Sovietisation and Violence. The Case of Estonia. Hrsg. von Meelis Saueauk und Toomas Hiio. (Proceedings of the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory, Bd. 1.) University of Tartu Press. Tartu 2018. 335 S., Tab. ISBN 978-9949-77-824-9. ($ 19,95.)
Toimik „Priboi". Artikleid ja dokumente 1949. aasta märtsiküüditamisest [The File on Operation „Priboi". Articles and Documents on the Deportations of March 1949]. Hrsg. von Meelis Saueauk und Meelis Maripuu. (Proceedings of the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory, Bd. 2.) University of Tartu Press. Tartu 2019. 534 S., Ill., Kt., Tab. ISBN 978-9949-9687-1-8. (€ 16,–.)
Propaganda, Immigration, and Monuments. Perspectives on Methods Used to Entrench Soviet Power in Estonia in the 1950s–1980s. Hrsg. von Meelis Saueauk und Meelis Maripuu. (Proceedings of the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory, Bd. 3). University of Tartu Press. Tartu 2021. 280 S., Ill., Tab. ISBN 978-9949-9687-6-3. (€ 16,–.)

The three books under review are the first volumes in a new series produced by the Estonian Institute of Historical Memory (Eesti Mälu Instituut), founded in 2008 at the suggestion of the then-president of Estonia, Toomas Ilves. The institute's work focuses on Estonia's experience of violence and seizure of power by the USSR, the establishment of communist rule in Estonia, and the memorialization of victims of terror in post-Soviet Estonia and other post-communist countries.

The contributions in the first volume focus on the forced, violent (re-)establishment of Soviet power in Estonia in the years following World War II. Nearly all the articles are translations of work that has appeared in Estonian in the past decade. Although the making of Soviet Estonia should include understanding how everyday experience changed in these decades, this aspect of Sovietization—whether defined as collaboration or as simple adaptation—is not emphasized here.

The term "Sovietization" of Estonia is not easily defined. In the volume's initial essay "How to Define Sovietization?," Olaf Mertelsmann circles back in his definition to the source of the violence: it was the "adoption, transfer and imposition of elements of the Soviet model of power and social structure" (p. 30). Aivar Niglas, in his essay on systematizing Soviet repressions and coercive measures—from investigations of individuals to imprisonment—focuses on normative and non-normative measures, but central is the fact that the Soviet state was not based on the rule of law.

Tõnu Tannberg, the leading historian of the forced incorporation of Estonia into the USSR, shows in his contribution "The Baltic Question in the Kremlin in the Last Months of 1944" that, as in western Ukraine and Belarus, Moscow sought to suppress resistance in the Baltic countries with the coordinated efforts of the central security apparatuses. In Estonia, widespread arrests began even before all the German forces had been pushed out of the country. Throughout the Baltic, nearly 19,000 arrests were made from mid-November 1944 to the end of that year, with the most coming in Lithuania.

Eli Pilve examines how the Soviet state treated family members of those declared to be "enemies of the people." Controlling access to higher education was a key method, though after Stalin's death one's political activity as a youth was more important than whether one's parents had been bourgeois "exploiters" or intellectuals in independent Estonia. Peeter Kaasik writes about Soviet authorities' use of forced psychiatric treatment as a political tool in Soviet Estonia. Meelis Saueauk emphasizes the central role that *spetskadry*—security, military, and defense officials—had in the Estonian SSR within the nomenklatura. Since the USSR again took control of Estonia in 1944 and 1945, all heads of departments in the People's Commissariat for State Security (NKGB) were outsiders—officials who had served in the security apparatus in the USSR even before Estonia's occupation in 1940. Indrek Paavel looks at coercive methods in the countryside such as forced procurement through the use of low state-set prices and sales quotas with the aim of "putting food at the disposal of the state" (p. 250).

Ivo Juurvee examines some 44 books published in Soviet Estonia between 1960 and 1990 that aligned with the KGBs "operational interests." Postulating direct KGB involve-

ment, he concludes from these works of non-fiction as well as belle-lettres that the KGB in Estonia directed half of its publishing efforts toward the domestic Estonian audience and the rest towards Estonians living abroad in diaspora and Russophones in the Estonian SSR.

Hiljar Tammela considers the fear of deportation many Estonians felt throughout the 1940s after some 10,000 Estonians were deported to Siberia in June 1941. A contribution by the leading Estonian historian of forced migration, Aigi Rahi-Tamm, compares "lives of separated people"—Estonians who were taken to Siberia in the years after Soviet occupation and Estonians who fled to the West. Together they are "stories of broken families" that have both "caused a sense of guilt, accusations and estrangement" (p. 304).

What is the link between Sovietization in Estonia and the violence and repression its people suffered? In what historical soil were they rooted? Toomas Hiio, in an essay published here for the first time, suggests that the suffering of the Estonian people in the twentieth century was due to its being a "Communist Century." Saueauk and Tannberg point more directly to the Kremlin. At issue for them is the origin of the orders for the massive March 1949 deportations of Estonians to Siberia (the subject of the second book here on review). While formally the USSR Council of Ministers in January 1949 stated that the deportations were requested by the new Soviet governments of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian SSRs, the decision had already been made by Stalin and his inner circle, which included party functionary Georgii Malenkov and security chief Lavrentii Beria.

The scholarship in all the volumes here under review carries new significance since Russia's invasion of Ukraine that began in 2014 and then vastly expanded in February 2022. The writings in this volume help us to see the Soviet experience in Estonia in greater detail, but more study is needed of fundamental causes. The labels of "Sovietization" and "communism" cloud our view of basic causes, particularly those that originated outside of Estonia.

In the second volume, Estonian historians examine the forced deportations of over 20,000 people from the Estonian SSR to Siberia in March 1949. The volume's emphasis is on establishing facts and presenting key archival documents. This violent action—Operation "Priboi" [Ocean Surf]—was directed against all three Soviet Baltic republics and included deportations of some 40,000 Latvians and 33,000 Lithuanians. For all three countries, this was the second wave of mass deportations by the USSR: some 44,000 Balts had been deported to Siberia in May and June 1941. This volume is a major contribution to the scholarship on these deportations, though it should be noted that the entire volume is in Estonian. A full history of Operation "Priboi" will perhaps one day be written; it will likely require a historian who can read Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian.

The March 1949 deportations hit Latvia and Estonia the hardest, with some 2 percent of the entire population deported. Moscow's purpose—aided by the collaboration of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian Communist Party leaders—was to convince people to join *kolkhozy* and remove *kulaky*, but also to push aside anyone thought to oppose Soviet rule. As Saueauk and Tannberg write in the introductory chapter, the overarching purpose was to "establish firmer control over the conquered [Baltic] territories" (p. 27). Not only wealthier Estonians, but individuals identified by Soviet security forces as "nationalist bandits" were also included. Entire families were deported to settlements in Siberia; as many as two-thirds of deportees were women and children.

These were parts of a massive wave of Soviet-forced deportations of peoples in the years after World War II, which including the 1947 deportation to Siberia of over 114,000 Ukrainians from the western parts of the Ukrainian SSR (Serhii Plokhy writes that more than 180,000 were deported[1]) and then, in June 1949, deportations from the Moldovian SSR (35,000 people) to Siberia, as well as deportations of Greeks, Turks, and Armenians

[1] SERHII PLOKHY: The Gates of Europe: A History of Ukraine, New York 2015, p. 286.

from the eastern littoral of the Black Sea and the trans-Caucasian republics (58,000 people) to Kazakhstan.

The next two contributions in volume 2 are by the two leading historians of the 1949 deportations: Andres K a h a r writes about how the Soviet security forces prepared to carry out the arrests, and Rahi-Tamm about the transportation on trains to Siberia and settlement upon arrival, writing that "[d]eportation involves thousands of personal tragedies" (p. 79). Only after 1958 were most deportees allowed to return home. Kaasik considers whether, from the point of view of Moscow and Estonian communists, Operation "Priboi" was a success. Local officials were satisfied with the results, for armed resistance to Soviet rule decreased (including activity of the forest brothers). But no one was sure how Kremlin officials felt or what further steps they might order. "In fear of deportations no one could feel safe, not even those active in supporting the Soviet project," (p. 134) Kaasik concludes. Niglas examines the process of releasing those deported to return to their homeland, Marko O d a m u s considers the deportations as crimes against humanity, and Hiio examines how surviving deportees began organizing during the *perestroika* era and how Estonia and Estonians today honor those who suffered.

The strength of this volume is the articles' thorough grounding in archival documents, and just over half of the pages of this volume are reproductions, in Estonian translation, of the contents of archival documents. Included are several documents from archives in the Russian Federation containing orders for the March 1949 deportations in all three Baltic republics. The bulk of the reproduced documents come from a large archival file on the deportations compiled in the NKGB office in the Estonian SSR. The file, now held in the National Archives of Estonia in Tartu, is titled "Materials on the case 'Priboi' for 1949" (Materialy po delu "Priboi" za 1949 god). Here are reports by local security officials charged with loading people onto trains; reports from within the Ministry of State Security (MGB) on agent operations in carrying out the deportations; and the numbers of men, women, and children deported from each locality. The names of security agents are often included, but the victims remain nameless. These documents state clearly and unemotionally—bureaucratically—the crimes committed against over 20,000 Estonian citizens in March 1949.

The third volume under review—*Propaganda, Immigration, and Monuments*—focuses on Soviet ideological and demographic pressure in Estonia throughout the 1950s to the 1980s. The articles, all appearing here for the first time, provide a more in-depth examination of key aspects of Estonia's Soviet experience than has thus far been available in English.

In his evaluation of informational reports (*informatsionnye svodki*) delivered within the Communist Party's Organizational-Instructional Department in the years 1944 to 1950, Tammela finds that the party was keeping a close eye on society, reporting on the degree to which the October Revolution holiday (7 November) was appropriately celebrated. Reports in 1947 evaluated efforts to end the use of rural wage workers in the countryside—to "de-kulakize" the rural population. Tammela poignantly notes how one farmer was positively acknowledged in one report for not hiring additional laborers, though he needed help as his three sons had been killed in the war (p. 34).

The history of how the state encouraged individuals from elsewhere in the Soviet Union to migrate into the Estonian SSR is outlined in some length by Kaasik. While the basic developments are known, his essay is now the best account in English of this important part of Estonia's recent history. Industrializing development of sectors of the economy such as oil shale production, commercial fishing, and urban housing construction was pushed, as was integrating parts of the Estonian economy into the all-Union economy across the USSR. The growth of the population by 200,000 between 1945 and 1955—nearly a quarter of Estonia's population in 1945—was actually only two-fifths of the population growth that Soviet officials had planned. The influx of immigrants (overwhelmingly Russophones) increased in the 1960s and 1970s—to the point that even Estonian com-

munist party leaders began objecting. Kaasik reviews the weakening of the position of the Estonian language that resulted. In this reviewer's evaluation, more thinking is needed to explore how Estonia's changing past demographic picture is related to current trends of associating identity as "Estonian" with one's citizenship and not only native language.

A chapter on the history of the Supreme Soviet in the Estonian SSR, by Olev Liivik, focuses particularly on the demographic makeup of these legislative bodies that convened between 1940 and 1990. He finds that Estonians and non-Estonians (Russophones) were overall represented proportionally, though women were severely underrepresented, never exceeding a third of the deputies, and that the level of education of deputies steadily rose.

Since the Estonian state's 2007 move to dismantle the "Bronze Soldier" monument to Soviet soldiers in Tallinn, monuments have been a hot topic in Estonian history. In the present volume, Argo Kuusik deals with the Soviet authorities' destruction in 1940/41 and 1945 of monuments to Estonia's War of Independence of 1918/19, and Hiio writes about the large ensemble of Soviet monuments built beginning in 1940 up to the end of Soviet rule in the sea-side Maarjamäe district of Tallinn on a site where a German military cemetery had been located from 1941 to 1944. The first monuments here were erected to honor Red Baltic fleet sailors executed both during Estonia's War of Independence and by German forces in World War II. Later Soviet-era additions in the 1960s and 1970s were to honor those who fought for Soviet power in Estonia. Hiio concludes: "the Maarjamäe memorial reflects the history of the development of Soviet ideology's external monuments in Estonia from the very beginning right through to the end" (p. 227). It should be pointed out that a major memorial was completed next to this Soviet-era ensemble in 2018, namely, the Maarjamäe Memorial to the Victims of Communism in Estonia from 1940 to 1991. On the sides of two parallel black walls reaching as high as 16 meters and extending for 200 meters in length are inscribed the names of tens of thousands of people who were killed while Estonia was under Soviet control or who died in Soviet prisons, prison camps, or in forced exile.

Elmar Gams provides an outstanding contribution to understanding Vladimir Putin's interpretation of World War II that blames Western states for Nazi aggression. Putin's views on the war find their origin, Gams writes, in a 60-page booklet published by the Soviet state in 1948 with edits made by Stalin himself—*Falsifikatory istorii* (Falsifiers of History). The booklet was published as a response to the publication of documents from the German Foreign Ministry on German-Soviet relations in 1939 and 1940, including the text of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The Soviet publication blamed Britain, France, and the United States for pushing Nazi Germany toward conflict with the USSR and benefitting financially from involvement in the German arms industry. Gams sees 2009 as a turning point: in this year then-President Dmitrii Medvedev established a presidential commission directed against "attempts to falsify history to the detriment of Russia's interests." Scholars studying the turn in Russian historiography will benefit greatly from Gams's work. For Estonia the study of Russian state-sponsored historiography is crucial: Russian praise of Stalin's actions on the western front is seen as approval of Soviet occupation.

Perhaps oddly, this volume concludes with an extended review by Hiio of a 2020 memoir by the British-American political scientist Peter Reddaway, *The Dissidents: A Memoir of Working with the Resistance in Russia, 1960–1990*. Hiio seems to agree with Reddaway's argument for the collapse of the USSR as rooted in a misguided faith in communism; failure to effectively manage the economy; opposition within society (though Hiio slightly misstates Reddaway's view, altering Reddaway's third cause of collapse—"the rise, despite official persecution, of independent thinking and action"[2]—to "the activeness of dissidents", p. 279); and modifying Reddaway's own final cause ("a wide-

[2] PETER REDDAWAY: A Memoir of Working with the Resistance in Russia, 1960–1990, Washington, D.C. 2020, p. 290.

spread popular suspicion that democracy will never work in Russia"[3] to "the belief, which has taken root in Russia's inhabitants, that democracy is not possible in Russia", p. 280).

New Haven Bradley Woodworth

[3] Ibid., p. 293.

Growing in the Shadow of Antifascism. Remembering the Holocaust in State-Socialist Eastern Europe. Hrsg. von Kata Bohus, Peter Hallama und Stephan Stach. CEU Press. Budapest u. a. 2022. 340 S., Ill. ISBN 978-963-386-435-7. ($ 85,–.)

Der vorliegende Sammelband geht auf die internationale Konferenz „Suppressed Historiography – Erased Memory?", organisiert vom Aleksander-Brückner-Zentrum für polnische Studien der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg und vom Jüdischen Museum in Prag im Jahr 2015 zurück.

Es geht den Hrsg. und Beiträgern des Bandes um die Infragestellung der langfristig wirksamen These, dass die Erforschung des Holocaust und die Erinnerung daran in den osteuropäischen Ländern während des Kalten Kriegs in Gänze unterdrückt, ausgelöscht oder im Rahmen der antifaschistischen Doktrin politisch instrumentalisiert worden sei. Gegen diesen „Mythos des Schweigens"[1] wollen sie mit einer Bottom-up-Perspektive aufzeigen, dass Antifaschismus kein monolithisches Propagandanarrativ war, sondern abhängig von den jeweiligen zeitlichen und lokalen Kontexten und Personengruppen unterschiedliche Bedeutungen annehmen und somit auch die Judenverfolgung einbeziehen konnte: Überlebende des Holocaust, jüdische, aber auch nichtjüdische Aktivisten, Historiker, Schriftsteller, Künstler und Journalisten nutzten die – wenngleich deutlich limitierten – Handlungsspielräume des antifaschistischen Rahmennarrativs, um an den Holocaust in Osteuropa zu erinnern. Die Aufsätze beziehen sich auf die DDR, Polen, die Tschechoslowakei, Ungarn und Teile der Sowjetunion in einer längeren Zeitspanne vom Ende der 1940er bis in die 1980er Jahre.

Der erste von vier thematischen Blöcken beschäftigt sich mit der Historiografie: Hier werden zum einen die Aktivitäten des jüdisch-kommunistischen Historikers Helmut Eschwege in der DDR sowie das breite Schaffen des tschechischen Historikers Miroslav Kárný in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren – die allgemein als eine Zeit charakterisiert werden, in der die Erinnerung an den Holocaust repressiv unterdrückt wurde – untersucht. Zum anderen nehmen Katarzyna Person und Agnieszka Żółkiewska exemplarisch die frühen Publikationen des Jüdischen Historischen Instituts in Warschau in den Blick. Sie zeigen auf, welche Strategien die Verantwortlichen des Instituts verfolgten, um Schriftzeugnisse aus dem Ringelblum-Archiv veröffentlichen zu können: So nahmen sie eigenständig Anpassungen von Textstellen vor, um der staatlichen Zensur zuvorzukommen und den Wiederaufbau jüdischen Lebens in Polen nicht zu beeinträchtigen. Sie konnotierten etwa kommunistische Parteimitglieder positiver und ließen Textstellen bezüglich der Komplizenschaft von nichtjüdischen Polen aus. Die Herausgeber veränderten zudem aber auch Textstellen, die Tabus wie etwa die Jüdische Polizei betrafen.

Der zweite Teil behandelt ungarische, litauische und polnische Gedenkorte mit Bezug zur Verfolgung der Juden. Kata Bohus zeigt für Ungarn auf, dass auch in den Nachkriegsjahren unter dem kommunistischen Parteiführer Mátyás Rákosi, die generell als eine Zeit des „Schweigens" angesehen werden, in den Gedenkfeiern der jüdischen Gemeinde für die „Kriegsmärtyrer" an den Holocaust erinnert wurde. Während sich Gintaré Malinauskaité mit dem Museum im IX. Fort in Kaunas beschäftigt, widmet sich Yechiel

[1] HASIA R. DINER: We Remember with Reverence and Love. American Jews and the Myth of Silence after the Holocaust, 1945–1962, New York 2009; DAVID CESARANI, ERIC J. SUNDQUIST (Hrsg.): After the Holocaust. Challenging the Myth of Silence, London 2012.