

the period of the Yugoslav socialist federation, especially after the 1974 constitutional changes, which carved a wide political, economic, and cultural space for autonomy. The author then chronicles the history and the aftermath of the “yogurt revolution” and situates it in the wider context of the crisis of late Yugoslavia, positing that the 1988 events in Novi Sad simultaneously marked the end of autonomy for Vojvodina and gave birth to the autonomist discourse (115). The latter was formulated and propagated by a number of Vojvodinian political parties, civil society NGOs, and some media outside the Milošević regime’s control. The author provides a detailed account of this critical nexus, followed by an assessment of the political and discursive impact of the idea of autonomy for Vojvodina: while the political impact, judged by the electoral success of the autonomist parties, left much to be desired, the idea of autonomy itself and the “phantom borders” that were abolished in the 1990s remained widely accepted among the population (204–5).

The much shorter chapter on the Banat tells a two-fold story about, on the one hand, the “myth of the Banat” within Vojvodina itself as a constitutive part of the province (together with Srem and Bačka) and, on the other, of the Romania-centered transnational discourse about the Banat as a formerly-central European region spanning three successor countries of the former Habsburg Empire (Serbia, Hungary, and Romania). As stated previously, this chapter mostly serves as a foil for the story of Vojvodina and its specific constellation of political and societal actors and their employment of the “phantom borders” discourse. The chapter nevertheless offers a rich account of the history and strategies of various civic initiatives, from environmental activism in the Serbian industrial city of Pančevo to the academic discipline of “Banat studies” in Romania, in defining the Banat as a specific cultural and political space.

In the end, Tomić suggests that “phantom borders,” and the “return of history” more generally, gain in political importance in times of radical change from one political model to another. In the case of Vojvodina, as he recounts in the book, this occurred during the violent transition from autonomy within the Yugoslav socialist federation to a subordinate position within a new, centralizing, greater Serbian entity. It is in times like these, Tomić asserts, amidst fundamental political disagreements about a society’s past and future, that prior historical paradigms become rallying points for political mobilization. This stimulating monograph offers important insights into the politics of reimagining and mobilizing the Habsburg heritage in Vojvodina and the Banat, and contributes to debates about history, memory, and politics more generally.

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***Cleansing the Czechoslovak Borderlands: Migration, Environment, and Health in the Former Sudetenland.*** By Eagle Glassheim. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016, ix, 275 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Illustrations. Maps. \$28.95, paper.

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Eagle Glassheim’s study traces the recent history of Czech border regions. Until the end of the Second World War, these regions were inhabited predominantly by ethnic Germans. Following the war, Czechoslovakia’s Germans were “cleansed” and their land resettled by Czechs, Slovaks, and Roma. Although forced migrations in Czechoslovakia have previously received a lot of scholarly attention, here the author has offered a new and original approach, focusing his research on the social and environmental dimensions of the problem. Glassheim analyzes how the expulsion

of Germans destroyed traditional ties between the land and its inhabitants and, subsequently, how this led not only to the devastation of a cultural landscape, but also to the ecological catastrophe and acute social crisis of 1980s. This perspective, as Glassheim indicates in his afterword, reflects a western- communitarian critique grounded in US urban studies as well as his personal experience.

The book begins with two chapters that trace the deteriorating Czech-German relationship before 1945 and the subsequent postwar expulsion of Sudeten Germans. Consisting of almost one-third of the volume's total content, these chapters play an important role in the whole narrative, as they implicitly set up perspectives and dominant interpretations. There are two competing paradigms often used to explain what caused forced migrations in east central Europe in 20<sup>th</sup> century: the building of nation states at the expense of national minorities versus the contagious influence of social engineering implemented by totalitarian regimes. Glassheim seems inclined to embrace the first paradigm. While acknowledging that Nazi rule had a significant impact on the formulation of subsequent Czech plans to get rid of the German minority, the author offers little context to explain the post-war forced migrations in Czechoslovakia against the background of similar operations conducted by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union during the war. In my opinion, the author underestimates wartime expulsions, and he is just plain wrong when he writes that "the scale and ambitions of the Czechoslovak and Polish transfers were unprecedented" (59). On the contrary, important precedents were set by Adolf Hitler and Iosif Stalin, who in 1939–1944 adopted mass-scale deportations as part of their larger ongoing political agendas, cleansing conquered lands of real and imagined racial, national, or class enemies. The Czechoslovak and Polish post-war population transfers cannot be fully understood without this context.

The next four chapters of the book deal with post-war developments in the resettled border regions of Czechoslovakia, and with the fates of German expellees in the German Democratic Republic and West Germany. Glassheim rightly presents both topics in parallel, and describes them as closely intertwined. Whereas in communist Czechoslovakia the former Sudetenland became the playground of ruthless industrialization and rapid social modernization designed to create productive, socialist citizens, in West Germany expellees were gradually integrated into a reemerging postwar civil society. Throughout the Czechoslovak borderlands, ethnic Czech, Slovak, and Roma settlers suffered, as Glassheim puts it, a long-lasting "Heimat deficit" (176), which had a devastating impact on their health and social conditions. Here, the author focuses on the case of Most, a historical town in north Bohemia which was completely destroyed and rebuilt at another location in order to facilitate the enlargement of postwar coal-mining operations. This case study marks the climax of Glassheim's study, and it is emblematic of failed industrialization plans that eventually devolved into environmental catastrophe. Although the communists surely bore the main responsibility for this dystopia, it may be properly noted that north Bohemia was already notorious for endemic economic and social crisis in the 1930s.

Glassheim also shows how, after an initial cold reception in West Germany, the Sudeten expellees managed to overcome their traumatic experiences, owing to a large extent to strong emotional ties with their lost "Heimat." Ironically, the memory of their roots (even though they were located in an inaccessible communist country behind the Iron Curtain) helped transplanted Sudeten expellees to find their place in the new, democratic German society. Over time, their revisionist political programs toned down, giving way to a calmer nostalgia.

The concept of rootedness, which in the language of sociology may be also called social cohesion, plays a central role in Glassheim's study. It explains both successful and failed integration of people who experienced forced migrations. Such an

approach may be useful for analyzing other cases, especially in the Polish territories gained and lost during the war.

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***Czech Feminisms: Perspectives on Gender in East Central Europe***. Ed. Iveta Jusová and Jiřina Šiklová. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2016. ix, 325 pp. Appendix. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. Tables. \$30.00, paper. doi: 10.1017/slr.2017.298

Czech intellectual thought has been a niche interest on the international scholarly scene for decades. The involvement of scholars and cultural personages in the reform process that led to the Prague Spring no doubt provided a spark for this interest. It next gathered momentum after the demise of state socialism in 1989. Indeed, the whole Eastern Bloc and the process of democratic transition in the former member states became all the rage in international scholarship, until the tragic events of 9/11 shifted the attention of researchers and publishers to other issues and other regions. The discussions between the feminist scholars from the “east” and the “west” about the shape and meaningfulness of feminism in postsocialist countries that took place at conferences and on the pages of the scholarly press in the 1990s constituted a part of that broader interest in the transition process. Czech feminists took front seats in these discussions and contributed numerous essays to top English-language journals and edited volumes. It is perhaps this history that motivated the editors of *Czech Feminisms* to put together a volume located between a “retrospective” and “new directions” in Czech feminist scholarship.

The collection consists of sixteen chapters divided into two parts and prefaced by an introduction by Iveta Jusová, one of the editors. The first, shorter part covers “Gender issues in Czech society prior to 1989,” the second “Gender issues in Czech society post-1989.” All of the contributors and the editors are originally Czech, although several of them are based in the US, and they include junior as well as established academics, activists, and journalists. This broad authorship base renders the volume a wide scope of perspectives, topics, and approaches, however mixed that blessing may be.

On the one hand, one can view the collection as a colorful bouquet offering an overview of directions taken by Czech feminist scholarship since the 1990s. On the other, however, the mixture of journalistic, activist and scholarly approaches increases the unevenness of the treatment of the various subject matters that is always a risk in any collective work. As to the former, chapters recapitulating and adding to some of the earlier discussions provide contexts for new research. These chapters include Jitka Malečková’s on nineteenth-century nationalism, Alena Wagnerová’s on women’s status under state-socialism, Simona Fojtová’s on east-west debates of the 1990s, Hana Hašková and Zuzana Uhde’s on women’s NGOs, Kateřina Nedbálková’s on the LGBT community and, to a degree, also Jana Valdřová’s chapter on the masculine bias in Czech language use.

Karla Huebner’s chapter on Toyen and Zuzana Štefková’s on the contemporary art scene stand out among the authors presenting new research. They both offer subtle and well-researched analyses of the respective period-specific gender contexts. Other authors venture into new or barely-touched-upon areas of inquiry, such as Karolina Ryvolová and Mária Strašáková on gender in Romani and Vietnamese communities, Iva Šmídová on the unchallenged persistence of masculine discourse in the medical