

THE BURDEN OF THE PAST: HISTORY, MEMORY, AND IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY UKRAINE. Ed. Anna Wylegała and Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2020. ix, 307 pp., illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. ISBN (hardback) 978-0-253-04670-3; ISBN (paper) 978-0-253-04671-0; ISBN (web PDF) 978-0-253-04673-4.

At a time when Central and Eastern Europe face structural transformations and rapid changes, memory and remembrance continue to engage the regional wider public. This edited collection explores the intertwined issues that concern the central question of identity. Focused on twentieth-century Ukrainian history, it deals with collective acts of remembering and forgetting as a primary vector for unravelling and debunking present-day memories that remain socially competitive, politically fractured, and historically incompatible. Using an interdisciplinary approach, Anna Wylegała and Małgorzata Głowacka-Grajper have succeeded in assembling a well-selected array of fieldwork and comparative research that explores hidden and forbidden memory of Ukraine's recent past. They have also effectively questioned how political as well as sociocultural and religious markers of today's identities polarize Ukrainian society given the lack of a common frame of reference and unhealed wounds.

Following a chronologically organized methodology, the first section of the book begins with one of the more hotly debated chapters of Ukraine's history, the Holodomor. Delving into the tabooed Soviet public sphere, Daria Mattingly examines oral memory and Ukrainian prose works in order to challenge the scholarship on men and women who facilitated the mass famine on the ground. The author deliberately blurs the divisive typology of perpetrators and victims—namely, the Communist Party's "proven comrades" and ordinary Ukrainians, thereby unraveling the actorness of understudied groups of unknown perpetrators and forgotten victims. In providing a glimpse of everyday life in 1932–1933, she reveals how "honest villagers" such as teachers, peasants, women, Jews not only suffered, but also paradoxically profited from actively participating in, and ideologically supporting, the rhetoric of class war and the Soviets' attempts at societal transformation through collectivization. This line of inquiry into the idiosyncratic role of certain Holodomor perpetrators and victims helps readers reconsider how the culture of memory has been formed in post-Soviet Ukraine. Wiktoria Kudela-Świątek argues that the Great Famine not only constitutes a central pillar of today's Ukrainian national identity, but also

remains a subject of controversy in the cultural landscape of post-Soviet Ukraine. In her chapter, she draws a line between sites and non-sites of memory, exploring how places of commemoration and symbols of the Holodomor began to gather communities of memory. Since 1991, they have constituted a rejection of the Soviet/Russian memory domain and shaped new practices of commemorating Ukraine's tragic events of the Great Famine. The Candle of Memory in Kyiv is here instructive for exploring the new Ukraine's aesthetics of Holodomor commemoration, as well as the latest expression of popular culture in visualizing Soviet/Russian repression and Ukrainian national martyrdom.

The second section of the book notes the crises of confidence in official history among Ukrainians, whose memories remain under pressure at all levels of post-Soviet Ukrainian society. The two contributions, by Tetiana Pastushenko and Mykola Borovyk, trace different accounts of memories of World War II in relation to its Soviet/Russian domain and to Ukraine's pro-Western alignment. While Ukraine's experience of the Soviet past is indispensable to boosting the European trajectory, the last-war generation's remembrance and self-identification with the Soviets' "Great Victory" have ignited the historically debated societal split between Ukrainian citizens. The search for common ground between these two competing memory representations has been problematic since 1991. The celebration of May 9 and its variety of symbols still raise an ontological issue for Ukraine's national identity. In the aftermath of the Russian annexation of Crimea and the Donbas war, Pastushenko investigates Ukrainians' inclinations to commemorate May 9, and how they position themselves with, or against, the legacy of the Soviet-type rhetoric and narrative. In particular, popular figures of Ukrainian history as well as heroism and martyrdom for the Ukrainian cause come up for discussion.

The articles in the third section question whether Ukrainian heroes should necessarily be anti-Russian or merely figures of Ukrainian history. Matthew D. Pauly raises yet another question: who was in support of Ukraine, and who was, in effect, Ukrainian? The figure of Symon Petliura, supreme commander of the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic and head of the Directory of the UNR, who was assassinated by a Jew in Paris for his presumed connection with the anti-Jewish pogroms, is given special attention. Examining such controversial figures involves exploring how people remember them today and how they transfer certain ideologies and historical controversies to the current political landscape. Olesya Khromeychuk's contribution is devoted to the overlooked gender discourse that the current military confrontation with Russia has revitalized in Ukraine, where the self-determination

of women is viewed as somehow suspect and understood as being the result of the crypto-communist discourse. The author notes that today's struggle for Ukrainian women's full-fledged self-determination is organized neither around a reevaluation of Soviet-type motherhood, nor is it rooted in the history of women's active role during the "Great Patriotic War." Despite this, women's participation and contribution remain constrained within historically male-oriented nation building and a patriarchal society deaf to their critical voices.

The chapters in the fourth section examine the contemporary role of the multiplicity, albeit marginal, of minority memories. Karolina Koziura's and Anna Wylegała's chapters focus on the microperspective of Chernivtsi and Polish-majority Galicia, while Anna Chebotarova and Anna Abakunova explore sites of memory and remembrance of the Jewish and Roma minorities. Koziura considers the Pietà memorial as a central identifier within the urban cityscape of Chernivtsi, where both the national and the multiethnic histories of Ukraine are restored and used for promoting the European spirit of Ukraine. Wylegała investigates Polish-Ukrainian memory of the fratricidal war between these two nations. The latter appears to be widely discussed in Western Ukraine but dismissed across the country. The older generations remember the class division between wealthier Poles and Ukrainian peasants, whereas young Ukrainians today are surprised to learn that Galicia "was once Poland," since the narrative of good interethnic relations instrumentally strengthens solidarity in light of the Ukrainian-Polish experience under Soviet/Russian rule. This historicity is also found in Chebotarova's and Abakunova's attempts to gather the memories of the Jewish and Roma minorities, which remain at the mercy of the grand narrative owing to the absence of physical sites of memory and primary sources as well as in-group skepticism about sharing individual or family stories. All these voices are nevertheless paramount to constructing Ukraine's history in its post-Soviet period.

In the last section, Tomasz Stryjek and Joanna Konieczna-Safamatin analyze how political and socioeconomic issues are influenced by people's remembrance of the Soviet past and the desire for EU membership. Since memory and identity politics have largely overlapped with demands for justice and reconciliation, the current polarization in Ukrainian society stems from the battles of "memory warriors," identified not only as apologists of anti-Soviet/Russian interventions, but also as Ukrainian citizens whose fractured memories are not bound by common knowledge of past events.

To conclude, apart from memory scholars or historians, this volume will ignite interest in a broad readership. It is a milestone collection of

memories and testimonies of those who still remember and those who have forgotten; of those who continue to look critically at the present without forgetting their past.

Francesco Trupia
Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, Poland

WHEN THE FUTURE CAME: THE COLLAPSE OF THE USSR AND THE EMERGENCE OF NATIONAL MEMORY IN POST-SOVIET HISTORY TEXTBOOKS. Ed. Li Bennich-Björkman and Sergiy Kurbatov. *Soviet and Post-Soviet Politics and Society* 211. Stuttgart: ibidem-Verlag, 2019. 195 pp., notes, index. ISBN (paper) 978-3-8382-1335-4.

This collection includes four chapters about the rendition of the Soviet Union's demise in textbooks from Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova from the early 1990s to the early 2010s. The two editors are to be commended for assembling four separate teams of scholars from now sovereign states once controlled by the Kremlin to write this account. Surprisingly, the chapters reveal that textbooks found continuity across the 1991 divide, rather than a break with the past.

There are no surprises, however, in the editors' introduction, which explains their focus on textbooks. Here they quote from George Orwell's *1984*: "Who controls the past controls the future. Who controls the present controls the past" (p. 20). As products of the dominant discourses within these four countries, these textbooks are no doubt relatively effective tools at propounding the new, official line among the most impressionable of audiences.

Each group of scholars—whose disciplines and academic affiliations remain frustratingly undisclosed—examines twenty to thirty textbooks published in their respective countries during the two decades after Mikhail Gorbachev's resignation. Readers are forewarned, however, that what is analyzed here is typically only short sections of texts covering perestroika as a part of much lengthier chronologies of the USSR itself, or indeed the entirety of these places' imagined pasts.

The textbooks crafted about Russia, Belarus, and Moldova from 1985 to 1991 are designed to bolster strong, centralized power by whomever is in charge amid the post-Soviet struggle for survival. For Russia, the portrayal of Gorbachev's reforms follows a "domino-principle discourse" cascading toward disaster after his decision to relax authoritarian control from the Kremlin (p. 39). For Belarus, the 1985–1991 period logically