

for moving the date for the appearance of the shatterzone to the Second Balkan War, in 1913, in his fascinating study on the charges of Greek military atrocities committed against the Bulgarians and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace inquiry into these alleged human rights violations. Taner Akçam, in his essay on the evolution of the Young Turks' politics in the contexts of European wars with the Ottoman state, also sees the 1912–13 Balkan wars as “an important turning point” (261).

Other scholars, especially those who write about the history of east European Jewry, suggest the Russian pogroms of the 1880s as the first signs of communal violence and identify similarities to the later Armenian genocide and the anti-Jewish violence of the twentieth century. Dan Diner, in his provocative “Outline for a European Contemporary History of the Jews, 1750–1950,” argues against the “largely undisputed assumption” that Jews were pioneers of modernity; of course, many Jews were such pioneers, Diner argues, but not at the “level of collectivity,” whereby “the Jews as a diasporic population fit rather well into the framework of multinational empires and apparently less well into homogeneous and therefore assimilatory nation states, no matter how liberal they may have been” (62). Diner sees Jews as representing “residues of premodern *nationes*, remaining as fragments of former corporate estates in modernity, remnants of Empire, so to speak” (62).

This volume is a rich contribution to several literatures: the histories of the empires and nations of eastern and southeastern Europe and the Middle East; the scholarship on nationalism and identity politics; Holocaust and genocide studies; and studies of violence and atrocities.

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***Unfinished Utopia: Nowa Huta, Stalinism, and Polish Society, 1949–56.***

By Katherine Lebow. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013. xvi, 233 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. \$45.00, hard bound.

Katherine Lebow has redirected the study of Stalinism in scholarly debates. Unlike practitioners of traditional sovietology—now morphing into victimology, for popular consumption—she seeks out the complexities and ambiguities of Stalinism in eastern Europe. Her focus here is on Nowa Huta, Poland's “first socialist city” and steel mill, nine kilometers from the ancient capital Kraków. The chosen site lay at the intersection of railway routes from Silesia, with its raw materials, and the destination of many of Nowa Huta's finished products: the Soviet Union. Rejecting Cold War simplifications, this book sheds much new light on the Stalinist experience in Nowa Huta and its effect a generation later in making Nowa Huta a “fertile ground for solidaristic protest” (5).

Although the project was overseen by the Polish Communist Party (PZPR), which had established a political monopoly in December 1948, and by ubiquitous Soviet “advisers,” the design, planning, and engineering were carried out by members of Poland's prewar professional intelligentsia. Despite hostility to a system they regarded as foreign and illegitimate, they undertook the

task “to realize their own complex agendas” with enthusiasm (15). Even so, much of their planning remained unrealized, and much that was built was unplanned, showing the strange collision between imagination and reality in Stalinist industrialization. Here are intriguing parallels with earlier works by Stephen Kotkin on Magnitogorsk (*Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as Civilization* [1995]) and Padraic Kenney on postwar Łódź and Wrocław (*Rebuilding Poland: Workers and Communists, 1945–1950* [1997]).

The workforce, recruited to Nowa Huta from the countryside, found themselves in a strange, modern environment. Their first act was to receive a special uniform of a khaki shirt and trousers and a military-style cap and red tie. Many then burned their old clothes, thus marking the transition to a new life. Migration to Nowa Huta meant an abrupt transition from economic and political marginality toward a collective project of “building socialism.” As the town took shape, traditional patterns of region, family, and caste dissolved, to be replaced by new identities—urban and egalitarian. The “Nowohucian’s pride in the ‘little fatherland’ they would build on the banks of the Vistula was part of broader patriotism” (46). It also meant social advancement. Increased demand for skilled labor meant that many workers could follow vocational training courses and take up better-paid work at the steelworks. But this did not also imply commitment to official ideology.

At the height of its construction, in 1954, the Lenin Steelworks (not renamed until 1990) covered the area of a small town. Almost thirty thousand workers were erecting some five hundred buildings and compounds for the cranes, excavators, and bulldozers. Although elaborate techniques of labor competition were imported from the Soviet Union, most construction workers remained unimpressed. They disdained party agitprop. Lebow publishes many confidential reports from the archives which criticize workers’ nonconformist and often unruly behavior. Their main sensation was boredom, only relieved by visiting the cinema once a week. Even the opening of a tramline to Kraków, in November 1952, did not mitigate the tedium. Many Krakovians disdained the Nowohucians’ lack of culture, shown by their muddy boots. Bouncers blocked their entrance to clubs and bars.

Housing shortages, acute until the mid-fifties, were worsened by Warsaw’s guidelines. These directed that apartments should be allocated first to senior personnel—political cadres, specialists, and key administrators—and skilled workers, especially those successful in labor competitions. Only 15 percent remained for unskilled workers, who bombarded the authorities with petitions and appeals for help. But the party committee justified its priorities by declaring a principle of “each according to his work,” relegating the unskilled to single-sex dormitories.

The author devotes a chapter to the story of women in Nowa Huta in which “we become painfully aware of the contradictions of Stalinist ends, means, and results with regard to the woman question” (98). The idealized Nowa Huta woman was one who worked in the “new” (traditionally masculine) occupations, including bricklaying, welding, and operating machinery. Skilled operatives were often sent as delegates to provincial or national meetings to demonstrate the advancement of women under socialism. Photos in this richly illustrated volume show members of a female plastering brigade,

including a group of four Roma women. A Warsaw instructor, sent to Nowa Huta in 1951, made an ambivalent report, apparently torn between the notion of young women as being capable of becoming “politically enlightened worker-citizens” (118) but also as potentially endangered, both morally and physically, in an essentially masculine terrain.

Hitherto politically orthodox, Adam Ważyk provoked a storm with the publication of his “Poem for Adults” (August 1955). In its fourth stanza he portrays Nowa Huta as a projected workers’ paradise gone wrong. Instead of a “great Eldorado,” there is a “half-demented” mass torn from rural gloom and cast into the depravity of “sheds, barracks, and hostels” at Nowa Huta. He put into the public domain criticisms previously confined to intraparty memoranda: that the youthful workforce was alienated, demoralized, bored, and promiscuous. Ryszard Kapuściński, later Poland’s most famous foreign correspondent, was sent to investigate. Rather than criticize the young workforce, he adopted their voice. Both of these writers noted that Nowa Huta’s new population was united in its rejection of the cultural hegemony of the Polish intelligentsia.

An ambitious final chapter on “Spaces of Solidarity” takes the story to 1989. Though Nowa Huta’s workforce had settled down, and it had eventually become a “normal town,” the experience of forced industrialization under Stalinism was handed down, “forging powerful political weapons out of selective memories of parents’ and grandparents’ experiences” (154). It would become a stronghold of Solidarity. Such protests had begun during the “Polish October” of 1956, when young workers ransacked official rooms and removed official portraits, including that of the Moscow-appointed minister of defense, Konstanty Rokossowski, from their frames. The book confirms the findings of Paweł Machcewicz’s *Polski rok 1956* (1993), published in translation as *Rebellious Satellite* (2009), that economic protests rapidly escalated into political and indeed international relations issues. Police informants cite Nowa Huta workers criticizing the purchase of expensive and often shoddy goods and materials from the Soviet Union, such as a never-used furnace and derelict Soviet cranes.

There was growing upward mobility, as skilled workers encouraged their children to enter higher education. But the traditional role of the Catholic Church was reinstated and a twelve-strong delegation traveled to Warsaw seeking Władysław Gomułka’s permission to build a church in Nowa Huta. Though initially granted, permission was soon withdrawn, leading to a two-day uprising in April 1960. At the height of the protests, roughly three thousand demonstrators gathered in front of the District National Council, which was later stormed and ransacked, and a further two thousand at the consecrated wooden cross marking the place at which the church was to be built. This “struggle for the cross” was brutally suppressed by the militia (ZOMO), thus helping forge an alliance between the town and the church in Kraków. This included Karol Wojtyła, who persuaded the authorities to permit a church outside Nowa Huta. By the time he presided over its consecration, he was Pope John Paul II.

When Solidarity was formed in autumn 1980, 34,085 of Nowa Huta’s 38,376 workers joined the new union, making it the largest branch in Poland.

It became a regional headquarters, supplying printing and other resources to smaller branches: “In this way, Nowa Huta became the information nerve center for the entire region” (173). When the authorities rescinded their legalization of Solidarity, the public spaces of the city proved ideal for protests and demonstrations. By contrast, police in Kraków had no difficulty containing protests by blocking of the city’s market square. Underground leaders agreed to shift future demonstrations to Nowa Huta. After a dramatic decade, the Communist Party held partially free elections in June 1989. Solidarity’s candidate in Nowa Huta, Mieczysław Gil, topped the national polls.

This book will appeal to a wide readership across many disciplines. The range is extensive: urban geography, political mobilization, social structure, gender, youth culture, and film studies. It crosses boundaries within Poland and beyond. Polish scholarship is also fully recognized—the contributions of both established scholars, such as Marcin Zaremba and Dariusz Jarosz, and the younger cohort, widely published in the attractive Trio Publishing House series of first monographs. When Lebow’s own book is published in Polish (planned for 2015), it will receive a well-deserved reception.

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***Club Red: Vacation Travel and the Soviet Dream.*** By Diane P. Koenker. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013. x, 307 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Illustrations. Photographs. Tables. \$39.95, hard bound.

Soviet tourism, long neglected by scholars, has recently emerged as an important theme in the field of Soviet social and cultural history, pioneered by Diane Koenker and Anne Gorsuch, editor of a collected volume with Koenker and author of a recent monograph on Soviet travel to the “west” after Iosif Stalin.<sup>1</sup> The latter necessarily focused on the post-Stalin period as the first time in several decades when significant (though still small) numbers of Soviet citizens were able to travel beyond Soviet borders. The history of domestic tourism, by contrast, encompasses the whole of the Soviet period, and Koenker undertakes here to trace Soviet ideas and practices of tourism from the earliest postrevolutionary era up to the Soviet collapse. However, the particular influence of recent historiography on the thaw is clear in her emphasis on ideas of pleasure, leisure, and the “good life” as counterparts to the ideology of sacrifice and discipline (though tourism, as Koenker argues, also continued to be based on ideas of purposeful leisure and worker recuperation).<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the book’s key achievement lies in showing that these ideas of rights and rewards

1. Anne E. Gorsuch and Diane P. Koenker, eds., *Turizm: The Russian and East European Tourist under Capitalism and Socialism* (Ithaca, 2006); Anne E. Gorsuch, *All This Is Your World: Soviet Tourism at Home and Abroad after Stalin* (Oxford, 2011).

2. On ideas of sacrifice versus reward, see, e.g., Mark Smith, *Property of Communists: The Urban Housing Program from Stalin to Khrushchev* (DeKalb, 2010). On notions of pleasure, see David Crowley and Susan E. Reid, eds., *Pleasures of Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc* (Evanston, 2012).