

(Chicago, 1968)—makes good supplementary reading for any student of Slavic literatures and civilizations. It may be of great service as an antidote to narrow specialization, to taking official propaganda stuff at its face value, and to treating uncritically such blurred, ambiguous, and restrictive notions as “socialist realism.”

TYMON TERLECKI
University of Chicago

THE DANUBE SWABIANS: GERMAN POPULATIONS IN HUNGARY, RUMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA AND HITLER'S IMPACT ON THEIR PATTERNS. By *G. C. Paikert*. *Studies in Social Life*, vol. 10. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1967. xiv, 324 pp. 40 Dutch guilders.

This comprehensive study of the Danube Swabians deals with the ethnically German population in Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia and offers an analysis of their patterns of behavior from their original colonization to the final resettlement. The group numbered one million and a half in 1939. Despite the author's intent to provide an objective and thorough analysis, the study seems stronger in reasoning than in documentation, more explanatory than penetrating; it is aimed primarily at providing some rationale for the apparently inconsistent behavior of the German ethnic group. The author, who observed the Swabians in Hungary at first hand during the 1934–44 period when he headed the department of schooling of national minorities in the Hungarian Ministry of Education, understandably focuses his study on the Hungarian Swabians, only outlining the Yugoslav and Rumanian cases. The Germans in Yugoslavia have been treated recently in the excellent study by Dušan Biber, *Nacizem in Nemci v Jugoslaviji, 1933–1941* (Ljubljana, 1966), which draws on sources not used by Paikert.

The book does not include the German minorities in Dobrudja, Slovenia, Bosnia, and Croatia south of the Sava River. Nonetheless, the task of providing a comprehensive study of a national minority spread over three countries during the last three centuries is too great for one scholar.

The German settlements in the Danubian areas are part of the large-scale colonization that followed the peace of Karlowitz in 1699; the Serbians, Rumanians, and colonists from the Austrian Empire were encouraged to settle the lands along the Turkish border where frequently devastated areas were to become a solid zone with a politically reliable and economically stabilized population. Irrigation, drainage, a network of roads, and later railroads, bridges, and central services, brought the Danubian Lowlands within the political and economic domain of Central Europe, where the reliable German population was supposed to serve as a guarantee and a watchdog.

World War I and the boundary setting which followed dissected the previously contiguous Swabian territory by allocating its portions to reduced Trianon Hungary, to expanded Rumania, and to the newly created Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

Between 1918 and 1933, after the initial disorientation, Swabians retreated to their basic loyalties to Germanism, identified first with the loosely defined German nation, and after 1933 with the increasingly more domineering Great Germany. Lip service was paid to regional loyalties, but the basic ties of the Swabians were to the German local community and to the German nation (p. 82). In the pre-1918 era the pro-Austrian orientation of the Volksdeutsche coincided with laudable patrio-

tism. In the post-1918 period the same patriotism bordered on treason. The reorientation of external linkages of the Volksdeutsche to new institutions did not proceed rapidly or smoothly. Paikert painstakingly traces the behavior of the group, paying greater attention to the expressions of external form than their psychological attitudinal behavior. It is not at all strange that the Volksdeutsche considered Trianon Hungary only a temporary arrangement. The kingdom without a king, the persistent Hungarian claims to Transylvania, and the frequent plans for boundary adjustments evidenced a lack of stability and worked in favor of the Volksdeutsche—to prepare for the time when the 1919 arrangement would be modified.

The events of World War II placed the Swabians in the center of German plans for territorial and political expansion to Southeastern Europe. The presence of Hitler's Germany in the area legitimized their actions and gave them responsibilities which they had been waiting for, though they paid dearly for them at the end of the war. The author narrates the sequence of events in considerable detail, giving the impression that the Swabians only reluctantly followed Nazi policies. This reviewer tends to disagree with the implication that the majority of Germans had no close affiliation with the VDU (Volksbund der Deutschen in Ungarn), and equally rejects the comment that links the anti-German reaction of the Magyars with the presence of the Soviet troops. The elements of resistance and opposition to Germans were present long before, although the massive reaction appeared only with the arrival of the Soviets; the mass killing, expulsion, and evacuation of the 1944–48 period was intertwined in one massive process of eliminating Germans from Hungarian and Yugoslav soil, and it is still difficult to identify the individual trends. The settlement in West Germany, for those who survived, has been so far the last stop, considered either as a return home or as a temporary station on their way to new destinations. The author presents only a short summary of their final settlement.

The book offers a dispassionate narration of the fate of the Swabians and an integrated account of the historical events and social and psychological motivations which accompanied the settling, establishment, growth, and the disappearance of the Swabian ethnic group. The study is worth reading either for the information it provides or for the thoughtful reasoning of the author, more prone to justify than to condemn. The book, nevertheless, portrays the Hungarians as the "good guys," the Swabians as the victims, and the Reich Nazis as the "bad guys." In reality, the distinction has never been so simple and clear.

JOSEPH VELIKONJA
University of Washington

JOSEPH PIŁSUDSKI: A EUROPEAN FEDERALIST, 1918–1922. By M. K. Dziewanowski. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1969. xvi, 379 pp. \$8.70.

Piłsudski's eastern policy, from his assumption of power as head of the new Polish state in November 1918 to the final incorporation of the Wilno area in March 1922, forms the subject of Professor Dziewanowski's study. This was the period when Piłsudski and his colleagues, mostly former comrades from the Polish Socialist Party, strove to build some sort of federation of borderland peoples to fill the vacuum created by the collapse of the tsarist empire. These efforts have received very diverse interpretations; in fact, Piłsudski's federalism is one of the most controversial aspects of his career. It has evoked enthusiasm—and fierce antagonism as well. Soviet historians depict Piłsudski as bent on a restoration of the *ancien régime* throughout the borderlands. "White" Russian polemicists, from their side,