

and characterization of the Keston archive seems much too limited. Keston was more than simply an effort to prove what the archivists believed. It was and is a valuable resource that documented, despite any bias on the part of the archivist, not only religious dissent across the Soviet Union, but also the growth of religiously-influenced nationalism in the Baltic States, Ukraine, and Poland, and, in that sense, gave a premonition of what was to come.

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Youth Politics in Putin's Russia: Producing Patriots and Entrepreneurs. By Julie Hemment. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2015. xii, 273 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. \$75.00, hard bound. \$28.00, paper.

I'll begin this review with a confession. I am a political scientist. Indeed, as a member of the American Political Science Association who publishes almost exclusively in political science journals, you might even call me a card-carrying political scientist. There are two things you should know about political scientists. First, when a political scientist writes about Russia—or anywhere else—we tend to begin with the state. How is the state organized, who controls what parts of the state and what are their goals and strategies? Sometimes we go from there into society, though not always and often not far. And when we do we almost always come back to the state. Second, most political scientists have a strong and somewhat old-fashioned view of the “science” part. This means, among other things, erasing entirely the relationship between the scholar and the research. Authors position themselves rhetorically as neutral and objective observers of “real world” phenomena that exist independent of the role of the scientist.

Such is the baggage I carry and had to put down when I was asked to write a review of Julie Hemment's fascinating new book, *Youth Politics in Putin's Russia*. Like most contemporary anthropologists (and quite unlike political scientists), Hemment spends much of the book engaged in self-reflection and consideration of her own role in the performances that are central to the book. The analysis that emerges from this highly self-conscious work of ethnography is one of the most insightful, nuanced and powerful pieces I have read on the nature of politics and the state in contemporary Russia.

Hemment works hard to problematize her own position as the foreign (indeed American) researcher involved in deep and long-standing collaboration with outstanding Russian colleagues. She contrasts her experience on this project with previous ethnographic work in the 1990s, analyzing how changes in relative incomes and status between researchers, as well as frames of reference and the broader political context, made conducting collaborative projects more challenging in the 2000s than in the first post-Soviet decade. Not willing to externalize these changes entirely, Hemment is careful to reflect on how her own uncertainties and insecurities in the new environment also shaped the experience. The discussion is both fascinating and frank, as well as reassuringly recognizable.

The analysis ranges widely, but Hemment's principal focus is on *Nashi*, the youth organization that played such a central role in Russian politics between roughly the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004 and the street protests in Moscow in 2012. The brainchild of leading Kremlin strategist Vladislav Surkov and acolytes like Vasily Yakemenko, *Nashi* has been widely written about in both English and Russian. Most scholars writing about *Nashi* (myself included) have focused on the top-down nature

of the organization and its role in the broader project of ensuring regime stability. In other words, we have written about the state and what it was up to.

Hemment offers something altogether different. Sure, she says, Nashi was a top-down project, but once out of the head of the Kremlin technologists and into the world, it becomes so much more than that. The argument builds upon participant observation at one of the famous Nashi summer camps, Seliger 2009, and numerous interviews with different kinds of participants both before and after the camp. Hemment shows that, far from being dupes caught up in a political theater of the Kremlin's creation, young people, from the most enthusiastic to the quite disenchanted, brought their own hopes, talents and energies to the project, transforming it each in their own way.

She analyses too the heady mixture of sex, geopolitics, (post) post-feminism and neoliberal fantasies about the unchained self-realizing entrepreneur freed from the burden of the university that swirled around Nashi and was at the core of the summer camp curriculum. The enemy was liberalism and the west—and the straight-laced liberal academic—but also bureaucracy, the state and Russia's fools and idlers. In doing so, she crystallizes brilliantly the spirit of the age of "oil-and-gas-glamour" in Russia. Nevertheless, as Hemment reminds us, these elements are not uniquely or even particularly Russian. Each of these themes can be found around the world in the early 21st century. What makes the Russian experience different is less important than what makes it similar. This is a lesson well worth remembering as the Russian regime barricades itself more and more in its besieged fortress and NATO countries dig even deeper trenches between "us" and "them."

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Human Rights in Russia: Citizens and the State from Perestroika to Putin. By Mary McAuley. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015. xiv, 353 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Illustrations. Index. Plates. \$110.00, hard bound.

Russia and European Human-Rights Law: The Rise of the Civilizational Argument. Ed. Lauri Mälksoo. Law in Eastern Europe Series, vol. 64. Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2014. xii, 235 pp. Notes. Index. EUR 115.00, hard bound.

Mary McAuley too modestly describes her latest book as a "hazardous undertaking" by "a sympathetic outsider" (x). In fact, this is an excellent and valuable resource, full of observations by someone who spent most of the 1990s in Russia, the "ten golden years" (66) says Liudmila Alekseeva, the doyenne of its human rights community. First as a British Academy scholar, then as head of the Ford Foundation's Moscow office, McAuley knows well Russia's *pravozashchitniki* (rights defenders). This book chronicles from her close perspective that community's development out of Soviet dissidents, *zastupniki* (intercessors), *zakonnye* (legalists), *politiki* and other striations of, and divisions within, a group collectively known as "human rights activists."

The book also traces the development of several key organizations, and the influence of their leadership, in the face of an array of forces and events that for good and for ill (and sometimes both at the same time) affected the larger human-rights movement. McAuley notes the successes of those whose *carpe diem* efforts made the most of "a few years of uncertainty over the future" in the 1990s, successes nevertheless limited by the lack of any "significant changes to the internal hierarchical running of the institutions" and a path-dependency from Soviet rule, which "produced a public