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 When the authorities rescinded their legalization of Solidarity, the public spaces of the city proved ideal for protests and demonstrations.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.[1] 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).[2] 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).

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significantly pre-dated the post-Stalinist reimagining of the Soviet project while demonstrating that each successive regime failed to make those rights fully meaningful or the rewards genuinely rewarding.

Soviet tourism, a lower state priority than heavy industry or even consumer goods before and after World War II, endured a correspondingly complex bureaucratic history. It was continually shunted from institution to institution and implicated to an unusual degree (even by Soviet standards) in bureaucratic "duplication." To trace these institutional migrations is in itself no mean archival feat, and it is one that Koenker shows and explains to her readers with admirable thoroughness and clarity. Based primarily on documents from Soviet trade unions and health and labor ministries, which had substantial but overlapping responsibilities for tourism, the story is inevitably more institutional than personal. It is particularly revealing on the real workings (and dysfunctions) of the *putevka* (travel voucher) system. From beginning to end, this system failed to serve the workers in whose name it was supposed to function—it discriminated above all against peasants, but this was less of a problem for an avowedly proletarian state—and became ever more dominated by the middle class as it expanded after the war. Because it could not satisfy its theoretical commitment to workers or to this actual, predominantly middle-class constituency, the voucher system was also mired in *blat* well before the (late socialist) period that is normally associated with widespread deals *nalevo* (on the side).[3]

By contrast with this exposure of the reality behind the propaganda of worker privilege, Koenker also pays considerable attention, especially in the first half of her account, to Soviet ideas of tourism. Like the tortuous definition of "socialist consumption" as a whole, theories of Soviet tourism had to steer a hazardous course between capitalist, bourgeois consumerism and socialist sacrifice.[4] The solution was the creation of multiple categories of tourism (each with their own bureaucracy), which even Soviet officials struggled to understand and navigate. These complex definitional questions sometimes take up too much space in this account, and they are repetitive in places, but it is nevertheless clear that, unlike some Soviet discursive wrangling, they did have real effects on the policies and infrastructure of tourism—for example, in the persistent medicalization of Soviet tourism (a belief partly influenced by prerevolutionary spa culture) and the enduring tension between independent proletarian tourism and collective trips. Another side effect, though, was that these conceptualizations of tourism, however contradictory, were restrictive enough that many ordinary people instead elected to travel outside of the state infrastructure, especially in the more mobile and less repressive post-Stalin era; this story can only partly be illuminated using these institutional sources.

It is perhaps unfair to point to other sources that could have been added

3. For a classic treatment of this theme, see James R. Millar, "The Little Deal: Brezhnev's Contribution to Acquisitive Socialism," *Slavic Review* 44, no. 4 (Winter 1985): 694–706.

4. See Susan E. Reid, "Cold War in the Kitchen: Gender and the De-Stalinization of Consumer Taste in the Soviet Union under Khrushchev," *Slavic Review* 61, no. 2 (Summer 2002): 211–52.

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to an already prodigiously researched account, but it nevertheless seems problematic to recount the history of this mass phenomenon using almost exclusively "state-side" sources, especially as an important part of Koenker's argument concerns the paradox of a collectivist state's encouragement of quintessentially individual(izing) and autonomous forms of leisure activity. Throughout the book, the reader is left wanting to know more about real experiences of vacationing in the Soviet Union and its effects on the Soviet self; not just the "wild" or "unorganized" tourism that naturally left only a small trace in official records but also the more structured tourism that was organized (and monitored) by Soviet institutions.[5] The complaints and feedback gathered from the latter type of travelers seem surprisingly bland and unrevealing compared with other complaints "from below" (especially those of the post-Stalinist period).[6] The rise of sociological methods in the Brezhnev era expanded feedback mechanisms, and such data enliven the final chapters of the book. However, much of the work's verbal and visual descriptions of tourism practices rely on the Soviet general and tourism press, even though the low-level political sensitivity related to the issue of domestic tourism does mean that such public discussions could be surprisingly frank.

Other sources might have shed more light on the popular experience of vacationing. Using more memoirs and diaries, for example, may have risked introducing an intelligentsia bias to a story that is admirably attentive to all classes of Soviet society, but they would also have added more such insight. Oral histories might also have enlivened the sometimes rather dry account of what actually happened on Soviet holidays, though Koenker teases out some intriguing information from the archives (for example, stories about "resort affairs"). In the end, though, her account tells us more about Soviet understandings of the Soviet consumer-traveler than about the experiences of these travelers themselves; a reframing of the scope of the book from the outset in order to reflect this might therefore have been appropriate.

In a superbly nuanced and lucid conclusion, Koenker advances a thesis with broad relevance to Soviet historians: many phenomena of Soviet "soft power," tourism included, are "Janus-faced" (281). They can look liberal or illiberal; they can reveal regime weaknesses but also provide an explanation of regime durability. Despite her careful, balanced exposition of both these "faces" of tourism, Koenker ultimately seems to see it as a source of regime endurance. Consumer expectations of, initially, a break from work and, later, luxurious individual family holidays always outstripped the regime's capacity to innovate and respond to consumer demand, but—crucially—not to a critical extent. Moreover, the rather disorderly management of Soviet resorts and the relatively lax monitoring of citizen travel outside this network, especially after Stalinism, apparently granted citizens enough opportunities for pleasure that discontent did not reach dangerous levels.

Perhaps akin to the evident, but not critical, flaws in the single-family

5. On "wild tourism," see Christian Noack, "Coping with the Tourist: Planned and 'Wild' Mass Tourism on the Soviet Black Sea Coast," in Gorsuch and Koenker, eds., *Turizm*, 281–304.

6. Cf., e.g., Steven V. Bittner, "Local Soviets, Public Order, and Welfare after Stalin: Appeals from Moscow's Kiev Raion," *Russian Review* 62, no. 2 (April 2003): 281–93.

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apartments that also became a mass phenomenon in the Khrushchev years, flawed provision of the universal "right to rest" (34) lacked the potential for mobilization of more basic political and economic issues, such as the food price hikes that sparked the Novocherkassk uprising in 1962.[7] Indeed, the peculiar forms and flaws of Soviet tourism, increasingly (but never fully) shaped by customer choice and market-like features, also formed part of the distinctive consumer culture through which "real socialism" was lived, understood, and perhaps largely accepted by citizens, as in many other late socialist cultures.[8] However, even if consumer discontent over tourism was not a factor in the Soviet Union's collapse, the boom in foreign tourism thereafter (a topic which lies beyond the scope of this study) suggests that citizens had been longing not only to go abroad but also to get away from the enduringly "purposeful" and relatively spartan Soviet forms of vacation. There now seems to be little nostalgia for such holidays, although the geographical biases of Soviet-era domestic travel have lasted to this day, as shown by the choice of Sochi for the 2014 Winter Olympics (preparations for the Games also revealed the gaps remaining in the tourism infrastructure, however, even in this most prestigious of destinations).

While adding a fresh perspective to the already rather extensive literature on Stalinist consumption, Koenker's work breaks substantial new ground in this account of late socialism and its forms of consumption and consumerism, on which only a tiny number of archive-based studies yet exist.[9] It also lays a foundation for scholars to investigate this important aspect of the Soviet experience from other perspectives and using other methodologies, including oral history. Though it is most innovative and lively in its coverage of the 1970s and 1980s, this ambitious, wide-ranging but still remarkably rigorous study will be of relevance and value to scholars of every period of Soviet history.

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7. On mass uprisings, see Vladimir Kozlov, *Massovye besporiadki v sovetskom soiuze pri Khrushcheve i Brezhneve* (Novosibirsk, 1999). On the less serious complaints about housing, see, e.g., Steven Harris, "'I Know All the Secrets of My Neighbors': The Quest for Privacy in the Era of the Separate Apartment," in Lewis H. Siegelbaum, ed., *Borders of Socialism: Private Spheres of Soviet Russia* (New York, 2006), 171–89.

8. Paul Betts, "The Politics of Plenty: Consumerism in Communist Societies" (conference paper, University of Oxford, September 2013).

9. E.g., Natalya Chernyshova, *Soviet Consumer Culture in the Brezhnev Era* (London, 2013).

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