

the development of markets will not change the basic character of the Leninist political system.

The effort to cover so many developments in a single volume invariably leads to some omissions and overly compressed surveys of critical events. For example, the author's discussion of the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s refers to the intervention of Germany and Italy to support Franco's insurrection against the republican government but (probably inadvertently) fails to refer to the USSR's effort to support the republic with direct military support and the mobilization of international assistance (74). In some instance the chronology is misleading. The author notes that "In the Soviet Union itself, in

1991, the USSR was dissolved and the Communist party dispossessed, in a bloodless coup led by Boris Yeltsin" (22). In fact, Mikhail Gorbachev resigned as General Secretary and suspended the activity of the CPSU in August 1991 and Yeltsin banned both the CPSU and the Russian Communist Party in November 1991, or before the collapse of the USSR in December 1991. In similar fashion, the author notes that "Gorbachev had been selected by the Supreme Soviet as President of the Soviet Union in 1990. Several months later, Yeltsin engineered the creation of a presidency of the Russian republic" (242). This omits the election of Yeltsin as the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR in May 1990 and his use of this position to challenge Gorbachev's policies on every level even before he was elected as President of the RSFSR in June 1991. Furthermore, it is not completely accurate to describe Yeltsin's position as "left" (243).

Some explanations seem overly simplified. For example, he concludes "In the spring of 1962 Khrushchev secretly hatched a risky plan to prevent another USA invasion of Cuba" (176). Others would give more weight to his effort to overcome the American lead in nuclear capacity. (In fairness, he quickly modifies his original conclusion.) In the introduction the author declares that he will introduce "many novel interpretations" (7). Unfortunately, they are not always clearly identified in the text itself. As a result, his various important challenges to the "conventional wisdom" are intelligible only to those readers with an extraordinarily detailed knowledge of the controversies in the field. The author's occasional use of "counter-factuals" to generate "hypothetical conclusions" do not seem to add much to the illumination of actual developments. Finally, Chapter 41, which summarizes the various reasons for the growth of diversity in communist practice after Stalin's death is far more useful than Chapter 42 that attempts to determine whether the communist experience was a tragedy or achievement. But none of this detracts from the excellence of the project as a whole.

JONATHAN HARRIS
University of Pittsburgh

Nevidljivi Neprijatelj: Variola Vera 1972. By Radina Vučetić. Belgrade: Službeni Glasnik, 2022. 299 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. 1650 RSD, paper. doi: 10.1017/slr.2023.38

The last outbreak of smallpox (*variola*) in Europe, the virus that has killed more people than any other disease, occurred in Yugoslavia in 1972; it was controlled fairly quickly, but there were 175 confirmed cases and thirty-five deaths. The Introduction to this study of that epidemic contains a concise account of the history of smallpox and of efforts to counter it, including a harrowing description of the increasingly ghastly stages of the progression of the disease. It also provides a brief history of

efforts to control smallpox in Serbia and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Already in the 1830s, Serbia had rules governing quarantine and mandatory vaccinations, and the last case in Yugoslavia before the 1972 outbreak was in 1930.

The resulting lack of experience with smallpox was one reason why the initial cases were not immediately recognized as such, since in its early stages smallpox symptoms are not easily distinguished from those of other viral infections. The second chapter presents a chronology of the spread of the disease from Kosovo, where its first victims lived, to hospitals in Belgrade, where the disease was finally recognized and pre-established protocols for quarantine, treatment, and vaccination were immediately activated. Yugoslavia was prepared for smallpox. Connections with the Non-Aligned countries let Yugoslav doctors train with smallpox experts in India, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Brazil. Immunizations against smallpox were mandatory for most Yugoslavs, especially for medical personnel and for travelers to countries where smallpox was endemic.

In practice, however, these plans to treat a smallpox outbreak in Yugoslavia immediately showed flaws and required adjustment. In a chapter on “the State,” Radina Vučetić analyzes the reactions of political figures to the outbreak (which did not include President Josip Broz Tito, who stayed on the island of Brioni and never addressed the situation). Not surprisingly, their first impulse was to find scapegoats, and since the first cases were among Albanian Muslims who had been on the Haj, the usual “nesting Orientalist” stereotypes came into play, even though the Islamic Community of Yugoslavia required that Muslims undertaking the Haj be vaccinated.

Yet the politicians quickly followed the advice of the medical experts, as recounted in a chapter on “Expertise.” National and international agencies were notified and established protocols were followed, leading to massive international provision of medical expertise and equipment, and of vaccines, mainly from China, the US, the USSR, and Switzerland. The resulting vaccination campaign, recounted in a chapter on “Vaccination,” succeeded in vaccinating eighteen million of the population of 20 million. As a result, the Yugoslav handling of the 1972 smallpox outbreak is literally a textbook example of a successful reaction to a deadly contagious disease.

Vučetić’s social history of these processes, however, and her penultimate chapter on “Life in the Time of Smallpox,” show how fear, greed, and other emotions led to efforts to avoid vaccination, or, alternatively, to be first to get it. Anti-vaxxers of 2020–21 and promoters of fake Covid remedies had their nearly exact counterparts in 1972 and earlier. The governments of the Yugoslav republics were no more unified in their approach in 1972 than were the states of the European Union in 2020–21. Vučetić notes that the smallpox outbreak revealed the “virus” of separatism in the various republics, with Slovenia and Croatia, which had no cases, trying to monopolize early access to scarce vaccines, and Kosovo, where the outbreak started and where there were most cases, being last in line for them.

The deeply disturbing final chapter looks forward. Smallpox was proclaimed eradicated in 1980, with routine vaccination ended worldwide, so humanity is now almost completely unprotected. Yet stocks of the virus remain in the US and Russia, neither of which was willing to destroy their last samples on the grounds that others might develop biological weapons from smallpox. Vučetić argues that smallpox is indeed a near-perfect biological weapon, since it is proven to be highly contagious, socially disruptive, and with a very high mortality rate among the unvaccinated, while the weaponizing state could easily protect its own population through sudden mass vaccination. She thus ends by imagining an all too plausible re-occurrence, somewhere else, of the arrival of smallpox in Yugoslavia in 1972, in which infected peoples’ symptoms are not quickly recognized because doctors have no experience with smallpox. Yugoslavia controlled the disease in 1972 because it was prepared, as

were other countries and the World Health Organization, but no state is now prepared for such an event. Let us therefore hope that this history is not prophetic.

ROBERT M. HAYDEN
University of Pittsburgh

Women and Religiosity in Orthodox Christianity. Ed. Ina Merdjanova. *Orthodox Christianity and Contemporary Thought.* New York: Fordham University Press, 2021. xxii, 336 pp. Notes. Index. Illustrations. \$35.00, paper.
doi: 10.1017/slr.2023.39

This volume enriches scholarship on gender and religion by exploring Orthodox women's roles and the "gender aspects of lived Orthodoxy," fields that have been "understudied" compared with other denominations and/or Islam (2). Besides a Foreword and Introduction, there are nine chapters, each with a mainly national focus, covering Greece, Bulgaria, Russia, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, Serbia, Finland, and the US. Most chapters focus on regions where Orthodoxy has been the predominant religion historically and/or on former Soviet republics. The articles on Finland and the US examine contexts where Orthodoxy is a minority religion. Given the volume's geographical coverage, the title is overly broad. Chronologically, most chapters address post-World War II and/or post-Soviet eras. In her Foreword, Kristin Aune identifies thematic links between the articles in the volume and the scholarly literature on religion and gender. Ina Merdjanova briefly summarizes each chapter in her Introduction, highlighting issues of historical continuity and transformations.

Orthodox churches venerate women's religiosity—especially virginity or motherhood as exemplified by Mary—but generally accept a biological definition of gender and traditional gender roles. Orthodox women tend to be "socially conservative" and buy into "gender complementarity" rather than equality (9). Thus, feminization of Orthodoxy in many places has not fundamentally altered the doctrine, patriarchy, or hierarchy of Orthodox churches. The contributors see Orthodox women, to whatever degree they participate in a patriarchal, hierarchical religion, as active agents, not as "unaware victims who have internalized their own oppression within the grids of patriarchal culture" (213).

Orthodox women are typically excluded from clerical orders, are not allowed in the altar area, and depending on specific contexts, may also be prohibited from participation in services as readers or choir members/directors. The extent of exclusion depends on national context, with the Bulgarian Orthodox Church being among the most exclusionary discussed here. The contributors demonstrate that although women are denied official power positions in the church hierarchy, they exercise influence through their roles as professionals (accountants and secretaries for parishes, dioceses), teachers, abbesses, council members, or participants in lay organizations. As Aune notes, they seek to expand opportunities for women within a church that nonetheless "seems to disadvantage them" (xvi–xvii).

Without challenging the formal patriarchal structure of the church, women circumvent official subordination and assume influence and unofficial leadership roles by using social media, founding convents or participating in monastic life, or at least in Georgia, by operating "in gray zones of religiosity" as healers, clairvoyants, or fortune-tellers (although fortune-tellers are not accepted by the church, 115). Georgian women push back against marginalization and exert tremendous influence when it comes to the rituals surrounding death. They exercise influence by serving as secretaries or managers for priests and bishops, including the patriarch. Greek