

perspective of the “perpetrator,” based as it is in German documents. This approach is certainly not inappropriate, but if the book is intended as “an exploration of the wartime ordeal of Poles” (12), it could offer the reader a stronger sense of how Poles in the annexed territories experienced and reacted to the terrors and suffering brought about by Nazi policy, whether in the context of evacuation for forced labor in the Reich or deportation to the Generalgouvernement. These criticisms should not, however, detract from the importance of Rutherford’s contribution or what is perhaps his most striking conclusion: that Nazi *Polenpolitik* “grew more rational and less racially motivated as the regime came to realize the military and economic value of its Polish subjects” (215–16). Thus, Nazi policy toward Wartheland Poles was not characterized by what analysts of the “final solution” have described as “cumulative radicalization,” but by growing pragmatism. “In effect,” Rutherford continues, “it apparently ‘de-radicalized’ as time passed, gradually evolving from the initial unrealistic plans to deport approximately 80 percent of the Polish population in the incorporated territories immediately . . . to the point that all Poles capable of work were exempted from evacuation in early 1941” (216). If Nazi *Polenpolitik* and Nazi *Judenpolitik* developed in opposite directions, this suggests that our investigation of the relationship between the two is only in its early stages, but Rutherford’s signal contribution will stand as an appropriate point of departure for further inquiry.

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Shared History—Divided Memory: Jews and Others in Soviet-Occupied Poland, 1939–1941. Ed. Elazar Barkan, Elizabeth A. Cole, and Kai Struve. Leipzig: Leipziger Beiträge zur Jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur, no. 5. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007. 390 pp. Notes. Figures. Tables. Map. €54.00, hard bound.

Written in the shadow of Jan Tomasz Gross’s *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (2001) and the ensuing Jedwabne debate, this valuable collection of thirteen essays originates from an international workshop of scholars held in Leipzig in January 2005. Sponsored jointly by the Simon Dubnow Institute for Jewish History and Culture (Leipzig), the Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (Salzburg), and the Carnegie Council on Ethics and International Affairs (New York), the conference, “Interethnic Relations in the Soviet-Occupied Territories of Poland, 1939–1941,” explored the possibility of “bridging conflicting narratives” (17) of the period in question. The resulting volume represents a measured and scholarly discussion of Ukrainian-Jewish, Belarusian-Jewish, Lithuanian-Jewish, but, first and foremost, Polish-Jewish relations and tensions in Soviet-controlled eastern Poland during the first twenty-two months of World War II. It goes far toward advancing the long-term objective of the editors, contributors, and sponsoring organizations, namely the creation of a truly “shared narrative” of this turbulent and controversial chapter in twentieth-century eastern European history, a noble goal in its own right, but one also meant to facilitate mutual understanding and reconciliation between the relevant ethnic groups, and particularly between Poles and Jews.

That elements of the Christian population of eastern Poland participated in the murder of their Jewish fellow citizens following the German invasion in June 1941 is no longer in question. Nor is the fact that a much larger segment looked on with indifference, if not satisfaction. The question that remains is why. One explanation among many—and one central to this volume—is that the gentle ethnic groups in the east, above all the Poles, firmly believed in a special affinity between Jews and communists, that they wholeheartedly embraced the myth of the “Judeo-commune” (*żydo-komuna*). “The prevalent view among Poles,” the editors write, “was that the Jews had joyously welcomed the Soviet invasion in September 1939; in addition, Jews supposedly had played an important role in the local Soviet power apparatus in the subsequent period, and in this role had contributed significantly to the persecution of Poles, profited from their suffering, and thus had committed ‘treason’” (24–25). These essays explore the background of the “Judeo-commune”

syndrome, as well as other longer-standing anti-Jewish stereotypes, evaluate relations between Jews and non-Jews during the period of Soviet rule, weigh the supposed “crimes” of Jews under the communists, and present case studies of pogroms that erupted in the wake of the German assault.

Three sections follow an insightful introduction by the editors. The first, “Memory and Historiography,” contains three essays that examine and analyze previous historical research and “national conflicts over memory” surrounding Polish-Jewish and Ukrainian-Jewish relations during the Soviet ascendancy and through the subsequent homicidal events of the summer of 1941. The second and longest section, “Soviet Rule,” treats interethnic contact and conflict within Moscow’s slice of eastern Poland. These seven essays tackle a number of crucial issues, including Jewish attitudes and behavior at the time of the Soviet incursion in September 1939, the posture of the Polish underground toward Jews, deportations from Soviet-occupied territory, the rapidly changing systems of status hierarchies in the Soviet zone, alleged Jewish participation in the communist power structure (which most of the contributors agree has been wildly exaggerated), and interethnic tensions at the local and regional level. The standout here—and, in this reviewer’s opinion, a signature piece in this volume—is Evgenii S. Rozenblat’s study of interethnic relations in the borderlands of western Belarus. Rozenblat identifies and explores three contact spheres between different ethnic groups: “the sphere of political life; the sphere in which people pursued livelihoods; and the sphere of interpersonal relations” (202). He maintains that the Soviet occupation destroyed the traditional hierarchy in which Poles had enjoyed the position of supremacy in the political, economic, and social equation. Jews, on the other hand, experienced a relative, though far from radical, improvement in status. “The former elite, the Poles, were unable to bear such a cultural shock, which stemmed from the loss of statehood and social influence, as well as from the rise of the Jews.” This “cultural shock,” Rozenblat concludes, exacerbated Polish antisemitism and encouraged “the proliferation of xenophobic reactions” (222) in western Belarus. Rozenblat’s argument may well hold validity for the Soviet-occupied territories as a whole, a conjecture that invites further research.

Three case studies comprise the final section, “Pogroms.” These investigate anti-Jewish violence in western Ukraine, western Belarus, and Kaunas, Lithuania, respectively, immediately following the launch of Operation Barbarossa. All three highlight the close connection between German policy—one designed to incite pogroms by exploiting pre-existing antisemitic stereotypes, particularly the myth of the Jewish-Bolshevik menace—and the brutality of local populations.

The editors’ introduction would benefit from a lengthier discussion of German racial-policy objectives and the various directives issued by Reinhard Heydrich of the Reich Security Main Office in June and July 1941 meant to achieve them. The profound antisemitism of a significant portion of the Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Belarusian populations certainly made the wave of antisemitic violence possible, but it was the invasion by purveyors of a murderous antisemitic ideology, hell-bent on manipulating interethnic hostility and fomenting anti-Jewish viciousness, that made it reality.

Shared History—Divided Memory illuminates the complex set of circumstances that produced Jedwabne and numerous other pogroms in the east. Radical nationalism, “modern” antisemitism, “traditional” antisemitism rooted in folk culture, the greed for Jewish property, and the genocidal intentions of the German invaders coalesced in the summer of 1941 to generate a “perfect storm” of looting and slaughter. “The concrete mixture,” as the editors emphasize, “was different in specific localities and regions.” But if there was one factor that was virtually universal, it was that “Jews were identified with communism and held responsible for the suffering of the local non-Jewish populations under Soviet rule” (39). The memory of the “Judeo-commune” is dying a hard death. The appearance of more works such as *Shared History—Divided Memory* will hasten its demise.

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