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ETHNIC CLEANSING IN HISTORY¹

As pointed out by José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) in his epoch-making work *The Revolt of the Masses* (1929)², during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the Western World had witnessed the emergence of the common populace to a position of economic and political influence in human society. Being essentially of republican sympathies, and sympathizing with the exploited underclasses of Western Civilization, Ortega readily recognized the positive implications of this mass phenomenon for the people in general. At the same time, however, he feared that this ascendance of the uncouth, boorish, and unwashed masses might lead to civilization's relapse into a new form of barbarism.

The spread of the primitive mass culture associated with the "rise of the masses" was a direct byproduct of the growing acceptance of this mass culture in the name of "human equality." In other words, it was the result of the belief that "all men [humans] are created equal," even though — we all know, or should know — that this belief is based on an outright falsehood. As a matter of fact, every human being is in possession of specific, unique, and distinct physical and mental characteristics and capabilities, which manifest themselves in many different ways and on various levels of competence. This realization appears to undercut the concept of "equality" embodied in the American and the French Revolutions.

¹ This paper is based partially on the first half of the "Introduction" in *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, eds. STEVEN BÉLA VÁRDY, T. HUNT TOOLEY, and AGNES HUSZÁR VÁRDY (New York: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 2003).

Of course, the situation becomes quite different if we take into consideration the self-evident truth — generally denied by the extreme liberals and radicals of today — that the notion of “equality” within the American Constitution is not the “forced equality” of today’s radicals, but rather the belief in the idea of “equal opportunities.”

Ortega was convinced of the “essential inequality of human beings,” and consequently he believed in the unique role of the “intellectual elites” in the shaping of history.³ This fundamental truth was also known to the founding fathers of the American Republic. After all, they themselves were members of this intellectual elite. And it was always the high culture of this intellectual elite that had shaped the development of human civilization. It was this sophisticated and refined high culture that is now being endangered by the rise of the masses and the spread of their boorish culture and uncouth way of life.

Ortega also emphasized the notion that the concepts of “liberty” and “equality” are really mutually exclusive ideas. This notion, by the way, had already been belabored earlier by the Hungarian statesman and political philosopher Baron József Eötvös (1813-1871) in his monumental work, the *Dominant Ideas of the Nineteenth Century*,⁴ in which he asserted that liberty and equality do not

² *La rebellion de las masas*, 1929; English translation: *The Revolt of the Masses*, 1932.

³ *Academic American Encyclopedia* (Princeton, NJ: Arete Publishing Company, Inc., 1980), vol. 14, p. 449.

⁴ Baron JÓZSEF EÖTVÖS, *A XIX. század uralkodó eszméinek befolyása az álladalomra*, 2. vols. (Pest & Vienna, 1851-1854); English version: *The Dominant Ideas of the Nineteenth Century and Their Impact on the State*, translated, edited, annotated and indexed by D. MERVYN JONES, 2. vols. (New York: Social Science Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1996-1997). See also the relevant works by the author of this study, STEVEN BÉLA VÁRDY: *Baron Joseph Eötvös: The Political Profile of a Liberal Hungarian Thinker and Statesman* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1967); *Baron Joseph Eötvös: A Literary Biography* (New York: Social Science Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1987); “Baron Joseph Eötvös on Liberalism and Nationalism,” in *Studies for a New Central Europe*, Ser. 2, no. 1 (1967-1968), pp. 65-73; “Baron Joseph Eötvös: Statesman, Thinker, Reformer,” in *Duquesne Review*, vol. 13, no. 2 (Fall 1968), pp. 107-119; “The Origins of Jewish Emancipation in Hungary: The Role of Baron Joseph Eötvös,” in *Ungarn Jahrbuch*, vol. 7 (1976), pp. 137-166, reprinted as *Duquesne University Studies in History*, no. 6 (1979); and “Baron Joseph Eötvös’s Political Essays in the Cause of Reform during the 1840s,” in *Triumph in Adversity: Studies in Hungarian Civilization in Honor of Professor Ferenc Somogyi on the Occasion of His*

really mash with each other. In light of the distinct and diverse capabilities of every individual, total equality can never be achieved under any circumstances. Moreover, even a moderate form of equality could only be achieved by containing the capable and pushing them down to the level of the mediocre. But constraining the abilities of the intellectual elite would undercut the achievements of human civilization, and would push it back to the low level from which it evolved through the actions of the gifted members of society.

As a disciple of the *Geistesgeschichte* view of human development, Ortega was convinced of the primacy of spiritual and intellectual factors over economic and material forces in the shaping of history. Given these convictions, he feared that the emergence of a mass society — dominated by economic and material considerations, and by the cultural preferences of the masses — would result in the reemergence of barbarism on a mass scale.

That Ortega's fears were partially justified can hardly be doubted in light of the mass exterminations witnessed by several twentieth-century generations of human beings. As we all know, in the second quarter of the past century six million Jews and many thousands of non-Jewish people were exterminated at the orders of a lowborn corporal turned into the unquestioned leader [Führer] of Germany (Hitler). At the same time, about fifty million innocent human beings fell victim to the twisted mind of a Caucasian brigand turned into the "infallible" leader of the homeland of socialism (Stalin). Moreover, since the end of World War II, the world has also stood witness to mass killings, expulsions, and genocides in such widely scattered regions of the world as Cambodia in Southeast Asia, Rwanda in Central Africa, Bosnia and Kosovo in former Yugoslavia, and Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

In looking at these terror actions against ethnic groups, religious denominations, or nationalities — be these mass expulsions, partial exterminations, or genocides — we are often confused how to categorize them. For example, scholars and publicists are particularly confounded at the distinctions or alleged distinctions between

“genocide” and “ethnic cleansing.” The first of these terms came into common use in conjunction with the Jewish Holocaust of the World War II period, while the second term gained currency in the inter-ethnic struggles of Bosnia during the 1990s.

This obfuscation and bewilderment became even more pronounced recently, particularly in consequence of the belated application of one or another of these terms to such earlier events as the so-called “Armenian Holocaust” of 1915,⁵ the Greek-Turkish War and forced population exchange of 1921-1923, and the various population expulsions that took place in consequence of the redrawing of political borders in wake of the two world wars. We know that most ethnic cleansings involve some physical abuse, as well as a number of intended or unintended deaths. We also know that none of the so-called “genocides” were able to exterminate all members of a particular group. (This applies even to the Jewish Holocaust, where the goal was the total extermination of all Jews within the reach of Hitler’s power.) Consequently, in actual practice, the meaning of these two terms often tend to merge. At times it is really difficult to differentiate between “genocide” and “ethnic cleansing,” particularly in light of the fact that the application of violence in some ethnic cleansings often reaches the point of mass killings, thus turning those events into potential genocides.

⁵ The ex post facto application of the term “Holocaust” or “genocide” to the forced transfer of many of Ottoman Turkey’s Armenian population from Turkish Armenia in the north to Cilicia or Lesser Armenia in the south is a hotly debated issue. Many scholars view it as a population transfer that should be called “ethnic cleansing.” Others on the other hand, particularly the survived transferees and their descendants prefer to classify it as the “Armenian Holocaust.” For the Armenian side of the story see ROBERT MELSON. *Revolution and Genocide: On the Origins of the Armenian Genocide and Holocaust* (Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992); VAHAKN N. DADRAN. *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (Providence-Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1995); and VAHAKN N. DADRAN. “The Role of Turkish Physicians in the World War I Genocide of Ottoman Armenians,” in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, vol. 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1986), pp. 169-192. For the Turkish side of that story see MIM KEMAL ÖKE. *The Armenian Question, 1914-1923*. (Oxford: K. Rustem & Brothers, 1988). The American view is represented by STANFORD J. SHAW and EZEL KURAL SHAW. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976-1977), vol. 2, pp. 314-317. See also RONALD SUNY. “Rethinking the Unthinkable: Toward an Understanding of the Armenian Genocide,” in RONALD GRIGOR SUNY, *Looking Toward Ararat: Armenia in Modern History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), pp. 94-115.

While we recognized the difficulty of distinguishing between “genocide” and “ethnic cleansing,” in the conference we organized in the Fall of 2000 at Duquesne University, we tried to limit our attention to events that could *clearly* be classified as „ethnic cleansing” in the sense of population displacements. We were able to do this, because we equated the Jewish Holocaust with “genocide,” that is with “the planned, directed, and systematic extermination of a national or ethnic group;” and “ethnic cleansing” with the forced displacement or expulsion of certain national, ethnic, or religious groups. Naturally, we recognize the fact that the Jewish Holocaust was also, at the same time, a kind of ethnic cleansing, but its nature and scale were of such magnitude that it was more than ethnic cleansing in the conventional sense of that term.

Our working definition of “ethnic cleansing” at this conference, therefore, involved not so much the *destruction*, but rather the *forced removal* of a region’s population from their native territory. We differentiated between these two concepts not only because they were and are qualitatively different, but also because had we included “genocide” as a topic of our conference, most of the participants’ attention would have been taken up by the Jewish Holocaust. There is, of course, hardly a more significant twentieth-century topic than Hitler’s efforts to exterminate the Jews. But precisely for that reason, during the past half a century, it has been the focus of hundreds of scholars, who have produced thousands of volumes on this topic. Not so the topic of “ethnic cleansing” in the sense of “population transfer,” which has largely been ignored until the Bosnian crisis of the 1990s.⁶ In any case, most of the

⁶ On ethnic cleansing in general, see ANDREW BELL-FIALKOFF. “A Brief History of Ethnic Cleansing,” in *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 72, no. 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 110-120; ANDREW BELL-FIALKOFF. *Ethnic Cleansing*. (New York, 1996); DRAZEN PETROVIC, “Ethnic Cleansing. An Attempt at Methodology,” in *European Journal of International Law*, vol. 5, no. 3 (1994), pp. 342-359; ROBERT M. HAYDEN. “Schindler’s Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfer”, in *Slavic Review*, vol. 55, no. 4 (Winter 1996), pp. 727-748; JENNIFER JACKSON PREECE. “Ethnic Cleansing as an Instrument of Nation-State Creation: Changing State Practices and Evolving Legal Norms,” in *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 20 (1998), pp. 817-842; NORMAN M. NAIMARK, *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* [The Donald W. Treadgold Papers, no. 19].

papers at the conference dealt with aspects of population displacements, while at the same time trying to define the meaning of ethnic cleansing. The results of our deliberations appeared in print in the form of the above-mentioned major volume entitled *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*.⁷

Ethnic Cleansing in History

Although the term “ethnic cleansing” has come into common usage only since the Bosnian conflict, the practice itself is almost as old as humanity itself. It reaches back to ancient times. An early example of such an ethnic cleansing was the “Babylonian Captivity” of the Jews in the sixth century B.C. (from 586 to 538 B.C.). After capturing Jerusalem in 586 B.C., King Nebuchadnezzar II (r. 605-561 B.C.), ruler of Babylonia, proceeded to deport the Judeans from their homeland to his own kingdom. In this way he “cleansed” the future Holy Land of most of its native inhabitants.

The Judeans were permitted to return home after nearly fifty years (586-538 B.C.), only to be expelled again six centuries later, this time by the Romans. This second ethnic cleansing of the Jews involved both Jewish kingdoms — Israel and Judea —, and it took place in 70 A.D. This came in wake of the Jewish revolt (66-70/75) against the Romans, chronicled by the historian Flavius Josephus (37-93+ A.D.). Put down by Emperor Vespasian’s (69-79 A.D.) Roman legions, the suppression of this Jewish revolt resulted in the expulsion of all Jews from Palestine, and their being scattered all over the Roman Empire. Not until the birth of the Zionist Movement in the late 19th century — eighteen centuries after the Jewish diaspora — did the Jews begin to trickle back to their ancient homeland. But even in 1918, at the end of World War I, they numbered only 60,000, and thus they constituted less than 10% of the region’s population (60,000 out of 660,000). Moreover, all but a few thousand of these Jews were new arrivals

(Seattle: Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, 2000); and NORMAN M. NAIMARK, *Fires of Hatred. Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁷ See note #1, above.

to the region, who had entered Palestine in the period since the 1880s.⁸

The Romans resorted to this practice of ethnic cleansing a number of times in the course of their imperial history. As an example they implemented this policy in the province of Dacia (former eastern Hungary and Transylvania, since 1920 a part of Romania) two centuries after the dispersal of the Jews. They did so, because Dacia's frontiers had become increasingly indefensible against the onslaught of the Vandals and other German tribes. Thus, in the year 271 A.D., Emperor Aurelian (r. 270-275) ordered the removal and transfer of all of Dacia's partially Romanized population to the south of the Danube River to the province of Moesia (modern Serbia and Northern Bulgaria).

Similar ethnic cleansings took place, but on a much grander scale, in the period of the so-called "barbarian invasions" in the fourth through the sixth centuries. During that period large nation-like tribes — including Germans, Slavs, and various Turkic peoples — moved back and forth between Western and Eastern Europe, and even Central Asia. They forcibly displaced one another, and in this way reshaped the ethnic map of the European continent. This so-called *Völkerwanderung* ("wandering of nations") — which in some instances stretched into the late Middle Ages — brought such peoples as the Huns, Avars, Bulgars, Magyars, Pechenegs, and Cumans into the very heart of Europe. Its aftereffects were felt as late as the thirteenth century, when the Mongols or Tatars invaded Europe, conquered the eastern half of the continent, and then settled down on the lower Volga to rule over the Eastern Slavs (mostly Russians and some Ukrainians) for several centuries.

There were also periodic ethnic cleansings and population relocations also in the course of subsequent centuries, in many parts of the world. Thus, when the Jews were expelled from Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, when the Huguenots were exiled from France in 1685 following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or when the decimated and dislocated population of

⁸ *Academic American Encyclopedia*, vol. 15, p. 44. See also *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., 29 vols. (New York: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company, 1910-1911), vol. 20, pp. 60-626, esp. p. 604.

the Americas was partially replaced by Spaniards, Portuguese, Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Africans. Such ethnic cleansings and population changes also took place during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), when large sections of the Holy Roman Empire became depopulated and subsequently resettled with newcomers, as well as during the Habsburg-Turkish wars of the 16th through the 18th centuries, when Southern Hungary was denuded of its original Magyar inhabitants, only to be resettled by Serbians, Vlachs/Romanians, Germans, and even Frenchmen from the Rhine region.⁹

Ethnic Cleansing as an Official Policy

Although forcible relocations have been practiced for millennia, "ethnic cleansing" as an official policy did not come into being until the 19th century, especially in the United States. Large-scale forcible relocation of various "native peoples" or Indians was introduced in early-nineteenth-century America, and it was done as the official policy of the United State government. Scores of Indian tribes were forced to "migrate" from their native hunting grounds to beyond the Mississippi. At times they left voluntarily to escape violence by the European settlers; at times they departed to search for food and other forms of sustenance; and at times they were being pushed West by other native tribes, who reacted to direct pressures from white settlers from the East.

The process of Indian removal became standardized federal policy in 1830, when the U.S. Congress passed the "Indian Removal Act." Some of the saddest manifestations of this policy, implemented during Andrew Jackson's presidency (1829-1837), was the decimation and expulsion of the affiliated Sauk and the Fox tribes from the Upper Mississippi region to future Iowa and Kansas (Black Hawk War of 1832), the forcible relocation of the Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee nations from the Old Southwest to the so-called Indian Territory that became Oklahoma (Trail of Tears, 1838-1839), and the expulsion of the Seminole Indians from Florida to the same general area (Second Seminole War, 1835-1843). This process

⁹ For a quick reference concerning these events see WILLIAM L. LANGER, *An Encyclopedia of World History* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940), as well as its revised editions in 1948, 1952, 1968, and 1972.

of forcible removals to reservations was repeated countless times from the 1830s through the 1880s, right up to the Battle of Wounded Knee in 1890, where about three-hundred hungry and ragged Sioux Indians were massacred by U.S. Federal troops.¹⁰

In Europe this phenomenon took a slightly different form, but in the end it was equally destructive. This was connected with the birth and spread of an increasingly emotional and intolerant "ethnic nationalism," which by the middle of the 19th century began to equate the "nation" with the "state." This ideology demanded the destruction of large multinational empires that were the products of a long process of historical evolution, which offered a degree of order and permanence to the European state system. It also mandated the redrawing of political frontiers along ethnic-linguistic lines. But in light of Europe's mixed population, clearly definable ethnic boundaries did not really exist anywhere. The planning and establishment of such new, allegedly "nation states," therefore, necessarily involved the need for population transfers. And when such allegedly "nation states" were established, many of the projected population transfers were in fact implemented, at times under the most gruesome circumstances. Other related policies of these newly established "nation states" included forced assimilation, expropriation of property, the use of violence, and in several cases, even mass killings.¹¹

Following World War I, the destruction or mutilation of such long-standing European states as Austria-Hungary (Habsburg Empire), Germany (much of the former Holy Roman Empire), the Russian Empire, and the Ottoman Empire, and the simultaneous creation of nearly a dozen allegedly national, but in fact mostly small multinational states, resulted in the introduction of the practice

¹⁰ See FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA, *The Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1846* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987); BLACK HAWK, *An Autobiography* (1833 ed.), ed. DONALD JACKSON (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990); RONALD N. SATZ, *American Indian Policy in the Jacksonian Era* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975); and GRANT FOREMAN, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986).

¹¹ On the rise of this emphatic ethnic nationalism in the nineteenth century, see the excellent reader by JOHN HUTCHINSON and ANTHONY SMITH, eds., *Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), especially pp. 160-195.

of “ethnic cleansing” in modern Europe. It became a regular policy of the new states, having been more or less “legitimized” by the victorious great powers and peace makers at Versailles. The newly created, reestablished, or radically enlarged “successor states” — particularly Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania in the center; Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey in the south; and to a lesser degree Poland and Lithuania in the north — expelled hundreds of thousands of minority inhabitants from their newly acquired or reassembled territories.¹² Many of these expulsions also involved military encounters among several of these nations and newly created states. The most violent of these confrontations was the Greek-Turkish War of 1921-1923, which resulted in a forced population exchange that compelled 1.3 million Greeks to leave Anatolia (Asia Minor), and 350,000 Turks to evacuate Greek-controlled Thrace.¹³

The climax of this policy of ethnic cleansing came in the wake of World War II, when — based on the erroneous principles of collective guilt and collective punishment — over sixteen million Germans were compelled to leave their ancient homelands in East-Central and Southeastern Europe. At the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences, the leaders of the victorious great powers agreed to truncate Germany and transfer Eastern Germany’s ethnic German population to the remaining portions of the country. They likewise agreed to expel the 3.5 million Germans from the Sudetenland and from such important urban centers of Bohemia and Moravia (the Czech state) as Brünn and Prague — even though these lands

¹² For the Hungarian case and the impact of the Treaty of Trianon, see the classic work by C. A. MACARTNEY, *Hungary and Her Successors: The Treaty of Trianon and its Consequences, 1919-1937*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937, new ed. 1968); ISTVÁN I. MÓCSY, *The Effects of World War I. The Uprooted: Hungarian Refugees and their Impact on Hungarian Domestic Politics, 1918-1921* (New York: Social Science Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1983). One of the most comprehensive of the relevant scholarly volumes, which includes studies by over thirty scholars, is B. K. KIRÁLY, P. PASTOR, and I. SANDERS, eds., *War and Society in East Central Europe. Essays on World War I. A Case Study of Trianon* (New York: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1982).

¹³ See ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey: A Study in the Contact of Civilizations*, 2nd ed. (London-Bombay: Constable and Company, Ltd., 1923); STEPHEN LADAS, *The Exchange of Minorities: Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932); DIMITRI PENTZOPoulos, *The Balkan Exchange of Minorities and its Impact upon Greece* (Paris & the Hague: Mouton & Co., 1962).

and cities have been inhabited by Germans for over seven centuries. A similar policy of expulsion was also applied, although less stringently, to the smaller German ethnic communities of Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia. All in all, 16.5 million Germans may have fallen victim to this officially sponsored policy of ethnic cleansing.¹⁴

Although the Germans were the primary victims of this new policy, the Hungarians were also been subjected to it, especially in Eduard Beneš's reconstituted Czechoslovakia. In the course of 1945-1946, over 200,000 thousand of them were driven across the Danube, most of them in the middle of the winter and without proper clothing and provisions. This so-called "Košický Program" — which became the Czechoslovak government's official policy vis-a-vis the Hungarians¹⁵ — was a smaller version of the "ethnic cleansing" that had been embodied in the so-called Beneš Decrees,¹⁶ and had "cleansed" the artificially constructed Czechoslovak State of all of its German citizens. It is to the credit of Václav Havel, the President of the Czech Republic, that in his former capacity as the last President of Czechoslovakia he acknowledged the

¹⁴ On the post-World War II expulsion of the Germans, see especially ALFRED MAURICE DE ZAYAS, *Nemesis at Potsdam: The Angol-Americans and the Expulsion of the Germans* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1977; 2nd ed., 1979; 3rd ed., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 1989). See also GERHARD ZIEMER, *Deutscher Exodus: Vertreibung und Eingliederung von 15 Millionen Ostdeutschen*. (Stuttgart: Seewald Verlag, 1973); *Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus der Tschechoslowakei*, 2 vols. (Munich: Deutschen Taschenbuch Verlag, 1984); and Heinz Nawratil, *Vertreibungs-Verbrechen an Deutschen* (Munich: Ullstein Verlag, 1987).

¹⁵ Concerning Hungarian expulsions and the fate of Hungarian minorities in the surrounding "successor states" see ELEMÉR ILLYÉS, *National Minorities in Romania: Change in Transylvania* (New York: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1982); JOHN CADZOW, ANDREW LUDÁNYI, and LOUIS J. ÉLTETŐ, eds., *Transylvania: The Roots of Ethnic Conflict* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1983); STEPHEN BORSODY, ed., *The Hungarians: A Divided Nation* (New Haven: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1988); and RAPHAEL VÁGÓ, *The Grand Children of Trianon: Hungary and the Hungarian Minority in the Communist States* (New York: East European Monographs, Columbia University Press, 1989).

¹⁶ See the collection of these "Beneš Decrees" compiled by Professor Charles Udvardy [Wojatsek] of Bishop's University, Canada. For a list of these decrees, see VÁRDY-TOOLEY-VÁRDY, *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, pp. 823-834. The list is also available on the Internet, along with the article: "Ethnic Cleansing in post World War II Czechoslovakia: the presidential decrees of Edward Beneš, 1945-1948." See <http://www.Hungary.com/corvinus> Section: History, Czecho/Slovak-Hungarian affairs.

immorality of the policy. Sadly, however, this acknowledgement was not followed by any effort at compensation or restitution.

The most recent manifestations of ethnic cleansing — at least as far as Central and Southeastern Europe are concerned — were those in the former Yugoslav provinces of Bosnia and Kosovo.¹⁷ These were the actions that popularized the expression “ethnic cleansing” and gave it a definition as distinct from the term “genocide.” The latter term, as we have seen above, implies not only the displacement, but also the mass extermination of the targeted ethnic minority group.

Scholarship on Ethnic Cleansing

While the term “ethnic cleansing” is relatively new, scholars have written about this phenomenon ever since World War I. But they did so largely from the point of view of their own nation, or rather from the vantage point of the real or perceived injustices that their nation had suffered in consequence of the war. Thus, Germans wrote about the unfairness of the Treaty of Versailles (June 28, 1919), the Hungarians about the injustices of the Treaty of Trianon (June 4, 1920), the Bulgarians about the inequities of the Treaty of Neuilly (Nov. 27, 1919), the Turks about the prejudices of the Treaty of Sèvres (Aug. 10, 1920), the Greeks about the punitive nature of the Treaty of Lausanne (July 24, 1923), and the Armenians about the atrocities, exterminations, and forced population transfers they had been subjected to in 1915 and after the war (1923). Western scholars began to deal with this question only belatedly. Allegedly they represented scholarly objectivity, but most of them presented the views of one or another of the “victorious” nationalities, i.e., those who were classified as friendly to the Allied cause during the war. From Hungary’s point of view these so-called “victors” included the Czechs, Slovaks, Romanians, Serbs, Croats, Ukrainians, and in a certain sense even the generally pro-

¹⁷ NORMAN CIGAR, *Genocide in Bosnia: The Policy of “Ethnic Cleansing”* (College Station: Texas A. & M. University Press, 1995); and CHRISTOPHER BENNET, “Ethnic Cleansing in Former Yugoslavia,” in *The Ethnicity Reader: Nationalism, Multiculturalism and Migration*, eds. MONSERRAT GUIBERNAU and JOHN REX (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 122-135.

Hungarian Poles, as well as the otherwise “looser” Austrians. Although they had their own differences, but when it came to the Hungarian question, they formed a solid and unified bloc, which bloc was uniformly anti-Hungarian. They were able to pass on their anti-Hungarian views to various Western statesmen and scholars, who dealt with these issues.

Only one among the well-known Western scholars had Hungarian sympathies. He was Professor C. A. Macartney (1895-1978), an objective British scholar, who wrote a number of significant works about Hungary and the Danube region, where he was willing to point out the unfair treatment that the Western powers have imposed upon Hungary.¹⁸ His works, however, were more than counterbalanced by the writings and activities of the very influential R. W. Seton-Watson [Scotus Viator] and his entourage, who went so far as to attempt to thwart even Macartney’s career.

The primary victims of post-World War II “ethnic cleansing” were the Germans, for over sixteen million of them were expelled from their centuries old homelands. Although much has been written about this post-World War II German expulsion, most of these works were written by Germans for German audiences, and they had very little impact upon the world in general. The reason for this is obvious: After Hitler and the Jewish Holocaust the Germans had enjoyed no sympathy in the West, and certainly none in the East. In point of fact, the generally accepted view was that they really deserved what they got. This was the result of the application of the principle of collective guilt and collective punishment upon the German nation as a whole; a view that appears to be popular even today, although perhaps not as widely as in the postwar years.

Germany’s, or rather remaining Germany’s postwar division into East and West, did not help matters either. East Germany [DDR] became a Soviet puppet state that did what the Soviets wanted it to do, while West Germany [BRD] suffered for decades from guilt complex and self-flagellation, and did very little to

¹⁸ On this great British scholar see BÉLA VÁRDY, “Meghalt C. A. Macartney, a magyar múlt nagy tudósa” [C. A. Macartney, the Great Scholar of the Hungarian Past is Dead], in *Itt-Ott*, vol. 11, no. 2 (1978), pp. 7-9.

point out the basic injustices of these mass expulsions. Only the victims of this unprecedented “ethnic cleansing” bemoaned their fate, but they found few sympathetic ears.

Naturally, there were a number of Western scholars who began to deal with this question. But most of them wrote scholarly books that remained hidden in university libraries, without any meaningful impact upon Western thinking. The only exception may be Alfred Maurice de Zayas, and his books about the German catastrophe that have appeared in reasonably great numbers, and have also been republished several times. The two most significant of these works are his *Nemesis at Potsdam*:¹⁹, and his *A Terrible Revenge*.²⁰ They are both classic works on German ethnic cleansing, which demonstrate conclusively the vengefulness of the victors toward the defeated, as well as their disregard for even the most basic human rights of innocent millions just because they were Germans. The problem is that — notwithstanding their scholarly quality — neither of these books have received the kind of mass publicity they deserved. Thus, the German expulsions — although numerically exceeding all other expulsions — failed to register in the public mind in a way comparable to the more recent ethnic cleansings in Bosnia and Kosovo, or the Jewish Holocaust sixty years earlier. The latter two events are generally known to everyone throughout the world.

There appears to be some change nowadays, which may be the result of the highly publicized cases of ethnic cleansings in former Yugoslavia. In the course of the last few years several books have appeared on ethnic cleansing. The best known and most recent among these are Andrew Bell-Fialkoff’s *Ethnic Cleansing*,²¹ and Norman M. Naimark’s *Fires of Hatred*.²² Particularly important is Naimark’s *Fires of Hatred*. The latter deals with five separate twentieth-century manifestations of ethnic cleansing: (1) the fate of the Armenians and the Greeks of Anatolia in 1915 and after

¹⁹ For de Zayas’s work see note #14, above.

²⁰ ALFRED MAURICE DE ZAYAS, *A Terrible Revenge: The Ethnic Cleansing of the East European Germans, 1944-1950* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993).

²¹ ANDREW BELL-FIALKOFF, *Ethnic Cleansing* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996).

²² For Naimark’s works see note #6, above.

World War I (1923); (2) the Jewish Holocaust during World War II, which was much more than simple “ethnic cleansing”; (3) the Soviet deportation of the Chechens, Ingush and the Crimean Tatars in 1944; (4) the expulsion of the Germans from Poland and Czechoslovakia after the war; and finally (5) the ethnic cleansings in Bosnia and Kosovo in former Yugoslavia during the 1990s.

Naimark’s description of the German expulsions is scholarly, detached, and honest: As he writes: “The ethnic cleansing of Germans... calls forth scenes of horror that beggar description. It is hard to know how many Germans died in the process of deportations.... So many died and committed suicide during the last phase of the war... that out of 11.5 million Germans who were expelled..., 2.5 million died, many from hunger and disease.”²³ It is presumed that the remaining 4.5 to 5 million fled their homeland during the last phase of the war. This mass exodus constituted the largest single forced migration in known history, exceeded only by the largely voluntary, economically motivated “migration” from Europe to North America in the three decades prior to World War I that landed about 25 million Europeans on the American shores.

Ethnic Cleansing Conference at Duquesne University

The papers presented at the “Conference on Ethnic Cleansing” at Duquesne University (November 16-18, 2000) survey much of the process of forced population exchanges in twentieth-century Europe. Organized by the author of the current study — who was aided by Professors T. Hunt Tooley of Austin College and Agnes Huszár Várdy of Robert Morris University — the participants included sixty scholars and a number of survivors from eight distinct countries. In addition to the United States, these included Canada, Britain, Germany, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and Switzerland. Most of the papers presented at this conference appeared in the volume *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (2003), which is the first major scholarly work that combines most of the information about various twentieth-century ethnic cleansings on the European continent.

²³ NAIMARK, *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe* (2000), p. 20.

It seems a strange twist of fate that this first-ever conference on ethnic cleansing in the United States has taken place at an institution, which itself came into being in consequence of a kind of minor “ethnic cleansing” (“religious cleansing”). The latter was Otto von Bismarck’s anti-Catholic crusade known as the *Kulturkampf* (1872-1878), which drove the Religious Order of the Holy Ghost out of Germany. They migrated in 1878 to Western Pennsylvania, where they settled on a hill in the city of Pittsburgh. There they founded an institution of higher learning, known as Duquesne University, which today is one of the major Catholic universities in the United States, with over 10,000 students, who come from over forty states and 115 distinct countries.²⁴

In addition to dealing with the political, sociological, methodological, legal, and philosophical aspects of ethnic cleansing in general, our conference participants and contributors investigated dozens of cases of ethnic cleansings, both during and after World War I and World War II. These include, among others, the expulsion of the Germans by Poles, Czechs, Yugoslavs, and Romanians, the ejection of Hungarians by Slovaks, Romanians, and Serbians, the ouster of Poles by Ukrainians, the purging of the Crimean Tatars by the Russians, the persecution of the Armenians and the Greeks by the Turks, the expulsion of the Turks by the Greeks, the ejection of the Bosnian Muslims, Croats, and the Kosovo Albanians by the Serbians, the ouster of the Muslim Pomaks by the Bulgarians, and even the ethnic cleansing practiced by the French and British colonizers in North America. Thus the nationalities and ethnic/religious groups treated at this conference included the Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians, Rusins, Romanians, Serbs, Croats, Bosnians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Pomaks, Greeks, Turks, Russians, Crimean Tatars, Chechens, Ingush, as well as such German-speakers as the Danubian Swabians, Sudeten Germans, Silesians, Pomeranians, Prussians, and Baltic Germans.

As of all the nationalities who suffered ethnic cleansings in Europe the Germans were the the most numerous, the Duquesne

²⁴ See JOSEPH F. RISHEL. *The Spirit that Gives Light. The History of Duquesne University, 1878-1996* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1997).

University Conference on Ethnic Cleansing also devoted a major portion of its attention to the German problem. About two-thirds of the papers presented at the conference dealt with the post-World War II expulsion of Germans; which also holds true for the published volume. This emphasis on the Germans is the direct result of the fact that of all of the people who were expelled from their European native lands in the course of the twentieth century, over half were Germans. These included the Germans of former Eastern Germany, as well as the German speaking inhabitants of such East Central European states as Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and former Yugoslavia.²⁵ (Here we are now disregarding the Jewish Holocaust with its six-million victims, as well as most of the fifty-million victims of Stalinist terror and slave labor camps, for neither of them fit the definition of "ethnic cleansing" as used at this conference.)²⁶

The conference also dealt with the history of post-Cold War ethnic cleansing in the Balkans. In addition to paying attention to the process and pattern of "ethnic cleansing," some of the invited scholars also dealt with the meaning of that term, which originated in Bosnia during the dissolution of Yugoslavia. It is generally accepted that the word is derived from the Serbo-Croatian *etničko čišćenje*, which is the same as the Russian *etnicheskoe chishchenie*, the German *etnische Säuberung*, or the Hungarian *etnikai tisztogatás*, etc.)²⁷

The studies of ethnic cleansing presented at the above-mentioned conference, which then were incorporated into a book on *Ethnic*

²⁵ Of the 45 papers 21 deal with the Germans, eight with the Balkans, five with the Hungarians, five with ethnic cleansing in general, two with the Greek-Turkish rivalry, and one each with the Armenians, Poles, Tatars, and the Canadian Indians.

²⁶ The six-million victims of the Jewish Holocaust and the fifty-million victims of Stalinist terror each have a huge scholarly literature. For an intensive introduction to the historiography of the Holocaust, see MICHAEL R. MARRUS, *The Holocaust in History*. (New York, 1987). For a sweeping view of the impact of Stalinist terror, see the *Black Book of Communism* (2000), which appeared in numerous languages and takes into consideration communist-inspired terror throughout the world.

²⁷ See NAIMARK, *Fires of Hatred*, pp. 2-3; NAIMARK, *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth Century Europe*, pp 7-8; and JÁNOS MAZSU, "The Shifting Interpretation of the Term 'Ethnic Cleansing' in Central and Eastern Europe," in VÁRDY-TOOLEY-VÁRDY, *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, pp. 743-755.

Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe, represent an earnest attempt to make some sense out of a terrible aspect of twentieth-century history. It was a century that produced such unheard-of scientific achievements, as the radio, television, airplane, atomic power, space travel, computer, Internet, antibiotics, transplantation of human organs, the use of artificial human organs, and so on, while at the same time its barbarity surpassed even the pessimistic vision of Ortega y Gasset.

Thus, this same century witnessed the erosion of individual autonomy and human dignity, the growing disregard for the rule of law, the slighting of the ideals of justice, and the collapse of the sophisticated cultural and intellectual world that had characterized the immediately preceding period. The genteel culture and reserved modes of behavior of the nineteenth century had been replaced by the uncivilized, rude, and boorish proletarian “culture” of the twentieth century — characterized, among others, by the substitution of rock and rap music for the music of Mozart, Johann Strauss, and Puccini.

This uncivilized and uncouth behavior also came to be reflected in the relationship among human beings, and in the lack of respect for their humanity. Never since the Middle Ages have human beings been subjected to the kind of barbarous dehumanization that they were subjected to on such a grand scale as in the twentieth century. There is no doubt that the sorriest examples of this dehumanization included the Jewish Holocaust with its death camps, the Stalinist terror system with its slave labor camps,²⁸

²⁸ On Soviet slave labor camps, know collectively as the GULAG, see the following works: ALEXANDER SOLZHENITSYN, *The Gulag Archipelago*, 3 vols. (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, Inc., 1992); Nanci Adler, *The Gulag Survivor* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); and ANNE APPLEBAUM, *Gulag: A History* (New York: Doubleday Publishers, 2003). For the Hungarian version of this experience see the following works: JÁNOS RÓZSÁS, *Gulag Lexikon* (Budapest: Püski Kiadó, 2000); JÁNOS RÓZSÁS, *Keserű ifjúság - Éltető reménység: Szovjet fogságom naplója* [Bitter Youth - Vivifying Hope. Diary of my Soviet Captivity] (Budapest: Püski Kiadó, 1999); and ILONA SZEBENI, *Merre van magyar hazám? Kényszermunkán a Szovjetunióban, 1944-1949* [Where is My Country Hungary? On Slave Labor in the Soviet Union, 1944-949]. On female inmates of these prison camps, see the following studies by AGNES HUSZÁR VÁRDY, “Forgotten Victims of World War II: Hungarian Women in Soviet Forced Labor Camps,” in VÁRDY-TOOLEY-VÁRDY, *Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-*

and the mass expulsions of millions Europeans (most of them Germans) from their ancient homelands after World War II.

It is to the credit of the United States and to a number of Western countries that “ethnic cleansing” has now been recognized as a crime against humanity. This was the reason behind American and UN intervention in Kosovo in 1999, and it was this consideration that motivated President Bush while running for the American presidency to issue a declaration, which states: “Ethnic cleansing is a crime against humanity, regardless of who does it to whom.” In light of the above, we can at least hope that mass expulsions and other manifestations of ethnic cleansing will cease in the future — at least in the Western World. Germans, Hungarians, Armenians, Greeks, South Slavs, and others who have suffered forced expulsions in the past, fervently hope that they will never be subjected again to such manifestations of inhumanity and dehumanization.

Century Europe, pp. 503-516; “Elhurcolt magyar nők kényszermunkán a Szovjetunióban, 1944-1949 [Captive Hungarian Women on Forced Labor in the Soviet Union, 1944-1949], in *XLII. Magyar Találkozó krónikája* [Proceedings of the Forty-Second Hungarian Congress], ed. LÉL F. SOMOGYI (Cleveland, OH: Árpád könyvkiadó Vállalat, 2003), pp. 161-171; and “Rabszolgák az Urálnál: Magyar nők ‘malenkij robot’-on” [Slaves at the Urals: Hungarian Women on “malenkij robot’], in *Új Horizont* [New Horizon], vol. 31, no. 6 (November-December, 2003), pp. 92-98.