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Book Reviews

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Victoria Frede. ***Doubt, Atheism, and the Nineteenth-Century Russian Intelligentsia.*** Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011. xiv, 300 pp. Illustrations. Index. $26.95, paper.

Focusing on the period from about 1823 to 1868, Victoria Frede demonstrates that for the Russian intelligentsia, doubt and atheism represented alternative belief systems, rather than lack of belief. Delving into the diaries, publications, and police files (among other archival sources) of Russia's educated elite, she details the complex relationships between social origins, stances on the "eternal questions," and attitudes towards the imperial regime, noting that these alternative belief systems were tied to political opposition. She clarifies the role that well-known Western philosophical works played in the formation and dissemination of Russian atheism, and emphasizes the tremendous significance of personal relationships.

Her narrative proceeds along generational lines, beginning with a secret society formed in 1823: the Wisdom Lovers—a philosophically-minded circle preoccupied with Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph Schelling. Their fascination with a German idealist and pantheist suggested a willingness to explore ideas at variance with Orthodoxy. While from an Orthodox standpoint, doubt is a force destructive of faith, leading to despair, the Wisdom Lovers viewed doubt as a potentially constructive force, leading to greater knowledge. They bequeathed this positive conception of doubt to the next generation.

In the 1830s and 1840s, Aleksandr Gertsen and his friend Nikolai Ogarev, appropriating ideas from Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, Schelling, and Ludwig Feuerbach, embraced doubt as a permanent condition. While their works indicate that they rejected belief in immortality of the soul, their unbelief in God was only implied. One of the general rules of their circle of friends was to avoid explicit denials of God's existence. Their intellectual descendants, however, went beyond doubt and carved out explicitly atheist systems of belief.

By 1849 doubt, but not atheism, was largely embraced by the intelligentsia. Yet, 1849 represents a "turning point" in the history of Russian atheism because a group of young merchants "shifted the idea that God does not exist from the unspeakable to the spoken" (pp. 117–118). That year, as part of Nicholas I's efforts to destroy a perceived revolutionary conspiracy, thirty-six members of two intellectual circles (the well-known circle of Mikhail Petrashevskii and the little-known circle of the tobacco merchant Petr Shaposhnikov) were arrested. While the Petrashevtsy certainly questioned aspects of Orthodoxy and religious faith, any atheism among them was only tacit. In the investigation of the merchants' circle, however, authorities discovered that Shaposhnikov and especially his friend Vasilii Katenev held both atheist religious opinions and republican sentiments. Frede views their atheism and political opposition as two parts of one related phenomenon—"anti-authoritarianism" (p. 98). Of central importance to the merchants and later generations of atheists was Feuerbach's notion of human "action by oneself" (*Selbsttätigkeit*), the need for human "independence from God" and "self-sufficiency" (pp. 98–99).

If Katenev and his associates were the first to vocalize atheist ideas, Nikolai Chernyshevskii and Nikolai Dobroliubov were the first to print such ideas (p. 120). They espoused atheism from the mid-1850s on, believing it to be a necessary prerequisite for Russia's salvation. The emancipation of the self from external authorities was necessary for the new men committed to the social and political regeneration of Russia, a "radical" idea because it "implied a kind of individualism that had never existed in Russia's highly

communitarian society" (p. 148). Their readers could either focus on the communitarian element of working for Russia's salvation, or this idea of self-sufficiency. Either way, atheism "heightened" rather than ended "the search for truth" (p. 149).

Frede then traces how the student radicals of the 1850s and 1860s tended to adopt the communitarian aspect of Chernyshevskii's and Dobroliubov's thought, while Dmitrii Pisarev believed it necessary to live without faith in anything except one's own inclinations. In a world without God "the individual [...] must stare bravely back into the void created by the abnegation of ready-made answers" (p. 207).

Besides linking the doubt and atheism of individuals and group with political opposition, Frede also demonstrates that religious terminology and concepts permeated the outlook of the intelligentsia even after they embraced doubt or outright atheism. Thus, Frede argues that "Russian atheism of the nineteenth century was not secular" (p. 147). The intelligentsia did not "desacralize" but re- or differently sacralized the world. With the exception of Pisarev, the doubters and atheists of the nineteenth century pursued a religious endeavour to save Russia. Pisarev stands out for his reluctance to shift his disbelief in God to belief in any other absolute principle.

Frede's study is impressive. The spiritual mini-biographies deepen our understanding of how particular individuals experienced a profound re-defining or loss of religious faith. Her systematic analysis of the specific ways that individuals employed concepts espoused by Western philosophers, especially Feuerbach's *Selbsttätigkeit,* brings welcome precision to understanding the transmission of Western ideas in Russia, though she also conveys the deeply personal and relational nature of their dissemination.

Heather Bailey, *University of Illinois Springfield*

George Gasyna. *Polish, Hybrid, and Otherwise: Exilic Discourse in Joseph Conrad and Witold Gombrowicz.* New York: Continuum. 2011. 276 pp. $42.95, paper.

George Gasyna offers a unique and much anticipated comparative reading of selected works by Witold Gombrowicz (*Cosmos, Trans-Atlantyk)* and Joseph Conrad (*Nostromo*). Such an approach might not immediately strike one as all too original, but it is truly thought-provoking in exploring the indeterminate discourse that Conrad and Gombrowicz produce as a result of their exilic experience. Far from merely cataloguing biographical events, Gasyna seeks to interrogate the inner workings of Conrad's and Gombrowicz's exilic liminal discourses, ones that defy the gravity of the sanctified cultural and literary assumptions of their age or any clean-cut identifiable ideological affirmations. Configured as such, liminal rather than reactionary, Conrad and Gombrowicz anticipate modernist and postmodernist poetics respectively. On the face of it, such a bold periodization endeavour is anything but ground-breaking, as a battery of publications calculated to tag both Polish writers with this or that *-ism* has already been fired by many scholars (Slavic or otherwise). But the angle from which Gasyna delves into the writers' aesthetics is novel: he interrogates the language triggered by their cultural in-betweenness in order to point to the blind spots of indeterminacy undercutting their poetics.

With this as his solid point of departure, Gasyna superbly charts Gombrowicz's and Conrad's trajectories of exile, asserting their dual hybrid identities, or, as he puts it, *homo duplex persona*, as epitomised in their works of fiction and life writing. Equipped with acute analytical skills, for which the author owes much intellectual indebtedness to such pillars of postmodernist and poststructuralist theory as Michel Foucault, Jacques Lacan, Gilles Deleuze, and Jacques Derrida, to list but a few, and encyclopaedic knowledge of

twentieth-century European history and culture, Gasyna magnificently caters to the tastes of those who seek in-depth historical references and close-readers orientated toward interpretive hair-splitting in a characteristically deconstructionist vein.

Particularly well-argued is the author's examination of the *heterotopic* discourse of *Trans-Atlantyk*, which "helped precipitate a crucial debate on the subjectivity of exilic writing" (p. 178) in its indomitable resistance to cut-and-dried ideological schemata. This project of a disbanding of linguistic autonomy is pushed a step further in *Cosmos*, which for Gasyna "announces the dissolution of modern narrative subjectivity into a *mise-en-abîme* of competing simulacra" (p. 221). Gasyna intermittently peppers his book with argumentative signposts of that ilk, leaving the reader in no doubt as to where the writer under scrutiny belongs: Conrad the modernist, Gombrowicz the postmodernist. But whether such periodic compartmentalization exhausts the writers' aesthetic potentialities remains open to question (although at times Gasyna does in fact problematize this well-groomed partition). This division could perhaps be rethought by the author, given his own assertion that "Gombrowicz became a consummate destroyer of forms and formal *–isms* (p. 23), and that Conrad's "critic cannot forcibly fit the text into one or two dominant modes of seeing" (p. 50). These cultural and aesthetic labels of Gombrowicz's and Conrad's reputed post/modernity could perhaps do better justice to the assumed tactical waywardness of their rhetoric if put forth more tentatively.

In terms of structure and organization, the chapters are segmented into the related aspects of exile, modernist and postmodernist discourse, life writing, heterotopia, and identity politics respectively, thus providing comprehensive panoply of Gombrowicz's and Conrad's idiosyncratic exilic poetics. In addition, the book includes a list of instructive abbreviations and a glossary. As regards the latter, it is commendable that the author left some Polish problematic historical or culture-specific terms untranslated (e.g., Gawęda, góral). The book also is meticulously researched: the exhaustive bibliography overlooks no major critical corpora of Slavic, francophone, and anglophone Studies. Although properly indexed, some crucial terms illuminating the argument—*the other*, *subject*, *subjectivity* in particular—beg referencing. This, however, does not diminish the book's indisputable merits.

Gasyna's *Polish, Hybrid, and Otherwise: Exilic Discourse in Joseph Conrad and Witold Gombrowicz,* in its deployment of an intricate theoretical toolkit, the impressive erudition of its author, as well as the titanic interdisciplinary research work that allows no intellectual or argumentative short cuts, is bound to remain a landmark publication in the vast body of Gombrowicz and Conrad studies for years to come. Confidently investigating the convoluted workings of exile and language in the contemporary cultural framework, this publication is a useful reminder of how much these often-debated writers still bring to the post-war literary table, helping inform our present-day complex cultural condition; be they Polish, hybrid, and otherwise.

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Olga Kucherenko. *Little Soldiers: How Soviet Children Went to War, 1941–1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. xiv, 266 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $128.50, cloth.

Olga Kucherenko's *Little Soldiers: How Soviet Children Went to War, 1941–1945* is a significant contribution to the field of social history of World War II. Soviet children's participation in the war effort in general, and the life stories of specific child heroes, have

been well-known to anyone growing up in the post-war Soviet Union. However, neither in Russian historiography, nor in the West has this important topic received sufficient and systematic critical attention.

Between 1941 and 1945, more than twenty-five million men and women fought in the Soviet army, navy, air force, or paramilitary formations. Children-soldiers constituted roughly between 0.4% and 1.2% of these Soviet warriors. The estimates concerning their number range from 60,000 to 300,000 (p. 2). Most were teenagers, aged between fifteen and eighteen. Despite their relatively small number, as Kucherenko demonstrates, the children's presence on the front-line became a noticeable social and cultural phenomenon, had an impact on the life of a military unit, and elicited noticeable responses from society.

The monograph is divided into two parts. In order to explain why, despite the government's ban on mobilizing teenagers, so many of them were eager to go to war and did everything possible to either persuade adults so they could join the army or outwit the authorities who tried to keep youngsters away from the front, in part 1 Kucherenko examines the formation of the Soviet patriotic discourse in the pre-war decade. Drawing on a plethora of archival sources, secondary literature, *belles-lettres*, film, and media, Kucherenko demonstrates how successful Soviet propaganda was in preparing the population, and especially young people who were born after the October Revolution, to readily contribute to their country's war effort and, if needed, sacrifice their life for the Motherland. Although convincing in providing the background information that proves that Stalinist propaganda of the 1930s–1940s "worked," part 1 overall gives the impression of being unnecessarily detailed and somewhat abstract, for the topics of the patriotic education in the 1930s and of society under Stalin have been well researched and are familiar to specialists. When reading the three chapters of part 1, one gets the feeling that no justice is done to the young combatants' actual experience, their life stories, memoirs, and testimonies.

This impression, however, disappears when the reader begins part 2. Its four chapters and an overview are based on biographies, interviews, and testimonies of former child soldiers. Moving accounts are given about children in the regular army, among the partisans, and in the navy. The author pays specific attention to the role of young women. Kucherenko explains how, beside and in many cases aside from the teenagers' romantic visions of war, which had been fostered by the pre-war system of education and the 1930s' popular culture, the complexities of wartime existence left many children soldiers no option but joining the army. Hunger, displacement, loss of home and family, as well as fear of joining a criminal gang or execution by the Nazis were powerful factors in motivating teenagers to look for ways in which to enlist or join the partisans. Based on unique and very engaging materials, such as testimonies or interviews, the chapters in part 2 provide a fascinating account of Soviet society during World War II. Kucherenko explains what roles young combatants played at the front; the strategies they used to persuade the adults not to send them away; and the relationships between children-soldiers and adult combatants. The reader's only regret is that for academic purposes some of the fascinating life stories are cut short so that the reader is left wondering what might have happened later to the particular child soldier Kucherenko is discussing.

The monograph is rich in facts, texture, and narrative. In addition to her meticulous work with archival documents, Kucherenko demonstrates exceptional skills in using secondary sources, some of which provide only one or two sentences that are directly relevant for her study, and in drawing on popular culture (*belles-lettres*, film, and memoirs) to enrich her analysis.

Although *Little Soldiers* is primarily a social history, the book offers valuable insights into the Soviet pre-war and wartime patriotic culture. *Little Soldiers* should be on the reading list of scholars and students of Soviet history, society, and culture, as well as specialists in military history, anthropologists, and psychologists.

Elena V. Baraban, *University of Manitoba*

Alexander Etkind, Rory Finnin, Uilleam Blacker, Julie Fedor, Simon Lewis, Maria Màlksoo, Matilda Mroz. *Remembering Katyn*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2012. 185 pp. Index. Photographs. $22.95, paper.

Katyn is known to faculty and students in Slavonic Studies as the execution and burial site of 4,100 Polish military (actually 4,421, including some non-Poles [p. 6]) shot by the NKVD in April-May 1940, which was discovered and publicized by the Germans in mid-April 1943. What is not generally known is that the name "Katyn" now stands for the four known execution sites of Poles shot in spring 1940 at Katyn Tver', Kharkiv, and Kyiv, as well as several thousand arrested Polish citizens held in NKVD jails and also shot at this time, for a total of 21,857 (p. 6). The names of the victims are known and memorialized at the four Polish war cemeteries except for those shot in Belarus, whose death lists have not been found.

Preceded by a useful map, a timeline that runs from the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of August, 1939 through early 2011, and introduction, the book contains seven chapters on the memory and meaning of Katyn. The Coda focuses on "Katyn-2," an account of conflicting Polish interpretations of the causes of the fatal Polish presidential plane crash on 10 April 2010.

Space restrictions preclude the discussion of each chapter, so this review must be more selective. In the introduction, Etkind expresses his view of history, along with that of the six listed co-authors, as follows: "Memory is history spoken performatively [sic] … [which] abides to [sic] the poses and practices of a broad circle of priests and pilgrims, politicians and filmmakers, artists and scholars, tourists and their guides" (p. 8). For the authors, the Katyn memory has two aspects: "metonymical," as in Poland, where it is read as part of its history "meant to stand for the whole," and "metaphorical," when it is applied to similar massacres elsewhere (p. 8). Thus, in Belarus, Ukraine, and the Baltic States it is a "toponym" or symbol for Stalinist and Nazi massacres representing their "memory events." It is worth noting that for Poles Katyn stands not for the whole of Poland's history—which had its most brilliant phase in the sixteenth century—but as the single, worst crime perpetrated on the nation in World War II. The chapter on Katyn in Russia continues the story there. Despite the admission of Soviet guilt by Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev (1990) and Boris Yeltsin (1992), also the publication of many documents, the Katyn massacre still has many supporters of the old Soviet claim that it was a "Fascist," that is German crime, while the published documents are said to be fakes.

Chapter 1, "Katyn in Poland," is a very good account of the resistance to the "Katyn Lie," which prohibited any discussion of the topic during the communist period—unless it was classified as a German crime carried out in 1941. The discussion starts, however, with the statement that Poland's problem with Katyn is the lack of an eyewitness account of the crime (pp. 13–14). This is true, and also applies to the other sites, but it should be noted that there is no known eye witness survivor of any Stalinist execution except, of course, the executioners themselves.

Polish émigré writers, beginning with Józef Mackiewicz—the unnamed editor of Katyn documents in English (1948) and the author of the first account in English (1951)—are rightly credited with keeping the memory alive and seeking justice. In communist-ruled Poland, crosses were put up several times from the mid-1950s onward by opponents of the regime in the military segment of Powązki Cemetery, Warsaw. This was done on special dates: August 1 (outbreak of the Warsaw Uprising, 1944); September 17 (Soviet invasion of former Eastern Poland, 1939); and November 2 (Catholic All Souls Day). They were placed next to the monument to the Home Army, which resisted the German occupation during World War II. The crosses were regularly taken down by the authorities and put up again by the opposition. If there was no cross, people would put flowers in the "Katyn hollow" (pp. 8–20). In the politically more relaxed late 1970s and still more in the 1980s, civic Katyn organizations sprang up: institutes, societies, local Katyn families' associations, and a federation of Katyn families. Books on Katyn published in the underground press from 1976 onward included translations of Janusz Zawodny's *Death in the Forest* (1962). The movement to memorialize Katyn, however, really took off after the collapse of communism in Poland in June 1989. Andrzej Przewoźnik's work in organizing exhumations at the four burial sites, and then establishing Polish War Cemeteries, alongside those of Soviet victims, at Katyn, Mednoe (Tver'), Kharkiv (Piatikhatki), and Kyiv (Bikovniia), is discussed in the chapters on Ukraine and Russia. Polish writers are cited in chapter 1, particularly W. Odojewski, and the author for Andrzej Wajda's famous film, *Katyn*. A topic missing in this chapter is the continuing division of Polish opinion as to whether Katyn was a crime of genocide, that is, Poles murdered as Poles (a belief held by some historians and a significant segment of public opinion today) or a war crime and a crime against humanity, which is the official stance of the Polish government as well as the Russian Memorial Society.

Chapter 2 is an excellent discussion of Wajda's film, *Katyn* (2007), presumably written, or largely based on research by Matilda Mroz, an expert on Polish films of the communist era and after. The film focuses on the suffering of POW families, who did not know their loved ones' fate until the spring 1943 German announcement and publication of lists of names (although these were incomplete and included errors). The film, divided into lessons with accompanying commentary, became part of the history curriculum for the upper classes in Polish schools, although parents and teachers protested, claiming that the graphic execution scenes "had a damaging effect on teenagers," who were unable to deal with them (pp. 41–42). The original film also had its critics, some of whom accused Wajda of continuing the Polish tradition of presenting the Poles as martyrs and victims, and also of manipulating the audience (p. 41). The chapter's author overlooked the fact that the film was submitted in 2008 for the category of best foreign film at the Oscars, but lost to the Austrian film *Die Fälscher* [The Counterfeiters], which told the story of Jewish prisoners in a labour camp who foiled a Nazi plan to circulate counterfeit British pounds and US dollars.

The bibliography indicates that there are many books on Katyn, but *Remembering Katyn* takes a novel approach focusing on various kinds of memorialization in Poland and several countries whose territories were contested by Hitler and Stalin. Should it be viewed as a praiseworthy example of team research, given that seven scholars are listed as co-authors of the volume, or as Etkind's use of other scholars' research, since he heads "The Memory at War" (MAW) project, which is funded by the Humanities in the European Research Area, Joint Research Program, and which generated this book? Whatever one's opinion might be, this is a very interesting volume, although more for the specialist than for the general reader. It is certainly timely, being published a few months ahead of the year

2013, which marks the seventieth anniversary of the German discovery of Polish military remains in Katyn Forest.

Anna M. Cienciala, *University of Kansas*

Alyssa Dinega Gillespie, ed. *Taboo Pushkin: Topics, Texts, Interpretations.* Publications of the Wisconsin Center for Pushkin Studies. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012. xix, 482 pp. Bibliography. Index. $34.95, paper.

In 1852, Pavel Annenkov, Pushkin's first biographer and an astute critic of his works, wrote Ivan Turgenev about his forthcoming study: "Don't be too awfully eager to see the biography. There *are* a few facts, but they are floating in a sea of cant." (*"Nechego bol'no zarit'sia na biografiiu. Est' koe-kakie fakty, no plavaiut oni v poshlosti."*) Turgenev replied, "The true biography of a historic figure will not soon be possible for us, never mind the censorship side of things, but even from the point of view of the so-called proprieties."[1] Censorship and the proprieties had interfered with Annenkov's exposition of Pushkin's last years, and with his treatment of many other aspects of the poet's life and works. So it is no surprise that succeeding generations of Pushkin scholars have tried to remedy this state of affairs. Scholars of the Soviet period mainly addressed issues of politics and censorship that had been ignored or distorted and thus discovered new dimensions in Pushkin's texts. More recently emphasis has shifted to the "so-called proprieties," those things which have been "taboo." And in view of the nearly sacrosanct position which Pushkin occupies in the Russian national pantheon, Russian or non-Russian scholarship which dismantles any part of the "Pushkin myth" can also be said to break a taboo. An earlier example of this demythologizing can be found in the volume *Legendy i mify o Pushkine* (Sankt-Peterburg: Akademicheskii proekt, 1994). The current book from the Wisconsin Pushkin series continues these lines of investigation. In her very useful introduction, Alyssa Dinega Gillespie writes that the aim of the collection is to reclaim Pushkin from a mythologized status as culture hero and establish his real human self (p. 26).

The volume follows a standard academic structure, opening with biography, continuing with pieces on the works and ending with aspects of Pushkin's reception. The entire first section well merits reading: Irina Reyfman on "Pushkin the Titular Councilor," Igor Nemirovsky on "Why Pushkin Did Not Become a Decembrist," and Joe Peschio on the nature of the Green Lamp society. Reyfman stresses that despite Pushkin's mediocre success in the service, there were times in his life when such a career seemed desirable, and that his contemporaries certainly saw him through this lens. Nemirovsky and Peschio highlight the connections between liberalism and libertinism among some young people of the period, which made those with this profile, like Pushkin and his friends in the Green Lamp, equally unacceptable both to the government and to the high-minded Decembrists. The bulk of Peschio's article is devoted to his archival research on the Green Lamp as a context for Pushkin, rather than to Pushkin himself. Pride of place in this section belongs to Oleg Proskurin's "Pushkin and Metropolitan Philaret," for its philological prowess and clear-eyed realism. He has certainly succeeded in "mov[ing] the topic from a hagiographical into a historical space" (p. 116). This essay will change many readers' perception of the interchanges between Pushkin and the eminent Metropolitan.

[1] B. L. Modzalevskii, *Pushkin i ego sovremenniki (Izbrannye trudy)* (Sankt-Peterburg: Iskusstvo—SPB, 1999) 448.

The next section deals at length with sexuality in Pushkin's works, blasphemy coming in second (Andrew Kahn on the *Gabrieliad*), and politics third (Katya Hokanson's excellent piece on the "anti-Polish" poems). Igor Pilshchikov takes up where the eminent Soviet scholar Mstislav Tsiavlovsky left off with his study on the controversial smutty ballad "The Shade of Barkov" and presents an intelligent survey of the literature on the subject. He gives an astonishing history of efforts to suppress Tsiavlovsky's commentaries, proof, if more is needed, that "obscene language in Pushkin still remains a taboo for Russian scholars" (p. 163). Gillespie adds an article on Pushkin's bawdy, while Douglas Clayton and Natalya Vesselova contribute a short piece on "Tsar Nikita and his Forty Daughters," "an amalgam of the French libertine conte […] and native Russian folklore traditions" (p. 228). Jonathan Brooks Platt deals with Pushkin's lyrics to a dead beloved as examples of "necro-eroticism" (p. 239). Gillespie's well-informed article is marred by an untenable effort to erase the boundary between the erotic and the pornographic, and the timeworn cliché of the authorial pen/is is overworked. There is a grinding of gears when we shift from "The Shade of Barkov" to "The Prophet." Gillespie's interpretation of this famous lyric as "a metaphoric act of double rape" (p. 202) will strike many readers as outré, and is made less convincing by lapses in translation. *Usta zamershie moi* are not "frigid lips" but lips which have become motionless (p. 202). And the angel strikes not with a bloody fist, but with a bloody right hand (*desnitseiu krovavoi*), the holy instrument of righteous power (p. 202). To my mind, Platt's opaque discussion of love lyrics like "For the Shores of a Distant Fatherland" as necro-erotic debases a sublime and humanly touching subject. "Deviancy" (p. 250), "the edge of transgression" (p. 246), that is Platt's argument. It is almost a relief to consider an outright erotic blasphemy, like the *Gabrieliad*. Kahn writes of it, "By celebrating sexual license through profane violation, and sacrilege through freedom of speech, Pushkin courted both danger and a clandestine success" (p. 274). In this section of the book, Hokanson's essay stands out, contextualizing the "anti-Polish" poems so that they become not only comprehensible politically but stirring poetically. She establishes that the "national voice" which Pushkin found in them carries over into his great "Monument" poem (p. 309).

The final section of the volume starts with David Bethea's piece on taboo in the *Captain's Daughter*. The taboos he treats are the dark familial elements of the historical romance and the way it approaches the off-limits topic of the Pugachev rebellion, humanizing a demon of the popular unconscious. Alexandra Smith's essay on Ivan Ermakov's psychoanalytic readings of Pushkin, Carol Any's "Red Pushkin and the Writers' Union in 1937," and Caryl Emerson's "Krzhizhanovsky's Pushkin in the 1930s" round out the collection. Smith's stimulating essay provides insight into a critical trend of the 1920s only recently rescued from official Soviet taboo. It will be of special interest to all who have been impressed by the now-classic Pushkin studies of Anna Akhmatova and Marina Tsvetaeva, which turn out to have been informed by similar stirrings. Ermakov's Pushkin was a poet with a "dynamic unconscious" manifesting "contradictions and conflicting emotions," but who was ultimately able to master them creatively (p. 351). Thus he became a model for the new Soviet man to transcend historical traumas and conflicts and attain personal culture. For her part, Any provides an absorbing account of the struggles of the Soviet critical establishment during the Pushkin centenary year to appropriate and ideologically cleanse the writer's complex image. She concludes, "The official Pushkin of 1937 emerged amid taboo undercurrents that rippled through published discussions and highly publicized events like the Pushkin plenum" (p. 396). Finally, Emerson's essay again returns us to the 1930s with a case study on the creation of another unorthodox Soviet Pushkin, Krzhizhanovky's stage adaptation of the "symbolist era Cleopatra myth" (p. 405)

deriving from Pushkin's evocative fragment "Egyptian Nights." "An unrecognized writer pulls a canonical jubilee Pushkin into ever more illicit zones" (p. 405), in this case farce. Emerson envelops her treatment in a detailed, even overwhelming theatre context, including director Alexander Tairov's contrasting work on the Cleopatra subject. In the end, a relatively unknown corner of Pushkin's legacy has been brightly illuminated.

As a whole, this is a very worthy collection which presents "its Pushkin" coherently. It includes some highly informative pieces and a few which have truly new findings to offer, not an everyday accomplishment in Pushkin studies.

Leslie O'Bell, *University of Texas-Austin*

Emília Hrabovec. *Slovensko a Sväta stolica 1918–1927 vo svetle vatikánskych prameňov* (Slovakia and the Holy See 1918–1927 in the Light of Vatican Archives). Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, 2012. 560 pp. Cloth.

Accessibility to documents and archives is essential for accurate and credible historical research. Still, it is not unusual for state and other archives to be unavailable for a given period of time (all states generally impose a period, usually twenty or fifty years, when official archives are sealed). But there are also exceptional situations like the Cold War when there was an interdiction to do *any* archival research in the Iron Curtain countries. With the fall of communism, contemporary scholars, especially historians, were finally able to undertake documentary research on the twentieth-century history of the states and nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Not only did archives become available, but collections of documents were also published that made such research even more accessible. The importance of documentary availability cannot be underestimated, especially when seeking to analyze and understand historical situations that are unusual and/or complex. Contemporary historical scholarship has been greatly enriched by this new development.

The Vatican is well known for the strict control it exercises over its archives. Nor does the Holy See make it a habit to publish collections of its documents. For this reason, the volume of documents from Vatican archives, assembled by Emília Hrabovec, one of Slovakia's outstanding specialists in church history, church-state relations, and Slovak and Central European history, is not just a welcome addition to the research that is currently taking place on the countries of the former communist bloc, but is an important tool to our understanding of a crucial period in Slovak history, when Czechoslovakia was in the process of consolidating itself as the nation-state of the "Czechoslovak nation." This is a period that is not well examined in Western scholarship and yet it should be, given what subsequently happened to Czechoslovakia, first in 1939 and again in 1992.

The period that these documents cover represents the early years of the new state when two independent, but nevertheless closely related processes, were converging in the aftermath of the Great War and the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire: first, the need to establish new ecclesiastical boundaries in Slovakia that modified the former Hungarian sees to reflect the new political situation arising from the creation of Czecho-Slovakia (this was the spelling used in the Peace Treaties); and secondly, the incorporation of Slovakia into a centralized nation-state that came to be called Czechoslovakia (when the constitution was adopted in 1920). What linked these two things was the strength of Catholicism in Slovakia, far greater than that in the Czech Lands, and the desire of the Slovak clergy to protect it through the creation of Slovak dioceses (out of the previous Hungarian ones) that were not under the control or influence of the Prague government, whose "Czechoslovak"

ideology and overt anti-clericalism were not well received in Slovakia. The documents that Hrabovec has assembled, namely reports from Vatican envoys Teodor Valfrè di Bonzo (1918–1919—in Vienna), Clement Micara (1919–1923—in Prague), and Francesco Marmaggi (1923–1928—in Prague), minutes of Vatican meetings, and direct correspondence with Czech and Slovak church authorities, show that the Holy See was keeping a close watch on Slovakia and that it was receiving very well informed and very sophisticated reports on the political, economic, and social situation in the new state, and especially on the religious conditions in Slovakia. The documents also show how domestic religious issues could have serious international ramifications. What one gains from them is a vivid sense of the changing political situation, of the struggles of the Slovak clergy and Slovak politicians to prevent any sort of *Gleichschaltung* of Slovakia into the new state, and of the Vatican's sense of responsibility in helping protect the interests of the Church but also the Catholic population of Slovakia. The tug of war between the Vatican and the Czechoslovak government, especially on diocese boundaries and on the nomination of Slovak bishops, lasted until a document on a *modus vivendi* (neither a treaty nor a concordat) between the Vatican and Czechoslovakia was signed in September 1927. This is the period that these documents cover and they relate specifically, but not uniquely, to Slovakia.

Hrabovec's introductory essay is not just an excellent presentation of these documents, but above all a comprehensive and systematic analysis of the political situation in Slovakia in the first decade of the new state of the Czechs and Slovaks, especially as it pertains to religious matters. The second breakup of Czechoslovakia in 1992 and the evident success of the second Slovak Republic demand that we look back at the early years of the common state to see whether the seeds of the breakup were sown already then. The Vatican documents clearly show what the challenges and battles were in this new country that had embarked on a process of forging a new nation-state and how Slovak political as well as church leaders reacted to it. This volume becomes, as a result, an indispensable tool for the historian of Czechoslovak as well as Slovak history. In her essay, Hrabovec makes it clear that Prague's interest in Slovakia was defined by the ways and means the government could integrate it into its centralizing and Czechoslovak policies. Vatican envoys were among the first to understand that this was going on and also to realize that such an outcome, were it to succeed, would not be positive for Slovak Catholics, nor ultimately for the inhabitants of Slovakia. The two declarations of independence (in 1939 and in 1993) have since confirmed the accuracy of their understanding and also of their foresight.

The documents selected for this volume are published in the original language, namely Italian, Latin, and French. Given the importance of the subject, it is not just Hrabovec's essay, which is in Slovak, which should be translated and published in English, but also the documents that she has collected. This would make them, along with her outstanding scholarship, available to a far greater public.

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Anne Konrad. ***Red Quarter Moon: A Search for Family in the Shadow of Stalin.*** Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012. xvii, 356 pp. Maps. Illustrations. Index. $80.00, cloth. $35.00, paper.

Red Quarter Moon tells the stories of Anne Konrad's extended family members from the moment when their Mennonite communities came to be seen as class enemies during the Russian Civil War to the present day. The book is clearly a labour of love and reflects more

than twenty years of meticulous research in archives and in spaces across the former Soviet Union. Konrad's own parents left the USSR in 1929, becoming homestead farmers in northern Alberta before finally settling in Abbotsford, BC. Many of their siblings were not so fortunate, and it is the life histories of these missing relatives and their descendants that structure Konrad's narrative.

The first and last chapters of the book serve as interesting bookends, since they concern the Ukrainian Security Service (SBU) case files for Konrad's uncles who disappeared in the purges. Given only a few hours to examine the papers, Konrad and her husband, historian Harvey Dyck, frantically copied as many details as possible concerning the charges brought against the three men as well as about their eventual fates. Their efforts suggest just how important the search for accurate information remains for those whose families were so dramatically affected by the twists and turns of Soviet history.

In other chapters, Konrad outlines the family history from the early twentieth century and demonstrates that, once the travails of the Revolution were over, the NEP years were not so bad for her relatives. Danger began to circle again with the advent of the First Five-Year Plan and the collectivization of Soviet agriculture. Thousands of Mennonites responded to the latter by converging on Moscow in the hopes of obtaining exit visas. Some, but certainly not all, of Konrad's family members were among the lucky ones to receive the precious papers that allowed them to escape being dispossessed and labelled as kulaks. As the history of Konrad's uncle Gerhard reveals, other Mennonites survived by moving from place to place frequently (often avoiding anywhere with a large number of German speakers) and refashioning themselves as workers. Another path to survival can be seen in the story of Konrad's aunt Justine, whose family had a harrowing crossing into China, lived as refugees in Harbin for eighteen months, and finally obtained Nansen passports. They eventually wound up settling in Paraguay.

In chapter 5, via the stories of four of her uncles, Konrad reveals the ways in which the purges of the 1930s affected ordinary families. Her uncle Isaak, for instance, was arrested and tried in 1936. He may have been tortured. He was eventually released, but was a broken man. While his immediate family joined the collective farm, that did not save Isaak from a second arrest in 1938. He was never heard from again.

As we see in chapters 6 and 7, World War II brought further misery for the remnants of the Mennonite communities. At least 25,000 Mennonites (and 100,000 Germans) were deported from their homes after the Nazi invasion. The family of Konrad's Uncle Johannes Braun, for example, were deported to Siberia. However, other members of the extended family lived under Nazi occupation in Ukraine, and their fates reflect the vagaries of life along the Eastern front. The case of Viktor Braun (son of Konrad's uncle Isaak) raises interesting questions concerning collaboration with the enemy, particularly when the people in question had been so victimized by the Soviet state. The daughters of Konrad's uncle Heinrich became *Ostarbeiter*. Hermaine Braun and her five children, on the other hand, were evacuated with the *Volksdeutsche* when the Nazi armies began to retreat. They were overrun by the Red Army on the outskirts of Berlin, put into a Soviet detention centre, and then repatriated to the USSR (where they were promptly sent to Siberia). Imprisonment also featured in the narratives of those who escaped Nazi hands during the war years, since living under Soviet authorities was often no better. Konrad's relatives worked as loggers in the *trudarmiia* in Siberia and were sent to the gulag for practising their religion. One who was conscripted into the Red Army in 1939 eventually spent ten years listed as a German POW in a Soviet camp. It was only after the war, and more specifically after the death of Stalin, that the police surveillance of suspected minorities eased. That allowed some of

Konrad's surviving relatives to move closer to each other and to reach out via letters to family members living abroad.

The need to restore connections and to find one's heritage is particularly noticeable in chapter 9, which describes in ethnographic terms Konrad's own travels within the Soviet Union. For instance, on a 2001 journey along the Trans-Siberian railway, she poignantly searches for any physical traces—houses, schools, villages—of her family history and meets with the families of her surviving relatives.

Part archivally-based study, part oral history, part ethnography, Anne Konrad's *Red Quarter Moon* is a haunting account of an extended family's struggle to survive in twentieth-century Russia. Because the stories contained therein are so diverse, the book offers no simple answers. Instead, it shows life in all of its tortured complexities. The prose is readable and the historical background information is sufficient that the book could certainly be used in undergraduate history courses.

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Werner Lehfeldt. ***Akzent und Betonung im Russischen: 2., verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage*****.** Slavistische Beiträge, 485. Munich, Berlin, and Washington, D.C.: Verlag Otto Sagner, 2012. xii, 174 pp. Paper.

Werner Lehfeldt's *Akzent und Betonung im Russischen* represents in effect the fourth edition of an encyclopaedic monograph on Russian word stress by one of the world's foremost experts in this complex field of study. Between the first edition (also written in German and entitled *Akzent und Betonung im Russischen*), which came out in 2003, and the current edition in German being reviewed here, two editions, which are essentially Russian translations (with revisions) of the first edition, appeared—*Акцент и ударение в русском языке* (Iazyki russkoi kul'tury, 2006) and *Акцент и ударение в современном русском языке* (Iazyki slavianskoi kul'tury, 2010). The latter monograph in Russian (2010) is in fact a somewhat closer representation of the German edition being reviewed here (2012) than the former Russian translation (2006) and could basically suffice as a substitute for those unable to read it in German. The main differences between the Russian edition of 2010 and the German edition of 2012 are the addition of an excursus on de Saussure's (quite recently discovered in his unpublished and incomplete handwritten notes) concept of accent and stress, a new sub-section entitled "Noch einmal zum Verhältnis zwischen Akzent und Betonung" (which is also connected with de Saussure), as well as many smaller, but often significant differences, in many cases, of course, improvements and corrections. The inclusion of the excursus on de Saussure ("Exkurs: Zur akzentologischen Konzeption Ferdinand de Saussures") into the monograph is the result of the discovery of an incomplete essay of his entitled "Notes sur l'accent lituanienne," something which was a cause for joy for Lehfeldt when it recently came to his notice, in which de Saussure outlines a binary differentiation between "*la grammaire de l'accent*" and "*la physique de l'accent*," a differentiation which also lies at the very heart of Lehfeldt's own monograph, and, indeed, is the basis of its title which distinguishes "*Akzent*" (accent) from "*Betonung*" ([word] stress).

At the heart of Lehfeldt's monograph, therefore, lies the strict distinction between "accent" and "stress" (used in the specific sense of *Akzent* and *Betonung* indicated above), the former characterized as the phonological property of abstract word forms exclusively, the latter as that of concrete word forms exclusively; as Lehfeldt explains, "[…] konkrete Wortformen als Repräsentanten der ihnen jeweils zugeordneten abstrakten Wortformen

angesehen werden können" (p. 16). Abstract word forms "[…] stellen gewissermaßen ein Realisierungsangebot dar, das ein Sprecher von Fall zu Fall in unterschiedlicher Weise befolgt" (p. 16). *Akzent* forms the topic of the longest and arguably most important chapter of the book ("Abstrakte Ebene—Akzenteinheiten") and in it Lehfeldt works his way clearly and methodically through much of the theoretical complexity of stress in Russian (I use "stress" here in the most general sense, covering both of Lehfeldt's categories), including the theoretical framework for establishing stress types and paradigms and assigning words to them, the relationship of frequency and stress types, the important question of stress variation and linguistic norm, as well as the shift of stress on to certain prepositions before certain nouns. As a whole, the book is aimed more at non-experts who wish to gain a more detailed insight into this area; however, the discussion of many of the relevant scholarly works, as well as the wealth of examples, will also be of great benefit to specialists. The consistent clarity of expression is something which can only be commended and welcomed. My only substantial uncertainty in this chapter of the book is the underlying conflict between the rather idealized idea of a single "*Akzent*" being "offered" to the speaker, when so much variation exists in Russian stress (not only in initial forms, but also within the paradigms and sub-paradigms of certain words). Lehfeldt, of course, discusses stress variation in detail at other points in the book, but the question remains of how one can provide a single basic "*Akzent*" for word forms which may, for example, have several or even just one inflected form characterized by entirely equivalent (non-deprecated) variant stress.

In the next chapter Lehfeldt turns his attention to the concrete level, stress (*Betonung*), systematically working through the various problems of the physical aspects of stress, including vowel reduction / intensity in relation to stress position (introducing more recent theory by Tat'iana Nikolaeva) and the realization (or not) of stress in certain positions. Of particular interest is chapter 4 devoted to a somewhat less-studied area of stress, namely secondary stress, in which the features of what would seem at first to be a fairly stable area are shown to be of an exceptionally high level of complexity and subtle variance among speakers of Russian. In chapter 5 ("Funktionen von Akzent und Betonung") Lehfeldt examines primarily (with regard to *Akzent*) the semantic, grammatical, stylistic, normative, and pragmatic differences which occur when two otherwise identical word forms are distinguished by stress (for example, words whose meanings are distinguished by different stress positions). Both in terms of the clarity of exposition, as well as the wealth of examples provided, this is an excellent chapter. In his examination of the function of stress (*Betonung*), Lehfeldt gives a detailed attempt to discover whether word stress in Russian prose texts occurs with any amount of rhythmicity, that is to say, whether there is a pattern in the occurrence of stressed and non-stressed syllables. Notwithstanding the painstaking analysis, the evidence is inconclusive and the topic awaits further investigation. The final chapter of the book is essentially a synthesis of A. A. Zaliznjak's work on early Old Russian stress from *От праславянской акцентуации к русской* (Nauka, 1985), and is a much needed, accessible introduction into this complex and little studied area.

It is impossible to do full justice to Lehfeldt's outstanding monograph in a review of this length: *Akzent und Betonung im Russischen* in this current, revised edition is the culmination of years of dedicated and detailed research into all aspects of Russian word stress. It represents a highly significant achievement in the field of Russian phonology and will remain a standard work and reliable point of reference for many years to come.

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Rick McPeak and Donna Tussing Orwin, eds. *Tolstoy on War. Narrative Art and Historical Truth in* War and Peace. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2012. 246 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $24.95, paper.

Editors Rick McPeak and Donna Orwin issued this volume to commemorate the bicentennial of the Battle of Borodino during Napoleon's fateful invasion in Russia. The recently taken photograph in colour on the cover features a premonitory thickening of atmospheric pressure before a summer thunderstorm over the deserted field at Borodino. In a matter of minutes, all of it will be drenched in torrential rain and hit by lightning—the church cupola with a gilded tip, lush meadows, and the trees. Pushkin's line "the thunderstorm of 1812" immediately comes to mind. If asked about the defining feature of the volume, I would have to say, keeping in mind the subtlety of this first prompt, that from the front matter to the index it is the essays' enduring sensitivity to the relationship between the historical past and the present. The editors and authors should be congratulated and thanked for providing readers with what constitutes a beautiful collaborative effort of specialists in several fields in the humanities and social sciences. With the help of Lev Tolstoi, the essays disambiguate the dogmatic uses of fiction in order to prove narrower disciplinary concerns of a given social science or humanities industry. With the help of their open-eyed disciplinary honesty and rigour, they explain the complex origin and shared afterlife of a literary masterpiece that cannot be bounded to a single cohort of knowledge or specialty.

The volume asks, through skilled interpolations by both editors, what great books do to a liberal arts education in order to "prosecute violence virtuously" (p. 193). Attractively produced and meticulously edited, the volume includes twelve illuminating essays with detailed annotations that add significantly to provide the answer to the question above at the same time as they aid and enrich our understanding of Tolstoi's methods and approaches to the artistic recreation of war. Drawn into action are Dmitrii Likhachev and Anthony Kwame Appiah, Ulysses Grant and Douglas MacArthur, Caesar and Carl von Clausewitz, Plutarch and Cassirer, Honoré de Balzac and Herman Melville, Madame Blavatsky and Frantz Fanon. There is something new on every page, perhaps unexpected, but always to the point.

Every essay is memorable. Dominic Lieven addresses Tolstoi's famous claim that morale is the most powerful factor for victory and finds strong corroboration for this claim in the Russian army's unusual record of tenacity in 1812. Against the enduring misconception, Alexander Martin portrays Moscow of 1812 as a cosmopolitan, thriving city, which learns momentous lessons about the invader and its future paths through the catastrophe that it suffers and survives. Allan Forrest focuses on Tolstoi's representations of the French, finding that the French inform Tolstoi about the importance of multiculturalism within the Empire, as well as about the social democratic power activated in response to the heroic pressure issuing from "great men." Jeff Love and Gary Saul Morson use the vehicles of language and representation in order to assess the possibility of Tolstoi's dismantling grand narratives and the myth of great men. The same democratizing tendency can be observed in Dan Ungurianu's and Donna Orwin's essays probing Tolstoi's text against the historical and military sources and eyewitness responses. Andreas Herby-Roth's and Rick McPeak's essays deal with the legacy of von Clausewitz's instrumental and existential warfare and his principle of friction in Tolstoi's book. Elizabeth Samet and David Welch consider the decentralizing effects of Tolstoi's artistic argumentation in light of such contemporary principles as open-source warfare, operational adaptability, and the logic and appropriateness of cultural contexts and praxis in international relations.

The volume started with a conference in April 2010 on West Point's campus. Gathering contributions from multi-disciplinary-homed international presenters is always a tricky business, frequently threatening to dissolve the collection into groups of centripetally-directed monologues. Not in this case. The twelve essays by a spectacular team of experts do not entrench their discussions behind the redoubts of their respective disciplines. Instead, they work across a range of productive topics that make for an informative conversation based on investigations of the real connecting issues. These connecting issues hold the contributions marvelously together exactly because they are so central to many readers today: violence and human diplomacy; the honour and horror of war; historical catastrophe and collective memory; patriotism and civic disobedience; governance and partisanship. Rather than serving as token backdrops, European politics and geopolitics; representations of the Empire and its enemies; historical truisms and myths; military history and theory; modern and contemporary warfare; international relations and its companions in poetical discourse are engaged in the ever expanding and complicating cross-sectional discussions that continue from essay to essay, extending well beyond the normative scope of the more customary literary frameworks.

With a keen eye to providing a style free of jargon, the editors have made this volume a joy to read. Seventeen illustrations of historical portraiture, cartoons, sketches, maps, book covers, and other cultural miscellany in black and white are very helpful. This book is going to be soon a sure staple on syllabi in many disciplines, and an important educational and reference tool for everyone interested in history and Tolstoi, but it will be very useful to all categories of readers, within and outside the academy.

In conclusion, a few words about the interdisciplinary focus. Despite the ambitious sweep of the included contributions, it should be noted that the editors qualified the title of their volume, acting with a modicum of shrewd restraint. They do, after all, concentrate "only" on Tolstoi and war. However broad the application of their current effort, they do not pretend that their volume can exhaustively and preemptively answer all interdisciplinary concerns that Tolstoi's great masterpiece could or will pose. Immediately, thanks to reading this stimulating and inspirational book of criticism, we want to go further, beyond war, and we want to keep questioning Tolstoi on adjoining territories, *inter alia*, about what would constitute narrative truth and historical art.

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Larissa M. L. Zaleska Onyshkevych, ed. *An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama*. Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 2012. xvii, 521 pp. $39.95, paper.

In 1998, in her introduction to the Ukrainian edition of *An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama*, Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych noted that the idea for the volume had been conceived "over twenty years ago when [she] was teaching a course in Ukrainian drama at Rutgers University" (p. 7). She additionally revealed her plans to publish a parallel English version of the book. Fourteen years have passed since then, and the project has materialized into a wonderful 525-page tome. Although the informational vacuum surrounding Ukrainian drama lasted for an astoundingly long time, Zaleska Onyshkevych was perhaps the most suitable person to break the silence. A prolific scholar, she has devoted her entire career to studying Ukrainian theatre, and she is currently a recognized authority in the field. Hardly any recently defended dissertations on Ukrainian drama do not rely on her cutting-

edge articles and books. Her works always present new information, profound personal insights, and historical and literary erudition.

The newly printed *An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama* is by no means an exception. Structurally, the volume consists of an introduction and ten plays by nine Ukrainian playwrights. Each play is preceded by a short biographical note, a concise critical review, and a brief bibliography. Organized chronologically, the texts provide the reader with many best examples of Ukrainian dramaturgy of the twentieth century: Lesia Ukrainka's *In the Wilderness* (trans. Roxolana Stojko-Lozynskyj), Mykola Kulish's *The People's Malachi* (trans. John Prasko) and *Sonata Pathétique* (trans. George and Moira Luckyj), Volodymyr Vynnychenko's *The Prophet* (trans. Christine Oshchudlak Stawnychy), Ivan Kocherga's *Masters of Time* (trans. Anthony Wixley), Liudmyla Kovalenko's *The Heroine Dies in the First Act* (trans. Charles Stek), Eaghor Kostetzky's *A Play About a Great Man* (trans. John Prasko), Bohdan Boychuk's *Hunger—1933* (trans. Vera Rich), Oleksii Kolomiiets''s *Planet Speranta* (trans. Don Boychuk), and Valerii Shevchuk's *Birds from an Invisible Island* (trans. Larissa Zaleska Onyshkevych).

Despite the fact that not all the plays are translated by professionals, the quality of translation appears to have met the highest standards. Zaleska Onyshkevych's input consisted not only in translating one play and in writing critical essays, but also in revising renditions by others. Her correspondence with several authors (for example, the late Kovalenko, Kostetzky, Boychuk, and Shevchuk), whose works are included in the anthology, has palpably shaped the translations. Boychuk has even endorsed Vera Rich's English translation of *Hunger—1933*.

In the introduction, Zaleska Onyshkevych succinctly provides the reader with the history of Ukrainian drama and discusses major periods in the development of theatrical art in Ukraine. She pays much attention to literary styles of the plays (neo-romanticism, realism, expressionism, and so on). According to her, "most [plays] reflect when and where they were written, whether it was under certain official restrictions or historical pressures specific to Ukraine or all of Europe. The works […] express universal concerns and values and reflect the vicissitudes that humankind faced in twentieth-century Europe" (pp. xiv–xv). The editor additionally discusses perception of the plays by authorities and, to a certain extent, by audience. Finally, she analyzes different revisions the plays underwent and the role of time in each of them.

With most anthologies the choice of contributors and texts is their most difficult (and, therefore, the most exposed to criticism) aspect. While *An Anthology of Modern Ukrainian Drama* includes many important plays, the list is by far not exhaustive. Some of the drama genres (for example, historical drama or comedy) are noticeably absent. Sacrifices, however, are always an inevitable part of compiling selected works, and, hopefully, future editions will fill the gaps.

Generally, the anthology will certainly be a valuable resource for classes of Ukrainian theatre and drama or survey courses in Ukrainian literature. The book, moreover, will be appealing not only to specialists, but also to a larger audience interested in Ukrainian history and culture.

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Joe Peschio. ***The Poetics of Impudence and Intimacy in the Age of Pushkin.*** Publications of the Wisconsin Center for Pushkin Studies. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2012. xii, 160 pp. Index. $29.95, paper.

Ever since he became the Russian national poet in the late nineteenth century, the image of Aleksandr Pushkin has been, except for a few brief moments in time, rectified and bowdlerized to suit the political circumstances, with certain issues and works marked off as "taboo." The fall of the Soviet Union and subsequent opening of some, but not all, archives, and the relative freedom to publish without censorship, led to the publication by Igor' Pil'shchikov and Maksim Shapiro of a scholarly edition of Pushkin's pornographic poem "Ten' Barkova" [The Shade of Barkov], and a reconsideration of the poet as a subversive writer, not in the political, but in the social and literary sense, in his use of themes and language that was beyond the pale of censorship.

Joe Peschio's learned and witty book fits into this context of resituating Pushkin. The author sets out to show how the young Pushkin developed first in the unofficial environment of the Arzamas and then in the clandestine Green Lamp society. In his introduction Peschio describes the fate of the hapless Aleksandr Polezhaev, whose obscene poem "Sashka" (1825) had fallen into the hands of Nicholas, as an example of the official attitude towards literary mischief. Then, in the first chapter he sets the groundwork with a discussion of the prank (*shalost'*) as a social phenomenon in Alexandrine Russia, and its flourishing in an atmosphere of domestic intimacy. He follows with a chapter on Arzamas, analyzing the letters of the members to show how calculated rudeness was an inherent part of the epistolary poetic. The discussion is underpinned with recent theoretical work on such issues as politeness in speech and calculation of the admissibility of the "face-threatening act" (p. 52).

In his third chapter Peschio differentiates the Green Lamp from Arzamas, demonstrating that the crucial innovation was the cultivation of taboo sexual themes in an environment of total secrecy. Much of the chapter is devoted to homosexual themes in the poetry of the "Lampist," as Peschio calls him, Arkadii Rodzianko, whose work still languishes unpublished in the Russian State Library (RGB) in Petersburg. Peschio does scholars working on the Golden Age a great service by quoting some of the poems and analyzing them in detail. It would be an even greater service if he, or someone, published them in their entirety. Peschio's fourth chapter is a study of Pushkin's *Ruslan i Liudmila* [Ruslan and Liudmila, 1820], where he examines how the poem brought the Arzamasian feature of "rudeness" and "Lampist" sexual banter into the public domain, and the critical reactions this evoked.

In an epilogue Peschio gives a hilarious account of the attempts to publish "The Shade of Barkov" in the Soviet period. He then describes the polemic that has arisen in Russia around Pil'shchikov and Shapiro's publication, in which Russian scholars have divided into three camps: those who argue that Pushkin "could [not] have written something that bad" (p. 121), those who believe he did write it, but do not think it should be included in the new jubilee edition, and those who insist that Pushkin did write it and that it should be included.

Peschio's book is a serious contribution, drawing on rare and unpublished material, to stripping the taboos away from the image of Pushkin. Pushkin's work did have a political content, but not, as the Soviets claimed, because he was a Decembrist, but simply because it challenged the taboos and conventions of literary officialdom. How ironic it is that today those shibboleths and conventions are again coming back to haunt him.

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James Pettifer. ***The Kosova Liberation Army: Underground War to Balkan Insurgency, 1948–2001*****.** New York: Columbia University Press, 2012. 379 pp. Maps. Illustrations. Appendices. Bibliography. Notes. Index. $51.00, cloth.

Once the wily Josip Broz Tito split from the Soviet sphere in 1948, scholarship on this otherwise peripheral geographic zone grew immensely in the 1950s and 1960s before fading again by the autumn of the Cold War standoff. That changed with the brutal wars that tore Yugoslavia apart in the 1990s. These conflicts kept the region tense until finally tiny Kosovo achieved independence from Serbia in 2008.

Author James Pettifer analyzes the nature of Kosovo's path to war and I celebrate his attempt because of the real lack of scholarship on this particular area. Most of the works on Kosovo that this reviewer has seen stem from the perspective of journalists or former international workers. Their writings, though valuable, often lack historical depth. Another positive attribute of this work is the voluminous bibliography and a correspondingly high number of notes that provide a solid grounding in the literature. It appears that the author knows Albanian, which has allowed him unique access to sources that few in the West have consulted. A logical progression is apparent too since the book is based largely on a chronological structure that is most helpful when dealing with the numerous details and angles of this complex story. Pettifer also tells the story well with a generally good style and a minimum of tangential distractions.

This volume is not without faults, however. While Pettifer tried to set the stage for the Kosovar insurgency in 1948, he lacked evidence for those earlier years compared to the details of post-1980 political struggles and the birth of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). I imagine that a clear progression exists between those who disliked Tito in the early years and the later thinkers and fighters like those in the KLA. Yet, Pettifer presents scarce evidence of how the Yugoslav Secret Police (UDB-a) tortured Kosovar Albanians. Nor does he cite statistics that show a longstanding mistreatment. It happened, but Pettifer did not show enough of it to claim the roots of his book begin in 1948. On a similar note, it seemed surprising that he did not emphasize the Congress of Berlin or Conference of London (after the first Balkan War), each of which divided up land without respect to ethnic sympathies and effectively assigned modern borders with large diasporas within the region. Understandably, the author focused more on how the Serbs had acted in the twentieth century to colonize Kosovo (often brutally), but left out the history as to why the Serbs thought they had the right to do so.

Pettifer also made clear some of the connections with the West that the Albanians had used and pointed to some notions about why the West involved itself so readily. But, I could not help but wonder why he did not reference any of the studies that argued Western involvement stemmed from the mismanagement of the Bosnian crisis. Srebrenica's slogan of "Never again" was fresh in the minds of policymakers and that perhaps prompted a premature unilateral move to support the Kosovars against the defiant Slobodan Milošević, but this point is nowhere clear in the volume.

A few things that frustrated me on occasion were the misspellings and lack of clarification of first names and acronyms (Pettifer clarifies the acronym MUP only after numerous usages for instance). I suppose some of the blame rests with the copyeditors at Columbia University Press, who also chose to leave out the diacritical marks from Slavic words. On page 70, a single sentence has two grossly misspelled words in Serbian (as *Sebsko Jedinstovo* and *Velika Serbija*), but this issue pops up intermittently with Slavic words throughout the text. This, in my opinion, prompts questions about the author's expertise on the subject, which may or may not be fair. In the end, even the former

Macedonian Prime Minister Ljubčo Georgievski's name is misspelled every time it appears (as Lujpjo, Lupjo).

I also had trouble with one assertion that Pettifer made early in the text about how the Yugoslav People's Army "inherited" its doctrine and underwent "little or no doctrinal development" in the Titoist period and "none" after Tito's death (p. 9). This statement shoots from the hip and fails to understand the continual doctrinal changes that this reviewer sees as having helped undercut the effectiveness of the armed forces by the time the Yugoslav wars began. Instead of a lack of change, there was substantial and continual tinkering (for example, General People's Defence and eleventh-hour plans like *Jedinstvo*). Army commanders were constantly adapting their force structure and thinking to meet new threats up until the early 1990s and perhaps Pettifer judged the ineffectiveness of such forces against the KLA too hastily.

In conclusion, this book contributes to the field by shedding light on the otherwise lesser-known part of the Kosovo conflict, specifically the roots of the KLA insurgency and some of the important wartime actions. One can overlook its faults to gain a larger understanding, especially about how outsiders (Swiss, German, and American-Albanians) aided the insurgency, but I suspect that the author failed to look closely enough into non-Albanian sources to balance out this study correctly.

Robert Niebuhr, *American Global Academy*

Maria Popova. ***Politicized Justice in Emerging Democracies. A Study of Courts in Russia and Ukraine.*** Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012. xii, 197 pp. Figures. Tables. Bibliography. Index. $100.95, cloth.

Independent courts, free from politicians' interference, are among the key factors for upholding the rule of law and thus for maintaining democratic political system. Maria Popova asks why the rule of law has proven so hard to establish in post-authoritarian settings, despite what appears to be near universal consensus that it is the most desirable legal arrangement (p. 2). The author presents the answer in a new theory of *strategic pressure* that applies to those regimes that are neither consolidated democracies nor consolidated autocracies, whether they are electoral democracies, hybrid regimes, or competitive authoritarian regimes. This theory posits that intense political competition in these states increases the number of court cases whose outcomes matter to incumbents. As a result, weak incumbents are more likely to try to extract favourable judicial decisions in a greater number of cases. The consequences are the politicization of justice, the subordination of the courts to the executive, and the failure of the rule of law project (p. 3). For these intermediate regimes, the book rejects conventional accounts that link judicial independence to structural insulation and to high levels of political competition.

Methodologically, judicial independence is measured through observation of trial outcomes. The protocol follows four steps: choosing legal issue areas; comparing the win-rate in court of the pro-governmental and non pro-governmental sides; correcting selection bias; and supplementing the dataset with interviews and surveys on judges' attitudes. As far as the legal issue area is concerned, the author has chosen electoral registration disputes and defamation lawsuits against media outlets, both of which are salient to politicians, both incumbent and those in opposition. The cases used in this book are Russia and Ukraine, countries that share a common history, similar initial post-Soviet institution building and economic trajectories. These countries, however, diverge on two variables that existing literature sees as crucial for judicial independence, namely the structural insulation of

judiciary, which is more pronounced in Russia, and the intensity of political competition, which is higher in Ukraine. Overall, the author analyzes quantitatively and qualitatively the output of 800 defamation lawsuits and 252 electoral registration disputes in Russian and Ukrainian lower courts during the late 1990s and early 2000s.

The main results from the study suggest that the systemic advantage that pro-governmental plaintiffs enjoyed in court during the 2002 parliamentary campaign in Ukraine was at least twice as big as the advantage that pro-Kremlin plaintiffs benefitted from during the 2003 parliamentary election in Russia. The judicial independence in 1998–2003 appears to be lower in Ukraine than in Russia as far as the defamation lawsuits are concerned. In Ukraine, the pro-governmental plaintiffs not only won more often than the opposition, but also received higher moral compensation awards. The qualitative data from more than 100 interviews with judges, lawyers, politicians, civil servants, journalists, and litigants, suggests that Ukrainian judges systematically favoured government-affiliated litigants in response to pressure by incumbents. If Russian politicians did not as often impose their preferences on judges, it was not because they could not accomplish it, but because they did not bother with it (p. 13).

Chronologically, the book is organized as an integrated entity rather than a series of independent articles. The first three chapters present the research question, theoretical framework, and methodological choices. The third and fourth chapters outline the role of Russian and Ukrainian courts in the provision of free and fair elections and of press freedom using mainly quantitative methods of analysis. The sixth and seventh chapters discuss politicians' capacity and willingness in both countries to pressure the courts using mainly analytical narratives and qualitative methods of analysis. The conclusion wraps up the main arguments and suggests a possible pathway toward establishing independent courts, by reducing the willingness of politicians to lean on the courts rather than by engaging in attempts to wipe out their capacity to interfere in judicial decision making (p. 174).

Politicized Justice in Emerging Democracies presents rich ethnographic material collected through observations and interviews that may warrant alternative interpretations—ones that may not necessarily fit well with Popova's new theory of *strategic pressure.* For example, the author could have discussed the fusion of interests between political incumbents and judges within a framework in which courts play a more active role in offering services to weak incumbents instead of simply having the binary choice of accepting or refusing to obey the political executive.

Simeon Mitropolitski, *Université de Montréal*

Joseph Sherman, ed. *From Revolution to Repression: Soviet Yiddish Writing 1917–1952*. Nottingham: Five Leaves Publications, 2012. 288 pp. £12.99, paper.

In an influential anthology, *Ashes out of Hope*, Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg wrote in the introduction, "In the entire thwarted and scarred history of modern Yiddish literature there is no chapter more tragic than that of the Soviet Yiddish writers."[2] For the two critics, even the destruction of Yiddish culture, including literature, in the Holocaust does not approach the intensity of the Soviet-Yiddish demise. This new anthology, *From Revolution to Repression: Soviet Yiddish Writing 1917–1952,* edited by the late wonderful scholar and

[2] Irving Howe and Eliezer Greenberg eds., *Ashes out of Hope: Fiction by Soviet-Yiddish Writers* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977) 1.

translator of Yiddish literature Joseph Sherman, takes a more measured and less sentimental approach to the topic. Consisting of both poems and prose by the most noted Soviet Yiddish figures, from earlier to later pieces, it should become a very beneficial volume in teaching modern Yiddish literature and culture.

Though the fate of Soviet Yiddish writers of this period was unquestionably tragic—practically all of them were killed by Stalin's regime by 1952—their association with it and the entire Soviet project was by no means clear-cut, naïve, or one-sided. Again Howe and Greenberg, speaking in the Cold War environment of 1977 and out of their own ideological sentiments, simplify the picture by asking, "It may be worth pausing for a moment to ask ourselves: did the Yiddish writers suffer greater burdens than writers in other languages who also lived through the Stalin years?" (p. 14). Their cautious but affirmative answer is yes, to which they add the following: "It was not so much that the Yiddish writers believed the Soviet propaganda; it was that, in order to maintain a bit of dignity and hope, they *had* to believe that if things were bad at home, they were still worse abroad" (p. 19—italics in the original). Finally, assessing what these writers produced "during the worst years of the Stalinist period" as "enforced 'agit-prop,'" Howe and Greenberg conclude, "there are some things it is better to leave in the past" (p. 25). The value of Sherman's collection is that it reminds, or reveals to the reader, through its introduction and biographical notes on the writers, that the Yiddish luminaries, namely David Bergelson (1884–1952) and Peretz Markish (1895–1952), were in the highest echelons of Soviet literary power precisely "during the worst years of the Stalinist period" (Howe and Greenberg, p. 25). In other words, they were its active participants, with all the complexities and, for us, retrospective unpleasantries that such a positioning demanded.

Two questions are invariably asked in regard to Soviet Yiddish literature—how Soviet was it and how Jewish was it? Both are superfluous, for by its very definition it was both, and we must keep in mind that neither the "Soviet" nor the "Jewish" are monolith notions. Thus, it should be studied on its own merits within these two diverse contexts, without assuming, as did the earlier critics, that the Soviet layer in it was always perfunctory. In the anthology, this Soviet / Jewish negotiation is best exemplified by the stories of Markish and Bergelson. Although the poems included in it, by Leyb Kvitko (1890–1952), David Hofshteyn (1889–1952), and Iza Kharik (1898–1937), as well as Markish, are clearly valuable, precisely because only their translations are provided with very sparse commentary, their richness would not be as apparent, at least to the uninitiated reader. The same is true of Der Nister's (1884–1950) tremendously complex and idiosyncratic symbolist stories in the anthology. To a large extent, Der Nister belongs in his own category, both in terms of his biography and aesthetics, and no anthology, especially of such a wide scope, can begin to unpack it.

For this reviewer, the two most important pieces in the collection are Markish's long short story, "The Workers' Club," and Bergelson's post-war story, "The Sculptor." Markish's work, published in Kharkiv in 1928, and masterfully translated by Sherman himself (with the assistance of Aleksandra Geller), is incredibly rich in the associations and intertextual links it conjures up. Concocting a familiar Soviet tale—turning a synagogue into a worker's club in a shtetl—and the opposition this generates among the local Jews who finally acquiesce in and celebrate the transformation, Markish's imagery resembles at points Isaak Babel''s in *The Red Cavalry*, Shmuel Yosef Agnon's in *A Guest for the Night*, and Andrei Platonov's in *Chevengur*. The story's ideological impetus is not ambiguous, but this does not nullify its rightful place in Jewish modernist and Soviet traditions.

Bergelson's "The Sculptor," again beautifully translated by Sherman, was published in Moscow in 1947. Howe and Greenberg stress the turn toward traditional Jewish culture that some of the Soviet Yiddish writers experienced as the result of the Holocaust. The trajectories of their engagement with Judaism are far more intricate—Markish's story is a case in point—but there is no doubt that the Holocaust left a special imprint on their imaginations. Perceiving it not necessarily and not always as the apocalyptic event, they placed the destruction in the historical framework—both Jewish and Soviet—and emphasized the possibility of renewal after the war. Depicting, in a restrained and underhanded fashion, a famous sculptor's—a Moscow Jew—return to his native desolate shtetl after the war, the story both unabashedly proclaims his attachment to this place and foregrounds the unity of simple Jews and Ukrainians "who fought together as partisans" (p. 252) during the war. To answer the question of what in this thoroughly Soviet and thoroughly Jewish Holocaust story was sincere and what was prescribed by the regime's policy is to misunderstand the realities of late Stalinism. The writers were attached to the regime at the hip; that is why their remove from it was not merely tragic, but also treacherous and painfully ironic.

Marat Grinberg, *Reed College*

Mykola Soroka. ***Faces of Displacement: The Writings of Volodymyr Vynnychenko.*** Montreal and Kingston, London and Ithaca: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012. xx, 242 pp. Photographs. Bibliography. Index. $45.00, cloth.

Volodymyr Vynnychenko was prominent in the Ukrainian movement of the first quarter of the twentieth century both as a writer and a politician: not only did he play a central role in the 1917–1920 revolutions in Ukraine, but he was also the first Ukrainian playwright to achieve some success on the European stage and become, in the 1920s, an extremely popular author in Soviet Ukraine. Yet, Vynnychenko, who for a time was so important to Ukrainian culture and politics, spent more than half of his life outside the country.

Mykola Soroka's monograph examines the impact of Vynnychenko's separation from Ukraine upon his literary work. Soroka argues that none of the terms for writers abroad—exile, émigré, expatriate, traveller, emigrant / immigrant, nomad, diaspora member—adequately characterizes Vynnychenko's experience: at different times in his life, the Ukrainian displayed attributes associated with several of these concepts. Soroka therefore prefers to describe Vynnychenko's situation as one of "displacement" in order to underline how the writer's identity and relationship to his host- and homelands shifted throughout his life.

During his first period abroad before 1914, Vynnychenko initially exhibited the characteristics of an émigré who hoped to return. His work mainly dealt with Ukraine. However, whereas before leaving the country he had composed realistic depictions of everyday life, now he moved to more abstract, philosophical discussions because distance from his homeland starved him of direct impressions to provide him with subjects. Removal from the mores and social obligations of Ukrainian society also allowed him to explore controversial topics, such as the corruption of revolutionary ideals and sexual morality. At the same time, Vynnychenko displayed the traits of an expatriate, for whom living abroad represented an opportunity to become acquainted with modernist literary trends. This is evident in his increasing preoccupation with art and beauty and the incorporation of symbolist elements into his work. Despite these more positive aspects, Vynnychenko also felt the isolation and uprootedness of exile—experiences explored in his

novel *Equilibrium* (1911), a study of the moral decay undergone by revolutionaries forced to leave their country after 1905–1907. Another feature of this was Vynnychenko's nostalgia for Ukraine, expressed in the lyrical descriptions of his homeland and his children's stories.

In his second period of exile beginning in 1920, Vynnychenko's attention moved from Ukrainian themes to universalist ones. This involved reconceiving himself as a citizen of the world. Vynnychenko's universalism was certainly tied to his Marxism. However, it was also a response to his increasing disappointment with the Bolsheviks and his poor relations with the rest of the Ukrainian émigré community. The re-orientation was evident in his utopian novel *Soniachna mashyna* [The Solar Machine, 1921–1924] and his new philosophy of happiness—concordism, a somewhat doctrinaire call to return to a primordial, natural way of life characterized by asceticism and veganism. In order to propagate this philosophy, Vynnychenko sought to integrate himself into the French cultural discussion by submitting novels to literary competitions and trying to get his works translated—all without success. Soroka sees Vynnychenko's last works as a "late homecoming" (p. 155): as he neared the end of his life, Vynnychenko increasingly expressed nostalgia for the homeland he had not visited in decades through nostalgic lyricism, packed with visual, auditory, and olfactory recollections, present in, for example, his last novel *Slovo za toboiu, Staline!* [Take the Floor, Stalin!, 1950].

Perhaps, at times, Soroka is too ready to take Vynnychenko's own assessment of himself at face value: for example, Soroka accepts the Ukrainian author's explanation that his negotiations with the Bolsheviks failed due to Bolshevik betrayal. Moreover, Soroka could have defined Vynnychenko's relationship with the Bolsheviks more precisely. Certainly, Vynnychenko combined a commitment to Marxism with scathing criticism of the Bolsheviks. However, Soroka seems to miss that for a long time Vynnychenko criticized the Bolsheviks in the belief that his critique could bring about a change in their policy; before the mid-1930s, Vynnychenko thought that the Bolsheviks, for all their errors, were on the right side of history. Indeed, on the basis of Soroka's account of Vynnychenko's last novel, *Take the Floor, Stalin!*, it seems that even late in life the writer contemplated the possibility of the Soviet Union's ability to reform itself.

Nevertheless, Soroka has written an engaging portrait of a difficult and complex man. Soroka's approach—using this concept of "displacement" to examine the shifting nature of the identity of a writer living abroad—proves extremely fruitful. His assessment of the impact of displacement upon Vynnychenko's writing is very convincing. The monograph is essential reading not only for scholars of Ukrainian literature, but also for historians wanting to understand Vynnychenko's politics. Underlying the work is the fascinating question of how concepts of national identity can develop outside the physical borders of the imagined nation and then be re-imported back into it.

Christopher Gilley, *Universität Hamburg*

Natalya Chernyshova. *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era.* BASEES / Routledge Series on Russian and East European Studies. London and New York: Routledge, 2013. 259 pp. Illustrations. Index. $160.00, cloth.

In a groundbreaking debut monograph, historian Natalya Chernyshova adds her voice to the increasingly lively conversation on Soviet society and culture during the Brezhnev years. Chernyshova, a lecturer in modern history at the University of Winchester (UK), skillfully charts the course of the "Soviet consumer revolution" from 1964 to 1985 (p. 2).

The Brezhnev regime, she demonstrates, stepped up promises to improve living standards and increase access to consumer goods, and, to a much greater extent than Brezhnev's predecessors, managed to actually deliver. Wages rose along with popular expectations, but government and industry floundered in trying to satisfy consumers and shape their tastes. Official rhetoric appeared confused and ambivalent. It simultaneously legitimized the pursuit of material comforts and demanded that the people engage in these activities within vaguely defined and ever-shifting limits. More goods appeared in state-run stores, but the absurdities of Soviet economic planning meant that many of these items were unattractive, low quality, or otherwise undesirable. Meanwhile, Soviet citizens enjoyed unprecedented contact with and knowledge of Western wares. This was thanks both to state imports (meant to compensate for the underdeveloped consumer goods industry) and increased access to the outside world through foreign films and music, new travel opportunities, and the booming second economy. As an informed, ambitious, and demanding Soviet consumer emerged under these influences, the Brezhnev regime scrambled to cope with a complex new reality that it had played a central role in creating.

Chernyshova's argument unfolds in seven thematic chapters. She first outlines the politics and economics of socialist consumption, and then goes on to discuss how the "consumer revolution" affected social norms, popular values, and everyday experiences. Next, Chernyshova analyzes the role of new consumption patterns in fragmenting late Soviet society, paying special attention to divisions along lines of gender, class, and generation. She then rounds out her work with three satisfying case studies that examine clothing and fashion, furniture and home decor, and household technology. In addition to documents from city and union-level archives in Moscow and St. Petersburg, and local and republic archives in Minsk, Chernyshova makes extensive use of Soviet press sources, consumer complaints, memoirs, literary fiction, and cinema. She thus places her appraisal of the role of consumption in daily life and identity formation alongside valuable assessments of the economic and political impact of such phenomena as the Kosygin reforms, the unexpected new oil wealth of the 1970s, and popular reluctance to purchase ugly raincoats. Rather than concentrating strictly on official policies or the intricacies of dysfunctional bureaucracy, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era* sets forth a narrative rich in colourful anecdotes and evocative of the hopes, desires, and disappointments that defined late Soviet life.

Ever cautious, Chernyshova peppers her text with qualifications, reminding the reader that the prosperity and improved living standards Soviet citizens experienced during the Brezhnev years remained relative and modest. Yet this does not mean that these changes were insignificant, nor should such caveats suggest that Chernyshova's subject is frivolous. Rather she demonstrates that these small changes had major consequences. Chernyshova thus rejects the "stagnation" label, instead emphasizing the development of a vivid consumer culture, populated by actors with real agency, who took a commanding role in their interactions with the Soviet state. She both challenges and reinforces the notion that Soviet life became "privatized" as the populace retreated from officialdom. Soviet citizens, Chernyshova insists, could not escape engaging with the state, especially not while shopping or making other decisions related to consumption. Yet the Brezhnev regime's rejection of de-Stalinization, its embrace of Russian nationalism, and its efforts to counteract a burgeoning demographic crisis together afforded more individual control over the private sphere. The Soviet state now intruded into this space with much less intensity than ever before. Further, Chernyshova describes a government badly in need of structural reform, but too invested in shoring up official ideology to commit to real change. She also tells the story of an increasingly individualized, modern, savvy consumer, ready for a more

holistic engagement with the world beyond Soviet borders. In this framework, such seemingly minor events as the state's decision to begin producing blue jeans—and the fact that many Soviet shoppers scoffed at these socialist denims—take on urgent significance. These changes typify the mix of "progress and frustration" that defined Brezhnev-era consumer culture and also prepared Soviet citizens for the transformations of the 1980s and 1990s (p. 205). Chernyshova's book will especially benefit scholars, graduate students, and advanced undergraduates interested in late Soviet culture and society, as well as those studying consumer cultures in other national and transnational contexts.

Adrianne K. Jacobs, *University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill*

Alexander Etkind. ***Warped Mourning: Stories of the Undead in the Land of the Unburied.*** Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013. xvi, 300 pp. $87.50, cloth. $28.45, paper.

Russian novels, films, and other works of art of the past half century are crowded with ghosts, spirits, vampires, werewolves, zombies, and similar monsters. This is presented as a consequence of the unjustified victimization of millions of people incarcerated in the Gulag, the lethal Soviet prison camp system. The result of negligence rather than purposeful intent, they died in high numbers. Never properly buried, these dead return as the "undead," monsters that haunt the living generations. They will persist in doing so until their descendants have laid them to rest, by acknowledging and remembering them.

In a nutshell, this is the message of *Warped Mourning*, the new book by Alexander Etkind, Professor of Russian Literature and Cultural History at the University of Cambridge and author of *Internal Colonization: Russia's Imperial Experience* (2011). In his words, "If the loss is not recognized, it threatens to return in strange though not entirely new forms, as the uncanny. When the dead are not properly mourned, they turn into the undead and cause trouble for the living" (p. 16–17). The *uncanny* concept is derived from Sigmund Freud's theory that whatever is repressed returns in distorted, fragmented, or monstrous forms.

Neither the authorities nor the general public in post-Soviet Russia have come to terms with the communist past. Unlike the Germans, they never fully distanced themselves from the totalitarian terror. Perpetrators have not been punished; neither have victims been decently compensated. After Stalin's death in 1953, two de-Stalinization drives were both followed by periods of stagnation which attempted to escape from the memory of Stalinism. Lack of social consensus still blocks the crystallization of memory. Nowadays the country is led by "former KGB officers who are no more interested in apologizing for the past than they are in fair elections in the present" (p. 211). In addition, the Russian people seemingly allow authoritarian rule and human rights violations. Many Russians still have a high regard for Stalin and defend his bloodshed as a possibly exaggerated but necessary policy. The concentration camp system they inherited has much in common with Stalin's Gulag, extra evidence that "Russia is still living by the rules of the gulag" (p. 214). If the Russians mourn, it is "warped mourning" indeed.

According to the author, the first aim of the art products of "magical historicism" mentioned is "to understand the central trauma, or rather catastrophe, of the Soviet period" (p. 232), to perform "mimetic mourning," in the sense of a recurrent response to loss that entails a symbolic re-enactment of that loss. In his view, the catastrophic past (together with the pathetic present and dangerous future) makes contemporary Russia "a greenhouse for ghosts, revenants, and other spectral bodies" (p. 235).

However, one could ask: are these contemporary Russian art forms so different from those of other times or places? The author himself points out that classical Russian literature was already "a treasure house of the uncanny" (p. 222) such as Aleksandr Pushkin's Bronze Horseman chasing poor Evgenii, or his Stone Guest; Mikhail Lermontov's Demon; Nikolai Gogol''s Vii; A. K. Tolstoi's Vampire; and a panoply of Russian symbolists' beasts. Or, have a look at Slavic folklore. Related to the human condition, the dead haunting the living is a theme of all times and places, although terrible events, of course, can add to it. Counterculture movements of people of a certain age do not need a history of Gulags and terror to be susceptible to this challenging of death. The "Necrorealists," Leningrad artists of the late 1970s and one of the examples mentioned by Etkind, might as well be an expression of such extremism; neither is an element of kitsch to be ruled out.

An exercise in cultural studies, *Warped Mourning* displays great erudition by a highly literate author as well as an insider. Born two years after Stalin's death, he ranks himself in the "ex-Soviet intelligentsia." His grandfather was arrested as a "Nepman" under Stalin and after a couple of months in prison was told that he was to be executed. Liberated instead, he never returned to his former self. He died during the Siege of Leningrad. The dissident essayist Efim Etkind was the author's uncle.

A reader at home in the subject will find much of interest in the book, particularly the chapter "Writing History After Jail," which looks at scholars like Dmitrii Likhachev, Mikhail Bakhtin, and Lev Gumilev; the passages on Vladimir Vysotskii singing Gulag songs, or the sections devoted to Andrei Siniavskii and Iulii Daniel. In classifying the victims, the author makes an instructive difference between the *dokhodiagi*, the "goners" or "soon-to-be dead," described by Varlam Shalamov in his *Kolyma Tales*, who suffered without any purpose, and the survivors, like Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's Ivan Denisovich, who maintained some kind of goal to their life, be it returning to their relatives and friends or bearing witness.

But I would not recommend the book to a student trying to find his way in the subject matter. The points Etkind wants to make are advanced in a quite complicated style. One has to be schooled in order to understand sentences like this one: "Aleksei's memory breaks out of the cinematic duality of the visual and the acoustic and absorbs another sensory domain that is unusual for film: the olfactory" (p. 168). Or: "a monument creates a mystical zone in which time stops its flow, as in a snapshot, and space is transfigured from its neutral, dispersed condition into one that radially focuses on the monument" (p. 180). Or, to give one last example: "Explicating the spirit of postrevolutionary melancholia, Derrida substitutes 'ontology,' a central term of traditional philosophy, with 'hauntology,' a science of specters and an art of talking to them" (p. 199). By the way, Jacques Derrida's point that Nazi and Soviet totalitarianisms were "equally hostile to the specter and spirit of Communism" and that this fear is "key to explaining the oubreaks of terror in both cases" (pp. 200–201), seems to darken rather than illuminate our understanding of the topic.

Marc Jansen, *University of Amsterdam*

Steven Harris. *Communism on Tomorrow Street: Mass Housing and Everyday Life After Stalin*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press and Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2013. xxii, 394 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $60.00, cloth.

Stephen Harris's *Communism on Tomorrow Street* is a history of accommodation under Khrushchev. Stalin's Soviet Union had been a barracks society, marked by massive

violence and material sacrifice for most. In contrast, Khrushchev's regime attempted to provide a modicum of material comfort to Soviet citizens through a mass housing campaign. Its goal to provide Soviet citizens with a single-family apartment was emblematic of the changing relationship of state and society. Eschewing many of the traditional narratives of the Thaw, Harris shows how mass housing contributed to the experience of daily life under Khrushchev.

The first two chapters of *Communism on Tomorrow Street* place Khrushchev-era housing in its Soviet and European intellectual context. Harris argues that Soviet ideas about housing developed from broader European discussions of a rationally determined minimal living space and the desirability of single-family housing. Soviet idealists of the revolution and 1920s sought rational distribution norms but also supported communal housing as a means of creating a revolutionary society. However, in Stalin's 1930s the paradigm shifted to favour single-family homes, although the beneficiaries of this shift were primarily Soviet elites. Khrushchev's housing campaign confirmed the single-family apartment's desirability by attempting to extend the privilege of separate housing to the broader population. However, space distribution norms retained their currency, forcing architects under Khrushchev to design single-family apartments with less living and auxiliary space.

Chapters 3 and 4 examine the distribution of housing in its political and social context. Harris argues that central leaders aimed to centralize authority in housing and base its distribution on "objective measures" of need. (It should be noted that these measures often seemed less than objective and perhaps could have been analyzed more deeply to unpack the goals of central leaders.) However, using the case of Leningrad, Harris asserts that local politicians continued to favour privileged social groups with housing. Particularly fascinating is how would-be housing recipients positioned themselves, often successfully, as native Leningraders and siege survivors, but rehabilitated Gulag returnees were disadvantaged in their search for new apartments. Chapter 4 examines the "people's construction" campaign that began in 1955 when factory workers formed housing collectives to build their own apartment complexes. For the next half decade, these structures accounted for roughly ten percent of housing constructed annually. Despite the seeming success of this program, it lost official support in 1959, the victim of the entrenched elites surrounding Khrushchev. Defending the privileges of the white-collar supporters who were left out of worker-dominated "people's construction," the fall of the program foreshadowed motivations of the coup of party leaders against Khrushchev in 1964.

The final three chapters present a rich picture of everyday life and its discontents in the era of mass housing. Although the construction of mass housing was initiated in the party leadership, it was shaped by the ordinary people who built their lives in new apartments. As they moved into new buildings—often while still under construction—residents made their own environments, filling in the gaps where state control was absent with neighbourhood social organizations. Chapters 6 and 7 examine the regime's portrayal of the separate housing lifestyle and the complaints that new residents lodged when these portrayals did not meet the realities or desires of citizens. Countering the notion that these grievances were nascent anti-regime protests, Harris asserts that they represented the regime's sturdiness—the engagement of society with the state and vice versa.

From the outset, Harris strives to show the everyday experience of ordinary people in the Thaw through housing. In the search for the everyday in Khrushchev's Soviet Union, the author intentionally marginalizes the extraordinary as a corrective to a literature on

society in the Thaw that he argues has emphasized popular reaction to major political developments. Yet by engaging the narratives of the Thaw more actively (if only to dismiss them as less important to ordinary citizens than their living situation), the book might have made clearer the significance of mass housing for our understanding of the Khrushchev era. Additionally, although the work is about the Soviet regime's attempts to put people in new housing, the book itself often seems under-populated. People appear in brief sketches or as faceless residents to illustrate points but few provide compelling narratives, making the book a dense read at times.

However, the variety of perspectives is also a strength of *Communism on Tomorrow Street* and the research in it is quite extensive. Harris provides fascinating new information about how state and society tried to build the daily lives of citizens in the post-war period.

Seth Bernstein, *National Research University, Higher School of Economics, Moscow*

Robert Hornsby. *Protest, Reform and Repression in Khrushchev's Soviet Union*. New Studies in European History. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. x, 313 pp. Bibliography. Index. $103.95, cloth.

Rejecting the traditional dichotomy between "belief" and "non-belief," Robert Hornsby explores Khrushchev-era "political dissent," behaviours that, although the authorities labelled them "anti-Soviet," often arose from citizens' devotion to socialist ideals. Setting aside forms of dissent based on nationalist or religious sentiments, Hornsby concentrates on political dissent, a narrower category elastic enough to encompass distinct worker and intelligentsia groups and their characteristic activities. Juxtaposed in each section and chapter, these two classes of protest introduce a certain tension into the analysis. On one hand, workers and other rank-and-file citizens "lashed out" to voice discontent with material conditions or official abuses, causing an "outburst." On the other hand, diminutive intelligentsia circles of idealistic socialists gathered to discuss society or, if oriented to action, to scatter leaflets in the hundreds or even thousands extolling Leninist values and preaching revolutionary struggle against the dictatorship of the bureaucracy.

The year 1958 divides the book's two chronological periods. In each half, Hornsby outlines the authorities' approach to suppressing dissent distinctive to each five-year period. The years from March 1953 to June 1958 brought the basic tenets of Stalin's terror state into question, as the Soviet leadership dismantled the inefficient, apparently random terror apparatus. The process of unravelling the established norms of acceptable discourse and behaviour peaked in the aftermath of Khrushchev's Secret Speech, which revealed lurid details about Stalin's "cult of personality" and further blurred the boundaries between acceptable Soviet and anti-Soviet activities. This culminated when events in Hungary in the summer and fall of 1956 sparked official fears of similar convulsions in the USSR. The techniques they used, which Hornsby terms "putting out fires," aimed to manage non-conformist behaviour as it became visible (p. 54). Arrests for anti-Soviet activity reached their post-Stalin peak in number and in the severity of the resulting sentences in 1956 and 1957. Although some were truly hostile, many citizens and party members earnestly spoke out in support of Soviet ideals, unknowingly transgressing the now obscured borders surrounding permitted expression.

Yet these events also proved a turning point in the fight against dissent, inaugurating the second period. Tellingly, no comparable spike in arrests or prosecutions followed the public denunciations of Stalin at the Twenty-Second Party Congress in 1961 because the

boundaries of acceptable criticism had again solidified. Hornsby concludes that new policing strategies, used with increasing frequency after mid-1958, helped mark new limits of permissible criticism. He examines preventative measures that the KGB grouped under the Russian term *profilaktika*, such as "conversations" with those who had misbehaved and non-custodial sentencing for first-time offenders. By contrast, authorities resorted to sentencing only hardened *antisovetchiki* to comparatively short prison terms in the much smaller camp system. Hornsby devotes a section to examining how the security organs detained individuals by assigning them to psychiatric facilities, a practice Brezhnev-era dissidents loudly denounced. Hornsby deftly places this and other aspects of the Khrushchev era within the broader narrative of post-Stalin non-conformism and policing. Throughout, he acknowledges the intelligentsia groups as proto-dissidents; however, by considering their goals and ideals alongside those of workers who dissented, he avoids writing an exclusive pre-history of the Brezhnev-era dissident movement.

Hornsby's book makes several contributions to the field. First, it strengthens the scholarship on Khrushchev-era society by carefully considering the content of documents from the Soviet procuracy, police, Komsomol, and the Communist party, but also the blind spots inherent in those institutions' worldview. Hornsby augments these with memoirs and writings by authors, mostly representatives of the intelligentsia, who fell into the police dragnet. Furthermore, he contributes to the scholarly trend that has recently called into question the received concept of "the Thaw" as a period characterized by liberals and conservatives battling over reform. Hornsby finds that policies aimed at combatting dissent ebbed and flowed. The authorities took a relaxed approach in times of calm, but responded decisively to prevent any perceived threat to the Soviet order from metastasizing. By the early 1960s, an increasingly professional and educated KGB replaced the raw force so characteristic of the Stalin era with these more sophisticated policing methods. Hornsby concludes that these strategies proved effective and served as prototypes for those used under Brezhnev to prevent dissidents from reaching wide audiences. By taking preventative measures, the KGB forced them to address instead the Soviet leadership and the international human-rights community, both of which they considered less harmful. Finally, Hornsby argues that by stabilizing the status quo in the "medium term," these measures explain the observed decline in the number and ferocity of the protests and outbursts under Brezhnev. His interpretation thus differs from that of scholars who have judged the relative social quiet under Brezhnev as a sign of a collapse in "belief" in the Soviet system among the majority, who lost hope that it might make good on the prosperity and order Khrushchev had promised.

Aaron Hale-Dorrell, *University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill*

Anna Kuxhausen. ***From the Womb to the Body Politic: Raising the Nation in Enlightenment Russia.*** Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013. xiii, 228 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $29.95, paper.

Anna Kuxhausen has written an engaging and informative book devoted to discussions of *vospitanie* or upbringing in eighteenth-century Russia. Framed by scholarship on the Russian Enlightenment, including the religious Enlightenment, and more extensively by European and Russian historiography concerned with gender and childhood, she analyzes Russian writings on women's health, pregnancy, childrearing, and education in order to illuminate the relationship between "modern" state building and the physical and spiritual / moral raising of children. Based on medical treatises, advice manuals, primers, grammars,

literature, and legal-administrative documents, Kuxhausen explores understandings of *vospitanie*; government efforts to control and medically organize midwifery; attitudes toward and practices of breastfeeding; beliefs about and knowledge of the special physical needs of children (subject matter that includes swaddling, diet, and the European-style cold regime); the centrality of moral education in eighteenth-century upbringing; and finally, the education of girls, with particular reference to the Smolny Institute established by Empress Catherine II.

Through this empirical and descriptive source material the reader is introduced to a number of analytical themes and institutional settings. Kuxhausen's primary goal is to explore the development in Russia of a conception of childhood that blended Enlightenment models with traditional social and cultural practices. Here the author connects Russian policy and thought to European ideas about childhood as a distinctive phase in the development of the individual human being—a phase that according to John Locke required physical, moral, and intellectual education. In the school reforms of Catherine II, Kuxhausen argues, children became future members of "the body politic," and as such an important resource for the state and society. The Enlightenment / Catherinian effort to create "a new breed of Russians" (p. 12) is in this manner tied to the concept of "raising the nation." The connection between education and nation building is a central theme of this study, though Kuxhausen does not engage with scholarship devoted to Russian national identity or the conceptual history of the nation. Nor, in her discussion of educational policies and practices institutionalized in the Moscow and St. Petersburg foundling homes, the Catherinian popular schools, and the Smolny Institute, does she relate her analytical approach to more traditional understandings of the imperial Russian (at once Petrine and Catherinian) service state.

Together with the process of nation building, Kuxhausen makes good use of gender analysis and European scholarship on gender history. Building from materials that document the development of the Russian medical profession (or proto-profession) beginning already in the reign of Peter I, Kuxhausen highlights the impact on midwifery and childrearing practices of medical and scientific expertise, gendered masculine, and claims to authority based on that expertise. In this discussion the argument that Russian Enlightenment discourse on upbringing is gendered masculine seems to rest on: 1) the proposition that hierarchies of gender, education, and social status led to the discursive displacement of female midwives by male doctors; and 2) on the fact that eighteenth-century medical writers, scientists, and trained physicians were overwhelmingly male. Here as elsewhere gender analysis illuminates critical aspects of human relationships left unnoticed by other methods and categories of analysis, but it can be difficult to apply to intellectuals and policymakers who did not think in such terms.

Although Kuxhausen's source materials are eclectic, amorphous, and not always easy to incorporate into a structured argument, she has overcome these obstacles and written an interesting, readable introduction to topics long neglected in the scholarship on eighteenth-century Russia. As she herself notes, there are many mini-topics touched on throughout her book that deserve further study. Reception is one example that other historians also have found difficult to document. Perhaps more to the point are Kuxhausen's suggestive comments about the maternal imagery surrounding the persona and policies of Catherine II. *From the Womb to the Body Politic* gives hope that despite the limitations of the available sources, there is more to be discovered.

Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *California State Polytechnic University-Pomona*

Susanna S. Lim. ***China and Japan in the Russian Imagination, 1685–1922. To the End of the Orient.*** Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Asia. London: Routledge, 2013. xv, 223 pp. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $155.00, cloth.

Susanna S. Lim's book is a new contribution to the recently burgeoning field of research that sees Japan and China as important markers and makers of Russian national identity. The conceptual originality of the book lies in distinguishing two notions of Asia for Russia—an "inner" positive East and a negative "Far East" (p. 13). The author also argues that at those moments in history when the West and the Far East presented threats to Russia, the identification of their cultures took place (p. 168). Lim scrupulously collected numerous examples from original and secondary sources, mainly of a literary and philosophical nature, many of which were ignored by previous scholarship.

Chapter 1 provides an historical background of Russia's contacts with China and Japan and claims that, contrary to Western Orientalists, Russians showed greater sympathy and sensitivity to Asian countries. At the same time, Lim points out that even early writings were not free from the impact of nationalist thinking.

The vision of China in the age of Catherine the Great is the subject of chapter 2. It demonstrates how the "stance of the Oriental spectator" (p. 47) was used to glorify the wisdom and benevolence of the Russian tsarina and simultaneously was a tool for criticism of her rule by liberals.

The subsequent chapter introduces readers to the works of Russian Sinologists, though they were not much in demand by the society at large. Instead, the word *kitaishchina* (deriving from *Kitai*, the Russian name for China) was coined to designate all kind of inertia and conservatism. The author makes an interesting observation that Aleksandr Gertsen was the first to appropriate this metaphor to Western Europe. Lamenting about the complacency and philistinism of the post-1848 European bourgeoisie, the philosopher called it the "Chinese West" and contrasted it to the historical youth of "Scythian" and "barbarian" Russia.

The next chapter deals with the process surrounding the emergence of the Far East as a separate category in Russian politics and mindset due to the conclusion of treaties with Japan and China in the mid-nineteenth century. It examines a variety of works, some of which, bolstered by belief in the messianic mission of Russia and critical attitudes to the West, envisaged a great future for Russia, while others predicted the ascendancy of China. A sad omission here is the figure of Archbishop Nikolai who was one of the proponents of Russia's enlightening mission in Japan and the prime authority on this country at home.

The final two decades of the nineteenth century witnessed an active Russian Far Eastern policy and a worldwide rise of interest in the problem of race. Chapters 5 and 6 analyze what impact these had on Russian ideologies relating to the Far East. It is in these chapters that Lim's discourse becomes most sophisticated. She navigates the subjects so that readers are able to comprehend that neither the Easterners' views on the supposed spiritual affinity between Russia and Asia, nor the adoration of Japanese art could be accommodated well during any Russian search *vis-à-vis* national identity. It was the prophetic idea of Pan-Mongolism, put forth by V. Solov'ev, that predicted the onslaught of the yellow race, which appeared to be most productive. Pan-Mongolism appealed to the *fin-de-siècle* sense of crisis, and the apocalypse came true in 1905 at Port Arthur and Tsushima. At this point in time, in the works of Symbolist poet Valerii Briusov, Russians were recast into the image of barbaric and dynamic Huns who seemed able to destroy Japan and whose advance was welcomed. Lim qualifies this as the creation of the inner positive

East. Her reading of Briusov suggests that the poet was talking about the historical change brought by revolution, which he perceived as inevitable and destructive, but also imbued with cleansing, positive power.

Racial imagery becomes more meaningful in *Petersburg*, the famous novel by Andrei Belyi. Embracing occult theories of races, a parody on *japonisme*, anxiety over anti-Semitism and revolution, the novel, Lim points out, expresses the conflation of the West, epitomized by the city itself, and the Far East, represented by various images of the "yellow peril" plaguing this city. Though Belyi and other intellectuals, concludes Lim, found Russia's long searched identity in Scythianism and its political analogue Eurasianism, in the Soviet period the identity problem was obscured by ideological exigencies only to be revived again after the disintegration of the Soviet state.

In sum, the book is a welcome addition to the studies of Russian national identity and may be recommended to post-graduate students and all those interested in the question of identity.

Yulia Mikhailova, *Hiroshima City University*

John MacKay. *True Songs of Freedom: Uncle Tom's Cabin in Russian Culture and Society*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013. xv, 157 pp. Illustrations. Index. $24.95, paper.

Despite the complex and sometimes fraught relationship between Russia and the West, Russian readers have long been avid consumers of Western literature, and Russian culture has long been shaped and has defined itself in relation to foreign literature and culture. This short book explores the intricate dynamics of cross-cultural reception through a detailed case study of one work: Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* came rather late to Russia, though it has had a long life, both in Russia and in the Soviet Union, having appeared in over one hundred editions in Russian and the other languages of the Soviet Union between its first publication in 1857 and 1991. It was, and perhaps still is, regarded by Russian readers as a classic of world literature, making it a fascinating subject for close study.

John MacKay forensically charts the history and changing significance of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in Russia, exploring not only the way it was consumed by critics, but also the means by which the novel was made to intervene in contemporary political debates and service particular ideologies. Drawing upon a broad range of source material, including contemporary responses from Lev Tolstoi and other authors, translations, theatrical adaptations and film and visual responses, the author traces the multiple afterlives experienced by the text in the Russian context.

These afterlives are examined chronologically from the earliest point of publication. Chapters 1 and 2 discuss the pre-revolutionary reception of the novel. The Russian government was initially suspicious of the potential for unrest to be inspired by readers' comparisons between the plight of black slaves and Russian serfs. The early responses to the novel certainly make those comparisons, and the applicability of Stowe's accounts to the Russian situation was certainly debated by its nineteenth-century readers, even before it appeared in translation. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the novel's peculiar genre-shifting starts to emerge as it became established as simultaneously a canonical classic, a (deracialized) tale for children, a "fount of ethical example," and a "source of (sobering) knowledge about the United States and its history" (p. 56).

In chapters 3 and 4, MacKay examines the most dramatic reshapings and manipulations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the Soviet cultural context. Shorn of its religious connotations (especially in the editions for children), which were, of course, anathema to the Soviet cause, the novel became a "handy instrument for propagating official doctrines on reality" (p. 80) and a tool of Soviet cultural policy. Soviet criticism drew parallels between the historical narrative and contemporary American policies of segregation and persecution of Black citizens, feeding into broader anti-American discourses. MacKay's fascinating discussion of the shifting significance and use of foreign literature concludes with a short comparative coda, which explores the more recent, (mostly) post-Soviet, decline in the importance in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* alongside the rise of a more recent sensation: Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind* (1936), emphasizing his implicit claim that that the long life of Stowe's novel should be understood not in purely literary terms, but as a coincidence of social, political, and cultural factors.

MacKay's most interesting conclusions lie in his statements about the novel's instrumentality, the "ambiguous shaping force of political interest (whether governmental or not) on the text" (p. 31), which are amply illustrated. Nonetheless, the analysis could have been usefully supplemented by a study of the conditions of production of the text in its various historical contexts, which might have made use of such sources as typescripts and editorial documents. If MacKay had consulted discussion within publishing houses, for example, he would have been able to illuminate more clearly the political and ideological interventions that controlled and directed the publication of Stowe's work.

A closer examination of the conditions of production of the novel in the Russian context might also have resulted in a more sustained focus on the work of the translator, who, as the agent with most ability to shape the work, does sometimes disappear from view in MacKay's account. Additionally, examples from the translations are cited in an English back-translation. Quoting the Russian here would have been helpful for readers wishing to examine in detail elements of style.

Despite these minor issues, the book makes a valuable contribution to several fields and will be appreciated not only by Russian and Soviet historians, but also by scholars of comparative literature and translation studies.

Samantha Sherry, *University of Oxford*

David North. *In Defense of Leon Trotsky*. Oak Park: Mehring Books, 2013. xvii, 259 pp. Index. $15.95, paper.

As a one-time youthful Trotskyist, I can appreciate David North's full-throated defence of the great twentieth-century "tribune and theoretician of world socialist revolution" (p. xi). The author is not an academic but rather chair of the International Editorial Board of the World Socialist Web Site, a leading forum for the Trotskyist *Weltanschauung*. The explicit task of this book, actually a collection of North's essays and talks between 2001 and 2012, is to discredit "the Post Soviet School of Historical Falsification," especially in the persons of three leading anti-Trotskyist British biographers—Ian Thatcher, Geoffrey Swain, and Robert Service—whose "treatment of the life of Leon Trotsky is without the slightest scholarly merit" (p. 53). Apart from such exaggerations and oversimplifications (and unfortunate *ad hominem* jibes) (p. 159), by and large North is justified in criticizing Service, in particular, for myriad factual errors and distortions. I also find myself in general agreement with his favourable distinction between Leon Trotsky and Joseph Stalin, but

here again he goes too far in suggesting that the three British academics are neo-Stalinists and probably anti-Semitic (pp. 143–144).

The substance of the author's argument is that Trotsky was the second most important leader after Lenin during the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917; a major Marxist theorist (especially regarding Marxian internationalism); the architect and driving force behind the victorious Red Army in the Russian Civil War of 1918–1921; the true and legitimate heir to Vladimir Ilich Lenin; the voice of the authentic Marxism of the Fourth International and the world proletarian revolution (as opposed to the Third International's betrayal and apostasy); and the victim of a vicious slander campaign initiated by Stalin that continues to this day by latter-day Stalinists and their academic fellow travellers in Britain and elsewhere.

Most if not all of what North has to say is not new. He goes over the ground covered by the classic works of Isaac Deutscher and E. H. Carr, as well as the more recent contributions of Baruch Knei-Paz, Dmitrii Volkogonov, Bernard Patenaude, and Vadim Rogovin. All of these authors are cited approvingly in contrast to the three villains. To be sure, it is useful to be reminded just how prescient were many of Trosky's assessments and prognostications. Nowhere is this more evident than in his critique of Stalin's "socialism in one country" and its effects on both the development of Soviet society and the world socialist revolution.

In addition to being terribly repetitious—almost inevitable because of its composition—and excessively strident in tone, the book's partisanship raises some other concerns. While North makes a convincing case for Trotsky's originality as a Marxian theorist as well as brilliance as a revolutionary leader, he is less convincing about Trotsky's character and conduct. I too discount the scurrilous innuendos about Trotsky's personal and family life as alleged by his critics and opponents, but there is no denying his supreme arrogance as well as willingness to spill blood freely in the revolutionary cause. And North's veneration of Trotsky knows no bounds. Unable to read Russian himself, he makes a far-fetched comparison of Trotsky's prose with Lev Tolstoi's by citing an anonymous émigré (p. 8).

While I find North's defence of Trotsky against his Stalinist and other critics quite convincing, the explanation for his defeat is less so. For the author that outcome is the result of the weakness and immaturity of the working class in Soviet Russia in combination with Stalin's hijacking of the revolution by creating a careerist bureaucracy that benefitted from his patronage. But perhaps Trotsky's failure also grew out of his misreading of the situation, both domestically and internationally. Capitalism proved to be far more resilient and responsive to economic downturns than he expected, and that played to Stalin's advantage. Moreover, he fatally underestimated the latter's political acumen.

North's book of course is not an academic monograph and has none of the usual scholarly apparatus, lacking both a bibliography and primary sources in the original language. But as polemics go—in the Leninist tradition—it is effective and convincing.

N.G.O. Pereira, *Dalhousie University*

Alison Rowley. ***Open Letters: Russian Popular Culture and the Picture Postcard, 1880–1922.*** Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013. xii, 323 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $65.00, cloth.

What can we learn from looking at postcards? And more broadly, how does visual culture reflect and disseminate popular culture, while also shaping it? These are the questions that traverse *Open Letters: Russian Popular Culture and the Picture Postcard, 1880–1922.*

Postcards imported from Europe became a staple in mail communication during the very implementation of Russia's postal service in the second half of the nineteenth century. But it was not until 1898 that the first Russian-made picture postcards started to be produced. They were used to support charity work, advertise commercial ventures, draw tourism, establish political legitimacy, and mark history. Because their print runs exceeded by far those of posters, magazines, and illustrated books, they became central to the circulation of images. Postcards also rapidly became collectible items, selected for the subject they represented or for their aesthetic quality.

In this book, historian Alison Rowley builds on ethnohistorical and visual culture traditions in order to understand the social relations that created a vibrant picture postcard market and encouraged their circulation within Russia and internationally. She remains acutely aware of the limitations of her archive. The firms that produced the postcards have often disappeared without leaving records. Artists, photographers, and others involved in creating the images are often unknown. There are no ways of finding out how many postcards were produced and what percentage survived, or who owned them and how they were actually used.

The book starts by looking, in chapter 1, at the creation of the postal system in Russia (with the first post office opening in Moscow in 1875), the explosion of the postcard as a medium, and the importance it gained as a communication tool and cultural artefact in the *fin de siècle* and the early Soviet period. The expanding postal network as well as advances in paper, printing, and photography technology and techniques all contributed to the creation and popularisation of these objects. The following chapters shift the discussion to the types of subjects represented on picture postcards, examining how these resonated broadly with popular culture, economic concerns, and politics. They focus on themes as rich and varied as representations of the landscape, celebrity culture, romantic and erotic depictions of the body, portrayals of the monarchy, and illustrations of World War I and of the Russian Revolution. The book ends with an epilogue which takes an insightful look at how the categories outlined above functioned differently across the revolutionary divide, some being modified to correspond to events and party ideology, others disappearing altogether. This section of the book poses the question of historical breaks and cultural continuity, but also of the legitimacy of genres under different commercial and political systems.

Rowley is an outstanding scholar. Her work is insightful, the book is exceptionally well written, and her argument is always clear. There is, however, one blind spot: the images are only discussed in terms of their referential nature. The form and structure they take, the techniques used (the fact that there are no bodies in photographed landscapes, for example, is a direct result of shutter speed), the meaning and function of style and techniques in a broad visual culture, but also the repetition and migration of imagery from one medium to another (from painting or mass produced journals to postcards) could have enabled the author to more fully understand *how* and not just *what* the images communicated.

The book is generously illustrated with 130 black and white reproductions. Most of the cards were collected by the author over several years; most have never been published before. While many of them were originally printed in black and white, it would have been worthwhile to reproduce the colour picture postcards in all their glory.

Annie Gérin, *Université du Québec à Montréal*

Evgeny Sergeev. *The Great Game, 1856–1907: Russo-British Relations in Central and East Asia.* Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center, 2013. xix, 530 pp. Index. $69.45, cloth.

Evgeny Sergeev offers a thoughtful, broadly researched examination of the Anglo-Russian rivalry in Asia—the Great Game. He argues that the Great Game is a jigsaw puzzle with three dimensions: first, Great Britain and Russia offered competing models of globalization to their Asian conquests and neighbours; second, decision-making took place on multiple levels but elites in the two states held the initiative; and third, resolution of this competition set the foundation for their co-operation before and during World War I. The author includes the breadth of Asia from the Ottoman Empire to Japan.

In the Prologue, Sergeev sets out the two states' primary motivations for imperial expansion. He highlights their desire for natural borders and the increased prestige that came with expanding empires. The differences between them included political, economic, and socio-cultural characteristics and aspirations of the two systems. As Russia pacified the Caucasus and began to look East, Britain started viewing Russia as its primary rival. The Russians' loss in the Crimean War shifted their attention fully to these arenas.

Sergeev breaks up the Great Game into five phases. First, during the period from 1856 to 1864, Russia sought compensation for its Crimean defeat. Efforts to introduce differing visions of modernization in Asia led Russia to consider pushing toward India. The British sensed this new threat and the Great Game commenced. Between 1864 and 1873, Russia absorbed many of the khanates, trying to bring its own version of order to the region. These moves alarmed the British, but leadership in London divided between forwardists, usually Tories and British leadership in India, who were inclined to active measures, while inactivists, usually from the Liberal side of the political spectrum, typically sought more diplomatic approaches. At this time the competition drew in Eastern Turkestan, thanks to the weakness of the Chinese regime. In 1873, Russian foreign minister Aleksandr Mikhailovich Gorchakov and British foreign secretary Granville George Leveson Gower, 2nd Earl Granville negotiated an agreement that those inclined to diplomacy in both capitals hoped would quiet the competition, but the forwardists in London had little confidence and the war party in St. Petersburg had little patience. The years from 1874 to 1885 were the climax of the Great Game as Russian expansion continued. Military leaders even planned a march on India, but Russia could not do so because of internal weakness and external pressure coming from many of the great powers of Europe. The British became embroiled in another war in Afghanistan, trying to shore up their influence in that crucial buffer. The Russian seizure of Merv brought a fragile equilibrium. Between 1886 and 1903, when the new Franco-Russian Alliance changed British calculation yet again, competition concentrated on the Pamirs and Tibet, with continued manoeuvres in Persia. Russia failed to achieve its hopes in either. The last years to 1907 ended the Great Game as Russia and Britain sparred in northeast Asia until the 1905 Japanese defeat of Russia. Now Russia consented to negotiate with Britain, which was concerned about the massive cost of engaging the Russians across such a wide field and the growing threat represented by the

new Germany. The resulting entente of 1907 appeared to be a diplomatic revolution after such a long rivalry.

Sergeev improves on many studies of this imperial competition by employing sources from multiple archives in the United Kingdom and Russian Federation as well as in Uzbekistan and India. He has also read widely among both English and Russian published primary and secondary material. Liberally sized quotations offer a substantive taste of contemporary documents. He provides a more authoritative view than Karl Meyer and Shareen Brysac do in *Tournament of Shadows: The Great Game and the Race for Empire in Central Asia* (Basic Books, 2006), and he offers a broader context for more focused studies, such as Firuz Kazemzadeh's *Russia and Britain in Persia: Imperial Ambitions in Qajar Iran* (I.B. Tauris, 2013) and Tatiana Shaumian's *Tibet: The Great Game and Tsarist Russia* (Oxford University Press, 2000). The work, however, does not replace David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye's examination of the ideology of empire in *Toward the Rising Sun: Russian Ideologies of Empire and the Path to War with Japan* (Northern Illinois University Press, 2006), for the topic is only glancingly dealt with here. So, too, he does not consistently grapple with the participation of local peoples. Certainly Asian leaders appear, such as Yakub Beg, Habibullah, and the Dalai Lama, but the voice given to local populations is not as balanced as Sergeev appears to want. Furthermore, maps would have been useful to include in the volume, given the variety of contested ground discussed.

More substantively, Sergeev does not convince this reviewer that the Great Game ended in 1907. While he dismisses them, scholars, such as Jennifer Siegel in *Endgame: Britain, Russia and the Final Struggle for Central Asia* (I.B. Tauris, 2002), show that the rift between Russia and Great Britain never disappeared before World War I, and tensions increased as Russia felt increasingly confident due to economic growth and military expansion. Foreign Office debates during the 1914 July Crisis indicate serious concern over renewed Russian aggression in Central Asia if Britain remained on the sidelines while Russia and France defeated the Central Powers on their own.

That aside, Sergeev provides a particularly useful examination of the competition of British and Russian systems for predominance in colonial Asia. It will be a necessary work to consult for some time to come.

Ronald P. Bobroff, *Wake Forest University / Oglethorpe University*

James Steffen. *The Cinema of Sergei Parajanov*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2013. xix, 306 pp. Illustrations. Bibliography. Index. $29.95, paper.

Sergei Paradzhanov (1924–1990) is one of the most revered directors in world cinema. His unique aesthetic and the story of his persecution at the hands of the Soviets combine to guarantee the fascination of cinephiles worldwide. However, despite the adulation he has long received, very little detailed or reliable information about Paradzhanov's life and films has been available in English, perhaps contributing to the mystique surrounding him. James Steffen's long-awaited monograph (he edited a special issue of *The Armenian Review* on the director in 2001) aims to change this situation, and it does so admirably.

Paradzhanov, an ethnic Armenian from Tbilisi who made films in Ukraine, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan, was never quite anchored in one tradition; he was always something of an outsider. This ambiguous and multi-faceted state presents potential problems for the researcher and perhaps partly explains why an English-language monograph has been so long in arriving.

In writing this book Steffen has meticulously researched the cultures of each country (in some cases learning the languages) to provide insight into the literary and folkloric material that Paradzhanov's films are based on, and to provide valuable contextual material about the industry that the films were produced in. This context gives some insight into how the organizational structure of the Soviet film industry (a centralized cinema ministry based in Moscow and semi-autonomous studios in outlying republics) both helped and hindered Paradzhanov's career.

Steffen devotes a chapter to the genesis, production, reception, and analysis of each of the four major feature films. In his analyses, Steffen focuses on teasing out the nuances of these densely-packed films and their symbolism. That is not to say he avoids the complex theoretical issues the films raise; however, he never becomes bogged down with theoretical jargon or concepts, allowing his own research and opinions to lead the way.

For example, a later section of the book (pp. 236–240) looks at Paradzhanov's mixture of subtle homosexual themes with the imagery of Eastern exoticism, dubbing this "oriental drag" but preferring to see it in a historical lineage including Mikhail Kuz'min, Gustave Flaubert, and the photographer Wilhelm von Gloeden than to become mired in a discussion about gaze theory. Steffen notes that the Caucasus was seen by the Soviets as an exotic other within their own boundaries, and that Paradzhanov's own national identity and sexuality were ambiguous, and concludes that the director's fascination with oriental aesthetics was both a kind of self-affirmation and an idiosyncratic form of patriotism.

In addition to discussion of the four films on which Paradzhanov's reputation rests, there is also vital biographical information, a meticulous account of Paradzhanov's court cases, and detailed descriptions of his early films and his later, unrealized projects. Tantalizing descriptions of what the films would have likely been like are anchored by detailed research, including correspondence between Paradzhanov and the legendary formalist critic Viktor Shklovskii over conceptual flaws in Paradzhanov's long-cherished adaptation of Mikhail Lermontov's *Demon* [The Demon] (p. 179).

Steffen hints that *Legenda Suramskoi kreposti*'s [The Legend of the Surami Fortress's] (1984) domestic reception was controversial but then provides little evidence for this assertion in the subsequent section (pp. 212–215). Later (pp. 220–230), he explains the failure of Paradzhanov's planned adaptation of Iakob Tsurtaveli's *Tsamebay tsmidisa shushanikisi deoplisay* [The Passion of Shushanik] in terms of just such a controversy: the rise of Georgian nationalism in the 1980s meant that Paradzhanov's wish to emphasize the story's Armenian protagonist, and the director's own status as a Georgian-Armenian, became problematic in the light of this rising movement.

The epilogue, in which Steffen traces Paradzhanov's influence on directors as diverse as Moshen Makhmalbaf and Tarsem Singh, feels somewhat slight, but in many ways Paradzhanov is still in the process of being discovered and understood, and an aesthetic as unique as his cannot easily be assimilated. Finally, Paradzhanov emerges as an artist with a deep aesthetic conviction to a kind of antiquary materialism, but also an artist out of time obsessed with the distant past, and yet requiring new forms of spectatorship (DVD, the multiplicity of possibilities opened up by internet) to have his significance fully apprehended.

Steffen has written a detailed, even-handed study that, while displaying obvious passion for its subject, avoids some of the hand-wringing pitfalls of writing on artists who have fallen victim to state persecution or otherwise had maligned careers. Though it is a comprehensive biography, hopefully this book will spark a surge of further scholarship on Paradzhanov, using Steffen's work as a foundation on which to build.

John A. Riley, *Gumi, Gyeongbuk, South Korea*

Liisa Steinby and Tintti Klapuri, eds. *Bakhtin and his Others: (Inter)subjectivity, Chronotope and Dialogism*. London: Anthem Press, 2013. 145 pp. $99.00, cloth.

This slim collection of essays published in 2013 makes an important contribution to the field of Bakhtin studies. Editors Liisa Steinby and Tintti Klapuri explain in their introduction that their goal is two-fold. First, the volume addresses the question of the "Other" in Mikhail Bakhtin's writings, a concept which is not to be understood in terms of alterity but rather as a "co-subject: one to whom we listen when he speaks, whom we speak to, whose words we include in our own speech" (p. xxi). Intersubjectivity is thus a major focus of the volume. Rather than viewing Bakhtin's well-known texts on literature as a departure from his early philosophical work, the editors stress that Bakhtin explored art as a medium in which the "ethically acting concrete individual is most completely presented" (p. xvii). All of the contributors thus firmly situate the ethical subject at the core of Bakhtin's thinking and view even his literary essays as demonstrations of his commitment to problems of ethics. The volume's second goal is to address the question of "'Bakhtin's others'" (p. xxi)—those thinkers whose work Bakhtin either explicitly or implicitly evokes. This volume continues a current trend in Bakhtin scholarship devoted to contextualizing Bakhtin's work by situating his essays not only with respect to the writings of the Bakhtin circle, but also within the wider context of the German philosophical tradition and early Soviet literary studies. Primarily stemming from a research project conducted by a group of scholars in the Department of Comparative Literature at the University of Turku, Finland, this volume also includes two chapters originally presented as conference papers. The eight essays included in this collection can be roughly categorized as either being "theoretical" or constituting "applications."

Three of the four theoretical chapters are by Steinby and form the backbone of this work. In fact, her contributions could have been the basis for a single-author manuscript, as she is clearly the driving intellectual force behind this collection. The great strength of these three essays is Steinby's ability to provide concise introductions to important Bakhtinian concepts while also providing a welcome contextualization of his ideas. Steinby's first contribution, "Bakhtin and Lukács: Subjectivity, Signifying Form and Temporality in the Novel," explores Bakhtin's indebtedness to the early writing of Georg Lukács. Steinby examines the genesis of the novel according to these two critics, focusing in particular on the plurality of voices present in the novel and on novelistic temporality. Steinby's second article provides a detailed overview of the use of the musical metaphor of polyphony to describe novelistic construction by comparing Bakhtin's use of the term with the Romantic idea of the musical composition of literary works as represented by Friedrich Schlegel. This chapter ends with a brief discussion of Thomas Mann and Milan Kundera, as Steinby demonstrates how these authors express a plurality of viewpoints in their texts. The third essay by Steinby, "Bakhtin's Concept of the Chronotope: The Viewpoint of an Acting Subject," is the longest and most developed of all of the contributions in the volume, and the one which proposes the clearest departure from traditional Bakhtin scholarship. While acknowledging that chronotopes are usually understood as "forms of cognition or/and categories for representing these" (p. 107), Steinby proposes that the concept should rather "be understood in relation to Bakhtin's ethical thinking" (p. 111). Steinby situates the chronotope in relation to an earlier essay on the *Bildungsroman*, stressing that here the concept is tied to "certain specific authors, such as Goethe" (p. 114), whereas in Bakhtin's later writings it becomes the general organizing principle of the novel and the determiner of novelistic sub-genres. Steinby links chronotopes to the notion of "chairological" time, in

that they "present a concrete situation where certain kinds of action are possible" (p. 120). While this is not a radical redefinition of the chronotope, Steinby does offer a fresh perspective on the concept, and her emphasis on the chronotope as a generator of space-time for specific human actions does explain the shift in focus in the sections of the chronotope essay devoted to François Rabelais, in which Bakhtin primarily explores various types of carnival behaviours.

A fourth theoretical chapter is offered by Auni Mäkikalli, who posits "the rise, in the course of the eighteenth century, of individualism, and modern temporality" (p. 28) as shared concerns of both Bakhtin and Ian Watt, author of *The Rise of the Novel* (1957). According to Mäkikalli, Bakhtin's writings on the early eighteenth-century novel could be more productively juxtaposed with the works of Watt and other Anglo-American critics, such as Michael McKeon. The remaining chapters all entail close readings of a variety of authors using Bakhtinian methodology. Interestingly, two of the contributions treat poetry: Mikhail Oshukov's "Familiar Otherness: Peculiarities of Dialogue in Ezra Pound's Poetics of Inclusion" and Christian Paul's "Author and Other in Dialogue: Bakhtinian Polyphony in the Poetry of Peter Reading." Paul argues for the applicability of Bakhtinian concepts to the poetic genre, in spite of Bakhtin's predilection for the novel, and both contributors provide convincing analyses of the poets under consideration. Another chapter, Edward Gieskes's "Tradition and Genre: Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*," examines the relationship between Kyd's play and classical tragedy, noting that the playwright "appropriates structures from the tradition of Latin drama, repurposes them and fills them with other kinds of language" (p. 92); Gieskes thus highlights the interplay of various discursive modes within the play. Klapuri rounds out the collection with an essay on the provincial chronotope in Anton Chekhov, an analysis inspired by Steinby's view of the chronotope as a category for possibilities of human action.

The articles in this collection are generally well-written, though in a few of them one senses that they were written with strict page constraints, and the overall quality of the scholarship is excellent, with individual contributors all citing recent and pertinent studies in the field. The decision of these Finnish scholars to publish their work in English will allow this volume to garner a wide audience among Bakhtin scholars.

Tara Collington, *University of Waterloo*

Ilse Stritzke (with Bernie Stritzke). ***Nightmares of an East Prussian Childhood: A Memoir of the Russian Occupation.*** Jefferson: McFarland and Co., 2013. vii, 189 pp. Map. Index. $32.00, paper.

This riveting account of a family expelled from the town of Palmnicken on the Baltic in East Prussia tells the story of the Glauses and their travails prior to their escape to West Germany in 1950. It puts an individualized set of human faces to the post-war expulsions of Germans from Poland, Russia, and other points in the East that took place for several years after World War II and that flowed into the somewhat earlier treks of refugees as the Soviet armies moved westwards. The latter took revenge for German atrocities perpetrated on the Soviet civilian population during the German advance by visiting similar horrors on the everyday Germans who remained in their path. Some 12–14 million people were evacuated, often under extremely dire conditions, in what was the largest forced migration in history to date and estimates range from 500,000 to two million deaths on the way. Most of those removed from their previous homes were women, children, and old people who in many cases had lived in these areas for generations.

The stories are told through the eyes of Ilse Stritzke, née Glaus, who was 10 years old in 1944, a year that saw the rapid advance of Soviet troops and the creation of successive waves of refugees whose tales of the reign of terror released by the Soviet troops were deeply disturbing and raised the question of whether or not the family should stay or flee. The fatal decision to stay, made by Ilse's mother, is the dramatic entry into the recounting of rape, death, and cruelty that follow, but there are also moments of kindness shown by Russian soldiers to the German population under Soviet occupation. Survival against great odds, and the joys of finding enough food to occasionally slake the chronic hunger that was a constant during the Russian occupation is graphically described. Finally, what remained of the family was evacuated in November 1947 to Thuringia, part of what would be the GDR. Only then do the personal rifts and familial breakdowns start to bubble to the surface. The news of her older sister's death in a Soviet prison was yet another blow in a series of tragedies that saw the youngest and oldest members of the family die. In the 1950s, most of the younger members of the family left Germany. Ilse's older brother moved to Argentina to escape real or imagined retribution for having been in the SS, her parents divorced, and Ilse herself met her husband Gerd Stritzke. She immigrated with him to the United States shortly after their wedding in 1956. The family became part of a yet under-researched diaspora, as many young Germans emigrated in the 1950s in the hope of finding opportunities for a better life in America.

The book raises important questions about memory and voice for the historian. Bernie Stritzke, Ilse's son, wrote the book based on his interviews with his mother. For much of the period Ilse's memory is the only guide, except for the last eighteen months under the Russian domination, during which she kept a diary. Memory is often faulty, and the events referred to took place decades before being written down. Stories told to family members may not be completely accurate in order to spare the feelings of one or more relatives or friends. It may even be an unconscious act to edit out certain types of distressing events. Although Ilse Stritzke claims that her son was totally accurate in writing her memoirs ("I was so overwhelmed and felt sometimes I was actually reliving my past […]" [p. 3]), it is impossible for any account to fully reflect an event or series of events that are past, since narrative choices involve complex connections between fact and linguistic flow. There is also the issue of language and translation. Were the interviews in English or German? Last but not least, there is the fact that the protagonist moves from childhood to adulthood in the years 1944–1956. The narrative voice sounds adult throughout, but can the adult ever recapture the experience and perspective of childhood? Ilse Stritzke's voice is thus heard through her son's retelling and through her adult knowledge and understanding.

These comments should not detract from the book's importance as part of a genre which narrates the lives of ordinary people caught in a turbulent moment in time. It corroborates the stories of other women who were expelled from East Prussia, such as the memoirs of Libussa von Krockow (which were written by her brother and are available in English under the title *The Hour of the Women*) and the account by Marion Gräfin von Döhnhoff, *Namen die keiner mehr nennt* [Names That Are No Longer Spoken]. It is an important reminder of the reality that it is often women and children who bear the burdens of war, and that at least in some cases, the tragedies were overcome.

Rosemarie Schade, *Concordia University*

Steven A. Usitalo. ***The Invention of Mikhail Lomonosov: A Russian National Myth.*** Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2013. 298 pp. Index. $48.25, cloth.

Every school-aged child in the USSR was indoctrinated with the tale of the great eighteenth-century Russian scientist Mikhail Lomonosov, son of a poor fisherman from the north. As the story goes, despite the privations he faced, at the age of sixteen Mikhail travelled to Moscow, driven by his determination to obtain an education. He carried with him nothing but two books: *Slavonic Grammar* by Meletii Smotritskii and *Arithmetics* by Leontii Magnitskii. Lomonosov's fame was so great that in the last 200 years, an enormous body of works about him has been produced by Russian linguists, historians, philologists, historians of science, and scholars in a multitude of other disciplines. According to Steven A. Usitalo, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, interest in Lomonosov dissipated; he became a marginalized figure and occasionally, the centre of derision and jokes (pp. 254–260). All of this makes the idea of writing a book about Lomonosov more than daring and challenging. Does the world need another work on Lomonosov? With his book, Usitalo has proven that it is possible to write in an original way about an old topic and make it exciting and relevant. The author not only deconstructs and obliterates the old myth, but retraces the true story of Lomonosov, the scientist.

Usitalo presents a very concrete study of Lomonosov and the manufacturing of his image as the father of Russian science. The book is not just a study of a specific scientist, but also of the Russian preoccupation with key heroic figures and the tendency towards the creation of larger-than-life monuments. Lomonosov's myth is just one of many found in Russian history (think Peter the Great, Aleksandr Pushkin, Vladimir Lenin). All of their stories tend to follow the standard pattern of the traditional lives of saints: saintly parents, an exemplary childhood, followed by hardships, then "miracles" or heroic deeds, and eventual "sainthood."

Usitalo's book consists of five chapters, an introduction, and an epilogue. It also provides readers with an extensive and very relevant bibliography. From the first chapters a complex story of the fashioning of the myth is presented, starting with Lomonosov's own self-promotions as the first and only Russian scientist who, in order to achieve his goals, had to overcome terrible obstacles including his humble birth and the opposition of foreign scholars at the Academy of Sciences. According to Lomonosov, these foreigners were determined to prevent the native son's rise to fully deserving greatness (pp. 48–50). The humble birth of, and deprivations experienced by, the future father of Russian science and Russian language became the leitmotif of all future Lomonosov biographies. Usitalo states that despite the slight debunking of the myth by Aleksandr Radishchev, the image of Lomonosov, the scientist, continued to progress, and was propelled even further by another mythological figure, the poet Pushkin (pp. 129–166). In the middle of the nineteenth century, following Pushkin's foolhardy acknowledgement, serious attempts were made to expand Lomonosov's reputation from natural scientist to first Russian physicist and chemist as well. It was claimed that because most of Lomonosov's scientific works were left unpublished, their true originality and complexity was overlooked by contemporary science.

The major steps toward solidifying Lomonosov's scientific relevance were taken in the twentieth century with the ground-breaking work of Boris Menshutkin. He provided further justifications in describing Lomonosov's legacy as that of a misunderstood scientific genius whose research was neglected because it came ahead of its time. According to Menshutkin, only with the late nineteenth-century advances in chemistry and physics was it possible to understand fully the multi-faceted levels of Lomonosov's

scientific research (pp. 208–246). Usitalo points out that Minshutkin's work was the last block in the development of the myth of Lomonosov. During the Soviet period, the old concepts offered by the nineteenth-century biographers and by Menshutkin were marginally reworked by adding the appropriate quotations from Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and Lenin. Lomonosov's scientific contributions were also expanded across many disciplines by producing numerous books on the topics of Lomonosov as a metallurgist, mining pioneer, geologist, geographer, and so on.

Usitalo attributes the collapse of the Lomonosov myth in the post-Soviet period to the overall destruction of Soviet-style hero worship. There is also a question, I believe, of the degree to which the Lomonosov myth can come back in the Putin era, where a return to Soviet mythology is on the rise, particularly in those elements that advance Russian nationalism. In this case, who can serve better towards the promotion of national pride but a son of the people who was able to overcome unsurmountable hardships, outshine the foreigners in the Academy of Sciences, and rise to his full heroic heights? With this book Usitalo advances not just our understanding of Lomonosov, but opens the window to a larger study of the role of myth-making in the development of national consciousness.

Marina Swoboda, *McGill University*

Hans Werner. ***The Constructed Mennonite: History, Memory, and the Second World War*****.** Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2013. 205 pp. Photographs. Maps. Index. $27.95, paper.

Hans. Ivan. Johann. John. The four names reflect the complex life story of the man who would eventually become John Werner. This highly readable monograph, written by Werner's son, reconstructs one man's life within a turbulent period that required the constant identity shifts echoed in the four names. At the same time, it offers a case study in how events are remembered, reconstructed, and retold to form a coherent, useable past for their authors. The "usability" of certain memories has particular relevance for John Werner, whose wartime service in both the Red Army and the Wehrmacht left him with a "spoiled biography" (p. 178). Much of the text is spent deconstructing what his father has carefully built to assemble a new narrative that is both true to history and also to his father's own understanding of his past.

Hans Werner was born just months after the October Revolution in a Siberian Mennonite community. Faced with the harsh reality of life under Soviet rule, many Mennonites immigrated to Canada; his family tried, but failed to do so. In the Stalin era, Hans became Ivan, a young tractor driver and shock worker who enlisted in the Red Army in 1938. Three years later, his tank crew was captured during the German invasion. Ivan was spared the inhumane treatment meted out to other Soviet POWs, and became Johann, a newly minted German citizen and soldier in the Wehrmacht. He saw combat on the Western Front before his capture by Allied forces in the spring of 1945. In his last transformation, Johann emigrated to join other German Mennonites living in Canada. During this final chapter of his life, he was John, the immigrant with all the stories.

The narrative is at its most compelling in the wartime years, which occupy a preeminent place in John Werner's post-war constructed self. Now living within a pacifist Mennonite community during the Cold War, Werner remembered himself in that earlier time as an ordinary soldier, carefully curating his actions to suggest a modest role in events and to highlight acts of compassion. If the war stories seem at odds with the pacifism of his faith, it is worth noting that Mennonite religious practice and beliefs played virtually no

role in John's life (at least as he related it) prior to the post-war period. This is in stark contrast to his wife, whose life experiences are only briefly recounted in a single chapter. Like John, Sara Werner came from a Mennonite community, but she experienced the war as a refugee along with her family, and interpeted her life events through a religious framework meant to suggest spiritual lessons for herself and her co-believers.

The author draws heavily from both formal interviews and informal conversations with his now deceased father, but also benefits from outside German and American archival records, and from the lucky discovery of a close relative's memoirs. The latter make it possible for the author to piece together a more extended family history that John Werner had either forgotten or never known.

The author embeds his work in interdisciplinary studies of memory. Each largely chronological chapter is accompanied by an analysis of how and why certain events might have been reconstructed, adapted, or left out. His father never mentions his previous marriages. His largely negative portrayal of Jews is acknowledged at various points. Overall, these sections are intriguing, but rather short. At times, one is left not wholly satisfied by the author's explanations and wanting a deeper engagement with memory studies.

The author is clearly most comfortable embedding his father's narrative within the German historical context. The corresponding analysis for the Soviet period is skeletal at best, with references to only a handful of secondary sources. This fact is most apparent in the lack of reference to recent scholarship about how ethnic minorities, including Soviet Germans, navigated the interwar and wartime experiences by becoming "amphibians" or "chameleons," shedding and gaining new identities in order to adapt to drastically and often suddenly changing circumstances. In a similar vein, one wonders what materials from local or regional Russian archives might have revealed about Hans / Ivan Werner.

This work will interest scholars of the Canadian immigrant experience and Mennonite history. The highly readable text makes it also suitable for classroom use, and the book could serve as an accessible introduction to memory studies for undergraduates.

Emily B. Baran, *Middle Tennessee State University*