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**ESTONIAN DISPLACED PERSONS IN POST-WAR
GERMANY**

Master's thesis

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ABSTRACT

The immediate aftermath of the Second World War brought about a lot of uncertainty and a great number of displaced persons (DPs) in post-war Germany. During that time around 40 000 Estonians immigrated to Germany. The aim of this thesis is to provide an in-depth understanding of lives of Estonian DPs in post-war Germany under the U.S. occupation zone and to understand how people contextualized their experience in the broader post-war environment. For these purposes two research questions were set: (1) How honestly did Estonian DPs look at their own past history? and (2) How did Estonian DPs represent themselves (to the world)? This is a discourse analysis that is based on the discussions in Estonian DP press and British press. The analysis showed that Estonian DPs press did present Estonian DPs from a perspective, which at times was a bit too idealistic and ignored the true past of Estonia. British press was more on a neutral position and the narratives presented in Estonian DP press were not evident here.

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GLOSSARY

ACA	Allied Control Authority
ADO	Area Division for Occupied Areas under the U.S. Department of State
CCS	Combined Chiefs of Staff
DP	Displaced person
E&CR	Education and Cultural Relations Division
E&RA	Education and Religious Affairs Branch
HICOG	Office of the High Commissioner (of the U.S.) for Germany
ICD	Information Control Division
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
MG	Military Government
OMGUS	Office of Military Government (of the U.S.) for Germany
OWI	Office of War Information
POWs	Prisoners of War
SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

INTRODUCTION

*“I still wonder what became of the majority of us and how they have fared”
Mai Maddisson¹*

Today 70 years has passed since the Allied forces unconditionally defeated Nazi Germany. The end of the war brought about many positive changes and laid foundations to the Europe we know now. At the same time, the immediate aftermath of the war also brought about a lot of uncertainty and a great number of displaced persons (DPs) in post-war Germany.

The overall number of Estonians who emigrated towards the West during World War II is close to around 75 000 to 80 000 individuals. Out of these 40 000 to 45 000 Estonians ended up in Germany². There is also reason to believe that only around 40 000 made it to Germany as approximately 4000-5000³ individuals lost their lives on the way.

40 000 is a significant number of Estonian DPs who all played a role in the creation of Estonian committees, theatre groups, singing choirs, schools, clubs and societies – and at large, to the creation of foreign Estonian diaspora in post-war Germany⁴

The aim of this thesis is to provide an in-depth understanding of lives of Estonian DPs in post-war Germany under the U.S. occupation zone and to understand how people contextualized their experience in the broader post-war environment. In my thesis I will be focusing on the discussions within the Estonian DP community to understand how the Estonian DPs defined themselves, their past history, their relationship with the Third Reich, their desire to move forward and the way they represent themselves for the world.

We will be also exploring the perception of Estonian DPs through British press. “The Times” (London) provides an adequate and international perspective to the DPs in post-war Germany as

¹ Mai Maddisson and Priit Vesilind, *When the Noise Had Ended: Geidlingen’s DP Children Remember* (Woodville, MN: Lakesore Press, 2009), 214.

² Kumer-Haukanõmm, “Teise Maailmasõja Aegne Eestlaste Sundmigratsioon Läände”, *Acta Historica Tallinnensia*, no. 17 (2011), 95-109.

³ Ferdinand Kool. *DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951* (Lakewood, NJ: Eesti Arhiiv Ühendriikides, 1999), 7.

⁴ Later on the creation of diaspora also in America, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, South-America to where many of the Estonian DPs later emigrated.

it looks at the Estonian DPs in the U.S. zone from a general viewpoint. This allows us to compare the narratives between Estonian and British press.

This research is based upon two research questions: (1) How honestly did Estonian DPs look at their own past history? and (2) How did Estonian DPs represent themselves (to the world)?

This thesis is not a study about the post-war German society, but about Estonian DPs experience in post-war Germany. However, brief background to understand the life in Germany in 1945 is provided.

The timeframe analysed in this MA thesis is from 1945 to 1949, from the time when most of the DP camps (in the U.S. zone) opened to the time when most of the DP camps were closed down.

This is a discourse analysis of the Estonian DPs in post-war Germany to understand how did DPs contextualize their experiences in post-war Germany and how did they express that conceptualisation in DP press.

The first part of this MA thesis will focus on Germany in the immediate aftermath of the war. We will be looking at the economic and social aspects of post-war Germany

The second part of this MA thesis will focus on the Estonian DPs in post-war Germany and explores how the Estonian DPs camp in Geislingen was organized, what were the living conditions like for the Estonian DPs and how do the Estonian DPs describe their experience in the Geislingen DP camp.

The third part of this MA thesis will focus on Estonian DP press. We will be looking at the guidelines for information media in post-war Germany, explore the Estonian periodicals in the U.S. occupation zone and then look at three of the Estonian DP newspapers - "Eesti Rada", "Eesti Post" and "Kauge Kodu".

The fourth part of this MA thesis will look at the Estonian DPs from an international perspective and explore the British press - "The Times", London. In this part of the thesis we will also discuss the results of this research and draw conclusions.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Estonian Displace Persons (DPs) in post-war Germany is an area of research that has not gained very much attention so far. To this day, most studies on Estonian DPs focus on the DPs experiences in Sweden, the experience of DPs in post-war Germany has been left little researched so far.

The literature available today focuses on the DPs experience during the Great Escape from Estonia⁵, detailed information about the community in DP camp⁶ and on their life after the DP camp⁷. So far there have not been many discussions on how Estonian DPs contextualized their experience in the broader post-war environment.

Today the key researchers and thinkers in this area have been focusing on providing detailed information about the formation of Estonian community in post-war Germany⁸, discussed the issue of Baltic DPs⁹ and provided information about the DPs from a broader perspective¹⁰.

The purpose of this MA thesis is to look to understand (1) how honestly did the Estonian DPs look at their own past history? and (2) how did the Estonian DPs represent themselves (to the world)?

This study is based on the available literature in Estonian and English. In the context of this study we will be using different literature including academic research projects, studies and memoirs that have been written about DPs so far. We will be also looking into the Estonian DPs press (“Eesti Post”, “Eesti Rada” and “Kauge Kodu”) from post-war Germany and explore how the international media was discussing Estonian DPs in Great Britain (The Times, London).

To provide a broader context to this study we will make use of the literature available today. In this thesis we will use the research done by Ferdinand Kool¹¹ whose research includes personal

⁵ Carl G. Andrae, *Rootsi ja Suur Põgenemine Eestist 1943 – 1944* (Tallin: Olion, 2005)

⁶ Ferdinand Kool. *DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951* (Lakewood, NJ: Eesti Arhiiv Ühendriikides, 1999)

⁷ Mai Maddisson and Priit Vesilind, *When the Noise Had Ended: Geidlingen's DP Children Remember* (Woodsville, MN: Lakesore Spress, 2009).

⁸ Ferdinand Kool. *DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951* (Lakewood, NJ: Eesti Arhiiv Ühendriikides, 1999).

⁹ Kaja Kumer-Haukanõmm, “*Teisest Maailmasõjast tingitud Balti pagulaste probleematika aastatel 1945-1952 Eesti pagulaste näitel*”, (PhD. Diss., University of Tartu, 2012).

¹⁰ Anna Holian. *Between National Socialism and Societ Communism: Displaced Persons in Post-war Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014).

memories (as a DP living in post-war Germany under the U.S. zone), personally collected original material from different Estonian committees and a vast number of archival material. All these sources combined provide a valuable insight into the DP-s life in post-war Germany. Kool's research is very thorough and covers (in more than 800 pages) information about Estonian DP-s life in camp, the formation of committees, information media, repatriations, screenings and relations with the occupying powers. In the context of this MA thesis, Ferdinand Kool's research offers a broader perspective of DPs life in post-war Germany. It is currently one of the few research studies on Estonian DPs in post-war Germany that offers such an immense amount of data in one combined research project.

The research of Kaja Kumer-Haukanõmm is also used in this study. Kaja Kumer-Haukanõmm's¹² doctoral thesis focuses on the fate of Baltic DPs in post-war Germany and specifically on the problem of Estonian DPs. In this research Kumer-Haukanõmm provides a very thorough overview of Estonian DPs journey to Germany, the issues the Estonian DPs were dealing with during their time in DP camps and also the U.S. and the British attitudes towards the Baltic DPs. Kumer-Haukanõmm's research is built upon very reliable sources including fair amount of archival materials. In this research the questions over the definitions 'refugee' and 'displaced person' are also discussed.

Mai Maddisson and Priit Vesilind's book "*When the Noise Had Ended*"¹³ has gathered together more than 30 Estonian DP experiences in the Geislingen camp. This research provides detailed information about the DPs everyday experiences in a DP camp and provides information on their lives after the camp. Similar research has been also presented by Arved Plaks in Estonian in his book "*Geislingeni Eesti Gümnaasiumi õpilaste ja õpetajate elulugusid*"¹⁴ in where the everyday life in a DP camp is explained in great detail.

In terms of understanding DPs perspective in post-war Germany, Anna Holian's book "*Between national socialism and Soviet communism*" provides answers to questions how DPs were administered, what was their relation to the Soviets and how did the DPs define their presence in Germany. This research is based on a large collection of archival materials and includes materials in 6 different languages.

¹¹ Ferdinand Kool, *DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951* (Lakewood, NJ: Eesti Arhiiv Ühendriikides, 1999)

¹² Kaja Kumer-Haukanõmm, "*Teisest Maaailmasõjast tingitud Balti pagulaste probleematika aastatel 1945-1952 Eesti pagulaste näitel*", (PhD. Diss., University of Tartu, 2012).

¹³ Mai Maddisson and Priit Vesilind, *When the Noise Had Ended: Geidlingen's DP Children Remember* (Woodsville, MN: Lakesore Spress, 2009).

¹⁴ Arved Plaks, "*Geislingeni Eesti Gümnaasiumi õpilaste ja õpetajate elulugusid: kümme lendu 1945 ja 1950 aastate vahemikus*", [4.trükk] (Huston: Nassau Bay, 2010),

From a general historical perspective on the Second World War we will use “*The Second World War and the Baltic States*”¹⁵ edited by James S. Corum, Olaf Mertelsmann and Kaarel Piirimäe. This collection of articles provides an in-depth understanding of the involvement of Baltic States in the Second World War.

Overall, it has to be said that this area of research is slowly gaining recognition and analysis of DPs in post-war Germany is becoming more popular.

¹⁵ James S. Corum, Olaf Mertelsmann and Kaarel Piirimäe, eds. *The Second World War and the Baltic States* (Frankfurt: Peter Land GmbH, 2014).

CHAPTER I – GERMANY IN 1945

After Germany was forced to surrender unconditionally in May 1945, the warfare had left central Europe in a very poor state. The war had destroyed thousands of homes, killed millions of people and left behind a large number of displaced persons.

The discussions between the East and the West over the division of German territory (after the war) started already in 1944 and finally signed on June 5, 1945. After this Germany was divided into four occupation zones - the U.S. occupation zone, the British occupation zone, the Soviet occupation zone and the French occupation zone¹⁶.

The U.S. occupation zone was administratively divided into three main areas: (1) Bavaria with almost 9 million residents and 70 237 km²; Greater Hesse with 21 117 km² and around 4 million residents; and Württemberg-Baden with 15 600 km² and 3,6 million residents. There were Estonian DPs in all of these three areas, but the largest camps were in Geislingen and Augsburg¹⁷.

The British zone covered areas including Schleswig-Holstein, Lower Saxony, and North Rhine-Westphalia with Rhineland area¹⁸.

The Soviets zone included the Eastern part of former Germany with Mecklenburg, Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony and Thuringia¹⁹ and the French zone included areas in Rhineland and Württemberg-Hohenzollern. In the context of this study we will be focusing on the U.S. zone.

The Allies decided that administratively each occupying power would be responsible for their own zone. However, on general matters concerning the overall issues of post-war Germany the Allies had to come to a consensus in the Allied Control Council.

¹⁶ To see the division of the occupied areas in Germany please refer to Annex No. 2 – The map of the occupied zones of Germany in 1945.

¹⁷ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 101.

¹⁸ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 28.

¹⁹ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 28.

British historian Richard Bessel has argued that in 1945 the German society went through three different periods in a very short time – the early phase, the shock phase and the aftermath phase of 1945.²⁰

First, in the early phase up to 12 January 1945 Bessel argues that the German society believed that the Nazi leadership was firm and sturdy. Nazi Germany had experienced some defeats, but the overall belief in Nazi military and political leadership remained strong. And there was no reason why the German nation should have believed otherwise since the information that was fed to the German public was highly controlled by the Nazi leaders. Ordinary Germans were not aware of mass murders and killings, the number of lost battles, or the actual state of Germany in the war. Before the Soviet invasion of Germany, Germans were convinced that once the war ended, Germany would emerge victorious as promised by Nazi propaganda.²¹

The attacks by the Soviets in January 1945 could be seen as the beginning of a “total shock” experienced by Germans. This is because before January 1945 the majority of the fighting between German soldiers and the Allies had taken place outside Germany and did not affect the idea of Nazi military supremacy among German citizens. Now, however, the fighting was taking place on German soil. Over a very short period of time in early 1945 the Soviet attack along with the Allied bombings had cost Germany almost half a million lives. It was bloodshed for which Germans had not been prepared.²²

After the Soviet attack in January 1945 and the Allied heavy bombing, which followed soon after, German faith in the Nazi regime began to collapse in major cities. Bessel argues that the overall loss of lives during the early months of 1945 was the heaviest the German nation had ever seen. Unlike in 1918 when the Germans lost the First World War but sued for peace without facing invasion, the situation in 1945 was much more devastating.

Along with human capital, the heavy attacks from the Allied powers also destroyed almost all major cities along with thousands of homes, major industries and infrastructure. The war had left Germany in total ruins, as millions of Germans were homeless, jobless, hungry and living

²⁰ Richard Bessel, “*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*” (Tallinn: Tanapäev, 2010), 17-54.

²¹ Bessel, “*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*”, 17-24.

²² Bessel, “*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*” 25-54.

under very primitive conditions. The months leading up to the fall of Nazi Germany combined with the total destruction that accompanied it is a period in history, which Bessel has described with two words – “total shock”.²³

The “total shock” and coming to terms with reality is what Bessel calls the third phase in 1945 Germany. It was the aftermath of the war in where the everyday struggle for survival was mixed with the total shock over Nazi Germany’s unconditional surrender to the Allied powers. It was a loss that was physically and psychologically very hard for the majority of Germans to grasp²⁴.

By that time Germany had become a land of “homeless, poor and displaced persons” which consisted of more than “10 million forced labours, the Allies war prisoners, concentration camp survivors” who were all hoping to either go back home for find a home there²⁵. According to Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF)²⁶ calculations Europe was home for “ 11 332 700 people out of whom 7 725 000 were in Germany” and out of these approximately “6 362 000 were in Western zones²⁷. With different reallocations and deportations the number of displaced persons in the U.S zone was by the end of September 1945 around “600 000” people which was similar to the British zone²⁸. The only difference was that most of the DPs in British zone were Polish who moved back to Poland and most of the DPs in the U.S. zone were people from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and other nations that now belonged to the Soviets. In other words, when the British DPs were willing to reallocate back home, the DPs in the U.S. zone did not. This meant that the U.S. occupying powers had to give food, find a house and possible employment for almost all of these DPs.

In the early days of occupation the U.S. forces relied mainly on a SHAEF-manual that laid down principles for the Americans to govern the post-war society in the U.S. zone. According to this this manual the first task for the U.S occupying forces was to build an inhabitable environment for the post-war inhabitants, as there were thousands who needed

²³ Bessel, “*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*”, 5.

²⁴ Bessel, “*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*”, 152 – 174.

²⁵ Bessel, “*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*”, 214-215.

²⁶ Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) was the combined Allies military operations command in Europe until July 1945. It was superseded by Chief of Staff to the Supreme Commander Allied Forces (COSSAC) in January 1944 and replaced by US Forces European Theater (USFET). For more information please refer to: Andrew Szanajda, *The Restoration of Justice in Post-war Hesse: 1945-1949* (Plymouth: Lexington Books, 2007), 34.

²⁷ Bessel, “*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*”, 220-221.

²⁸ Frederick Taylor, *Exorcising Hitler: The Occupation and Denazification of Germany* (Bloomsbury: London, 2012).

food and shelter. As news about Nazi atrocities started to come to light and world became aware of all these mass killings that had happened during the war it is somewhat understandable why the U.S. officials' initial reaction towards Germans was somewhat "reserved". However, over the time more information came to light, which neutralized the relations between the U.S. occupying powers and local Germans. To this day, the Second World War remains the "biggest cause for emigrations in Europe"²⁹

CHAPTER II –ESTONIAN DPs IN POST-WAR GERMANY

2.1 Estonian DPs in the U.S. occupation zone of post-war Germany

The U.S. occupation zone was administratively divided into three main areas: (1) Bavaria with almost 9 million residents and 70 237 km²; Greater Hesse with 21 117 km² and around 4 million residents; and Württemberg-Baden with 15 600 km² and 3,6 million residents. There were Estonian DPs in all of these three areas, but the largest camps were in Geislingen, and Augsburg³⁰.

The overall number of Estonian citizens who emigrated during the World War II towards West varies between different sources. According to Kumer-Haukanõmm the emigration of Estonians during the World War II towards West can be divided into four emigration-weaves:

- 1939
- 1940-1941
- 1941-summer 1944
- and the Great Escape, from August-October 1944

In 1939 the approximate number of Estonians who emigrated towards West has been calculated to approximately 4000. Kumer-Haukanõmm argues that as the first wave of emigration was happening during the time Baltic-Germans were returning back to Germany, the wave of

²⁹ Bessel, "*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*", 238.

³⁰ Kool, "*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*", 101.

emigration in 1939 may have also included Estonians who presented themselves as Baltic-Germans.

The next wave of emigration towards West (including Germany, Sweden and Finland) took place during the first Soviet occupation of Estonia in 1940 to 1941. The number of émigrés during that time has been estimated to approximately 7000 to 8000 Estonians. This number does not include exclusively all those Estonians who emigrated to Germany. However, by the end of 1944 the estimated number of Estonians in Germany has been calculated to approximately 10 000 individuals³¹.

A massive wave of emigration from the Baltic states (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania) towards Germany (and Sweden) that has been called the Great Escape started in the Fall of 1944. This was after the Red Army had captured many large cities in Estonia. The main reason why so many Estonians fled their country in favour of Germany was mainly a reflection of the history of the early Soviet occupation of 1940-41.

Kumer – Haukanõmm calculates the overall number of Estonians who emigrated towards West during the World War II to around 75 000 to 80 000 individuals. Out of these 40 000 to 45 000 Estonians ended up in Germany³². According to another source³³ around 45 000 Estonians started their journey towards Germany in the Fall of 1944. Of these, only around 40 000 made it to Germany, and approximately 4000-5000 individuals lost their lives on the way.

It is necessary to mention here that among the émigrés who left Estonia were also those Estonians who were the former members of German army. In his book on the history of the Baltic states historian Kasekamp explains that it was not uncommon for Estonian men to fight in opposite uniforms – some wearing the uniform for Red army, whereas others wearing the Waffen-SS uniform. It was also not uncommon for many Estonian men to change over from the Soviet army to German army. The reason behind it might be simpler than it may initially seem. Kasekamp explains that “in the appalling conditions during winter of 1941³⁴” as many as “33 000³⁵” Estonian men were sent to the Soviet front to fight against Germans. The conditions in Red Army were very poor and “motivated by the desire for revenge against the Soviet regime and to liberate family members deported by the communists” lead to a situation in where many Estonian men swapped their Red Army uniform for the German uniform.

³¹ Kumer-Haukanõmm, “*USA välispoliitika Balti küsimuses 1945-1952 läbi Balti põgenike probleematika*”, (MA thesis, University of Tartu, 2005) 33.

³² Kumer-Haukanõmm, “*Teise Maailmasõja Aegne Eestlaste Sundmigratsioon Läände*”, 95.

³³ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*” 7.

³⁴ Andres Kasekamp, “*A History of the Baltic States*” (Basingstoke; Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 136.

³⁵ Kasekamp, “*A History of the Baltic States*, 136.

There were many Estonians who were involved with mobilising employing Estonians into the German army. The top Estonian executives in the so-called Estonian Self-Administration were Oskar Angelus, Oskar Öpik and Dr. Hjalmar Mäe³⁶. Estonians were technically never admitted into the Nazi party and “Eastern Europeans were not allowed to serve in the Wehrmacht”³⁷.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that as many as 33 000 Estonian men enlisted with the German military forces. Furthermore, the number of Estonians in German military forces grew towards the end of the war up to 40 000 men. Most of the Estonian men who enlisted with the Nazi army did so with the hope to “liberate their family members deported by the communists” and to defend their homeland. However, there were also some “Baltic volunteers”, including Estonians who were “directly involved in the execution of Jews in Belarus and Ukraine”³⁸. As we learn later from the information published in Estonian DP press, the screenings in post-war Germany under the U.S. occupation zone affected mainly those Estonians who were directly involved with the Nazis regime during the war.

The last months of the war was a period in the lives of many Estonian DPs that was full of horrendous escape/emigration experiences, full of uncertainty, hard work, poor living conditions and malnutrition. The number of displaced persons grew rapidly and became much greater than had been expected by the Allies earlier. The Allied powers did not know what to do with all the displaced persons living in Germany nor did they have a suitable policy to deal with them.

Robert G. Moeller discusses that the only document that outlined how to deal with the DPs was the SHAEF Administrative Memorandum No. 39.³⁹ This legislation was published in November 1944 by SHAEF, but by spring 1945 it became clear to the U.S. Military Government that updates to this document were necessary as soon as possible.

In the Administrative Memorandum No. 39 the displaced persons were defined as individuals who were “outside the national boundaries of their country by reason of war.”⁴⁰. DPs were seen

³⁶ Hjalmar Mäe, “*Kuidas kõik teostus: minu mälestusi*” (Muraste: Matrix Kirjastus, 2005).

³⁷ Kasekamp, “*A History of the Baltic States*”, 137.

³⁸ Kasekamp, “*A History of the Baltic States*”, 136.

³⁹ Robert G. Moeller, “*West Germany under construction: politics, society, and culture in the Adenauer era*” (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997), 234.

⁴⁰ Moeller, “*West Germany under construction: politics, society, and culture in the Adenauer era*”, 234.

as individuals who were only temporarily outside their country and should be returned back to their homelands as soon as possible. SHAEF did not even consider the possibility that some of these DPs might be political refugees or do not want to return back to their country (or former country in the case of Estonia and other neighbouring countries). As far as the initial DP memorandum stated, all Estonians within the borders of occupied territories outside of Estonia (or Soviet Union) should be sent back as part of the repatriation process. The only distinction in the way DPs were defined was made between those people who needed temporary housing and care, because their status (to which country they belonged) was unclear, and those who should be repatriated immediately.

Over the course of repatriations several Estonians were sent back to Estonia, or it would be correct to say they were sent back to former Estonia, to the new occupying power, the Soviet Union. According to Kool the number of repatriated individuals who were sent back to their original countries, now occupied by the Soviet Union is unclear, as proper records for the repatriated individuals were not kept. Kool continues further and claims that according to UNRRA the repatriated number of individuals was “2 530 000 out of which most were classed as Russians”⁴¹. From the research earlier we know that this number must have also included Estonians. How many exactly, is still unknown.

Toivu U. Raun also discusses the unaccounted number of Estonians and explains that “hard data on the ethnic composition of Estonia in 1944 to 1952 is simply not available”⁴², because former Estonians were accounted as the citizens of the Soviet Union. What made this situation even harder was the notion that “as large numbers of Estonians were deported eastward out of Estonia, many Russian-Estonians from the interior of the Soviet Union were moving westward into Estonia”⁴³. Therefore, it is hard to define the accurate number of ethnic Estonians who were living in Estonia or were repatriated back to Estonia. However, what is known from another research study proposed by Bobby V. Johnson is that Allied powers sent back from Germany around “six million displaced persons” and “between 1,5 to two million” individuals refused to go back”⁴⁴. Although the exact number of repatriated ethnic Estonians is unknown, Kool claims that by Autumn 1945 the overall number of Estonians in post-war Germany was approximately

⁴¹ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 43.

⁴² Toivu U. Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians* [2nd Ed.] (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2002), 182.

⁴³ Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians*, 182.

⁴⁴ Bobby V. Johnson, *High on the Mountain : Israel's Prophetic History* (Bloomington: WestBow Press, 2014), 123.

around 19 000⁴⁵ individuals and by the end of the year (with reallocations) this number increased to 22 895 Estonians⁴⁶.

In terms of repatriations, the initial clarity of this process for Estonian DP-s came when SHAEF released a document on the 12th of May 1945, no. S-87880. It was a sanction that prohibited the repatriation of any individual from the former Baltic States, including Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians⁴⁷. This meant that those Estonians who decided to leave Estonia did so and those who decided to stay were allocated into different DP-camps across Germany (within the U.S. occupation borders).

In Kumer-Haukanõmm research,⁴⁸ the author claims that up to the first part of 1946 most people who returned home did so in their free will and voluntarily. This meant that those Estonians who wanted to return back to Estonia did so. It also meant that those Estonians who were saved from the first wave of repatriation and remained in DP camps had already been living in the DP camp situation for more than a year. Kumer-Haukanõmm also claims that “in April 1946 when the former mayor of New York, Fiorello LaGuardia became the new head at the UNRRA a new resolution concerning the repatriation of post-war DP-s in Germany was released and the main focus was on Baltic DP-s reparations.”⁴⁹ The propaganda that was unleashed as a result by the Soviet power was full of promises of a better life that we now know was never realized.

After UNRRA’s new leader LaGuardia released the resolution for the repatriation of Baltic citizens and before the second wave of repatriations occurred, at the very end of 1945 and the very beginning of 1946 there were several Estonian DPs who were scattered across different DP-camps around post-war Germany.

Table 1 below indicates the number of known Estonian DPs within different DPs camps in the end of 1945 in the U.S. zone of occupation of post-war Germany.

⁴⁵ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 102

⁴⁶ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, , 592.

⁴⁷ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 50.

⁴⁸ Kumer-Haukanõmm, “USA välispoliitika Balti küsimuses 1945-1952 läbi Balti põgenike problemaatika”, “USA välispoliitika Balti küsimuses 1945-1952 läbi Balti põgenike problemaatika”, 20.

⁴⁹ Kumer-Haukanõmm, “USA välispoliitika Balti küsimuses 1945-1952 läbi Balti põgenike problemaatika”, 20-21.

TABLE 1: ESTONIANS IN DP CAMPS IN THE U.S. ZONE

No.	CAMP NAME	ESTONIANS	SIZE OF THE CAMP (individuals)
1.	Allmendfeld	103	290
2.	Altenstadt	625	781
3.	Amberg	432	4532
4.	Ansbach	272	1672
5.	B.-Mergenth.	250	2344
6.	B.-Wörishof	203	1063
7.	Beyreuth	198	998
8.	Bamberg	234	1172
9.	Berchtesg.	47	832
10.	Dettendorf	212	212
11.	Dieburg	98	998
12.	Dilligen	110	1610
13.	Erlangen	68	432
14.	Forchheim	57	117
15.	Fürth	508	593
16.	Geislingen	3728	3728
17.	Hanau	641	6741
18.	Haunstetten	530	2190
19.	Heidelberg	152	352
20.	Hochfeld	1700	4700
21.	Ingostadt	96	96
22.	Kassel – Bett.	104	1034
23.	Kleinheubach	628	693
24.	Mannheim	217	6167
25.	Marktredwitz	273	523
26.	Memmingen	526	1941
27.	Mühlendorf	36	526
28.	Neuburg	136	136
29.	Munich	200	1980
30.	Regensburg	27	6880
31.	Sindelfingen	50	78
32.	Stuttgart	135	261
33.	Traunstein	125	2625
34.	Ulm	97	97
35.	Wielandshag	104	104
36.	Weissenburg	107	107
37.	Wiesbaden	437	8087
IN TOTAL		13466	66692

Source: Ferdinand Kool. *DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*, 103-104.

According to Kool's data presented in Table 1 the overall number of Estonian DP-s in different DP-camps by the end of 1945 across the U.S. occupation zone can be accounted for 13466 individuals and the overall data of Estonians in post-war Germany to 30 000⁵⁰ individuals. A very similar overall number of Estonians in post-war Germany has been also presented by Wolfgang Jacobmeyer who claims that by the end of 1945 there were 30 505 Estonians in post-war Germany⁵¹. According to another source presented by Rudolf Wierer the overall number of Estonian DP-s in post-war Germany was by Autumn 1945 approximately around 40 000 Estonians⁵².

Many of the DPs who were outside of the borders of the U.S. zone tried to reallocate towards West, away from the Soviets. By 1946 the number of people in different DP camps across the U.S. zone grew increasingly. One example here includes the Geislingen DP camp which consisted almost fully Estonian DPs. Based on the information provided by Ferdinand Kool in Table 1 earlier we learned that the number of DPs in Geislingen camp was by late 1945 approximately 3728 individuals (who were all Estonian nationals).

According to George J. Rebane who was one of the DPs living in Geislingen camp with his family, the overall number of individuals "5000 would be interred in the Geislingen DP Camp"⁵³.

In order to understand to the daily matters of Estonian DPs in post-war Germany, their role in the creation of new narrative, the following section will focus on the life of Estonian DPs in the Geislingen camp.

⁵⁰ Kool, "DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951", 101.

⁵¹ Jacobmeyer, Wolfgang, Vom Zwangsarbeiter zum Heimatlosen Ausländer. Die Displaced Persons in Westdeutschland 1945-1951, Göttingen, 1985, 122

⁵² Rudolf Wierer, *Probleme der heimatlosen Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: mit Berücksichtigung der deutschen Heimatvertriebenen* (Munich: E.Gans, 1960), 29.

⁵³ George J. Rebane, May 11, 2013 "Geislingen DP Camp Years, 1945-49", The Rebane's Ruminations, available at: http://rebaneruminations.typepad.com/files/geislingen-dp-camp-years_v130608-2.pdf

2.2 Estonian DPs in the Geislingen DP camp

In the summer of 1944, about a year before DPs settled in the Geislingen area, the city was known by the locals as a “Nazi town” as it was full of “luxurious houses and villas” in where many of the top leaders of the Nazi party resided. During that time there was only one known Estonian maid living in the area⁵⁴.

Geislingen was also known as the “city of five valleys” with lots of nature around it. It was a picturesque town and “as Geislingen did not have any great industries, it was also saved by the destruction of war”⁵⁵.

In late 1944 about 75 Estonians were sent by German officials to work at the local metal factory which the locals knew as “Metallwarenfabrik Württemberg”. Most of these DPs were from the central part of Estonia, from the Paide area. Most of the Estonian workers at the Metallwarenfabrik Württemberg were living in very poor conditions. They lived in old metal factory buildings, which had previously been a home for “unused machinery”⁵⁶. The living conditions were far from comfortable, but as non-German citizens, “hiding from the Soviets” the inevitable had to be accepted.

The rumours about Estonians living in Geislingen spread to other Estonians in Germany and in addition to the 75 Estonians working in the metal factory, several Estonian families also ended up in the Geislingen area. By April 1945, when the U.S. occupying powers had reached Geislingen, there were more than 100 Estonians living in the area. The responsibility of ensuring the wellbeing of Estonians and other DPs was given to UNRRA Team 190.

On the 11th October 1945 UNRRA started transporting Estonians into Geislingen area which meant that over the course of “few days the Geislingen camp grew from 100 Estonians to close to 2000”⁵⁷.

UNRRA was responsible for housing all the DPs and the means of accommodation for it were taken from local Germans living in the area. Ferdinand Kool explains that General Dwight D. Eisenhower gave stick instructions to locate DPs into comfortable properties. This meant that

⁵⁴ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 232.

⁵⁵ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 232-233.

⁵⁶ Arved Plaks, “*Geislingeni Eesti Gümnaasiumi õpilaste ja õpetajate elulugusid: kümme lendu 1945 ja 1950 aastate vahemikus*”, [4.trükk] (Huston: Nassau Bay, 2010), 8.

⁵⁷ Arved Plaks, “*Geislingeni Eesti Gümnaasiumi õpilaste ja õpetajate elulugusid: kümme lendu 1945 ja 1950 aastate vahemikus*”, [4.trükk] (Huston: Nassau Bay, 2010), 9.

many local Germans were forced to leave their homes and vacate their property for the DPs within 24 hours notice. Many Germans protested against it and as we learn later from the Estonian DP press it caused tensions between the locals and Estonian DPs.

By the end of 1945 the Geislingen DP camp had grown to its maximum capacity and was closed down for new DPs wishing to reside in the Geislingen area. Administratively Geislingen was divided into five areas: (1) Schlosshalde, (2) Wilhelmshöhe, (3) Rappenäcker, (4) Burgstrasse and (5) Bölcke strasse⁵⁸. Kool claims that by that time there were approximately “4000” inhabitants in the Geislingen camp with 13 houses, 160 rooms, 6095,8 m² for official uses and 174 houses, 1442 rooms” and 18 892,6 m² for living purposes⁵⁹.

George J. Rebane, who is one of the former Geislingen DP camp inhabitants, remembers his time in camp well. In his autobiography George J. Rebane explains that “UNRRA’s rule was that each family would live in one room that would serve as its living, dining and sleeping quarters” which was “approximately 40 square feet of space for each family member”⁶⁰. With the increasing number of DPs and low number of available rooms to be allocated, the Rebane family ended up living in a room that was 10 by 13 feet (about 3 by 4 meters) which was much smaller than the UNRRA had recommended⁶¹. The building was located on the second floor of 173 Weingarten Strasse in the Rappenäcker quarter of Geislingen area. This large house, which was originally built for two prosperous German families was reallocated to Estonian DPs. 173 Weingarten Strasse became a home for 14 Estonian families, 7 on each side in where each family had their own private living room, but had to share a kitchen and a second floor bathroom⁶². George J. Rebane claims that tough the living conditions were poor, the tight-knit community was active and the tight indoor space was mainly used for eating and sleeping. The illustration below is a floor plan of George J. Rebane’s family living space.

⁵⁸ Mai Maddisson and Priit Vesilind, “*When the Noise Had Ended: Geidlingen’s DP Children Remember*” (Woodsville, MN: Lakesore Spres, 2009), 34. Please also see Annex No. 3 for the these areas.

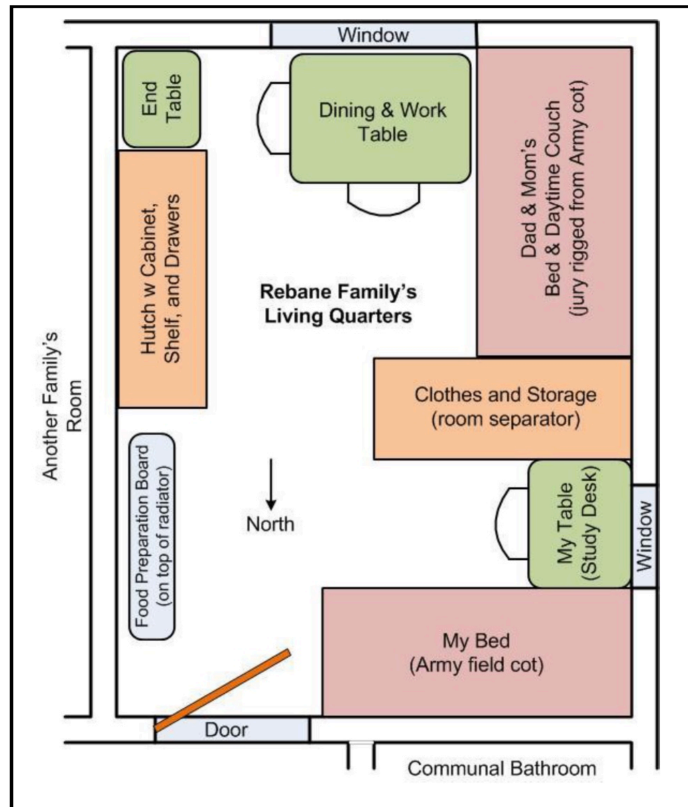
⁵⁹ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 236.

⁶⁰ George J. Rebane, May 11, 2013 “Geislingen DP Camp Years, 1945-49”, The Rebane’s Ruminations, available at: http://rebaneruminations.typepad.com/files/geislingen-dp-camp-years_v130608-2.pdf , 3.

⁶¹ George J. Rebane, May 11, 2013 “Geislingen DP Camp Years, 1945-49”, The Rebane’s Ruminations, available at: http://rebaneruminations.typepad.com/files/geislingen-dp-camp-years_v130608-2.pdf , 3.

⁶² George J. Rebane, May 11, 2013 “Geislingen DP Camp Years, 1945-49”, The Rebane’s Ruminations, available at: http://rebaneruminations.typepad.com/files/geislingen-dp-camp-years_v130608-2.pdf , 3.

ILLUSTRATION 1: REBANE FAMILY'S LIVING SPACE IN GEISLINGEN DP CAMP⁶³



This illustration is a courtesy of George J. Rebane⁶⁴

As we can see from Illustration 1, the DPs living conditions were tight and the space had to be used very wisely to fit all the necessary activities in that little space. Unfortunately there are no pictures remaining from the inside of Rebane family's living quarters, but this illustration above paints a very clear picture why children of that time, such as George J. Rebane was, spent most of their time playing outside.

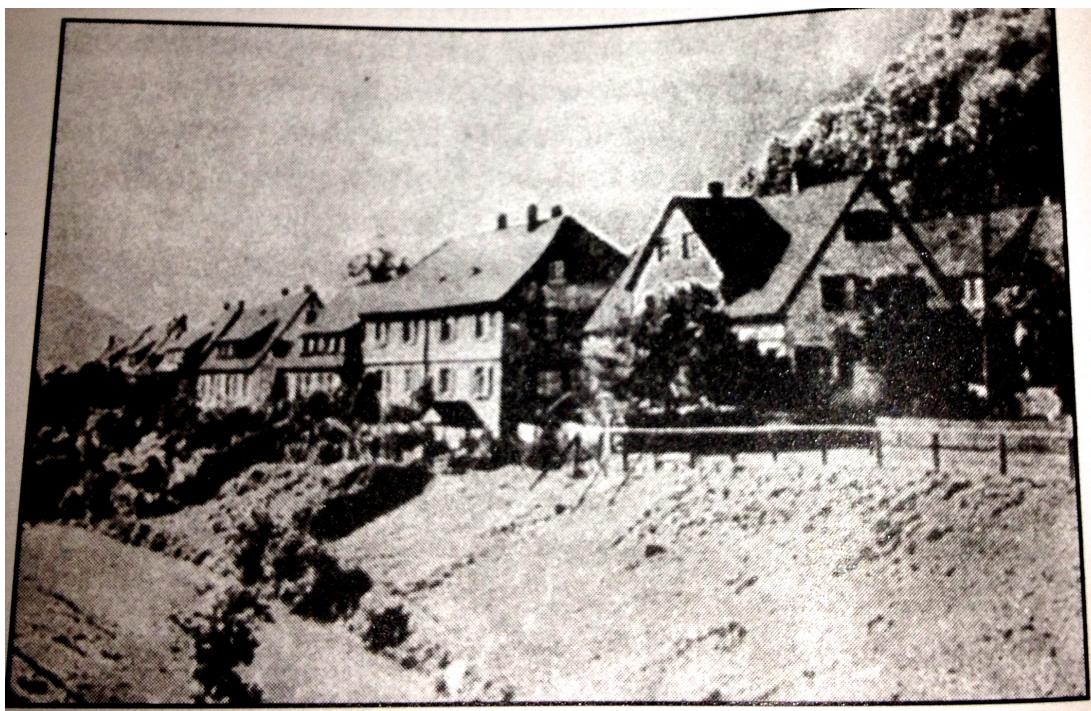
Almost all the houses in the Rappenäcker area of Geislingen were fairly large and had previously "belonged to upscale Germans loyal to the Nazi Party"⁶⁵. Illustration below is of a house in Rappenäcker where Estonian DPs resided.

⁶³ George J. Rebane, May 11, 2013 "Geislingen DP Camp Years, 1945-49", The Rebane's Ruminations, available at: http://rebaneruminations.typepad.com/files/geislingen-dp-camp-years_v130608-2.pdf ,3

⁶⁴ George J. Rebane, May 11, 2013 "Geislingen DP Camp Years, 1945-49", The Rebane's Ruminations, available at: http://rebaneruminations.typepad.com/files/geislingen-dp-camp-years_v130608-2.pdf ,3

⁶⁵ Maddisson and Vesilind, "When the Noise Had Ended: Geidlingen's DP Children Remember", 34.

**ILLUSTRATION 2 - ESTONIAN DP HOUSING IN RAPPENÄCLER IN GEISLINGEN
DP CAMP⁶⁶**



As we can see from this picture, the houses in Rappenäcker were built on a hill with plenty of beautiful surrounding nature around it. The houses, which at one point were meant for 1 to 2 German families, now housed more than 10 Estonian DP families in small, tight conditions.

In an interview with the author on June 25, 2014, George J Rebane revealed that "the Geislingen DP camp became a totally integrated and fully functioning Estonian community, a 'little Estonia' as it were, in which we set up and operated all the civil institutions required for daily life"⁶⁷.

The period from May to December 1945 in post-war Germany is a period in Estonian DP-s life that can be called the "most hopeful and positive"⁶⁸ as it was a time when most Estonian DP-camps were developed with a hope for better future. The development of different DP-camps

⁶⁶ Maddisson and Vesilind, "*When the Noise Had Ended: Geidlingen's DP Children Remember*", 34.

⁶⁷ George J. Rebane interview with the author, June 25, 2014.

⁶⁸ Kool, "*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*", 101.

was also a time when an Estonian Gymnasium⁶⁹, different Estonian National Committees and other political and cultural groups started forming. The overall understanding within the Estonian DP-s at that time was that “is it not possible that democratic West will accept the annexation of the Baltic”⁷⁰. The Americans (and the U.S. occupying forces as a whole) were seen as a strong carrier of democratic values who would look after the Estonian DP-s until Estonians are able to return back to Estonia, freed from the Soviets.

Along with different committees and unions Estonian DP-s also started to publish different periodicals the main purpose of which was to share local and international news in Estonian language.

In order to understand how information media was organized in the U.S. occupation zone of post-war Germany the following section will look at the guidelines proposed by the U.S. Military Government for information media. We will then look at the Estonian DP press more specifically and focus on some of the main Estonian DP newspapers in the U.S. zone at that time.

CHAPTER 3 – ESTONIAN PRESS IN POST-WAR GERMANY

3.1 Guidelines for information media in post-war Germany

The Education and Religious Affairs Branch at the U.S. military government had already before the unconditional surrender of Germany agreed that all Nazi periodicals, information bulletins, posters, school (and university) textbooks and all other propaganda materials will be banned as soon as the occupying powers assumed control over Germany.⁷¹ It is fair to say that controlling what was printed and published inside Germany was of utmost importance to the Allied powers.

The strict measures on post-war German press are described further in the U.S. Education Mission report of 1946 in which it is stated that “German education shall be controlled completely to eliminate Nazi and militaristic doctrines and to make possible the successful

⁶⁹ To read more about the formation of Estonian Gymnasium, its students and their memories from that time please refer to Arved Plaks “*Geislingeni Eesti Gümnaasiumi õpilaste ja õpetajate elulugusid: kümme lendu 1945 ja 1950 aastate vahemikus*”, [4.trükk] (Huston: Nassau Bay, 2010) who has compiled almost 500 page book about it.

⁷⁰ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 101.

⁷¹ U.S. Military Governmen Report on “Textbooks in Germany, American Zone” (Wiesbaden: Education and Religious Affairs Branch, 1946), 1-2.

development of democratic ideas.”⁷² With this commitment set forth in the report, the U.S. Military Government also became responsible for finding and developing replacements – replacements for newsletters, school textbooks and other printed materials.

One aspect that the Education and Religious Affairs Branch at the U.S. Military government did not foresee was the number of DPs in early post-war Germany who were, as Kool brilliantly describes, “craving daily news as much as daily bread”⁷³. The initial rules of the Education and Religious Affairs Branch at the U.S. Military government did not allow any publications in DP-s native language. After several underground DP newspapers and bulletins started appearing in various DP camps, the occupying powers somewhat changed their attitude towards DP press. Although the U.S. military government officials varied from area to area, the overall decision was taken that DPs should be allowed to publish their press as long as translated copies are provided to occupation authorities if requested.

Setting up new rules and regulations for the post-war German information media (newspapers, school textbooks etc.), which promoted “democratic values”, was a task that the Allied Forces took seriously. Information media was seen as a tool through which the Germany’s resident population (including Estonian DPs) could gather information, form ideas and act democratically in the new post-war order. The first set of rules that the U.S. Military Government imposed for the publication of periodicals consisted of six main points:

1. No dissemination of nationalist, militant, or anti-democratic materials was to be allowed.
2. No dissemination of materials disruptive to the occupying powers or hostile to occupation authorities was to be allowed.
3. Facts and editorial opinions had to be separated.
4. No affiliation with political parties was to be allowed.
5. Writing had to be understandable for an average resident.
6. All periodicals had to follow the approved guidelines of the U.S. Military Government⁷⁴.

Except for the U.S. occupation zone, the occupying powers had a policy of preventive censorship, which meant that an issue of a periodical had to gain their acceptance before it was

⁷² United States Education Mission, “Report of the United States Education Mission to Germany” (Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 10.

⁷³ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 747.

⁷⁴ Raul. A. McClure, “Rebuilding Germany’s Information Media” *Army Information Digest*, 3 (1948), 11.

released. The U.S. occupation zone did not censor newspapers before they were published. However, the U.S. Military Government did check published newspapers and the punishment for violating its rules was taken very seriously. In the case of Estonian DP newspapers and other periodicals the occupying powers requested translated (to English) copies of some issues. This sometimes created a situation in which there was plenty of good information gathered by the journalists for the DP press, but due to the length of the newspaper there were not enough translators who could cope with these demands⁷⁵.

Regardless of the strict rules and regulations established by the Education and Religious Affairs Branch at the U.S. Military government, the post-war years at the U.S. zone saw the birth of many Estonian DP periodicals. The following section will focus more specifically on the Estonian periodicals in the U.S. occupation zone of Germany.

3.2 Estonian periodicals in the U.S. occupation zone of Germany

By the summer of 1945 most Estonian DPs who had escaped from the Red Army and Soviet occupation and had made it to Germany had also found their way to different DP-camps. As presented earlier in Table 1, the overall number of Estonian DP-s in different DP-camps in Germany was according to Ferdinand Kool by the end of 1945 approximately 13466⁷⁶ individuals who all played a significant role in the Estonian DP-s information media - either externally as a reader or internally as a member of information media publishing team.

It is necessary to mention here that although some Estonians had emigrated to Germany already in 1939 and were responsible for publishing different newspapers (such as discussed below), the new wave of Estonian DP-s was also very quick to establish different teams necessary to publish periodicals.

The periodicals that were issued before the U.S. occupation zone was officially established include newspapers like "Eesti Sõna" ("Estonian Word"), "Postimees" ("Courier"), "Teateleht eestlastele" ("Newsletter for Estonians") and many more.

One of the main reasons why different groups of DPs, including Estonians, were so eager to issue various newsletters, newspapers and magazines was that apart from the official newsletter

⁷⁵ Kool, "DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951", 754

⁷⁶ Kool, "DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951", 101.

published by the SHAEF called “S.H.A.E.F.T,” there was according to Ferdinand Kool “no other trustworthy source of information”.⁷⁷

The periodicals published from May 8, 1945 onwards include several weekly newspapers, smaller monthly newspapers, different bulletins, newsletters and magazines. According to my research within the Estonian National Library Catalogue during the period of 1945 to 1949 there were 39 Estonian-language periodicals in post-war Germany – 20 of which were newspapers and 19 of which were magazines⁷⁸. Of these 39 periodicals, 20 were published in the U.S. occupation zone.

Table 2 contains a list of main the Estonian periodicals in the U. S. occupation zone of Germany, starting from 1945.

TABLE 2: MAIN ESTONIAN PERIODICALS IN THE U.S. OCCUPATION ZONE OF GERMANY

TITLE	WHERE	FROM	UNTIL	COMMENTS
1. “Eesti Post”⁷⁹ (“Estonian Post”)	Geislingen	06.11.1945	14.01.1953	This newspaper was published 3 times per week on every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday.
2. “Eesti Rada” (“Estonian Trail”)	Hochfeld	29.09.1945	2000	“Eesti Rada” was one of the first Estonian newspapers in the U.S. zone
3. “Kauge Kodu” (“Faraway home”)	Kempton	23. 06.1945	1949 (date unknown)	“Kauge Kodu” was issued twice per week on Wednesdays and Saturdays
4. “Päevauudised” (“Daily News”)	Hochfeld	29.08.1945	Sept.1953 (date unknown)	This newspaper focused on international affairs and was issued six times per week
5. “Uudised” (“News”)	Märzfeld	02.07.1946	unknown	“Uudised” focused on administrative information, notices, official orders and cultural aspects. It was issued three times per week on every

⁷⁷ The Allied powers newsletter called “S.H.A.E.F.T” was issued daily and published in 4 different languages including English, French, Russian and Polish. It was active from April-July 1945. For more information see S.H.A.E.F. G5 intelligence: political newsletter 1-11 from Kool, “DP Kroonika,” 748.

⁷⁸ See Attachment 1 – Estonian German periodicals

⁷⁹ The first five numbers of this periodical were called “Geislingeni Laagri Teated”, the first being published on October 18, 1945; Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 765.

				Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday
6. “Geislingeni Laagri Teated” (Geislingen Camp Post”	Geislingen	18.10.1945	early 1950 when all DPs left and the camp was liquidated	“Geislingeni Laagri Teated” published 5 issues after which “Eesti Post” took over. “Eesti Post” ran this newspaper as a section of “Eesti Post” until April 1945. After that date “Geislingeni Laagri Teated” started publication again as a separate newspaper. It was active until the very end of the Geislingen DP camp, after which the newspaper ceased to exist.

Many of the periodicals can be found at archives of the National Library of Estonia. However there are also many issues of these periodicals that are not in the archives and have only remained as a memory among the Estonian DPs and are sometimes mentioned in memoirs⁸⁰.

In the context of this study we will not be looking at the articles from Estonian periodicals before May 8, 1945, but only those published after that date which marks the start of occupation and military government in the U.S. zone of post-war Germany. Even more specifically we will be focusing on “Eesti Rada”, “Eesti Post” and “Kauge Kodu”, during a period from 1945 to 1949.

The reason why I have chosen “Eesti Rada” [“Estonian Way” in English] as one of the main newspapers being analysed within this MA thesis is that “Eesti Rada” was the first newspaper that was published in the U.S. zone. Ferdinand Kool who was by profession a trained journalist organized the establishment of this newspaper. Before immigrating to Germany Ferdinand Kool had been the chief editor of two Estonian newspapers “Oma maa” and “Sakala”. With Ferdinand Kool, the editorial team of “Eesti Rada” also included a writer Kaarel Eerme and a poet J. Hennoste, and a well-known sports-journalist Johannes Västriik. A very strong team of experts ran “Eesti Rada” and its popularity along with the number of editions published

⁸⁰ For a complete list of Estonian periodicals in Germany please see Annex No. 1

increased continuously. The range of people who were involved with the publication of “Eesti Rada” assured that articles were published with a high level of professionalism⁸¹.

The reason why I have chosen “Eesti Post” [“Estonian Post” in English] as the second main newspapers being analysed within this MA thesis is that “Eesti Post” was one of the most frequently published newspaper in one of the biggest Estonian DP-camps. By the time the first issue of “Eesti Post” was published (on the 6th of November 1945) there were already more than 3000 Estonians living in the Geislingen area. Similarly to “Eesti Rada”, the editorial team of “Eesti Post” also included many professional journalists which gives reasons to believe that the overall professionalism in this periodical was proficient. Also, as “Eesti Post” was published (initially) on every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday it was the biggest newspaper in Geislingen area. Towards the end of 1946 the editorial team did change due to internal conflicts and the newspaper was issued only twice per week (compared to 3x per week before), it still remained as one of the biggest newspapers within Estonian DP-s community⁸².

3.2.1. “Kauge Kodu”

I have chosen “Kauge Kodu” [“Far Away Home” in English] as the third main Estonian DP newspaper to be analysed within the context of this study. The Kempton Estonian DPs published “Kauge Kodu” twice per week on every Wednesday and Saturday. The first issue was published on the June 23, 1945 and among DP press, it was one of the first DP newspapers to be published within the U.S. zone. It is not known how many people in Kempton area were reading “Kauge Kodu” as their main source of information/newspaper. However, what is known from previous research is that by the end of the first year the newspaper had published 52 issues, 724 pages, 14 938 copies and 150-500 printed numbers⁸³.

In early 1946 the newspaper was renamed and it became known as “Kauge Kodu Päevauudised” [“Far Away Home Daily News” in English]. The previous name “Kauge Kodu” was given to the Altenstadt Estonian Committee who started publishing a magazine under its name. The main focus of this magazine was directed mainly on art and literature.

Along with the new name there also came new members to the editorial team. This also brought along some changes. One of the noticeable changes was that the newspaper became shorter

⁸¹ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 758-765

⁸² Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 765-768

⁸³ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 755.

(from 16-page to 8-10 page) and the topics were more focused on analysing everyday issues and political news rather than covering cultural events of Estonian DPs.

One central theme of “Kauge Kodu” is a narrative that shows Estonian DPs as democratic and freedom loving nation. This can be seen for example in the very first issue of “Kauge Kodu” in where a journalist writes “Estonian nation has never lost its urge for independence. Despite the slavery and violence that Estonian land has seen from generation to generation, we are still carrying a secret hope in our hearts to be free again.... our group of Estonians here at the heart of South-Bayern carry these hopes with us...we want to be free and true owners of our land. This is every nation’s natural urge and God given right that cannot be erased by any political power. Walk steady, demand justice, time will tell”⁸⁴.

This theme continues on the next following pages in where an article “Homeland” has been published. In this article the journalist discussed the “democratic Western ideology” and states that “Estonian nation abroad cannot lose their faith for a better tomorrow. The logic of our mind knows that Western democracy will not leave us half way. We need to believe, be strong and do what is in our power”⁸⁵. In this article the journalist discusses the role of Estonians abroad and supports the idea that Western democracy is an ideology that is natural to Estonians.

This theme of representing Estonian DPs as democratic and freedom loving nation can be also found on a later issue in where the journalists are discussing the capturing of Estonian war criminals in an article titled “Boils”. There are no specific references to any of the Estonian DPs in particular, but from the article we can see that it is a response article to the disappointments within Estonian DP community. The heat of the discussion is the capturing of Estonian war criminals and how it may change the perspective of the Allied powers on Estonian DPs.

On one hand the Estonian DP community seem to be satisfied that Estonian war criminals are finally captured. However, at the same time there is also a discussion that the capturing of these war criminals will put the rest of the Estonian DPs into a position in where they are not seen as reliable as they had been seen before. The journalist continues with these discussions and writes “there are men who were working alongside with Germans during the German occupation in Estonia and those men did betray us. We are not them. They are few out of thousands who did not do so....it is natural that some boils do appear in these tough conditions many of us have

⁸⁴ “What do we want?” “Kauge Kodu”, No. 1, June 23, 1945, 3-4.

⁸⁵ “Homeland”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 1, June 23, 1945, 4-5.

been through. But right now our country needs us to stick together. Our citizens' wellbeing depends on it and we cannot let them down. We are a small nation compared to other nations in this world – but we matter. Estonian nation has a lot to offer to this world”⁸⁶. It is a very emotionally written article and it is clear that the issue of capturing Estonian war criminals is important to the Estonian DP community. However, at the same time there is also a question whom this article is really written? Are Estonian DPs writing this to remind themselves and the whole DP community that “we are a nation that matters” or are they writing this to somebody else? The occupying forced did ask for translated copies of newspapers and the question here is that is it possible that the Estonian DPs are not only writing these newspapers to themselves? Is it possible that they are also writing these articles bearing in mind that they will be also translated to English for the occupying powers?

By looking at the content of “Kauge Kodu” there seems to be only one reference to the capturing of Estonian war criminals and it is the imprisonment of Dr. Hjalmar Mäe. There are no other articles between June to September 1945 in where the capturing of other Estonian war criminals is mentioned. This article about Dr. Hjalmar Mäe is very informative and only states that: “According to unconfirmed sources, Estonian Dr. Hjalmar Mäe has been captured and imprisoned on the Austrian (Tyrol) territory. During the German occupation in Estonia, 1941/1944, he was known as the Head of Local Government”⁸⁷. It is not printed on the first pages of “Kauge Kodu”, but rather, is printed at the back of a newspaper on the 9th page of the issue. It is merely presented as information and there is no discussion or commentary that follows.

One reason for it is that the later article “Boils” is discussing only the issue of Dr. Hjalmar Mäe and this is the issue that has caused disappointments within the Estonian DP community. Hence, the debate within the article. However, it is also possible that the newspaper did not publish all the names of captured Estonian war criminals for different reasons, but the information still reached Estonian DPs through other means (gossip) and the worry over their own well-being remained.

From the literature available today⁸⁸ we know that there were also other Estonian “war criminals” that were captured during that time, but the questions is why aren't they mentioned in the press? Also, is it at all possible that the DP press avoiding talking about the captured war criminals ?

⁸⁶ “Boils”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 27, September 22, 1945, 2-7.

⁸⁷ “Dr. Hjalmar Mäe imprisoned” , “Kauge Kodu”, No. 2, June 27, 1945, 9.

⁸⁸ Hjalmar Mäe, “*Kuidas kõik teostus: minu mälestusi*” (Muraste: Matrix Kirjastus, 2005).

Another key theme in “Kauge Kodu” is victimization. For example, in issue No. 13 the journalists are discussing the issue of small nations and their importance on global scale. The article continues the debate on small nations and claims that: “it is inarguably true that science and art, which are all forms of culture, human culture, develop, grow and blossom during the time of peace. Only to be destroyed again in devastating wars and revolutionary storms...we are the couriers of our nation, our culture. We should not burden our readers with appraisal about ourselves, but we would like to conclude this article with words from Sir David Lloyd George who has said that the salvation of mankind came through a little nation”⁸⁹. The article claims “we should not burden our readers with appraisal about ourselves”, but in fact this article does come across as portraying a picture of Estonians and Estonian DPs as victims who are in desperate need for support and care from larger nations. There are no firm statements stating that “We are victims”, but the way this article has been written leads one to feel compassionate towards Estonians whose possibility for creating art and engaging in science project has been interrupted.

This theme continues also in the following issues. For example, in issue No. 22 there is an article titled “The Basis of Estonian Foreign Policy”⁹⁰. It is an article where the journalist discusses Estonian foreign policy, the importance for the small nations to have good relations with other nations and how Estonian foreign policy has always been directed towards democratic West such as Great Britain and the United States. The article begins by stating how important the international cooperation between different nations is and then focuses on the occupation of Estonia, and describes Estonians and Estonia as victim of occupation regime. The journalist paints a picture of Estonians as victims of the Soviet regime in Estonia, as victims of war and also as victims of not being able to return back home. The article continues and states that: “now when the war is over and peace has emerged, it is a good time for the Western countries to ask what happened to Estonia, what happened to the citizens of the Democratic Republic of Estonia who stayed true to their fundamental beliefs”. The journalist is addressing to Estonia as the Democratic Republic of Estonia with all first capital letters. This is somewhat strange since the “Democratic” with first capital letter seems to suggest as if this is part of the Republic of Estonia’s title – which it is not.

It is almost as if the journalist is saying that Estonia is as democratic as any of the Western countries at that time (which is not true when we think back to Konstantin Päts’ regime at

⁸⁹ “Small nations carry culture”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 13, August 4, 1945, 2.

⁹⁰ “The Basis of Estonian Foreign Policy”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 22, September 22, 1945, 3-4.

that time), and it is the duty of Western Allies to help a fellow democratic nation in distress. Furthermore, the journalist seems to suggest that the Western Allies should question the Soviets over the annexation of Estonia. The article continues with a discussion over the challenges Estonian still has to battle and ends with a simple question – “have we done enough?”.

By the end of 1945 another key theme emerged in “Kauge Kodu” that looked the Estonian DPs as the unwilling victims of occupation. For example, in October 1945 “Kauge Kodu” published an article titled “Why?”. It is an article describing how Estonian DPs escaped from the tyranny, away from the Soviets, but are still the unwilling victims of occupation, both, in Germany and in Estonia. The journalist argues that: “we had nothing when we arrived, but right now our troubles over accommodation, food and clothing have been resolved by the U.S. occupying powers...we have learned how to earn money - by trading on the Black Market with the Americans...and we have everything we need to stay alive, but our hearts still long for our homeland...when we want to live the life of our dreams, we need to work hard and find a way to do it with joy and creativity. Only this way we one day live a free life”. According to the narrative the DP press is portraying the Estonians who survived the escape from tyranny, as unwilling victims of war who need protection, rather questioning about their past.

This line of thought that Estonians are the unwilling victims of occupation also continues in the December (1945) issue where the journalist has published an anonymous letter by an Estonian from Paris. The article states that: “De Gaulle has spoken in a private conversation very highly of Estonians and has asked about the wellbeing of Estonians”. The journalist continues and claims that De Gaulle is a “great supporter of Estonia” and is “worried about the future of [the now occupied] Estonia”. According to the journalist, in this letter the anonymous Estonian also stated that De Gaulle had shown a “great deal of respect towards the Estonian nation” and believes that the Western powers should aid Estonia in their mission, as Estonia is the weaker side of this conflict.

The article continues and deepens the victimization-narrative of Estonians even further by presenting information about an exhibition that the Soviets have arranged in Paris. The exhibition is called “The Happy Families of Soviet Union” and it is a “propaganda exhibition with false facts”. The journalist have printed the “false facts” which are listed as “in 1940 Estonia voluntarily joined the Soviet Union... when the Soviets reached Tallinn they were greeted with masses of Estonians on the Freedom Square...Nazis destroyed 6.000.000

buildings out of which 4.000.000 were private property belonging to workers and farmers”⁹¹. There is a side-note commentary by the editor who states, “this is a propaganda exhibition with some interesting facts...it is a “teachable” moment for all Estonians to show how Soviets are conducting their propaganda with false facts”. This commentary even deepens the idea on the victimization of Estonians.

In the middle of January (1946) before “Kauge Kodu” was renamed to “Kauge Kodu Päevauudised” (in February 1946) the first editorial team published one of their last issues of this newspaper. The last issue of “Kauge Kodu” presented readers with a three-page essay/opinion article in where one of the (there are no journalist names mentioned) editors proposed an article titled “Today’s challenges”. It is a long opinion article that seems to go back to the earlier narrative of portraying Estonians as a democratic and freedom loving nation – as had been done in the first few issues of this newspaper.

This article starts by resenting rumours about Estonian DPs and claims that “German press and USA internal military press have been throwing dirt towards Estonians which we cannot accept...calling us thieves who are sleeping during day time... party and steal during the night is unheard of.... UNRRA team members know that Estonian DPs have intelligence and good habits.... and UNRRA is already looking for the truth to these accusations internally within the military...it is possible that early in the next year the annexation of Estonia will be reviewed on international level and we might have a possibility to get back our country.... these accusations are unjust...the questions of our future should be approached from the Atlantic Charter and Truman’s 12 principles...we know what happened to Estonians in 1940.-41.....and how the “political decisions” were made back then....we do not care about the dirt the Germans are throwing at us, we are above it”⁹². The article continues with opinionated statements about the challenges Estonians are facing [in 1946], discusses what is in their power to change this situation and then continues with the narrative of democratic Estonians. For example, the journalists state that “the free will of the democratic Estonian nation is to have our country back...we have never democratically chosen to join the Soviets.....1940 voting was not done in a democratic way and this is why we cannot accept it....we can win or lose this battle, but we cannot give up democracy”⁹³. The journalist continues with this idea and concludes the article by stating that: “we need to show the world who we are....and how we have risen to become a

⁹¹ A letter from Paris: De Gaulle’s support for Estonians and the Soviets propaganda exhibition in Paris”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 46, December 28 1945, 2.

⁹² Today’s challenges”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 3 (55), January 12, 1946, 2-3.

⁹³ Today’s challenges”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 3 (55), January 12, 1946, 4.

democratic and cultural nation...we owe this to our ancestors who have fought so hard for our country”⁹⁴.

From February 1946 the newspapers new editorial team somewhat changed the key theme and rather than focusing on Estonians as democrats and freedom lover, the new narrative projects Estonian DPs as the unwilling victims of occupation(s). For example, in issue No. 32 there is an article titled “There are 1.700.00 DPs and refugees in Europe”⁹⁵ in where the journalist is discussing the issue of DPs in Europe. According to this article there are about “900.000 DPs in post-war Germany” who cannot go back because the “repatriation [of these individuals] is not possible”. The journalist continues and states that among those 900 000 DPs there are also “200.000 Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians” who would more than anything would like to go back, but are unable to do so as they do not have a country to return to. This article is constructing the story of Estonian DPs as the unwilling victims of occupation.

The new editorial team continues with this key theme in the July’s (1946) issue when an article titled “There are no decision makers on the issue of Baltic war guilt” is published. It is an article that discusses the war guilt of Estonians and argues over the matter who should proceed over the Estonian war criminals. The journalist states that “as the Baltic nations do not have a current legislative government.... and as the USA has not recognized the annexation of Estonia...there cannot be any war guilt, or judges to judge over the Baltic nationals war crimes. The article continues and states that “USA does not give this right either to the Soviets nor the Baltic legislative councils” which means that “there simply are no decision makers on the issue of Baltic war guilt”. The journalist refers to the Allies agreement in where it was agreed that each country would judge over their own war criminals and claims that “Estonians do not have a legislative government” which means that there are no decision makers. This article truly paints a picture of Estonians as the unwilling victims of occupation, but this time not only the occupation of Estonia by the Soviets, but also as unwilling victims of post-war order in where Estonian DPs do not possess any legislative rights⁹⁶.

The sequence to this story comes a few months later in issue No. 76 in where the UNRRA headquarters has requested “Kauge Kodu Päevauudised” to translate and publish UNRRA’s official note on DPs. With reference to Administrative Memo Nr. 159, director J.H. Whiting (who was officially at that time the Head of the U.S. zone) states, “all DPs must immediately return back to their country of origin”. Along with this official administrative note is also an

⁹⁴ Today’s challenges”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 3 (55), January 12, 1946, 4.

⁹⁵ “There are 1.700.00 DPs and refugees in Europe”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 32, April 27, 1946, 4.

⁹⁶ “There are no decision makers on the issue of Baltic war guilt”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 50, July 7, 1946, 5.

official explanation from General McNarney who points out different aspects why DPs need to return back including food rations and that DPs belong to the countries where they came from⁹⁷. There is immediate commentary to this, but further back in the issue, on page 4 there is an article that discusses the issue of Baltic DPs in a very detailed manner. An article on page 4 is titled “Another letter concerning Baltic DPs from London”⁹⁸. There is a reference to an article in The Manchester Guardian in where on the 23rd of August (1946) a journalist named Albert Kerso states that “I was one of the Baltic DPs and sometimes I have a feeling that the world has forgotten all about us...I am glad to see that Manchester Guardian still continues with the discussion on Baltic DPs...and I am deeply concerned that Baltic people are not heard and their voice has been taken away from them...the decisions on Baltic nationals are based on false information from individuals who are hostile towards Baltic nationals, how honest can it be?Germans are accusing Estonians in crimes which they themselves should be accounted for....there is no debate on resolving the Baltic question....we are stuck between no voice and false judgements”⁹⁹. The article continues and fills most of page 4 with the key theme that is seeing Estonians as the unwilling victims of two occupations. In where both sides are feeding false information to the American allies about Estonians, their activities, nature and characteristics to fulfil their own goals. The article ends by stating that the “Baltic DPs need to be heard” in order to get to the bottom of the issue and to resolve it.

After the official note on the repatriation of DPs was issued the following issues did not touch upon the topic of Baltic repatriation and another key theme emerged which focuses on Estonian (and Baltic) DPs and their achievements in the post-war Germany. For example, there are two articles on the October 19 issue that focus on the DP achievements. One article is titled “DPs are learning to farm”¹⁰⁰ and the other one is titled “Agronomist got together”¹⁰¹. Both of these articles are focusing on the Baltic DPs and are discussing how much produce the DPs have been able to get within such a short period of time.

These articles are almost opposites of the issues that were present in the earlier versions of “Kauge Kodu”. The new theme or narrative here seems to be focusing on the benefits the DPs are bringing to the post-war Germany.

⁹⁷ “Official Note on the Repatriation of DPs”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 76, October 9, 1946, 1-2.

⁹⁸ “Another letter concerning Baltic DPs from London”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 76, October 9, 1946, 4.

⁹⁹ “Another letter concerning Baltic DPs from London”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 76, October 9, 1946, 4.

¹⁰⁰ “DPs are learning to farm”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 79, October 19, 1946, 4.

¹⁰¹ “Agronomist got together”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 79, October 19, 1946, 5.

This line of thought also continues on the issue No. 82 in where an article titled “The President supports Estonians with kind words”¹⁰². It is an article that discusses the intelligence and efficiency of Estonians as workers. It is followed by two articles, the first one of them is titled “Truman’s authorized special arrangement for the Estonian DPs to stay in the USA”¹⁰³ and the second one “USA millionaire offered Estonians to move to Cuba”. Both of these articles are describing Estonians as valued workers who have many opportunities to live and work where they desire. In the first article the journalist is referencing to President Truman and states that “the President has proposed guidelines to move as many Estonian DPs to the USA as possible, but only if they do not wish to repatriate back to their place of origin for political or religious reasons”.

The construction of a narrative focusing on the achievements of Estonian DPs continues in the early issues of 1947. For example, in issue No. 1 of 1947 most of the news are focusing on the development of Estonian Altenstadt Committee proceedings. Also, on page 7-8 there is a long article describing all the achievements the old committee achieved and visions the goals for the new Committee. The article focuses in detail to the amount of donations the UNRRA has made towards Estonian Altenstadt Committee and introduces the news members for this organisation. Compared to the earlier versions of “Kauge Kodu”, this newspaper the Estonians are still perceived through the lens of achievement, but the newspaper is more factual. Almost like a report with no emotional opinion articles within it¹⁰⁴.

The less opinionated and more factual style of writing continues on the January 11th issue in there the general ledger of Geretsreid Estonian Committees is printed and discussed. Again, the discussion is merely stating facts and there is no real debate happening over this document¹⁰⁵.

The construction of this narrative that portrays Estonians DPs achievements continues in 1947 and all the way to the end of 1948. The articles in 1948 continue with this “report-style” of writing and the main discussion for example in issues No. 99¹⁰⁶ to No. 100¹⁰⁷ are mainly focusing on the dealing of Estonian Committees, on Estonian DP theatre on the achievements of Estonian DP choir.

¹⁰² “The President supports Estonians with kind words”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 82, October 30, 1946, 1.

¹⁰³ “Truman’s authorized special arrangement for the Estonian DPs to stay in the USA”, “Kauge Kodu”, No. 82, October 30, 1946, 1.

¹⁰⁴ “Kauge Kodu”, No. 1, January 4, 1947, 7-8.

¹⁰⁵ “Kauge Kodu”, No. 3, January 11, 1947, 6.

¹⁰⁶ “Kauge Kodu”, No. 100, December 18, 1948.

¹⁰⁷ “Kauge Kodu”, No. 99, December, 15, 1948.

From the previous research we know that the “Kauge Kodu Päevauudised” was issued until the camp was closed. However, at the moment there are very few issues available for the year of 1948 to 1949 and that makes it difficult to understand if the construction of the narrative remained same as it was in the previous years or did it change towards to end of the camp being closed.

It is hard to determine why there was such a shift in tone with 1945-1946 newspapers compared to 1947-1948 issues. However, one explanation could be that from 1945 to 1946 the editorial team changed, the newspaper was taken over by a new team and by 1947 there were many Estonian DPs who started emigrating towards West (even before the camp was closed).

Another explanation might also be that towards the end of Estonian DPs time in post-war Germany they had to face several accusations and tuning down the opinions for the press seems like an easy option to stay out of trouble. It is also possible that the change in tone was due to the editorial boards and their personal involvement with these articles.

We can see that the themes in newspapers are changing as the political process changes.

3.2.2 “Eesti Rada”

“Eesti Rada” was one of the first Estonian periodical issued in post-war Germany in the U.S. occupation zone. The first number of “Eesti Rada” was issued on the 29 September 1945. It was a four-page weekly that cost 30 pence. The first number was issued in 3000 copies and it was issued on every Saturday.

The first Estonian DP periodical had many tasks to cover, but what was probably the most important to many DPs living in post-war Germany was to understand what the following days and months would entail for Estonian DPs. The DPs wanted to understand the decisions made by the Big Three, how these decisions would influence their lives, and also to hear from other Estonians from different areas. According to Ferdinand Kool who was the initiator of “Eesti Rada,” the question of other Estonians well-being, especially close family members and their whereabouts was something that determined the content of this newspaper¹⁰⁸.

By analysing the published issues of this periodical we will be looking to find answers to the following questions: (1) how honestly did the Estonian DPs look at their own past history? and (2) how did the Estonian DPs represent themselves (to the world)?

¹⁰⁸ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 758-759.

The first issue of “Eesti Rada” (as it might be expected) seems very informative and covers on the first page topics such as “Estonian prisoners of war [POWs] heading towards freedom,” “Estonian war-prisoners are released from the British Zone,” “Neuhammer is now a camp for former war-prisoners”. The following numbers of “Eesti Rada” continued this neutral news style. It is not until 13 October 1945, approximately 2 weeks since the first number was issued that articles concerning Estonian DPs appeared.

One central theme from the early 1945 issues is the creation of Estonian DPs identity which portrays Estonians as democratic and freedom loving escapees from tyranny. For example, on page 2 in the 13 October 1945 issue of “Eesti Rada” there is an article published which is titled “Our responsibility”. The article is written almost like a formal declaration and it starts by claiming that “More than a year ago we were violently ripped apart from a place where we felt rooted...before the yardstick for deciding was simple and clear: our duties lied with our nation and out country, but what to do if you do not have a home anymore, does it mean that you do now have any responsibilities anymore? ...Estonians’ mentality, their attitude towards the world society has always been clear. Since ancient times Estonians have always been freedom-lovers, democrats by birth. Our history shows that democracy has always been the preferred form of government, despite the powers and ideologies that have tried to occupy us, including Nazis. The passive resistance, public and secret conflicts with different occupying powers are proof how nasty their ideologies have been to us...now when we meet again with democratic values from which Nazis tried to keep us away from, it is our duty to carry this ideology further. Continuous peace and the development of our global society depend on those who carry the democratic ideology and idea within themselves.... Our larger responsibilities have never changed”¹⁰⁹.

This is a very emotionally written article that is almost like a call or reminder for Estonians to show their positive intentions towards democracy.

It is interesting that this article was published in the third number of “Eesti Rada”, but when we compare this with the articles from “Eesti Post” a bit later on in this analysis, the intentions behind it may become clearer.

The construction of the narrative that portrays Estonians as freedom loving and democratic individuals continues in the following issues. For instance, on 27 October 1945 the fifth number of “Eesti Rada” was issued and it is the first time that the Nuremberg trials were mentioned in

¹⁰⁹ “Our responsibility.” “Eesti Rada”, No. 3, (13 October, 1945), 2.

an article titled “Nuremberg trials on the 20th of November”¹¹⁰. It is an overview of how the Nuremberg trials will be conducted, and the accusations against the defendants.

There is no commentary from the editorial press to the Nuremberg trials immediately, but the sequence to this story along with Estonian DPs opinion is presented in the November issue of “Eesti Rada”. The article titled “The ways of justice.”¹¹¹ is an opinion-piece about the Nuremberg trials which at that time are three weeks away from starting. This article starts by stating “The citizens of the world are very expectant of the Nuremberg trials. This is mainly not because people are looking for revenge or are just superficially curious. The reason is that the atrocities that were carried out according to the Nazi belief are something that our world has never seen before.”¹¹² This opinion-article is situated side by side with articles such as “Postal network in Germany”, “Evacuation and going home” and “Estonians are released from war-prisoners camps.” Since the latter mentioned articles are more on the informative side, then the first article clearly stands out as opinion. The first article on this issue seems to suggest that “if you have done the crime, you need to take responsibility for it.” It is also the only article in this issue which has been signed. The signature states K., but does not specify what this letter means or who this K. is. This article continues with the key theme of presenting Estonian DPs as freedom loving and democratic individuals who believe in fair judgement from the juridical system.

In addition to this, the editors of “Eesti Rada” continue with this key theme also in the November and December issues and there are articles side by side titled as “Lets build an Estonian Chapter”, “UNRRA tasks and goals,” “Estonians living in barracks”. The lastly mentioned article discusses living conditions and says that “Estonians are hoping to build a sauna and the UNRRA officials will allocate money for these purposes”¹¹³. These are all articles that support the construction of the narrative that Estonian DPs are strong supporters of democracy.

On the 8th of December 1945 “Eesti Rada” issues an article titled “What happens to Germany?”¹¹⁴. It is an overview by Byron Price’s, the Assistant Secretary General of the United Nation. In his report to President Truman, the Assistant Secretary General raises concern about the repatriation of DPs in post-war Germany and claims that though rehabilitation of post-war Germany is important, it should not be (financially) the

¹¹⁰ “Eesti Rada”, no. 5, (27 October 1945), 2.

¹¹¹ “The ways of justice” , “Eesti Rada”, no. 6, (3 November 1946), 2

¹¹² “The ways of justice” , “Eesti Rada”, no. 6, (3 November 1946), 2

¹¹³ “Eesti Rada,” no. 7 (10 November 1945), 2.

¹¹⁴ “Eesti Rada”, no. 11 (8 December 1945), 3.

responsibility of Americans. Taking responsibility for post-war Germans as well as DPs is something that Byron Price claims the U.S. Military Government is not prepared to do. He claims “our responsible head of military government believes that military government is not the correct apparatus to govern over foreign nations”¹¹⁵. Besides DPs the report also puts into question the necessity or rather the extent of implementation of the four D-s: demilitarization, denazification, democratization and decentralization.

Price claims that rebuilding post-war Germany is financially a huge burden to bear and suggests that U.S. military government should follow the lead of other occupying powers and focus more on the economic side of rebuilding the post-war Germany, rather than on the ideological side. The view on DPs in this report is not very positive. Price goes as far as suggests that as many DP’s as possible should be sent back to their country of origin in where they belong (as it would ease the economic burden). In other words, by this report Price makes the suggestion to President Truman that further review of the question of DPs is necessary in order to determine which DPs should be sent back to the country of origin. The report continues by stating that the rebuilding of post-war German society (including denazification) should be left for Germans to deal with and the role of Americans should be minimal. This article (overviewing Price’s report to President Truman) does not mention DP screenings specifically, but as we can see from the following articles later a new wave of screenings took place in different DP-camps.

For a while it seems like the DP press is trying to avoid discussing the issues of repatriation and DP issues, but then another article appears titled “Humanity and peace”¹¹⁶. This article does not reference Price’s report from 8 December directly. However, it does cover the same topics. The article “Humanity and peace” starts by stating that “ the road from war to peace is not easy.... peace begins with humanity, the way people are being humane to each other.... small nations need the help of bigger nations in order to restore order and humanity.... as a small nation we would like to see humanity escalate”¹¹⁷. With this article the DP press continues with the construction of a narrative that is portraying Estonian DPs as the freedom loving and democratic escapees from tyranny.

In the same issue there is also an article titled “Russia demands Dr. Mäe”. This article states that the Soviets have been demanding that the U.S. Military Government send back all the Estonian DPs who are living in post-war Germany. However, they have listed the allegedly

¹¹⁵ “Eesti Rada”, no, 11 (8 December 1945), 3.

¹¹⁶ “Eesti Rada”, no 14 (31 December, 1945), 2.

¹¹⁷ “Eesti Rada”, No 14 (31th December, 1945), 2

top war criminals and Dr. Mäe is one of them. The article continues and states “it is unclear whether Dr. Mäe will be handed over to the Russians, but what it does tell us is that the U.S. forces are also interested in obtaining Dr. Mäe”¹¹⁸. The placing (or location) of this news within the newspaper is interesting. This article is not on the first page as it might be expected, but rather on the corner on the 3rd page of this newspaper - almost as if publishing this news is not optional, but placing it towards the end of the newspaper in a far corner was an option. It is also possible that the editors of “Eesti Rada” were knowingly trying to avoid articles in where Estonians collaboration with Nazi forces was evident.

Furthermore, it is also possible that consciously aware that the American forces do not know a lot about the Baltic States, the Estonian DPs see this as an opportunity to introduce Estonia and the Soviet Union from the perspective most suited to their current need to avoid repatriation.

It is a good moment to clarify that most Estonian men who had enlisted with the German army had done so with a hope to “liberate their family members deported by the communists” and to defend their homeland, but there were also some “Baltic volunteers” who were “directly involved in the execution of Jews in Belarus and Ukraine”¹¹⁹. The direct involvement of Dr. Mäe in atrocities is unknown. What has become evident from his memoirs is that in May 1945 when U.S. denazification policy in Germany began, his name was among those listed as war criminals. Dr. Mäe was arrested and kept in war prison until early 1947¹²⁰.

By early 1946 the Estonian DPs perception in the press changed and the articles were focusing on portraying Estonians as the unwilling victims of the (political) regime. For example, the January 12 issue of “Eesti Rada” has dedicated a whole page (out of this four-page weekly newspaper) to explain the status of Estonian DPs and their connection to Nazi leaders. The heading of this page is “Truth and justice for the protection of the Baltics.”¹²¹ The first article is sub-titled “We are forced fugitives” and it explains to the readers the reason why so many Estonians have ended up in Germany. The article suggests that “leaving Estonia was not a decision which was up for Estonians to decide....we had to escape in order to stay alive....the accusations of Estonians moving to better soil is so disrespectful and hurtful.”¹²² The article concludes by stating that recently several newspapers including “The

¹¹⁸ “Eesti Rada”, No 14 (31th December, 1945), 3.

¹¹⁹ Kasekamp, “*A History of the Baltic States*”, 136.

¹²⁰ Mäe, “*Kuidas kõik teostus: minu mälestusi*”, 35.

¹²¹ “Eesti Rada”, No. 16 (12th Jan, 1946), 2

¹²² “Eesti Rada”, No. 16 (12th Jan, 1946), 2

Stars and Stripes” as well as the “Die Neue Zeitung” had falsely accused Estonians of something which they cannot accept and this is why this page of “Eesti Rada “ has been dedicated to issues which needed to be clarified.

The construction of this narrative is also supported by the subtitled articles on this page, including “We are not felons”, “Estonians have never been Nazis” and “Not voluntarily, but forced.” When we look at the article subtitled “Estonians have never been Nazis” we can see that the issue of calling Estonian DPs Nazis is something that Estonians DPs feel very strongly about. From this piece we can read that “We are accused of being part of Nazi army whilst protecting our country from the Soviets. We have never followed the Nazi ideology and yes, we may have been part of Nazi military forces at some point, but it was to protect our land and our country. We have always carried democratic beliefs and fighting for our country is the only crime we can accept”¹²³.

When we asked before about how Estonians viewed their past, then from this issue of “Eesti Rada” we can see that Estonians saw themselves as the victims of war, the “forced fugitives” who saw their connection to the Nazi regime from the perspective of the need to survive. In the article “We are not felons”, the author explains that the accusation that labels Estonians as criminals is an accusation that is “outrageously unheard-of and extremely insulting.”¹²⁴ The article continues by explaining that Estonians did not leave their country to escape their crimes, Estonians escaped because staying in Estonia was not an option for them. The article sub-titled “Not voluntarily, but forced” continues this debate and the article concludes by stating that “We can say it with pride and pure conscience to all the accusers out there that we (Estonians) are not felons or Nazis. It is true that our nation has seen a few traitors who did indeed work with Nazis, but this is not who we are as a nation. These traitors’ names are known to most Estonians and they have been judged for their behaviour in our hearts. However, this is not the reason why all Estonians should be accused as the beholders of Nazi ideology. As we also should not accuse Norway or Slovakia of Nazi ideology, because they had Quisling and Tiso”¹²⁵ From this we can see that Estonians felt that they did not have to feel guilty about their past and felt that their DP-status in post-war Germany was justified. This view is also consistent with what Andres Kasekamp has written about the choice of many Estonians who swapped their Red Army

¹²³ “Eesti Rada”, No. 16 (12th Jan, 1946), 2

¹²⁴ Eesti Rada”, No. 16 (12th of Jan, 1946), 2

¹²⁵ Eesti Rada”, No. 16 (12 January, 1946), 2

uniforms for German uniforms: “motivated by the desire for revenge against the Soviet regime and to liberate family members deported by the communists”¹²⁶.

The construction of this narrative (portraying Estonians as unwilling victims of a political regime) is further supported when the issue of Estonians and their involvement in Nazi activities returned as a heated topic in the 9 February 1946 issue. As a sequel to the article published on 12 January, it also carried the same title - “Not voluntarily, but forced.” It describes the forced mobilization of Estonians following the German invasion of Estonia. The article describes how democracy in Estonia was replaced with Nazi ideology, how using the word “sovereignty” could get you imprisoned, how being sent to labour camps was not a free choice and how escaping from Estonia was the only way to survive for those able to flee the country. This article yet again refuses to accept the idea that any Estonians took part in Nazi activities voluntarily. It is almost as if the editors of “Eesti Rada” are trying to defend the honour of those Estonians who joined Germans as a hope to free Estonia from the Soviets and ignore that some Estonians were indeed involved with the Nazis. Few people from the whole nation by no means represent the whole nation of Estonians and the 9 February issue is right to claim that many Estonians were indeed forced to join the German army. At the same time we cannot avoid the fact that some Estonians were indeed war criminals at least for the U.S. military government.

The next issue of “Eesti Rada” concludes these matters with an article titled “Let’s focus on the present moment! DP-life and DP-psychosis”¹²⁷. For a short period of time the articles in the DP press seem fairly neutral and almost opposite to the opinionated articles presented in the earlier issues. Instead, the focus turns towards the wellbeing of DP-s and argues that the constant need to prove to foreign powers that Estonians are not Nazis and war criminals has led to something that can be called the “DP-psychosis.” The article continues and states that “in order to avoid the DP-psychosis from happening we need to have an ideology, goals and milestones to reach for. There are so many treasures hidden in all of us Estonians, which might not be seen by others from outside. We need to show our treasures through our actions to those who decide our faith”¹²⁸.

The newspaper is presenting it almost as a calling or a proposal for Estonian DP-s to start living by the values they believe in and stop worrying what the newspapers are publishing. From this we can gather that by late 1945 and early 1946 Estonians were indeed seen (at least in the beginning of U.S. occupation in Germany when this article was published) like perpetrators or

¹²⁶ Kasekamp, “*History of the Baltic States*”, 136.

¹²⁷ “Eesti Rada”, No. 21 (16 February, 1946), 3

¹²⁸ “Eesti Rada”, No. 21 (16 February, 1946), 3

felons who collaborated the Nazis. As Estonian DP press was read consecutively by the DPs as well as by the Allied military administration it is also possible that the construction of a new identity via press was a way to avoid repatriation and remain recipient of the U.S. aid and retain refugee status.

For most of 1946 the key theme in DP press is keeping a low profile and staying active via different DP organizations. The newspaper merely presents information and news appear fairly neutral. For example, on 16 February 1946 "Eesti Rada"¹²⁹ published a resolution from the United Nations Organisation (UNO) which decided the following issues: (1) DP camps cannot be administered by any of the nationalities, (2) DPs must keep away from any political activities against the UNO (3) DP camps will be screened again for war criminals, and (4) none of the DPs would be forced to repatriate back to their country of origin if they do not wish to return. This was news that the Estonian DPs (and others, too) had been waiting for a long time. Over the next few months "Eesti Rada" focused its attention on more informative news items-for example, the overall political situation in the world, how and where DPs should register to obtain ID cards, what was happening in Estonian DP camps in other zones, how youth activities were being organized in post-war Germany and so on. The issue of the alleged connection of Estonian DPs to the Nazi party and related matters are not mentioned at all.

Another example includes the article in April where there is only a slight mention of the relationship between the Estonian DPs and the U.S. occupation authorities. The article titled "How should DP-s use this moment wisely?"¹³⁰ encourages all the DPs to register with a school or a workshop and learn a profession that has practical value and might be of use to the people in the U.S. occupying zone. Other than that there is no other mention of DPs in "Eesti Rada" until 18 May 1946 in an article titled "New DP- screening will be carried out." The content of this article is drawn from the American military newspaper "The Stars and Stripes" which informed that a new screening would take place. The main reason given in this article is that "there are a number of felons and speculators who are using DP-camps as a means for hiding. These felons need to be found and brought to justice."¹³¹ When we look at this article in the light of the article mentioned lastly, it is understandable that these new screenings are a result of UN resolutions, which aimed to find the remaining war criminals on German soil. This article is not directed at Estonian DPs specifically, but it does mention that there are around 400 000 DPs in post-war Germany and hiding oneself inside a DP camp is an easy escape from justice.

¹²⁹ Eesti Rada", No. 21/7 (16 February, 1946), 1

¹³⁰ Eesti Rada", No. 14/28 (27 April, 1946), 2.

¹³¹ "Eesti Rada", No. 14/28 (27 April, 1946), 2.

Towards the end of the year the question of DPs and their repatriation returns to the political arena and so does the issue of Estonian identity. For example, just days before the last sentence was rendered in the Nuremberg trials, an article¹³² was published in "Eesti Rada" titled "Russians are blaming and throwing accusations towards DP-s." This is a translation from an article in "The New York Times" in which the Americans reported that the Soviets were accusing the DP-s for not returning to their homeland. The Soviets were also accusing the other occupying powers (namely the Americans) for helping the DPs to settle themselves in DP camps so comfortably. The issue of Estonian DPs and their repatriation is again a topic of discussion. The Estonians' response within this article follows the same line of thought as before, namely that they do not see the need to turn back to a land which is not Estonia anymore.

In an article titled "Another year of DP days" Professor A. Perandi argues that Estonian DPs should be proud of what they have achieved during 1946 highlights that any society's value can be measured by the cultural activities that a particular community is willing to invest its resources in. The Professor Perandi argues further and claims "society can be measured by the amount of valuable material and spiritual culture it has brought to its people in order to create these values." The Professor continues and states that when in the beginning of DP life in camps Estonians had to focus on constantly proving their innocence from charges of complicity in Nazi crimes, go through several screenings and fill out several forms, then the second half of this period has been about creating a democratic and free society in which culture can thrive. This article states that "in DP-camps we do not have the same privileges as citizens....but we do have the right to choose whether we would like to live democratically...democracy means freedom of words, freedom to create culture." The article explains that the number of schools, clubs, societies and periodicals Estonians have established since the second half of 1945 to the end of 1946 is an action which speaks louder than words. The professor concludes the article by stating "we should not stop with our cultural activities...it is something we cannot allow. May the success of our actions be for the following years to judge, but we should not stop"¹³³. The article emphasises that Estonian DPs are a very cultural group of people and with it continues with the construction of a narrative that Estonians are democrats by heart.

In late 1946 and early 1947 the political situation between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union are slowly starting to heat up. The U.S is unsure what to do about the DPs and the pressure to find a solution for DPs in Europe results in another wave of screenings within the

¹³² "Eesti Rada", No 42 (27 November, 1946), 3.

¹³³ "Eesti Rada", No, 45/60 (30 December, 1946), 2.

DP camps. It is evident that the tensions between the Americans and Soviets are causing also worry within the DP community as it can be seen in the early issues of "Eesti Rada" including articles "We [USA] stay true to our principles"¹³⁴, "What to do with DPs?"¹³⁵ and "UNRRA started a new set of screenings"¹³⁶.

Following the news in the early issues of "Eesti Rada" another key theme emerges. The central theme from late January onwards is focusing on portraying Estonian DPs as the unwilling victims of political regimes. This is evident in the memorandum the Augsburg Estonian DPs submitted to the headquarters of the U.S. Military Government. With this memorandum the Estonian DPs requesting the UNRRA officials to stop the screening process as it is "emotionally exhausting and causing great pain to the Estonian DPs"¹³⁷.

This theme is also evident in a story where the DP press is trying to overturn the accusations made against Baltic women, including Estonians. In this story local Germans are spreading rumours that a group of Estonian women have been transported to Germany to be given over to the Soviet forces. Estonian press denies this and claims that Estonians are the unwilling victims of regime. With this story the DP press is continuing with the narrative that the occupation regimes (both in Estonian and post-war Germany) are not voluntary for the Estonian DPs and they are the victims of this current situation¹³⁸.

This theme is also evident in a story in where it is reported that the German police can arrest DPs for being outside of the camp territory¹³⁹ and in a story which reports about the 300 000 Baltic nationals in post-war Germany and Austria protesting for the awareness of the Atlantic Charter¹⁴⁰.

With the changes on the political arena and also seeing that the narrative of Estonians as unwilling victims of a political regime might be as effective as hoped, the DP press starts focusing more on the tensions between the U.S. and the Soviets. From April 1947 the main emphasis of the DP press is focused on the Cold War and "threatening" actions of the Soviets. This is evident for example in an article in there the U.S and Soviets relations are discussed using the information from international media sources¹⁴¹. This theme continues in May

¹³⁴ "Eesti Rada", No 1/61 (8 January 1947), 1.

¹³⁵ "Eesti Rada", No 1/61 (8 January 1947), 1.

¹³⁶ "Eesti Rada", No 1/61 (8 January 1947), 1.

¹³⁷ "Eesti Rada", No 2/62 (15 January 1947), 2.

¹³⁸ "Eesti Rada", No 7/67 (19 February 1947), 1.

¹³⁹ "Eesti Rada", No 6/66 (12 February 1947), 3.

¹⁴⁰ "Eesti Rada", No 11/71 (12 March 1947), 1.

¹⁴¹ "Eesti Rada", No 16/76 (16 April 1947), 1.

issues¹⁴² and to make their voices heard even louder a special issue of “Eesti Rada” is published in English.

The special issue of “Eesti Rada”¹⁴³ is presenting articles including “Estonia and the Western Democracy”, “Do not forget the Baltic States”, “Estonian Musical Culture”, “Why are we in Germany”, “Destruction of Warfare in Estonia” and many others. The journalists have drawn illustrations to show that Estonian DPs are most well-read and cultural DPs in post-war Germany with the highest number of published works per 10 000 inhabitants. The illustrations and discussions over the culture of Estonians continue, but the key theme of these articles is the democratic identity of Estonians. Almost all of these articles are representing Estonians as hard working cultural democrats who are requesting that the U.S. sympathize with their conditions.

Articles in the following issues also continue with this theme and the editors of DP press present that within the DP camps in post-war Germany the Estonian DPs have the smallest percentage of reported crimes¹⁴⁴, they stick together in tough times and have soldiers who are the “embodiment of the democratic will of their own defence”¹⁴⁵. The editors also direct a letter to the Estonian DPs to state that “we are one heart and one soul...let us forget about the small arguments and stick together”¹⁴⁶. With these articles the DP press is contextualizing the DPs experience in post-war Germany as a fight for freedom.

By 1948 the tensions between the U.S and the Soviets were quite intense and the influence of it was also evident in the DP press. The key theme in the early issues of 1948 in “Eesti Rada” was about the future of DPs. The journalists presented several articles to show that the Soviets do not have good intentions with the Baltic DPs. There are articles which claim that many Estonians are escaping from the tyranny with a hope to find a better life elsewhere. For example, in an article “Estonians across Atlantic”¹⁴⁷ the journalists are saying that Estonians sailed across the Atlantic Ocean to escape from Estonia. The article continues and says that “along with Estonians there were also 12 Finns” who were also escaping from the Soviets tyranny.

In another article where the DP issues are discussed the journalists are referring to the USA Foreign Minister Edward R. Stettinius words. The Foreign Minister discussed the tensions between the Americans and the Soviets and said that in some way the DPs have become “a

¹⁴² “Eesti Rada”, No 18/78 (2 May 1947), 1.

¹⁴³ “Eesti Rada”, No 23/83 (3 June 1947), 1-4

¹⁴⁴ “Eesti Rada”, No 43/103 (12 August 1947), 1.

¹⁴⁵ “Eesti Rada”, No 43/103 (12 August 1947), 1.

¹⁴⁶ “Eesti Rada”, No 90/120 (27 November 1947), 1.

¹⁴⁷ “Eesti Rada”, No 1/146 (2 January 1948), 1.

symbol of the fight against totalitarianism”¹⁴⁸. Similarly to Edward R. Stettinius, the overall impression that the Estonian DP press is writing about the Americans is that “the USA will not give in” to the demands of the Soviets¹⁴⁹.

According to the DP press the Americans attitude towards the Soviets is somewhat opposite to the Finns who “sacrificed 15 Estonians to the Soviet Union”, out of whom 4 were killed later on by the Soviet forces¹⁵⁰. This is not to say that these Estonians were handed over lightly as the article does raise a question that the Finns, who are known as the “big brother” of Estonia, were threatened by the Soviets to give up those 15 Estonians. What this article is saying is that the Soviets methods to “have it in their own way”¹⁵¹ have no limits.

In March 1948 the (former) Czechoslovakian Foreign Minister Masaryk commits suicide¹⁵². The DP press writes a long article to cover the sad news and claims that this death is the responsibility of the Soviet powers. According to this article the Soviet leaders actions have directly lead the Foreign Minister to his death. The journalist claims that “this terror [by the Soviets] cannot continue” any longer and needs to be stopped. This topic is also addressed by the USA Foreign Minister Marshall who claims that the “international situation is extremely serious” and needs a resolution immediately.

After the news about Foreign Minister Masaryk appeared, the DP press issued an article after an article in where the Soviets and their methods for cooperation are discussed. For example, in an article “Red army claims to have saved the European civilization”¹⁵³ the journalists are highlighting the false claims the Soviets are publishing in their media. In articles titled “Russians are gathering tanks to Berlin”¹⁵⁴ and “Russians hinder cooperation”¹⁵⁵ the focus of the discussion is on Russians methods for international cooperation, their violent attitude and inappropriate behaviour.

The discussions continue and by summer of 1948 the Estonian DP press publishes an article in there they claim that the communist have a conspiracy to drive the Allies out of Berlin¹⁵⁶. In an article “Soviets are playing with fire”¹⁵⁷ the DP press discusses that the Soviet actions are so

¹⁴⁸ “Eesti Rada”, No 2/147 (7 January 1948), 1.

¹⁴⁹ “Eesti Rada”, No 6/151 (20 January 1948), 1.

¹⁵⁰ “Eesti Rada”, No 34/179 (27 April 1948), 1.

¹⁵¹ “Eesti Rada”, No 37/181 (27 April 1948), 1.

¹⁵² “Eesti Rada”, No 35/179 (12 March 1948), 1.

¹⁵³ “Eesti Rada”, No 16/161 (24 February 1948), 1.

¹⁵⁴ “Eesti Rada”, No 31/176 (16 April 1948), 1.

¹⁵⁵ “Eesti Rada”, No 31/176 (16 April 1948), 1.

¹⁵⁶ “Eesti Rada”, No 53/201 (7 July 1948), 1.

¹⁵⁷ “Eesti Rada”, No 59/207 (16 April 1948), 1.

violent and atrocious that this all may lead to Third World War. The overall key theme in “Eesti Rada” during these months of 1948 is focusing on Soviets and their doings.

From July 1948 onwards the key theme in “Eesti Rada” is focusing on the U.S. and their actions against the Soviets. This can be seen for example in an article discussing the military readiness of the Americans in “Flying Fortresses in Europe”, in an article discussing the USA economic sanctions towards the Soviets in “West is prepared for a new step”¹⁵⁸ and in an article “New note ready for the Soviets”¹⁵⁹. The discussions on the Soviets actions continue in an article title “Russia is gathering forces to Yugoslavian borders”¹⁶⁰ according to which the Soviets are preparing themselves for a war.

By the articles in the “Eesti Rada” in 1948 it seems that the Estonian DPs are either very seriously concerned about their repatriation back to Estonia and the articles are expressing their concerns over these matters. It is also possible that the journalists are using the DP press to somewhat contextualize their experiences with the Soviets into a narrative through which they can represent themselves to the American forces - a narrative which allows them to reallocate towards West.

The issues of “Eesti Rada” in 1949 are somewhat different to the newspapers issued from 1945 to 1948. One of the first differences that are visibly evident is that the newspapers are smaller in size and also thinner, in terms of published pages. The issues are published with less frequency and at times even 8-10 days apart from the previous issue. The 1949 version of “Eesti Rada” cannot be called a weekly newspaper as, at times, it is not even printed every week.

The key themes in 1949 in “Eesti Rada” are focusing more on the relations between the Americans and the Soviets, and DPs are hardly mentioned at all.

For instance, in an article “America does not have a lot of time...”¹⁶¹, the journalist is presenting information from one of the recent ministerial meeting in where the solution for peaceful cooperation in Europe was discussed. The following issues cover news including “No one wants

¹⁵⁸ “Eesti Rada”, No 61/206 (21 July 1948), 1.

¹⁵⁹ “Eesti Rada”, No 62/207 (23 July 1948), 1.

¹⁶⁰ “Eesti Rada”, No 67/212 (4 August 1948), 1.

¹⁶¹ “Eesti Rada”, No 1 (11 January 1949), 1.

war”¹⁶², “Russia ready to cooperate with USA”¹⁶³, “Atlantic Charter – eyesore for Moscow”¹⁶⁴, and “Western World ensures their defence”¹⁶⁵.

In February when Estonia celebrates its Independence Day “Eesti Rada” publishes a salute to the “free Western Democracies” and the issues such as the wellbeing of Estonian DPs, their repatriation back to Estonia or their possible reallocation to the West are not mentioned at all. The lack of patriotic opinion articles combined with the news in the earlier versions of DP press raise a question whether most of the editorial staff responsible for running “Eesti Rada” has already left post-war Germany (towards West)?

After the Independence Day issue of “Eesti Rada” articles continue with the same theme of focusing on the relations between the Americans and the Soviets. For example, in an article discussing the possibility for an international cooperation the journalist reports that “Russians do not support free press”¹⁶⁶ and are “against controlled military forces”¹⁶⁷ to which the Americans respond that “North Atlantic Treaty is an excellent perspective for cooperation”¹⁶⁸. It is followed by an article “12 signatures signed against communism”¹⁶⁹ in where the USA, Canada, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Norway, Denmark, Island, Portugal and Italy have shown their will for an international cooperation with their signature.

The signing of North Atlantic Treaty immediately caused protest-meetings among the communism admirers which then in turn lead to protests against the Soviets. “Eesti Rada” publishes information about both of these meetings and presents that there was a “powerful protest against terror” in where more than “5000 political refugees were protesting in Stuttgart” to show their views towards the Soviets. Protesters from “9 different nationalities” were present and were a voice to these who “murdered, enslaved and deported” by the Soviets.

The following news in “Eesti Rada” continues with the same theme and mainly focus on the news discussing the relations between the Western and Eastern leaders. However, towards the end of the year the “Eesti Rada” reports mostly news about the Soviets unwillingness to cooperate with the West and states that “world peace has reached only halfway”¹⁷⁰. The

¹⁶² “Eesti Rada”, No 3 (25 January 1949), 1.

¹⁶³ “Eesti Rada”, No 4 (1 February 1949), 1.

¹⁶⁴ “Eesti Rada”, No 5 (8 February 1949), 1.

¹⁶⁵ “Eesti Rada”, No 6 (15 February 1949), 1.

¹⁶⁶ “Eesti Rada”, No 8 (1 March 1949), 1.

¹⁶⁷ “Eesti Rada”, No 8 (1 March 1949), 1.

¹⁶⁸ “Eesti Rada”, No 11 (22 March 1949), 1.

¹⁶⁹ “Eesti Rada”, No 13 (5 April 1949), 1.

¹⁷⁰ “Eesti Rada”, No 23 (14 June 1949), 1.

reporters also state that the actions of the Soviets may lead to “the Third World War”¹⁷¹, especially now when the Soviets are not willing to cooperate and the rumours about the “Soviets having the nuclear bomb”¹⁷² are expanding fast. According to the news the Soviets are expanding their military forces and are in the process of “creating a military town”¹⁷³ close to Berlin. In the middle of all these discussions there are almost no news about the DPs, their reallocation to West or about the DPs conditions in post-war Germany. It seems as if the editorial team of “Eesti Rada” has been reallocated to elsewhere and the publishing of the newspaper has been left to a group of whose main focus is on the international relations between the East and West.

3.2.3. “Eesti Post”

The first number of “Eesti Post” was issued on Tuesday, 6 November 1945. The cost of this newspaper was 20 pence. “Eesti Post” was published on every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and the editorial team of “Eesti Post” included many professional journalists and writers. It was one of the most frequently published newspapers for Estonian DP-s in post-war Germany.

By the time the first issue of “Eesti Post” was published (on the 6th of November 1945) there were already more than 3000 Estonians living in the Geislingen area¹⁷⁴. Towards the end of 1946 the editorial team did change due to internal conflicts and the newspaper was issued only twice per week (compared to 3x per week before), it still remained as one of the biggest newspapers within Estonian DP-s community¹⁷⁵.

Similarly to “Kauge Kodu” and “Eesti Rada”, by exploring the issues of “Eesti Post” we will be looking to find answers to the following questions: (1) How honestly did the Estonian DPs look at their own past history? and (2) how did the Estonian DPs represent themselves (to the world)?

One central theme in the early “Eesti Post” is democracy. The newspaper is portraying Estonians as democratic and freedom loving people. This can be seen for example in the article

¹⁷¹ “Eesti Rada”, No 28 (19 July 1949), 1

¹⁷² “Eesti Rada”, No 30 (2 August 1949), 1

¹⁷³ “Eesti Rada”, No 28 (19 July 1949), 1

¹⁷⁴ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 765.

¹⁷⁵ Kool, “*DP Kroonika: Eesti pagulased Saksamaal, 1944-1951*”, 765-768.

in where the journalist presents an overview of Winston Churchill's speech at the House of Commons titled "Democracy challenged." What is interesting about this article is the section of Churchill's speech that has been copied, translated and printed for the Estonian DPs to read. This article, which covers most of page 2 and some of page 3 starts with a general statement by saying "communism has already reached or is close to becoming the power of dictatorship. Countries that have been crushed by the atrocities of the war need authoritative government at first. Otherwise, it would lead to anarchy, but this is not the way it should remain." The article then shifts focus from the societal point of view and more towards that of national identity and states "Despite of that (spread of authority) we still need to know and be clear on who we are." The following words in the article have been underlined and emphasized: "Democracy is challenged now more than it has ever been before." We need to carry this (democracy) within our hearts with care, with infinite and ceaseless force. We need to keep it alive."¹⁷⁶ It may be the translation, but the parts that have been extracted from the original piece come across as very urgent and emotional, almost like a plea. The way this article has been positioned within Eesti Post, the way some lines are in bold and underlined indicated that this was either a topic that was very close to heart for Estonian DPs or that this article is a lens through which DPs were hoping to portray themselves through. This key theme continues throughout the "Eesti Post" and was also evident in "Kauge Kodu" and "Eesti Rada" as discussed above.

Another key theme in "Eesti Post" is victimization, which portrays Estonian DPs as the unwilling victims of two regimes – the Nazi occupation in Estonia and the DP status in post-war Germany. For example, in an article titled "Who we are?" the DPs are constructing a narrative through which they wish to present themselves to the post-war German society, mainly Americans. According to the DP press, the "T-Patch" journalist has "accused Estonian DPs of occupying local properties, living a more prosperous life than many post-war Germans" and goes so far as to claim that "Estonians were proud Nazis who were showing off their SS uniforms and swastika"¹⁷⁷. The article in "Eesti Post" contains the response to these charges that the Estonian Geislingen DP-camp sent to the T-Patch newspaper. The response has been constructed in a very formal manner and covers five main points: (1) "None of the Estonians in Geislingen DP-s camp has come here out of their own will; (2) "None of the Estonians in Geislingen DP camp is a Nazi; (3) None of the Estonians in Geislingen DP camp have worked hand in hand with Nazi power; (4) None of the Estonians in Geislingen DP camp has ever worn swastika symbols and (5) Estonians have been placed to Geislingen DP camp by the authorities of the U.S. Military Government".

¹⁷⁶ "Eesti Post" Nr. 1, (6 November, 1945), 2-3

¹⁷⁷ "Eesti Post" Nr. 1, (6 November, 1945), 3-4.

On top of these five points, the article reporting the response of Geislingen Estonian DPs to the T-Patch editors also mentions that “it seems unfounded and unjust to call Estonians as Nazi regime supporters especially when a large group of Estonians in Geislingen DP camp consists of Estonians who were prosecuted by the Nazi leaders as hostile to Nazi regime and sent to labour camps as punishment.” The article claims that Geislingen Estonian DPs viewed such statements as “an ugly and irresponsible slander” which instead of supporting the inhabitants of post-war Germany pulls them further apart. It is a very emotionally written article and rejects all accusations made towards Estonian DPs. Instead, the Estonian DPs use this article to present their identity to the readers, as democratic and freedom loving.

The key theme of victimization continues and is also evident in the following issues. For instance, the third number of “Eesti Post” is focusing on the Baltic DPs question. The first page of this issue draws conclusions from a meeting in London in which the status of Baltic DPs was discussed. On the third page of the this issue of “Eesti Post” is the article titled “Who We are?” An article of the same title was published in the first issue of “Eesti Post”, but this time it is in the form of a reply from one of the soldiers in the U.S. Military Government’s 36th army division.

The reply is titled as “One American’s letter to Eesti Post” and it starts by stating “It is very regrettable that a journalist has written an article to T-Patch which sheds a negative light on the Estonian colony. This statement does not reflect the opinion of the 36th division and is merely the journalist’s own personal opinion. We hope that Estonians will not allow themselves to be influenced by this insignificant incident and change their friendly attitude towards local Americans.”¹⁷⁸ The article continues by informing that there is a social gathering occurring within the premises of U.S. Army base in which American food, drinks and music will be offered to the guests.

The article also states “Americans, as the representatives of a democratic country, will not allow themselves to be influenced by one opinion from one journalist in last week’s Army internal newspaper.” This is almost like statement or a plea that invites Estonian DPs to do the same. The article is signed by “one of the Americans” and in the last sentence states that “if this article was unpleasant for Estonians, then it is up to every individual to decide whether they would like to take part in these festivities or not.”

¹⁷⁸ “Eesti Post”, No.3, (13 November, 1945), 3.

After the accusations in T-Patch and response letters from the American officials, the DP press focuses their attention towards the occupying powers of Estonia and continues with the theme of portraying DPs as victims of the war. For instance, an article titled “When the Superintendent was partying” starts by describing Nazi Germany’s invasion of Estonia. The journalist claims “when Estonia was occupied by Germany the most profitable and influential positions within Estonia, especially in Tallinn, were taken over by Nazi military officials. The Nazi German officials were “friendly”¹⁷⁹ towards Estonians, but at the same time sent all the available food resources back to Germany, gave access to the best jobs and merchandise to those closest to them, and treated working-class Estonians poorly. Those who did not comply with the orders of Nazi leaders were sent to prison or labour camps in Germany.

This article proposes that Estonians under Nazi occupation did not have a choice whether to cooperate with Nazi powers or not. It was the matter of survival, the matter of maintaining a job to buy food and getting enough food to stay alive. The article comes across almost as an attempt to explain the participation and dealing of those Estonians who had to cooperate with Nazi officials in Estonia (some the Estonians who may have been present in the U.S. occupation zone of post-war Germany) and hence feeds into the construction of a narrative according to which Estonians are the unwilling victims of political regime.

The way this article has been written it seems as if the accusations towards Nazis and their behaviour while being in Estonia is somehow a justification to say “we are bad, but they are worse”. The wording in this article is very emotional. And although the aim (presumably) of this article was to show that Estonians are not supporters of Nazi regime, the article comes across as an accusation of bad behaviour towards Nazi soldiers.

This narrative also continues on the next issue of “Eesti Post” which allocates an entire page to reject accusations that Estonians are fascists and should be repatriated back to Soviet Union. The three articles on page two are united under one big title “Estonians escaping from Bolshevism are labelled as fascists.” This is obviously something with which the journalists do not agree or they do not wish to be associated with this perception. There is an excerpt from the “Schwäbische Donau-Zeitung” which reports: “Russian leaders are not satisfied with the fact

¹⁷⁹ The word “friendly” in this article has been placed between quotation mark by the Estonian journalist which means the opposite of friendly “Eesti Post” No. 4, (15 November, 1945), 2.

that the Americans and British are not complying with the idea that all Soviet citizens should be repatriated back to the Soviet Union.”¹⁸⁰

In the response article the Estonian journalist states: “they (Russians) do not want to have witnesses who can confirm the nightmares which are happening behind the ‘iron curtain,’ they want to hide what is happening from the democratic world”.¹⁸¹ The article explains that the DP camps are right now flooded with Soviet officers who are offering an idyllic life for the DPs who are returning back to Soviet Union with them.

Similar discussion continues in the 11 December 1945 issue in an article titled “American senator is attacking the Soviet Union.” The journalist notes, “democratic Senator James Eastland attacked the Soviet regime and claimed that USA will have to help post-war Germany to stop the tyrannical regime the Soviets are trying to implement in the Soviet zone.” The journalist praises the Senator and says “we cannot allow that post-war Germany will be turned into a communist regime, it is as dangerous as the ideology Hitler proposed.”¹⁸²

By the end of 1945 another key theme appeared. In comparison to the previous narrative, which was portraying Estonians as unwilling victims of war, the new focus was on Germans and their inability to understand their post-war responsibilities. For example, on 15 December 1945 “Eesti Post” published an article titled “Germans are accusing others, instead of themselves: USA journalist’s impressions from a trip across Germany”¹⁸³.

This discussion continues on the next issue of “Eesti Post” in where a front-page article headlined with bold capital letters “Germans need to take responsibility for their actions.”¹⁸⁴ This article starts by stating, also in capital letters, that: “Germans have already forgotten the war and do not seem to understand that their land has been occupied by foreign powers.” The article continues and explains that for organizational purposes some of the Germans were removed from their homes and relocated. This has made many Germans very angry and they are now accusing the DPs of taking over properties they have no right to. The Estonian journalists respond to this claim (again with bold capital letters) that “it is an order from the higher ranking officers that DPs should live as comfortably as the post-war Germans.” In Geislingen the post-war Germans are being asked specifically to leave Frankfurt Street. The article continues and

¹⁸⁰ “Eesti Post”, No. 9 (27 November, 1945), 2-3.

¹⁸¹ “Eesti Post”, No. 9 (27 November, 1945), 2.

¹⁸² “Eesti Post”, No. 14 (11 December, 1945), 2.

¹⁸³ “Eesti Post”, No. 16 (15 December, 1945), 2.

¹⁸⁴ “Eesti Post”, No. 17 (18 December, 1945), 1.

states that “Germans were supporting Hitler’s war and this is why all Germans, some more, some less, are responsible for the situation after the war. In any case the accusations that the Polish, Baltic DPs were the allies of Nazi forces is not true. We have never been as close allies to Hitler, as the Germans themselves were.” It is a very emotionally written article and again rejects all Estonian involvement with the Nazi regime.

Estonian DP-s identity and their collaboration with Nazis becomes a discussion point again in January. In the 8 January issue of “Eesti Post” we find an article, which is titled “Baltic DPs are friendly towards Nazis”. In this article the Military Government issues a statement which claims that they have found a former SS-officer of Polish origin who was in a leading position in one of the DP camps. The article also claims that Baltic DPs are responsible for different robberies in town and are according to a recent poll found friendly towards Nazis. This article has been given a side note by the editors from “Eesti Post” who state that “Starts and Stripes published this announcement on their 3.1.46 issue...where these interesting claims are coming from will be a matter of investigation for the Baltic Committee as well as for the UNRRA. This matter will be investigated thoroughly, but in any case it must be a very coarse mistake and care will to be taken to insure that this will be dealt with accordingly”. It is unclear if this article elicited a response, since I was unable to find one, but based on the articles in the following issues it seems as if not continuing with the discussion of these claims was part of constructing a narrative that presented Estonian DPs from a different perspective. Over the next few days, weeks and months there is fair amount of information on Estonian Committees, cultural clubs and sporting events. In other words, the news regarding accusation towards Estonians are avoided and the information about the success of different DP organisations is published instead. This feeds the construction of an idea that the accusations made against Estonians are false.

It seems that focusing on the positive news on DP activities (instead of accusation against DPs) has paid off as on the 16 February “Eesti Post” published the UN resolution that decided “DPs will not be sent home if they have reason for not returning home.”¹⁸⁵ It also stated that the screening process would continue and if war criminals or Nazis were found in DP camps, then they would be dealt with accordingly. There is no comment attached to this article by “Eesti Post,” but it is worth mentioning that this news was posted on the front page and titled and written in bold capital letters.

¹⁸⁵ “Eesti Post”, No 38 (16 February, 1946), 1.

In February 1946 the key theme in DP newspapers focuses on presenting Estonia and former Estonians as citizens of the democratic state. On the occasion of Estonia's independence day on the February 24 (1918) the DP press focus is on Estonia. It is not then a surprise that the Saturday issue of "Eesti Rada" is devoted entirely to celebrating this day. "Eesti Post" no. 40 consists of many pages, which are almost all devoted celebrating the Independence Day of Estonia. The first two pages are full of congratulations from different organizational bodies such as the Estonian Committee and the UNRRA team.

On the third page of this issue there is a prologue titled "Our eyes are directed at the Freedom Square in Estonia" in where the journalist discusses the freedom of Estonia. In the end of this article the journalist states, "The Republic of Estonia and Konstantin Päts are two that are inseparable". The appraisal of Konstantin Päts continues also on the next pages. On page 5 the whole page has been devoted solely on Konstantin Päts who served as the Head of Estonia altogether five times. This article is devoted on praising Päts's activities.

It is interesting to see that the DPs are so fond of K. Päts. The way Konstantin Päts governed Estonia has caused divided opinions between academics. Evald Uustalu argues that Konstantin Päts was indeed a democratic leader, but his fellow politicians may not have always understood his strategy as such¹⁸⁶. At the same time Toivo Raun argues that while Päts was the Head of State his governing style was not very democratic. In other words, Raun is saying that Konstantin Päts and his regime were far from democracy and were more towards authoritarianism. Raun argues this matter further and claims "Päts's authoritarianism went further and lasted longer than necessary". However, in the article ("Eesti Rada, No. 40) the journalist claims that "Konstantin Päts will remain as a great democrat until self-sacrifice"¹⁸⁷. The editors of "Eesti Post" are either in a complete opposite opinion with the claims proposed by Raun earlier or it is also possible that they are using the lack of knowledge from the American side as means to present themselves in a more favourable light. This is not to say that the DP perception of Konstantin Päts is entirely false, but it seems that this presentation might be bit too idealistic and part of a narrative created for the occupying powers.

The creation of this idealistic narrative continues and in following issue of "Eesti Rada" there is an article titled "We believe democracy will win". It is a reflection on the celebration of Estonian 28th Independence Day. The journalist presents an overview of different assemblies that took place and concludes that "six hard years have passed and the Western Allies have always protected us...this has given us optimism and hope for future... and strengthen our

¹⁸⁶ Evald Uustalu, *Eesti rahva ajalugu* (Tallinn: Olion, 2005), 48.

¹⁸⁷ Konstantin Päts, "Eesti Post", No. 40, 23 February 1946, 5.

belief into our own nation.... this is why we cannot give up.... we have to continue fighting to get back what was taken from us...our duty right now is to show with our excellent behaviour what Estonians are really like”¹⁸⁸. This article is almost like a construction of an idea for the DPs who are reading the press.

In the first part of 1946 the Allies report that another wave of screening will take place within the DP camps. This results in another shift in the newspapers. From February 1946 onwards the DP press is focusing more on the articles on the support and good relations the DPs have with American occupying forces. It is almost as if the press wants to mobilize the Estonians to think in a certain way about Estonian DPs relationship with the Americans. For example, “Eesti Post” has devoted a whole page to state that Mrs Roosevelt visited the DP camp. The article is titled “Mrs Roosevelt among DP-s” and the main focus of it is on the conversations the DPs had with this high American visitor. The journalist mentions that Mrs Roosevelt was positively surprised about the immaculate order and cleanliness of Estonian DP-camps. The article continues and states that Mrs Roosevelt is deeply concerned about the status of DP-s in post-war Germany and she will do her utmost best to relieve this situation for as many as possible¹⁸⁹.

The discussion on the Estonian DPs good relations to the American forces continues and the Americans positive attitude towards Estonians is discussed on the issue No. 60 of “Eesti Rada” in where journalist focuses on Ernst C. Helmreich newly published book called “Contemporary Europe”. According to this article this new book describes Estonians as a very cultural nation who through over the past 20 years have built an economically, culturally and industrially strong country of which every Estonian should feel proud¹⁹⁰.

The following issues of “Eesti Rada” continue with the discussion on Estonian DPs. On the 21 May issue an article titled “new screenings for DPs”. In this article the journalist states that in March 1946 alone approximately 27 000 DPs were repatriated and the screening process continued until 10 May 1946 when there was an order from higher up to stop this process. There is no number of Estonians mentioned in this article or any other nationality for that matter, but the article does mention that the U.S. Military Government is for the look out of former Nazi criminals¹⁹¹.

The attitude of UNRRA members towards Baltic DP-s, including Estonians, have been very well proposed forward by an article in the No. 69 issue of “Eesti Rada”. On page 2 there is an

¹⁸⁸ “Eesti Post”, No. 41, (27 February 1946), 3-4.

¹⁸⁹ “Eesti Post”, No. 48, (22 March 1946), 7.

¹⁹⁰ “Eesti Post”, No. 60, (10 May, 1946), 3.

¹⁹¹ “Eesti Post”, No. 63, (21 May, 1946), 2.

article titled “UNRRA and DP-s”. It is the UNRRA former team members (Team no. 124) assistant director Harold Ingham’s response letter to an article proposed by a journalist called Livesey in a periodical called “Manchester Guardian”. In the article proposed by journalist Livesey in “Manchester Guardian” earlier, the journalist had claimed that all DP-s should be repatriated back to their former countries. The former UNRRA team member replays and claims that “repatriating is the biggest fear for Baltic DP-s as living under the Soviet regime would be agony for most”. He continues and claims that most Baltic DP-s are very hard working individuals and calling them fascist is unjust. The journalist from “Eesti Rada” who states that Livesey comments come from not knowing or from poor information on the actual matter. The journalist argues further and claims that it would be great if Livesey could spend some time in former Baltic states under the Soviets regime, to really understand what life would be like there for a former Baltic state national¹⁹².

The response from journalist Livesey from “Manchester Guardian” is already published in the next issue, no. 70. His answer is firm and short. He says that “I understand the dilemma for Baltic DP-s, but I still stick with the overall understanding from UNRRA head directors who are forcing the repatriations and the DP-s to return back to the original country”¹⁹³. There is no further commentary from “Eesti Post” journalists.

The issue with the “Manchester Guardian” reporter may have been laid to rest, but the debate on the DP-s continues. In the next issue there is a little note in the corner of newspaper that states “all the DP-s will be issued new ID-cards which will aid the movement of DP-s within Europe, if they wish to do so”¹⁹⁴. This news is presented as an announcement and no commentary is offered. However, the next issue of “Eesti Post” has a long article on DP-s titled “DP-s are still pressing problem. Why won’t they go home?”. It is a review article from a periodical “Observer” in where a journalist called Inez Holden has raised a question – why won’t the Baltic DP-s return home?. In this article Inez Holden provides data to show that Baltic DP-s are the largest group of DP-s who refuse to return back home, despite the Allies efforts. She claims in her article that since the end of the war 5,5 million DP-s have been repatriated, by the end of summer there is approximately 600 000 DP-s from 50 different nations who are not willing to repatriate. The journalist continues further and claims that more than 500 000 Poles have returned back to Poland (former Poland). The Baltic DPs are now the largest group of DPs who

¹⁹² “Eesti Post”, No. 69, (14 June, 1946), 2.

¹⁹³ “Eesti Post”, No. 70, (18 June, 1946), 1.

¹⁹⁴ “Eesti Post”, No. 80, (22 July, 1946), 2.

should repatriate back home. So far, she claims, only 1000 Baltic DP-s have returned back home. She believes that this number should be much higher.

There is unfortunately no response from “Eesti Post” journalists to this article, but the main message in this article seems to focus solely on Baltic DP-s as the reason why UNRRA food rations are low and why to Baltic DP-s are using unnecessarily up too much money from the UNRRA resources. It is almost as if this article is hoping to present through different numbers that Baltic DPs are the biggest problem for UNRRA in post-war Germany. At the same time, as we know from the articles above, the Estonian DPs in post-war Germany generally had very good relations with the occupying powers.

The American support towards Estonian is also present in the 85th issue of “Eesti Post” in where on the first page situates an article titled “ USA does not recognize the annexation”. It is a copy of U.S. Foreign Secretary James F. Byrnes official letter to the Estonian Consul General Johannes Kaiv. This article covers the main points why USA does not recognize the annexation of Estonia and states I the end that Johannes Kaiv will remain on this post as an Estonian Consul General. There is no immediate commentary by the journalists to this news apart from the date (12 June 1946) when this letter was sent.

The news about Estonian collaborations with Nazi Germany is again a discussion point in the September issue of “Eesti Post”. The 17 September 1946 newspaper presents new information on Dr. Hjalmar Mäe, the former high ranking Estonian official who was directly involved with mobilizing Estonians into Nazi army. This article claims that during the initial screening process Dr. Hjalmar Mäe went to American officers and provided information on several German Nazi officers. After being imprisoned for his collaboration with Nazi army, Dr Mäe was sent to a prison camp in where he currently (1946) is kept.

The discussion of Nuremberg trials continues onwards also on the next issue of “Eesti Rada”. The entire first few pages of this issue are devoted on discussing the Nuremberg trials. On the first page of the newspaper we can read that among the top Nazi criminals there were 12 death penalties, 3 absolutions different length of imprisonments for the rest of the officials. The journalist has provided a name and a photo of each Nazi criminal who was sentenced.

On a side of this article there is another article titled “The voice of justice”. It is an opinion article by the “Eesti Post” journalist and it starts by stating that “1st of October 1946 answered the question for many people who on the 1st of September 1939 asked whether there is any justice left in this world or not”. The article ends by stating, “today we accept the decisions at

Nuremberg trials with a deep feeling of peace. Not because we want revenge on Nazi criminals when we think back to all the pain and suffering these Nazi criminals caused. No, because this pain is far too great for any revenge. Justice is what we wanted as we saw that peace and trust into humanity are restored again... Nuremberg international tribunal showed to the world that justice does have a place in this world over violence and aggression is punishable. This gives other nations courage to act for justice if necessary”¹⁹⁵. With this article the journalists are portraying a picture that international community does not allow the terror to go unnoticed and are also raising hope for the DP press readers that there is hope for Estonia to become independent again.

This narrative also continues in another article where the journalist states that the “Nuremberg is not a guarantee”¹⁹⁶. It is an opinionated article by one of the journalists from “Eesti Post” in where the journalist argues that Nuremberg trials do not give guarantee that future conflicts will not happen. But does point out that due to the fact that Nuremberg trials separated the war criminals from their organizations. The blame over the crimes committed was placed on individuals rather than organizations. This means that the future trials on war criminals will be employing the same style – resting the reasonability over war crimes on individual level, rather than on collective level. As this article is published around the time when the DPs are still unclear about the future screening then it is also possible that this article is using Nuremberg trials example to explain the situation of Estonian DPs. In the article the journalist says that, crimes should be based on individual actions rather than collective actions. In the case of Estonian DPs community what the journalist is saying is that we should judge over those Estonians who were collaborating with Nazis and leave the community out of it.

The key theme in the early issues of “Eesti Post” in 1947 focus on the Estonian DPs identity, or rather the construction and perception of Estonian DP as a decent worker with democratic beliefs. For example, in an article “Geislingen has new representatives”¹⁹⁷ the journalist is discussing the local Committee elections and is using phrases including “votes exceeded our hopes”, “many new faces”, “competition was high this year” and “former members voted out” which all paint a picture of a democratic tight-knit community. Also, in an article “Elections in February for Estonian representatives in Germany” the journalist is discussing on the importance of communication between the Estonians in different occupation zones. This article is showing that Estonian DPs are actively organizing their lives through committees, elections and representatives.

¹⁹⁵ “Eesti Post”, No. 100, (1 October, 1946,) 2.

¹⁹⁶ “Eesti Post”, No. 104, (14 October, 1946), 2.

¹⁹⁷ “Eesti Post”, No. 2, (7 January 1947), 1.

This theme continues also in an article titled “Baltic Women Conference”¹⁹⁸ in where the journalist is discussing the upcoming conference for all the women mainly from the U.S. zone. The journalist continues and says that this is the first conference for Baltic women and the highlights that the aim of this conference is to establish a point of cooperation for all the Baltic women regardless the area they are located on daily basis. This article represents Baltic women, including Estonian DPs as open-minded individuals who are focusing on the cooperation with other women from the area with a hope to create something great together. This article is creating a perception of Baltic women as active and democratic ladies who believe that together and through cooperation they can influence their environment with a positive change.

In February the tone in “Eesti Post” somewhat changes and the main focus is again on the Baltic DPs. For example, in an article “Screening has been permanently finished”¹⁹⁹ the journalist is presenting the readers with an outcome of a note the Geislingen DPs sent to UNRRA (with 2768 signatures). In a response to this note the UNRRA says that screenings have been permanently finished and the DPs do not need to worry about it any longer. However, at the same time, next to this article is another article titled “DP status still undecided”²⁰⁰ in where the journalist has presented a comparison and claims that “25 000 British zone DPs are heading towards the ‘iron curtain’ to reside” and is questioning the destiny of DPs in U.S. zone. As the newspapers are continuously translated to English as well it seems that some of these articles are meant more for the U.S. military officials, rather than for the Estonian DP community.

This seems to be the case also in an article titled “ Strange DPs”²⁰¹ in where the journalist is responding to the claims of a “high official from the U.S.” about the Baltic DPs. The journalist points out several counterarguments to why the DPs are still in Germany and states that “in spite of the problems in Europe it seems that the American journalists who are covering the news about DPs do not really comprehend or care about the situation” in which the DPs are living on a daily basis. The journalist continues and says that “for outsiders it might seem odd why DPs are not returning home, but we do not have a home to return to”. The words “do not have a home to return to” have been written in bold. The journalist suggests that the DP issues would be resolved much faster if they would be “allowed to reallocate elsewhere”. In this discussion the journalist also states that remaining in Germany and becoming part of Germany society with a DP status is something that is “not satisfactory to the DPs” as they would have “no food or means to support themselves”.

¹⁹⁸ “Eesti Post”, No. 6, (21 January 1947), 1.

¹⁹⁹ “Eesti Post”, No. 12, (11 February 1947), 1.

²⁰⁰ “Eesti Post”, No. 12, (11 February 1947), 1.

²⁰¹ “Eesti Post”, No. 11, (7 February 1947), 2.

This news is followed by an article about the “Baltic DPs United Protest”²⁰² in where the DPs are requesting the “recognition of the Baltic States' sovereignty and the establishment of fundamental democratic rights”. According to this article the Baltic DPs protest was also accompanied with a note the DP representative committees sent to the Western powers. The protesters requested the Western world to recognize their efforts to have a sovereign Estonia so they can return back home.

“Eesti Post” also covers a story about the Estonians protest in 1917 in Petrograd in where the Estonians protest actions lead to the establishment of the Republic of Estonia in 1918. In this story the journalist claims that the foreign Estonians community such as Estonian DPs in post-war Germany have played a very important role in the Estonian history. The story continues and states it was a protest to gain the independence of Estonia that was participated by “farmers, intelligentsia, merchants and people from different areas of life”. This story is adding to the construction of the narrative that Estonian DPs in post-war Germany are democratic and freedom loving people who matter.

By August 1947 the issues about DPs were discussed daily and the reporters also issued many opinionated articles about justice, rights and humanity. For example, in an article “Indivisible law and justice” in where the journalist writes that “ as the governing power of this zone the U.S. should focus more attention on resolving the issue for DPs” and continued that “if Western powers would acknowledge the sovereignty of Estonia” the Estonian DPs would have a home to return to. The journalist also mentions that “the War has ended”, but the right for Estonian DPs continues since “law and justice are just indivisible”. With this story the journalist feeding into the narrative of Estonians as unwilling victims of the political regime.

Over the next few months the tensions between the Americans and the Soviets arise and news about the Soviets, their actions and crimes start appearing. The key theme in the newspaper changes and shifts more towards the atrocities of the Soviets. For example, in an article titled “Russians are deporting Baltic people to Siberia” the journalist is discussing the situation in Baltic States and says that many Estonians are escaping to Sweden to escape from the deportation to Siberia. The journalist continues and states that the Soviets are deporting to Siberia all these Estonians who have been known to be fighting along side the Nazis. The article continues and says that most of the people who have managed to escape to Sweden are mainly specialists and craftsman, but according to the escapees there were many Estonians left being on the coastline of Estonia who did not find transportation across to Sweden.

²⁰² “Eesti Post”, No. 21, (14 March 1947), 2.

Towards the end of 1947 the articles in “Eesti Post” shifts again towards DPs and the key theme is to find a solution to the Baltic DPs. This can be seen for example in an article titled “We will offer you a home and freedom”²⁰³, which is a phrase from a speech the Canadian Minister of Agriculture gave during his visit to the Geislingen DP camp. In his speech the Minister James G. Gardiner said that Canada has thousands of homes ready for the DPs who are willing to work in agriculture, mining or sugar industry. This news was accompanied by another article titled “Questions about the terms and conditions in Canada”²⁰⁴ in where the journalists are interviewing the Canadian Minister of Agriculture to question him over the terms and conditions about his invitation. The journalist is writing that, “from the first moments Minister J.G. Gardiner arrived to the Estonian DP camp he was well liked and admired for his simple behaviour...it seems that he was also impressed by the Estonians and our camp in Geislingen, as he only had kind words to say about us”. The journalist paints a rather idyllic situation of Canada as the next home for many DPs in Geislingen camp.

This theme also continues in the following issues in where the reallocation to Canada is discussed. For example, in an article “Respect to those who brought them here” the journalist has presented a story that was published “in Canada’s biggest newspaper The Montreal Daily Stars”. It is news report about two Estonian girls who are working as housemaids in Montreal, about their journey and everyday living conditions in Canada. The article describes one of them as “a blue eyes goldilocks whose behaviour and work ethic is as sweet as her smile”. The article continues and says that Estonians are very valued workers on the other side of the Ocean. When one of the girls is asked about her life in Canada she says “I am glad to be in a safe place and not a DP anymore in Hamburg”.

Similarly to “Kauge Kodu” and “Eesti Rada” the key theme in 1948 in “Eesti Post” is the question of Baltic DPs, including Estonians. The Baltic DPs questions was approached from an international perspective by looking at what the international organisations were discussing²⁰⁵ in their meetings, from a local perspective by looking at the DPs perspective on this issue²⁰⁶ and also from a Cold War perspective²⁰⁷ in where the journalists were discussing the relations between the East and the West. The DP press presented the Estonian DP community with several articles in where discussions over the importance of small nations were mentioned. For example, in “World peace is determined by the fate of small nations”²⁰⁸ the reporter is saying,

²⁰³ “Eesti Post”, No. 67, (2 September 1947), 1.

²⁰⁴ “Eesti Post”, No. 67, (2 September 1947), 1.

²⁰⁵ “Eesti Post”, No. 1, (9 January 1948), 3.

²⁰⁶ “Eesti Post”, No. 14, (25 February 1948), 2.

²⁰⁷ “Eesti Post”, No. 66, (27 August 1948), 1

²⁰⁸ “Eesti Post”, No. 14, (25 February 1948), 1.

“we have to be courageous and brave, and show the world the real history of Estonia”. It is situated next to an article titled “Courage to fight for the future”²⁰⁹ in where the journalist discusses the celebration of Estonian Independence Day and says, “Courage will define the road we walk on” and adds that “in united we are strong”. These articles are almost like reminders or proposed ideas for the DPs to think about so they would not forget their DP status and continue fighting towards the sovereignty of Estonia.

As the political situation in 1948 is constantly changing and there are no firm certainties for the DPs in post-war Germany, many articles in “Eesti Post” cover news about the relations between the Americans and the Soviets. For example, in an article “Russia is closing the embassy in USA”²¹⁰ the journalist is discussing that the Soviets have decided to close down their consulates in New York and San Francisco. The article has also presented a comment about this from Moscow in where the officials have said that “these decision do not affect our relationship with America...we will remains friends”. At the same time, there is also news that Americans have been “negotiating with the Soviets for more than a year so they can open a consulate in Leningrad”²¹¹, but so far the Soviets have not accepted this offer. The way this article has been written leaves an impression that the relations between the Soviets and the Americans are getting worse.

In the summer of 1948 another key theme appears in “Eesti Post”. The key theme is emigration. Several articles in “Eesti Post” are focusing on the DPs and their possible emigration towards West, but after “DP Act is approved”²¹² the articles focus directs towards suggestions on how DPs can reallocate away from Germany. For example, in an article “How to get to USA”²¹³ the journalists are giving detailed instructions on what to do and provide information to understand how this process works.

This theme also continues in the following issues where an American official explains the emigration process as well as the terms and conditions behind it. The USA Deputy Consul R.P. Robinson answers to “Eesti Post “ journalists and says, “the emigration into USA is done on the basis of quotas”²¹⁴. The DP press provides detailed information on what the DPs need to do to get to the other side of the Ocean, discuss the main worries people might have about the emigration process and also provide information about the DPs who have already settles into

²⁰⁹ “Eesti Post”, No. 14, (25 February 1948), 1.

²¹⁰ “Eesti Post”, No. 66, (27 August 1948), 1

²¹¹ “Eesti Post”, No. 66, (27 August 1948), 2

²¹² “Eesti Post”, No. 47, (22 June 1948), 12.

²¹³ “Eesti Post”, No. 79, (11 November 1948), 3.

²¹⁴ “Eesti Post”, No. 74, (15 October 1948), 1

America. These articles are almost written like an invitation for the DPs to apply for the emigration process as quickly as possible.

In one of the articles where the “Eesti Post” journalist are discussing DPs life in USA there is also a commentary added by Ambassador E. Gossel who claims that “he never thought that there are so many qualified workers among Estonian DPs”²¹⁵. The Ambassador Gossel also added that “he is very impressed by the level of skills Estonians have and said that they are great help for America”²¹⁶. This news is followed by information in where the USA is offering positions to doctor and nurses.

After the amount of detailed information about the emigration process to America and the several invitations from the Americans and Canadians it seems that almost all the DPs in Geislingen camp did indeed emigrate towards West²¹⁷.

Was it the DPs massive emigration towards West or was it maybe another reason, but in 1949 the “Eesti Post” is a very different issue compared to 1945. The newspaper is issued about once per week (compared to 3 times per week earlier) and the tone of the articles is neutral, with no opinionated articles present. In 1949 “Eesti Post” three key theme are noticeable – DPs life abroad, North-Atlantic Treaty and preparations for leaving Germany.

In the early 1949 issues of “Eesti Post” the key theme is DPs life abroad. For example in an article titled “Taxes in Australia”²¹⁸ the journalist is reporting about Estonians life in Australia and provides detailed information for he readers to see how the taxation works. The article explains down to the very last details and shows that these taxes are high, but manageable. The discussion on Australia continues and there is also an article about Australian officials who are “tempting Freiburg DPs” to “consider reallocating to Australia”²¹⁹.

Continuing the discussion about the reallocation of DPs, there is also one story about 100 000 Soviet soldiers who have escaped from the Soviet Union with a hope to gain DP status and immigrate to America²²⁰. According to this article about 11 000 out these 100 000 Soviet soldiers have hidden in the U.S. zone and are hoping to get a free ticket to America. The

²¹⁵ “Eesti Post”, No. 80, (26 November 1948), 1

²¹⁶ “Eesti Post”, No. 80, (26 November 1948), 1

²¹⁷ For more information about the DPs lives, their journeys to and away from the Geislingen camp, please refer to Mai Maddisson and Priit Vesilind, “*When the Noise Had Ended: Geidlingen’s DP Children Remember*” (Woodsville, MN: Lakesore Spress, 2009).

²¹⁸ “Eesti Post”, No. 1, (5 January 1949), 3.

²¹⁹ “Eesti Post”, No. 2, 14 January 1949), 2.

²²⁰ “Eesti Post”, No. 2, 14 January 1949), 2.

commentary from the U.S. officials is that before emigration all DPs are carefully screened and none of the DPs eligible will be allowed to reallocate to America.

Just before the Estonian Independence Day celebrations the key theme in the newspaper shifts and discussions about North-Atlantic treaty appear. For example, in an article titled “North Atlantic Treaty will become reality”²²¹ the journalist is presenting information from Washington officials who have presented their counterargument to the Soviet Union and say that “USA Foreign Minister categorically denied the Soviets accusations that the North Atlantic Treaty will be the united West’s aggression towards Russia”. The Americans deny these allegations. The discussion about the Treaty also continues in an article “Treaty’s text is being examined”²²² where the Western parties are familiarizing themselves with the text, and also in “the Soviets attack the Treaty” in where there is discussion about a radio host who viciously attacked the Treaty in his radio show. Both of these articles are written in very neutral manner and there is no commentary added by the journalist. It seems almost as if the articles are referenced from international newspapers and constructed together by a translator.

In April 1949, just after the North Atlantic Treaty was signed, the “Eesti Post” reports that many of the remaining DPs of Geislingen area are preparing to leave from post-war Germany. The key theme of articles focuses on the DPs preparations for leaving Germany. This can be seen for example in an article titled “Attention for all the émigrés”²²³, where the newspaper issues the U.S. officials suggestions for DPs before they leave. It is also evident in an article titled “Bamberg is being liquidated, Hanau camp will be reallocated to another camp”²²⁴, in where closing and reallocation of these DP camp is being discussed. There are no comments on discussions with these articles. They are states as information.

In general it can be said that the themes and trends in “Eesti Post” changed quite a lot depending on the political situation that was happening outside the camp. From 1947 onwards when the emigration process for the Geislingen camp started there is also slight shift in the newspaper. By 1949 the newspaper is issued less frequently and the tone is very formal with no subjective commentary.

²²¹ “Eesti Post”, No. 6, (11 February 1949), 1.

²²² “Eesti Post”, No. 8, (25 February 1949), 1.

²²³ “Eesti Post”, No. 2, 14 January 1949), 3.

²²⁴ “Eesti Post”, No. 2, 14 January 1949), 3.

CHAPTER 4 - ESTONIAN DPs IN FOREIGN PRESS

4.1 “The Times” [London]

In comparison to the local DP press in post-war Germany it is also interesting to approach the construction of different narratives in Estonian DP press from an international press perspective. This will enable us to explore and see whether this shared message between the Estonian DPs also resonated with the Allies or whether the DPs were merely writing to themselves.

The British newspaper “The Times” has been for decades one of “Britain’s oldest and most influential newspapers”²²⁵. During 1945 to 1949 the cost of “The Times” was around 3 pence and it was one of the most read newspapers in Britain at that time. What is interesting about “The Times” and the way they are reporting news about the DPs is that the more close to 1949 the news were headed the clearer the distinction on DPs became. In the earlier articles all the DPs from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania along with Poles were named as the Eastern Europeans. However, closer to 1946 to 1947 the journalists started making a distinction between the Baltic nationals and Poles and by 1948 to 1949 the distinction between Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians was even clearer. Throughout 1945 to 1949 the discussion on DP matters was very active. Often the discussions followed the same theme as the DP press in post-war Germany. However, at times there were also discussions that were somewhat different to the ones published in DP press.

The keywords for searching are: displaced persons, refugees, Eastern Europeans, Baltic nationals, Baltics Balts, Estonians.

By exploring the articles concerning DPs from 1945 to 1949 it is clear that the key themes in “The Times” are directly in correlation with the political situation happening outside the press. For example in 1945 when there was a great deal of uncertainty for Estonia DPs in post-war Germany (as discussed earlier), there was also a lot of confusion in the British press over the DPs. The journalists of British press were confused over the repatriation process of DPs and articles discussing the homeless Europeans appeared²²⁶. There was a general confusion over the

²²⁵ “The Times: British Newspaper”, last modified October 21, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/596228/The-Times>

²²⁶ “Homeless Eastern Europeans”, The Times [London], May 30, 1945, 3.

reasons why so many DPs did not want to return back to their homeland and at the same time discussions over the means how to deal with DPs from a practical perspective.

This disbelief was followed by even further confusion over the people in DP camps. “The Times” article in July calls the DPs the “problem children of Europe” who should return back to their home countries. The Times special correspondent in Germany continues and states that: “if a winter in camps in present conditions is added to the memory of the war years, those who survive may well lose all ability to take their place in any form of European society”²²⁷.

Around the same time the central theme in Estonian DP newspapers was to present Estonians as democratic and freedom loving people. There were no discussions or concerns over the upcoming winter. Estonian DPs were more concerned with representing themselves and their needs²²⁸.

By early 1946 the issue of DPs in the British press remains, but the focus or the theme of the articles changes somewhat. In 1946 the main theme in British press is understand why are the DPs behaving the way they do and why are the not willing to go back. In May the editor of Times writes that: “ in spite of their love of home and country many [DPs] feel that they cannot return [back home] with a sense of security...the terror caused by the possibility of enforced repatriation is such that news has come that many DPs from the Baltic States are hiding to-day outside the camps rather than take advantage of the food and shelter they provide”²²⁹.

Around the same time the Estonian DP press in Geislingen is focusing on a story in where the Estonian DP are set as an example by the American foreign visitors in a way their camp and life has been organized in post-war Germany. There are also discussions over the screening, but the issue of forced repatriation is not discussed²³⁰.

By the second half of the 1946 it is clear to the British that many of the Baltic DPs, including Estonian DPs, do not wish to repatriate back to their homeland and articles discussing the possibility of employing DPs for UK labour market start appearing. For example in July the Times reports that the “the prisoners of war and displaced persons division of the Control Commission in Germany” have agreed that “first to arrive in Britain will be women from Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania”, as they have “approved the selection board”²³¹. The article continues further and explains their selection from DPs by stating that the Baltic DPs “showed

²²⁷ A Special correspondent laterly in Germany, “Homeless Europeans”, Times [London], July 21, 1945, 5.

²²⁸ “What do we want?” “Kauge Kodu”, No. 1, June 23, 1945, 3-4.

²²⁹ Katharine Atholl, “Enforced Repatriation”, The Times [London], May 25, 1946, 5.

²³⁰ “Eesti Post”, No.59, (7 May 1946), 1.

²³¹ “Displaced Persons for England”, The Times [London], July 24, 1946, 4.

that they represented the *intelligentsia* of the Baltic States”²³² and will be a valuable assets for the British labour market. The Estonian DP press does mention that some of the DPs are moving to Great Britain, but there is no deeper discussion over it. The main theme in Estonian DP press still continues with the narrative of representing Estonians as democratic nation. One of the reasons why the news over the Baltic women reallocation to Great Britain is not the main discussion in “Eesti Rada” Eesti Post” or “Kauge Kodu” is that most of these women were mainly from British occupation zone.

In late 1946 and early 1947 the British press continues the discussion on DPs, but the frequency of these discussions is diminishing. Most of the articles on Baltic DPs are focusing on Baltic nationals who are working in different factories and on the Baltic DPs good work ethic. There is still some discussion over the DPs still in the U.S. zone of Germany and most of the discussions are focused on how to help the DPs to reallocate to America. For example, in July the Times correspondent in Washington reports that President Truman has made a special request to the Congress to accept a “substantial number of DPs” to America. The correspondent continues with the article and reports that the President along with the American nation feels that at times like this the larger nations should help those in need. This article is not particularly long, but the style of writing supports the idea of reallocating DPs towards West.

In the middle of June “The Times” has published an article that seems to contradict with everything the DP newspapers, and lately the Western Allies, have been proposing for the DPs in post-war Germany. The article is titled “Baltic Displaced Persons” and it is a letter to draw attention to a message that a group of Estonians from Soviet Estonia are proposing²³³. In this message Soviet Estonians are claiming that the Western powers need to stop listening to the false claims from the DPs and repatriate them back to the Soviet Union. The group of Soviet Estonians are claiming “those responsible for this dangerous political game are persons of Baltic decent who were compromised by collaboration with the enemy during the occupation”. The letter continues and they claim even further that “in 1946 these individuals set up the “Committee of Baltic Peoples” at Detmold which is doing its best to assume political leadership of all regional *Länder*, and youth committees. The whole trend of their activity runs counter to

²³² “Displaced Persons for England”, The Times [London], July 24, 1946, 4.

²³³ The Soviet Estonians letter is a response letter for a group of Baltic DPs in post-war Germany who were on a hunger strike on the 11th of March in Melle (Hannover province in Germany) to raise awareness for the unresolved Baltic question. Along with the hunger strike the Baltic DPs also appealed to the United Nations to request for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces from the Baltic States.

the agreement reached by the Moscow conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers". The letter also claims that Soviet Estonia's economy is doing well and there is plenty of room for the DPs to return back to Soviet Estonia and find a wholesome life there...Estonian public opinion deems it is essential to put an end to an abnormal state of affairs in DP camps and to stop all propaganda against repatriation". The Soviet Estonians are on the opinion that the DPs are doing propaganda in post-war Germany and claim that the DP camps are "asylum for war criminals". The Soviet Estonians who claim to be the authors of this letter include some very well known names for Estonians, including academic professors, artists, actresses and famous writers²³⁴.

There is no commentary from the editors of The Times, but this letter is a clear opposite to what the Estonian DP press in post-war Germany and the British press in the Great Britain have been discussing for the past two years. The rest of the news in 1947 do not focus on the issues of DPs as much as they did on the first two years. Most of the news regarding Baltic DP are focusing on the DPs who have moved to Great Britain, on the re-education of Baltic DPs to turn them into "skilled and trained miners"²³⁵.

During 1948 the issue of Baltic DPs is not very much covered and the DPs are only briefly mentioned once in a while. For example, in January 1948 there is a special correspondent from Oldham who claims "the Minister of Labour praised Lancashire housewives recently for taken into their homes the DPs who have come to fill the gaps in the cotton mills". The correspondent continues and says that there are "600 more beds on offer that can yet be used". From this article it seems that the British do not wish to be in the middle of the debate with the Soviet union and the DPs, but are doing all in their power to accommodate all those still in post-war Germany. However, presumably the focus for the British is to focus more on their zone of occupation, but at the same time we do know from previous research that some DPs from the U.S. zone reallocated to the Great Britain.

Throughout the 1948 the British press is continuing with the same theme and the issue of Baltic DPs is barely touched upon. In one of the articles, for example, the journalist is providing an overview of the Australian Prime Minister Mr Chifley's trip to Great Britain. During the trip the conversation over the problems of immigration the topic of Baltic DPs was also touched upon. The Prime Minister M.R. Chifley said that: "a small number of settlers from the Baltic countries have proved satisfactory " and praised the Baltic DPs for their good work.

²³⁴ "Baltic Displaced Persons" , The Times [London], June 12, 1947, 5.

²³⁵ "Refreshers course for Baltic miners", The Times [London], August 2, 1947, 4.

By 1949 the British journalists' interest for Baltic DPs has increased again and there are several articles published concerning Baltic DPs. For example, in January there is an article publishing a letter from the wives of Royal Air Force and other ranking officers who "appeal to the British public to send food and clothes for people in Germany"²³⁶. In April the British correspondent from Berlin discusses "the terms of occupation statute" and says that the Western powers are preparing themselves to leave the post-war Germany²³⁷. In August the discussion over the remaining DPs in post-war Germany continues and the British correspondent in Geneva reports that the British need to do more for the DPs as "economically their situation will be precarious and they will be in competition with the German refugees from the Eastern zone who will start with their privileges of German citizenship"²³⁸. The British journalists seem to be deeply concerned over the wellbeing of DPs and are discussing the possibility of resettling more Baltic DPs to Australia (as the feedback from the Baltic DPs and Australians for their experience over there has been very positive). Towards the end of the year the issues seem to be very concerned about the DPs in post-war Germany and there are several articles that highlight the necessity to support Baltic DPs²³⁹.

4.2 DISCUSSION

The newspapers seem to be a method through which the Estonian DPs are constructing a narrative that presents the DPs as freedom loving and democratic escapees from tyranny, as the unwilling forced victims of Nazi occupation. This can be seen in an article where the Estonian DP press is discussing the Independence Day of Estonia. What the press is saying paints a picture of Estonia, which projects it (before the invasion of the Soviets) as highly democratic and free. The press forgets to mention Konstantin Päts's authoritarian regime in Estonia²⁴⁰. This is not to say that the perception of the Estonian DPs press of Konstantin Päts is entirely false, but it seems that this presentation might be bit too idealistic and part of a narrative created for the occupying powers.

²³⁶ "German refugees", The Times [London], January 4, 1948, 5.

²³⁷ "Maximum Self-government for Germany", The Times [London], April 11, 1949, 4.

²³⁸ "Flotsam of Europe", The Times [London], August 12, 1949, 5.

²³⁹ For example in "Fate of Har Core of Refugees", The Times [London], October 5, 1949, 3. Also in "Refugees from Europe", The Times [London], December 3, 1949, 5. and in "Displaced Persons", The Times [London], December 22, 1949, 5. and in "Helping Displaced Persons, an appeal for funds", The Times [London], December 31, 1949, 2.

²⁴⁰ Toivu U. Raun, *Estonia and the Estonians* [2nd Ed.] (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2002), 182.

Consciously aware that the Americans do not know a lot about the Baltic States, the Estonian DPs may see this as an opportunity to introduce Estonia and the Soviet Union to the Allies. Also, at the same time present themselves as victims of two regimes so they can be recipients of the larger U.S. aid and DP status in Germany.

This can be seen for example in “Eesti Post” articles in where the Estonian DPs find themselves in a discussion with a journalist Livesey from “Manchester Guardian”²⁴¹, when the latter published an article in where he suggests that Baltic DPs should be sent back to their homes. Estonian DP press argues this further and claims that it would be great if Livesey could spend some time in former Baltic states under the Soviets regime, to really understand what life would be like there for a former Baltic state national²⁴². With this article the Estonian are representing themselves as the unwilling victims of the war and claim that returning back is not an option for Baltic DPs due to Soviets aggression.

This is not to say that the DPs discussions in DP press on Soviet crimes including mass killings and deportation to Siberia were not true. However, at times it does seem that some of the articles have been written in a way, which plays into the construction of a narrative that sees Estonian DPs as freedom loving escapees from tyranny.

Another aspect that the DP press brought to light was that the Estonian DP community was culturally very active. It is hard to determine whether it was because the DPs saw culture as a way to keep focused and intellectually stimulated or was it because it was a way to add to the creation of a narrative that saw Estonians as essentially freedom loving democrats. There was a lot of effort to build a strong community. The DP press became a voice to different cultural activities, constantly inviting people to communal meetings; theatre plays, singing choirs, to clubs and to different sporting events. The press painted a rather idealistic picture of Estonians’ cultural life in the DP camp.

Estonian DPs in foreign press did not get as an idealistic representation of their identity as they did in Estonian DPs press.

As a whole, the themes in “The Times” (London) can be directly followed with the political situation happening outside the press, which is not the case with the Estonian DP press discussed earlier. When we look at the British press starting from the second half of 1945 we can see many articles in where the journalists are not sure whether to call Estonian DPs, Baltic

²⁴¹ *Eesti Post*, No. 69, (14 June, 1946), 2.

²⁴² *Eesti Post*, No. 69, (14 June, 1946), 2.

DPs, Eastern Europeans or at times even Russians. There seems to be also quite lot of confusion over the Baltic issue and on why are the Baltic nationals refusing to return back to their homelands.

Compared to the articles in 1945, the articles in early 1946 of “The Times” (London) tried to focus more on the underlying causes on why the DPs are refusing to return back to their homes. The journalists are much clearer with the terms Eastern Europeans and Baltic nationals and even mention ethnically Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians separately.

The main theme of the articles in 1946 of “The Times” (London) seem to be sympathizing with the Estonian (Baltic) DPs and there are some arrangements made for some of the DPs to reallocate abroad. In 1947 and 1948 the discussion on the Baltic DPs seems to be reduced and most of the stories are focusing on the DPs and the American support towards them. Even when some Soviet Estonians request to publish their letter (inviting all DPs to return to Soviet Union) in The Times, there is no discussion from the British editors. In 1949 the British editors seem to have woken up from the silence and there are many articles published about Baltic DPs. Starting from early January the news are appealing for the British public to support the “refugees” [DPs] in post-war Germany, the Baltic DPs in Australia are valued for their good work and towards the end of 1949 there is a flood of articles appealing for the international community to help those DPs who were not fit for the immigration officers due to their poor health, old age or disability. The overall impression from The Times is that the British press may have been confused in early 1945, but there was strong support for the Baltic DPs from labour officers who valued Estonians and other Baltic DPs.

The aim of this thesis was to provide a broader understanding of the lives of Estonian DPs in post-war Germany and to understand how people contextualized their experience in the broader post-war environment. In the beginning of this research we hoped to find answers to the question of how Estonian DPs defined themselves, how did they view their past history, their relationship with the Third Reich, discover what was their agenda on future and how did they represent themselves to the world.

For these purposes two research questions were set: (1) how honestly did Estonian DPs look at their own past history? and (2) how did Estonian DPs represent themselves (to the world)?

After analysing the Estonian DP press and looking the DPs from British press perspective we can firstly say that Estonians representation was at times consistent with the news presented in “The Times” [London]. However, at times, the Estonian DPs did use DP press as a method

through which they constructed a narrative of Estonians as freedom loving escapees from tyranny who are the unwilling forced victims of German occupation in Estonia and DP situation in Germany. In that sense, the Estonians were honest with their past history at times, but also used it to create a narrative which was most suited to their conditions in post-war Germany.

Secondly, the articles in the Estonian DPs press show that Estonians represent themselves to the world as hard working, cultural and democratic group of people. There are many articles in the press in where foreign visitors to Estonian DP camps praise Estonians for their cultural activities and organized camp surroundings. During a time of repatriations and reallocations there are also many stories presented in the Estonian DP press where different countries are offering Estonian DPs possibilities for emigration. This all plays into the narrative of projecting a positive image of Estonian DPs to the world.

CONCLUSION

Today, the Second World War remains the “biggest cause for emigration in Europe”²⁴³. During that time around 75 000 to 80 000 Estonians emigrated towards West. Around 40 000 to 45 000 Estonians immigrated to Germany and became the DPs in different occupation zones. There is reason to believe that around 13 500 Estonians emigrated to the U.S. occupation zone.

The purpose of this MA thesis was to provide an in-depth understanding of the lives of Estonian DPs in post-war Germany in the U.S. zone and to understand how people contextualized their experience in the broader post-war environment. This MA thesis analysed (1) how honestly did Estonian DPs look at their own past and (2) how did Estonian DPs represent themselves (to the world)? As discussed earlier, to this day there is very little research on Estonian DPs that focuses on the discussions within press.

For these purposes we looked at the discussions within Estonian DP press in post-war Germany including “Eesti Post”, “Eesti Rada” and “Kauge Kodu”. From an international perspective we studied the articles in British press, “The Times”(London). The periodization of the Estonian DP press and British press are from 1945 to 1949, from the time the DP camps were established to the time most of the DP camps closed.

²⁴³ Bessel, “*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*”, 238.

In the first part of the thesis we looked at the life in post-war Germany and found that in 1945 Germany had become a temporary home for about 7 720 000 people out of whom approximately 6 362 000 were in the Western zones²⁴⁴ who all needed food, home and shelter.

In the second part of this thesis we looked at Estonian DPs in post-war Germany and found that the emigration towards Germany can be divided into four different emigration-waves. These four emigration-waves included Estonian DPs who already before the end of the war were living in Germany. The news of Estonians living in Geislingen reached to other Estonian DPs (living in different areas of Germany) and with the help of UNRRA hundreds of Estonians were transported to Geislingen. Geislingen DP camp became the biggest Estonian DP camp in post-war Germany.

To get a better understanding of the Estonian DPs everyday life and conditions in the U.S. zone we also explored George J. Rebane's family's living space. From this we found that the living conditions for this particular DP family were tight which meant that most of the time during the day was spent outside of house. The Estonian DPs living conditions will help us better to understand DPs behaviour, why they were out of the house so much and why the living space was mainly used for eating and sleeping.

In the third part of this thesis we focused solely on the press. We looked at the guidelines for information media in post-war Germany to understand what was involved with the opening and running of DP press, the difficulties it may bring and the rules, which DP press had to follow. From this section of the thesis we found that the rules and regulations of the Education and Religious Affairs Branch at the U.S. Military Government were strict. In spite of this, we also found that during that time 20 Estonian periodicals were issued in the U.S occupation zone.

In the context of this study we looked at "Eesti Post", "Eesti Rada" and "Kauge Kodu" and found that the discussions in the newspapers were proposing different narratives of who Estonians are. We found that Estonian DPs represented themselves as unwilling victims of forced regime in Estonia as well as in Germany. The discussions in the press projected Estonians as freedom loving escapees from tyranny and also as a nation with strong democratic beliefs.

What the Estonian DPs projected in the press is not wrong, but their representation of themselves was a bit too idealistic. We found that the key themes (or projections) of how the

²⁴⁴ Bessel, "*Saksamaa 1945 – sõjast rahuaega*", 220-221.

Estonian DPs represented themselves in the press were: (1) as unwilling victims of the war (two regimes), (2) as freedom loving democrats and (3) as escapees from tyranny.

We also found that when talking about their past the Estonian DPs painted a more democratic picture of Estonia as it may have been in reality. As we showed earlier, the Estonian DP press presented Konstantin Päts's regime more as a democratic regime and discussions on authoritarianism were completely avoided. This means that the Estonian DPs were not totally honest about their past, as presented in Estonian DP press. Across different issues of Estonian DP press, Konstantin Päts was described as a man with strong democratic values and governing style. As we discussed earlier this was part of the narrative of portraying Estonian DPs as unwilling victims of the war which may have played into the U.S. empathy, sympathy and potentially immigration.

In comparison to the Estonian DPs press, we also looked the issue of Estonian DPs from an international perspective by exploring the discussions in the biggest British newspaper "The Times" (London). The discussion in "The Times" were somewhat different to the discussions in "Eesti Post", "Eesti Rada" and "Kauge Kodu". We found that Estonian DPs were in the early occupation years addressed in "The Times" as Eastern Europeans and only later on as Baltic DPs. The British press did not share the narrative put forward by the Estonian DPs press. In contrary, in the early years of the occupation in Germany, the British press was somewhat confused and did not understand the reasons why many of the DPs (including Estonian DPs) were not willing to go back home. At times the early articles referred to the DPs as those who were too comfortable to reallocate. In 1946 to 1947 the British press started referring to Estonian DPs as Baltic DPs and from the articles it seemed that the distinction between Baltic and Eastern DPs became clearer to the journalists. Towards the end of the occupation years, in 1948 to 1949, the British press was very sympathetic towards (Estonian) DPs and several times presented requests in the newspaper to aid those DPs who had not reallocated towards the West yet. Towards the end, the British press was emphasising the good work Estonian DPs (who were reallocated from British zone to England) were doing in Great Britain.

Taking everything into consideration we can say that Estonian DP press did present Estonian DPs from a perspective, which at times was maybe a bit too idealistic and ignored the true past of Estonia.

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ANNEXES

ANNEX NO. 1 – THE ESTONIAN-GERMAN PERIODICALS FROM 1941 ONWARDS

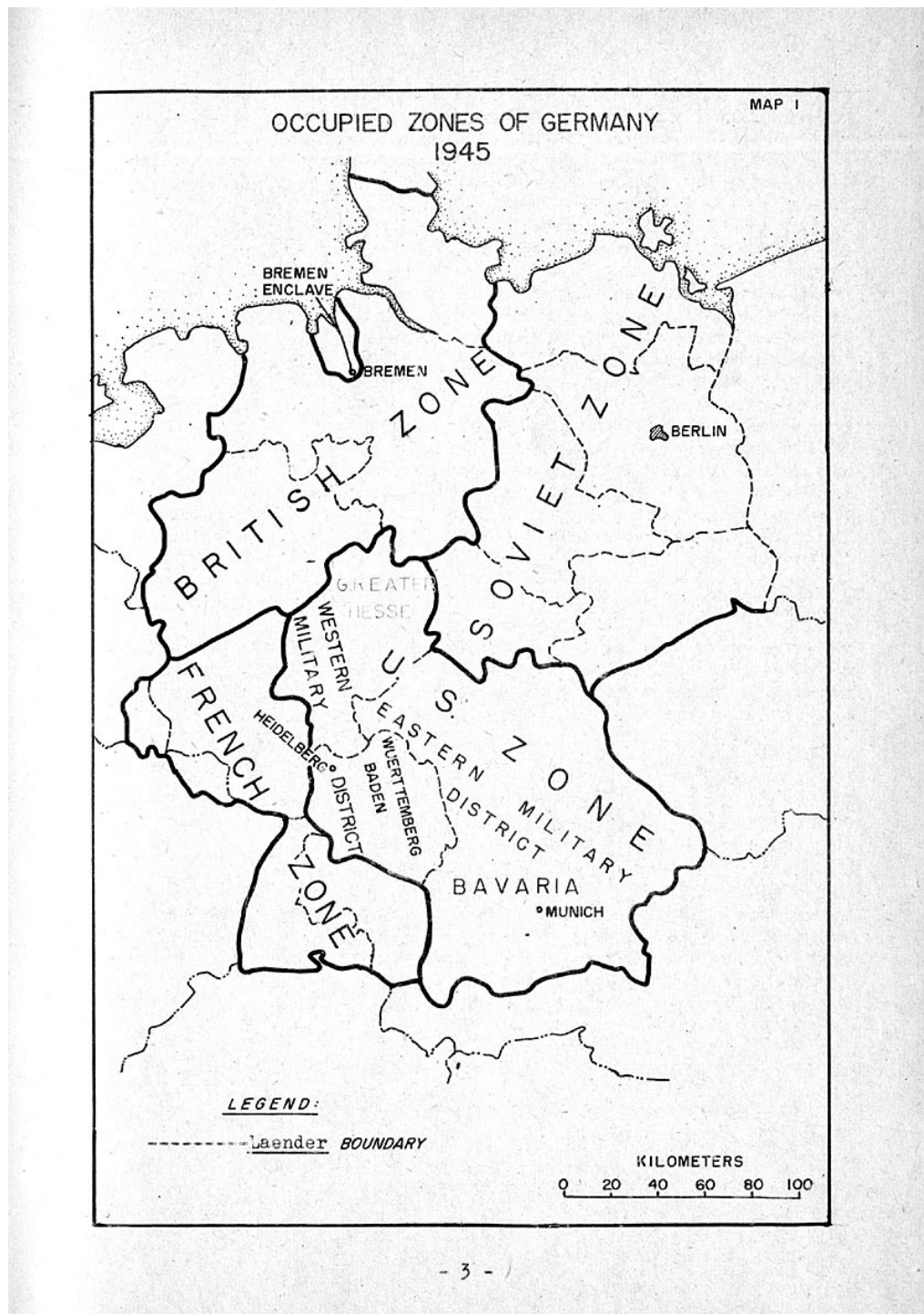
No	TITLE	WHERE	FROM - TO
	NEWSPAPERS		
1.	“Eesti Post” (“Estonian Post”)	Geislingen (USA zone)	1945 – 1953
2.	“Eesti Rada” (“Estonian Way”)	Hochfeld (USA zone)	1945 – 1949 1953-1956 1960, 1982, 2000
3.	“Eesti Sõna” (“Estonian Word”)	Berliin	1941-1945
4.	“Eesti Teated” (“Estonian News”)	Göttingen (British zone)	1945-1946
5.	“Im Ausland” (“Abroad”)	Augsburg (USA zone)	1948
6.	“Kodumaale tagasi- pöördumise eest” (“For returning back to homeland”)	Berliin	1955-1957
7.	“Postimees” (“Courier”)	Heidelberg (USA zone)	1944
8.	“Ravensburgi Postimees” (“Ravensburg Courier”)	Ravensburg (French zone)	1944
9.	“Rünnak : Eesti Vabadusliidu võitlusleht” (Attack: Estonian Freedom Union Fight Newsletter)	Hildesheim (USA zone)	1944-1945
10.	“Sõnumid : Eesti Teadeteleht” (“Messages: Estonian Newsletter”)	Lübeck (British zone)	1945-1946
11.	“Sõnumid : Estonian Weekly News” (Messages: Estonian Weekly News”)	Detmold (British zone)	1946-1948

	SMALLER NEWSLETTERS & NEWSPAPERS		
12.	“Augsburgi Rahvusgrupi Päevauudised” (“Augsburg Ethnic Group Daily News”)	Augsburg (USA zone)	1952-1955
13.	“Eesti Rada. Sport” (“Estonian Trail: Sport”)	Augsburg (USA zone)	1948
14.	“Eesti Sõjavangide häälekandja” (Estonian War-prisoners Newspaper”)	Mittenwald, Garmisch – Parkten (USA zone)	1944
15.	“Eesti Võitlejate Ühingu teated” (“Estonian Association of Combatant newsletter”)	Primasens (British zone)	1950-1952
16.	“Hinge hää” (“Voice of the Soul”)	Memmingen (USA zone)	1957
17.	“Information Bulletin”	Pinneberg (British zone)	1946-1949
18.	“Kauge kodu päevauudised” (“Faraway Home Daily News”)	Kempton (USA zone)	1945-1949
19.	Laagri teated	Geislingen (USA zone)	1945 - 1949
20.	“Löke : Sandplatzi laagri skautide leht” (“Bonfire: Sandplatzi scout camp newsletter”)	Sandplatz (British zone)	1948-unknown
21.	“Maleva Teataja : Eesti Gaidide ja Skautide Malevate ühine hääle -kandja Saksamaal” (“Malev Journal: Estonian Scouts and Scout common newspaper in Germany”)	Nürnberg (USA zone)	1960-1964
22.	“Põhjamaa tähistel” (“Nordic Letters”)	Geislingen (USA zone)	1946-1949
23.	“Päevauudised” (“Dailly News”)	Bocholt (British zone)	1945-1953
24.	“Sõnumid Briti tsooni eestlastele”	Augustdorf &	1948-1951

	("Messages for the Estonians in the British Zone")	Detmold (British zone)	1948-1949
25.	"Teated" ("News")	Wiesbaden (French zone)	1946
26.	"Teated Briti tsooni eestlastele" ("News for the Estonians in the British Zone")	Detmold (British zone)	1948
27.	"Teateid eestlastele" ("News for Estonians")	München	1988-
28.	"Teateleht eestlastele" ("Newsletter for Estonians")	Berliin (Danzig)	1944
29.	"Uudised Märzfeldi Eesti Rahvuskondise informatsioonileht" ("News: Märzfeld National Information Bulletin")	Märzfeld (USA zone)	1946
30.	"Ühendaja rada: maailma- laagri teateleht" ("Connector Trail: World Camp Newsletter")	Bundenbach	1970
	MAGAZINES		
1.	"Hochfeld camp sõnas ja pildis" ("Hochfeld camp in words and pictures")	Augsburg (USA zone)	1945
2.	"Kirikuleht" ("Church News")	Geislingen (USA zone)	1946-1955
3.	"Lux Aeterna / Eesti Kristlik Üliõpilasühing" ("Lux Aeterna / Estonian Christian undergraduate association")	Oldenburg (British zone)	1948-1954
4.	"Löke / Põhja Skautide Malev" ("Bonfire / Northern Scouts Malev")	Nürnberg	1947-1948
5.	"Meie lastele : Kirikulehe lisa" ("Our children: Church Newsletter")	Geislingen (USA zone)	1947-1948
6.	"Meie Mats" "Our Mats"	Geretsried, Munich (USA zone)	1946-1947
7.	"Noorte sõber / EÜSL Kooli ja Haridustoimkond" ("Youth friend/ EÜSL School and Education Department")	Kempton (USA zone)	1955-1956

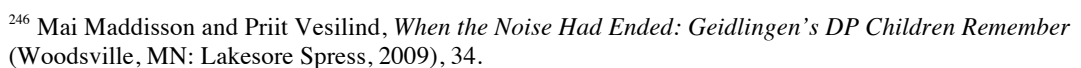
8.	“Optimist: GEGi 11a klassi ajakiri” (“Optimist: Geslingen Estonian Gymnasium class 11a newsletter”)	Geislingen (USA zone)	1947
9.	“Pildipost” (“Picturepost”)	Geislingen (USA zone)	1947-1949
10.	“Pildiposti kõverpeegel” (“Picturepost curved mirror”)	Geislingen (USA zone)	1948
11.	“Ronk / Ronga salk” (“Raven/ Raven squad”)	Hochfeld (USA zone)	1947
12.	“Sport”	Meerbeck (USA zone)	1946-1947
13.	“Sädemed : Tasuja rühma ajakiri” (“Sparks: Tasuja team magazine”)	Ohmstede (British zone)	1946-1949
14.	“Tulilind / Geislingeni Eesti Rahvuskoondise Gümnaasium” (“Firebird / Geislingen Estonians Gymnasium team”)	Geislingen (USA zone)	1947-1948
15.	“Urituli”	Uchte (British zone)	1945-1946
16.	“Vagu : Eesti põllumajanduskooli ajakiri” (“Furrow: Estonian agricultural school magazine”)	Perdoel (British zone)	1948
17.	“Viiking” 'Viking'	Uchte (British zone)	1946
18.	“Virmaline / Kaktuse salk, Suure Tõlli skautlipkond” (“Northern Lights / Cactus squad, Great Chariot Scout Troop”)	Geislingen (USA zone)	1948
19.	Õitsitud	Geislingen (USA zone)	1945

ANNEX NO. 2 – THE MAP OF OCCUPIED ZONES OF GERMANY IN 1945²⁴⁵

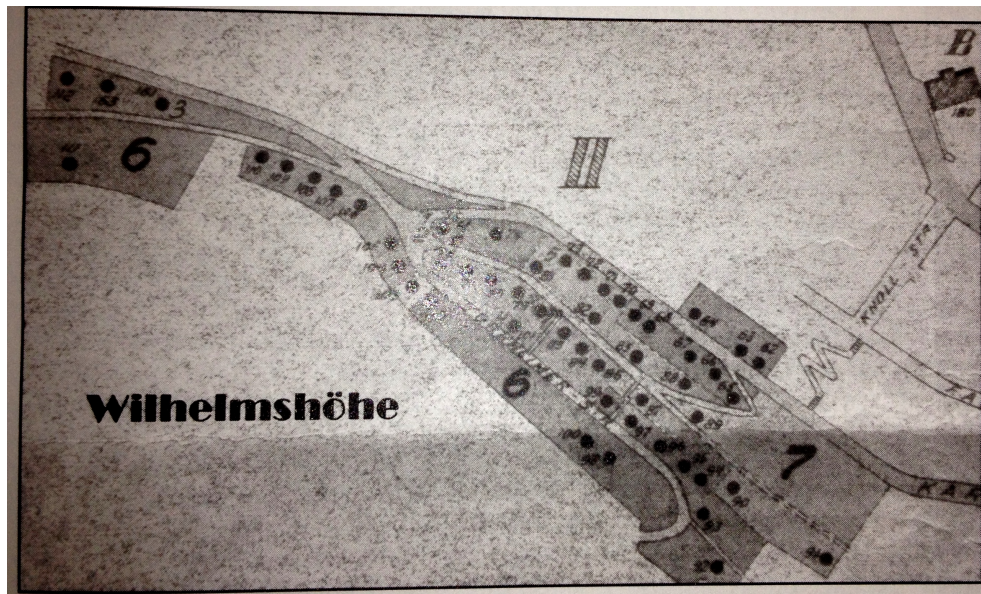


²⁴⁵ *The U.S. Armed Forces German Youth Activities Program, 1945-1955* (Heidelberg, Germany: Historical Division. HQ U.S. Army Europe, 1956), 3.

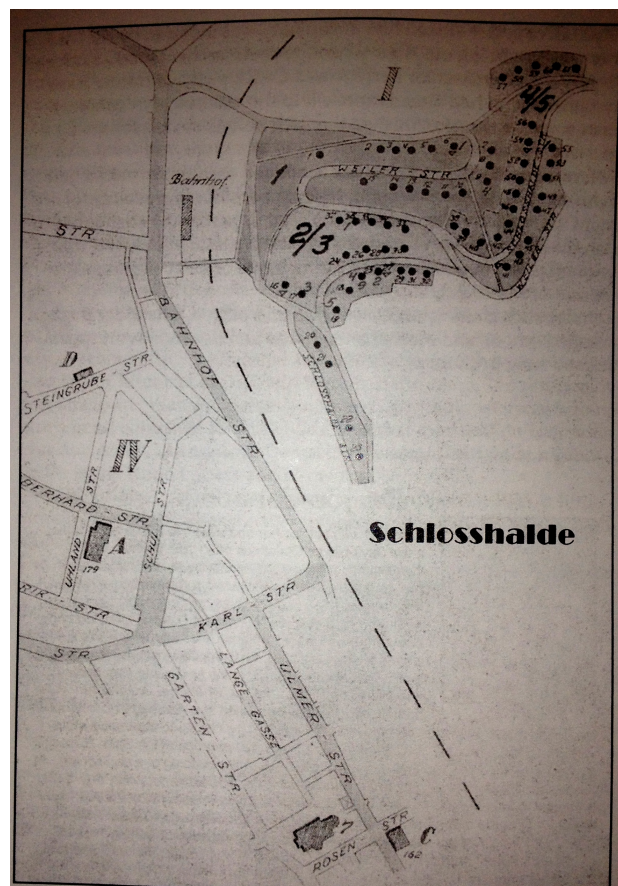
(1) Administrative division of Geislingen DP camp²⁴⁶



(3) Map of Wilhelmshöhe area in the Geislingen DPs camp:



(4) Map of Schlosshalde area in the Geislingen DPs camp



KOKKUVÕTE (Summary in Estonian)

Eesti pagulased sõjajärgsel Saksamaal

1945. aasta maikuus oli Saksamaa sunnitud alla andma liitlasvägede pealetungile ning üks maailma verisemaid sõdasid jõudis lõpukorrale. Sõja lõpp tõi endaga kaasa palju head ning pani aluse tänapäeva integreeritud Euroopale. Samal ajal tõi sõja lõpp kaasa ka suure hulga pagulasi, kellest üle 6 miljoni resideerus Lääne tsoonides. Erinevate allikate alusel on selgunud, et Teise Maailmasõja perioodil emigreerus Eestist Saksamaale 40 000 - 45 000 eestlast, kellest ligikaudu 13 500 resideerusid Ameerika okupatsiooni tsoonis. Käesoleval hetkel ei ole Eesti pagulaselu sõjajärgsel Saksamaal leidnud laialdlast kajastamist.

Antud töö eesmärk oli uurida Ameerika okupatsiooni tsoonis elavaid Eesti pagulasi Eesti pagulasajakirjandusest lähtuvalt. Antud uuring püüdis leida vastuseid järgmistele küsimustele: (1) kui ausalt vaatasid Eesti pagulased Eesti eelnevat minevikku/ajalugu ning (2) kuidas esitlesid Eesti pagulased ennast maailmale? Antud töö kontekstis soovisime uurida kuidas kirjeldavad Eesti pagulased oma identiteeti ja oma kohalolekut sõjajärgsel Saksamaal; kuidas suhestusid Eesti pagulased Natsi-Saksamaaga, kes on Eesti pagulaste vaatenurgast antud olukorras süüdlased, millised on Eesti pagulaste plaanid tuleviku osas ning kuidas Eesti pagulased sellest lähtuvalt ennast ajakirjanduse vahendusel esitlevad.

Antud vastuste leidmiseks keskendusime kolmele Eesti pagulasajalehele – “Kauge Kodu”, “Eesti Rada” ja “Eesti Post” ning ühele Briti ajalehele – “The Times”, (London) perioodil 1945 kuni 1949. Antud ajavahemik valiti seetõttu, et 1945 - 1949 on periood millal pagulaslaagrid aktiivselt tegutsesid.

Antud töö eesmärgiks ei ole pakkuda ülevaadet sõjajärgse Saksamaa ühiskonnast. Käesolev töö on diskursuseanalüüs mis keskendub Eesti pagulasajakirjandusele.

Töö esimene osa keskendub Saksamaa olukorrale 1945 aastal. Esimeses peatükis vaatlesime kuidas jagunesid tsoonid liitlasvägede vahel ning arutlesime selle üle millised võimalused olid Ameerika sõjaväevalitsusel pagulastega hakkama saamiseks.

Teise peatüki eesmärgiks oli tutvustada Eesti pagulasi sõjajärgsel Saksamaal. Antud peatükis vaatlesime milline oli eestlaste väljaränne Teise Maailmasõja ajal; tutvusime seadusega, mis reguleeris sõjajärgsele perioodile järgnenud kuudel Eesti pagulaste elu ja vaatlesime kuidas jagunesid Eesti pagulaslaagrid Ameerika tsoonis.

Lisaks sellele peatusime pikemalt Geislingeni pagulaslaagri juures, mis andis hea ülevaate selle kohta millistes tingimustes Eesti pagulased elasid ning millised olid Eesti pagulaste olmetingimused. Antud informatsioonile tuginedes tõdesime, et Eesti pagulaste tingimused olid kitsad ning suur osa päevast veedeti kodust eemal. Arutlesime ühidalt ka selle üle, et ruumi kitsikus võis olla üks põhjuseid miks Eesti pagulased osalesid aktiivselt Eesti kogukonna üritustel väljaspool kodu.

Kolmas peatükk keskendus Eesti pagulasajakirjanduse analüüsimisele sõjajärgsel Saksamaal. Antud peatüki alguses tutvusime millised olid Ameerika sõjaväevalitsuse reeglid pagulasajakirjanduse avaldamiseks, vaatlesime milliseid olid peamised Eesti pagulaste poolt avaldatud ajalehed ja ajakirjad ning keskendusime kolme ajalehe – “Kauge Kodu”, “Eesti Rada” ja “Eesti Post” artiklite analüüsimisele. Antud analüüsi tulemusena leidsime, et Eesti pagulasajakirjandus keskendus erinevatele narratiividele, mille üks võimalikke eesmärgi oli hoida häid suhteid Ameerika sõjaväevalitsusega.

Neljandas peatükis keskendusime Briti ajalehe “The Times” (London) analüüsimisele. Vaatlesime Eesti pagulasajakirjanduses esitatud narratiivide kajastumist ning arutelu DP teemadel läbi Briti ajalehe “The Times” (London). Briti ajalehe artikleid analüüsid leidsime, et Eesti ja Briti ajakirjandus kajastasid DP-temaatikat mõnevõrra erinevalt.

Antud töö eesmärgiks oli vaadelda Eesti pagulaste elu sõjajärgsel Saksamaal ning mõista kuidas Eesti pagulased kajastasid oma kogemusi sõjajärgses keskkonnas laiemalt. Töö alguses soovisime teada kui ausalt kajastasid Eesti pagulased oma minevikku ning kuidas esitlesid Eesti pagulased ennast/oma identiteeti Eesti pagulasajakirjanduses.

Eesti pagulasajakirjanduse ja Briti ajakirjanduse analüüsimise tulemusena leidsime, et “Kauge Kodu”, Eesti Post” ja “Eesti Rada” esitlesid Eesti pagulasi läbi erinevate narratiivide. Kolm peamist narratiivi, mis kajastusid Eesti pagulasajakirjanduses vaatlesid Eesti pagulasi: (1) kui soovimatuid okupatsiooni (Saksa ja Ameerika) ja sõjaohvreid, (2) kui vabadust hindavaid demokraate ning (3) kui türannia eest põgenevaid isikuid.

Lisaks antud narratiividele leidsime, et Eesti press kujutles Eesti ajalugu pigem idealistlikust, kui reaalsest vaatenurgast. Antud narratiiv oli ühtlane kõikide analüüsitud artiklite lõikes, mis käsitlesid Konstantin Pätsi ning tema riigijuhtimist. Eesti pagulasajakirjandus käsitles Pätsi režiim kui demokraatlikku juhtimisstiili ning jättis mainimata autoritaarse režiim asjaolud. Analüüsi tulemusena leidsime, et üks võimalik põhjus võis seisneda selles, et Eesti

pagulasajakirjandus soovis esitleda Eesti pagulasi kui soovimatuid sõjaohvreid ning mõjutada seeläbi Eesti pagulaste kuvandit positiivsemast vaatenurgast.

Briti ajakirjanduse analüüsi tulemusena leidsime lisaks eelnevale, et okupatsiooni algusaastatel kajastas Briti press Eesti pagulasi kui Ida-Euroopa pagulasi, hiljem kui Balti pagulasi ning siis Eesti pagulasi. Artikklitest selgus, et okupatsiooni algusaastatel oli Briti ajakirjandus mõnevõrra segaduses selle üle miks pagulased koju ei naase. Sellega seoses esines mitmeid artikleid, mis õhutasid liitlasvägesid tegema järsemaid samme pagulasprobleemi lahendamisel. Okupatsiooni keskpaigas oli võimalik leida Briti ajakirjandusest positiivseid artikleid (Briti tsoonist emigreerunud) Eesti pagulaste kohta Inglismaal. Okupatsiooni lõpus õhutas Briti ajakirjandus inimesi üles abistama Saksamaal elavaid pagulasi tsoonide üleselt ning soosis meedia vahendusel Eesti pagulasi ning Eesti pagulaste integratsiooni Läände.

Kui Eesti pagulasajakirjandus keskendus pigem erinevatele narratiividele, siis Briti ajakirjanduses esitletud artikleid võib seostada antud perioodi poliitilise olukorraga.

Kokkuvõtvalt võib aga tõdeda, et Eesti pagulasajakirjandus esitles Eesti pagulasi kohati liiga idealistlikult ning vältis kohati Eesti ajaloo adekvaatset käsitlust.

Lihtlitsents lõputöö reprodutseerimiseks ja lõputöö üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks

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(*lõputöö pealkiri*)

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