Alexander Statiev makes clear in his description of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), and that favored by post-1990 nationalists who look to the resisters to find heroes and regard the postwar anti-Communist underground as "the cornerstone of national historical policy" (as Rafał Wnuk notes in his analysis of Poland following the electoral success of the Law and Justice Party in 2015 (p. 112)).

Much of this collection details the campaigns to suppress the resistance movements; such research has become possible since the collapse of Eastern European socialism because historians now have access to the files of security apparatuses. The failure of the Western powers to intervene openly on the side of the resisters (despite the hopes and expectations of many of them, and despite the covert efforts of the CIA), the overwhelming force at the disposal of the Stalinist state, and the successful combination of repression, persecution, and de-escalation made this inevitable. It was not until the 1980s that popular opposition to Communist rule regained momentum and eventually proved successful. In a sense, the postwar states of Eastern Europe are heirs—both for good and for ill—of the failed anti-Communist resisters of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

The articles assembled here serve important functions, both individually and collectively. Some tend to be more analytical (e.g., Olaf Mertelsmann on Estonia); others tend more towards the descriptive (e.g., Vykintas Vaitkevičius on Lithuania, or Cosmin Budeancă's account of armed anti-Communist resistance in Romania); and some (e.g., Ioana Ursu's fascinating discussion of women in the Romanian anti-Communist resistance, and Valentin Voskresenkski's fine wide-ranging discussion of the Goryani movement in Bulgaria) admirably combine the two. Many contributions include useful, often extensive guides to the literature in the languages of the countries being investigated and to sources of documentary evidence. Together these shed considerable light on Europe's early postwar years, and thus on contemporary European history more generally. This collection will therefore serve as a valuable reference work, and clearly was intended as such—a reason that the publication is in English, enabling it to reach a wider international readership (although in places the prose might have benefited from a more rigorous editorial hand). For similar reasons, a glossary of the (very numerous) abbreviations in the articles would also have been useful.

Nevertheless, this collection could have been enhanced with an extended introduction (or concluding essay) outlining the broader context of the materials presented and addressing general interpretative themes: How does our understanding of this violent resistance change the ways in which we understand the history of postwar Europe generally? Is the phenomenon presented in so many richly detailed articles simply a matter of doomed anti-Communist rebellion as the Stalinist tyranny was imposed in Eastern Europe? How does the story that unfolds here contribute to what might be described broadly as memory politics in Eastern Europe?

In sum, this collection comprises an important work of reference, buttressed by well-drawn maps and useful bibliographies. While it offers a wealth of detail about the postwar struggles in Eastern Europe, the impression persists that the forest is sometimes being missed for the trees.

York Richard Bessel

Lukasz Krzyzanowski: Ghost Citizens. Jewish Return to a Postwar City. Aus dem Poln. von Madeline G. Levine. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, MA 2020. 333 S., Ill. ISBN 978-0-67-498466-0. ($ 35,–.)

"Shortly after liberation, Jewish survivors returned to their native villages, towns, and cities, but no one awaited them; no relatives, friends, or neighbors were there to greet them." And their former homes "were occupied by others and no longer belonged to them."[1] An increasing library of scholarship has documented the unthinkable yet sadly human tragedy that befell Holocaust survivors in immediate postwar Poland, when a great many of their non-Jewish neighbors met them with hatred, even violence, rather than Christian compassion or pity. While Jan Gross's graphic 2006 investigation of the 1946 Kielce pogrom triggered extensive scholarly and popular discussions,[2] Lucjan Dobroszycki's 1994 classic (quoted above) laid the groundwork for such research with its sweeping analysis of the circa 230,000 Jews across immediate postwar Poland, of whom only 89,000 remained by March 1947 and 5–7,000 after the antisemitic persecution of 1968/69.[3] Like Dobroszycki, many researchers were survivors themselves: Szimon Redlich wrote about his formative years in the short-lived Łódź community,[4] while Jakob Egit revisited his experiences as the leader of a community in Lower Silesia, where chaos amid the expulsion of Germans temporarily spared Jews from persecution on the scale of that in the

1 Lucjan Dobroszycki: Survivors of the Holocaust in Poland, Armonk 1994, p. 5.
2 Jan Gross: Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz, Princeton 2006.
3 Dobroszycki, pp. 26–27.
4 Szimon Redlich: Life in Transit: Jews in Postwar Lodz, 1945–1950, Boston 2010.