

and Lithuania), the Soviet state established the Council for the Affairs of Religious Cults (CARC). Iosif Stalin had allowed Orthodox Christianity to reemerge in the latter part of the war, and Smilovitsky examines how this phenomenon manifested itself in Belarusian Judaism. He worked in the CARC collection, some of whose documents appear in full in English translation in the book, to see how this new state institution responded to, supported, but more often squelched the aspirations of local Jews.

Even before the end of the war, in December 1944, Jews across the BSSR petitioned CARC to reoccupy buildings that had once been synagogues but that had been taken over by state authorities and turned into clubs, libraries, or other institutions in the 1920s and '30s. In nearly every Belarusian town with a Jewish population in the postwar period, local Jews petitioned higher authorities to establish a minyan, reopen an old synagogue, or, in some cases, build a new one.

Because the state rarely if ever funded these efforts, it allowed (one might even say tacitly encouraged) private fundraising to build Jewish communal institutions, at least in the immediate postwar period. The chief rabbi of Minsk, Yaakov Berger, organized a *vokher* (Yiddish for “weekly donation”) for Jews to support local Jewish institutions. A Professor Shapiro, a wealthy Jew in Minsk—apparently such people still existed—helped fund much of the city’s Jewish religious life after the war. He gave 500 rubles a month to rebuild the synagogue and to establish what is likely the first public monument to the Holocaust in the world: a black granite stele commemorating, in Yiddish and Russian, the Jews murdered in the Minsk ghetto.

Smilovitsky’s important findings prompt the question: how much of the Jewish religious life he has shown to be reemerging in postwar BSSR was about Judaism per se and how much was about Jews more generally? In other words, in a world where the space for other forms of specifically Jewish culture—such as state-sponsored Yiddish culture, which had been shut down back in the late 1930s in most of Belarus—had been severely curtailed if not eliminated, it should be no surprise that when the state again allowed religious practice, Jews also sought out those forms of communal gathering.

The author depicts these acts of petitioning the state for the right to build synagogues, eat kosher food, tend Jewish cemeteries, and establish prayer quorums heroically, as elements of “the self-sacrifice and devotion to his faith that characterized the observant Jew in postwar Belarus and his tenacity in continuing to practice his religion whatever the risks and consequences” (87). While Smilovitsky reads this as a romantic story about the tenacious Belarusian religious Jew, one might also read these efforts as expressions of the desire to find some semblance of dignity in difference in a ruined postwar Belarus. The war years had marked Jews for death, and now Jews came together *as Jews* in life. In documenting that, Smilovitsky shows how desperately Belarusian Jews wanted to maintain a public Jewish identity.

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Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology, and Literature, 1929–1956. By Myroslav Shkandrij. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. xii, 332 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$85.00, hard bound.

The history of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) has been subject to heated debates for many years. During the current crisis in and around Ukraine, the attitude to the OUN and UPA’s contested historical legacy has become the central issue of memory politics. Recent “memory laws”

adopted by the Ukrainian parliament proclaim the members of these organizations heroes of the struggle for Ukrainian independence. In these circumstances, a new book by Myroslav Shkandrij, professor of Slavic studies at the University of Manitoba, should attract broad attention.

The first part tells the story of its creation and development and the organization's relationship with other forces in Ukrainian society, with the Polish state, and with Nazi Germany. The second describes its ideological evolution, including the period after World War II. The author shows the significance of Dmytro Dontsov, his radical nationalism, and his authoritarian and totalitarian tendencies for the OUN. However, Shkandrij greatly stresses that there was opposition, though marginal, to Dontsov before and during the war. The author pays particular attention to the condemnation of the totalitarian trends in OUN ideology by some members of the group after the war, though he does not discuss to what extent the evolution of the ideological statements made during the last years of the war and after was authentic revisionism or adjustment to the expectations of the organization's new patrons.

The third, and largest, part of the book is devoted to those literati who were closely connected to the OUN, particularly Ievhen Malaniuk, Olena Teliha, Leonid Mosendz, Oleh Olzhych, Iurii Lypa, Ulas Samchuk, and Iurii Klen. One chapter looks in particular at a novel by Dokia Humenna, who represents a critical view of the OUN by people from eastern Ukraine. In many cases, these essays are the first detailed texts in English about these figures.

The book only introduces new archival material to a very limited extent, mostly relying on secondary literature. Shkandrij's work is commendable in that he accurately presents the spectrum of views—from those who strongly condemn the OUN to those who do their best to whitewash the organization's record. Usually, he begins with presenting critical judgements that condemn the OUN and then presents the alternative opinions. In most cases, he also manages to distance himself from those who compromise the ethics of the history profession in their wish to glorify the OUN-UPA, like Volodymyr V'iatrovych, the newly appointed director of the Institute of National Remembrance and author of the recently adopted memory laws. The author's main aim is, most likely, to create a balanced narrative. He comes as close to succeeding as is possible if, like in Shkandrij's case, the point of departure is the generally positive, sympathetic view of the OUN. In an atmosphere of heated and increasingly politicized debate about the OUN, in the context of obvious attempts by current Ukrainian authorities to heroicize and glorify the organization, Shkandrij's efforts at a more balanced judgement should be very much welcomed. The first two parts of the book will definitely make it into reading lists in graduate courses as one of the possible views on the matter. Regrettably, in the conclusion, Shkandrij loses this delicate balance, trying to argue that "neither pursuit of ethnic purity, nor racism, nor acceptance of Nazi doctrine were central to the OUN's ideology" (268).

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Twenty Years after Communism: The Politics of Memory and Commemoration.

Ed. Michael Bernhard and Jan Kubik. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. xviii, 362 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. Figures. Tables. \$39.95, paper.

In western Europe and the United States, the revolutionary events of 1989–91 that swept communism from power in eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are recalled as moments of triumph for liberalism and democracy, when the arc of history turned