

WINTER 1995

Slavic Review

AMERICAN QUARTERLY OF RUSSIAN, EURASIAN AND
EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

ARTICLES

Gerald W. Creed : *The Politics of Agriculture in Bulgaria*

Richard D. Anderson, Jr., Valery I. Chervyakov & Pavel B. Parshin :
Linguistic Conditions for Democracy in Russia

Cynthia Buckley : *The Myth of Managed Migration*

RESEARCH NOTES

Milica Bakić-Hayden : *Nesting Orientalisms*

Larry Wolff : *The Idea of Eastern Europe*

COMMENT

Richard Sakwa : *Subjectivity in Russian Political Evolution*

RESPONSE

Terry Lynn Karl & Philippe C. Schmitter : *From an Iron Curtain to a
Paper Curtain*

Valerie Bunce : *Paper Curtains and Paper Tigers*

REVIEW ESSAYS

Michael David-Fox : *Avtorkhanov's Technology of Power*

Catherine Portuges : *Hungarian Cinema*

Jane Taubman : *The Art of Marina Goldovskia*

EDITOR

ELLIOTT MOSSMAN

ASSOCIATE EDITOR, JEAN GURLEY

BOOKS EDITORS

BEN EKLOF, INDIANA UNIVERSITY

CATHERINE ALBRECHT, UNIVERSITY OF BALTIMORE

FILM EDITOR, SVETLANA BOYM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ASSISTANT EDITORS, BRONWYN GURLEY, ELENA COLER, and RICHARD FROST

RESEARCH BIBLIOGRAPHER

TAMARA ORZHEKHOVSKY

EDITORIAL BOARD

History

Laura Engelstein, Princeton University • Boris Mironov, Institute of Russian History, St. Petersburg • Norman Naimark, Stanford University • Nancy Shields Kollmann, Stanford University • Ronald G. Suny, University of Michigan • Roman Szporluk, Harvard University • Gale Stokes, Rice University • Richard S. Wortman, Columbia University

Literature & Linguistics

Caryl Emerson, Princeton University • Viacheslav Ivanov, Moscow University & UCLA • Gary Saul Morson, Northwestern University • Stephanie Sandler, Amherst College

Social Sciences

Donna Bahry, Vanderbilt University • Mark R. Beissinger, University of Wisconsin • Ellen T. Comisso, University of California, San Diego • Mary McAuley, Oxford University • Brian D. Silver, Michigan State University • Katherine M. Verdery, Johns Hopkins University

The editors assume no responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors.

Slavic Review (formerly *The American Slavic and East European Review*) is published quarterly by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Inc., and is sent to all Association members. Members also receive the *AAASS Newsletter*. Membership is open to individuals interested in Slavic studies and study of the non-Slavic peoples of eastern Europe and Eurasia. Applications are accepted by the AAASS, Jordan Quad/Acacia, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-4130; (415) 728-9668.

Membership dues: salary \$10,000–19,999—\$25.00; \$20,000–29,999—\$35.00; \$30,000–39,999—\$45.00; \$40,000–49,999—\$55.00; \$50,000–59,999—\$65.00; more than \$60,000—\$75.00. Joint members with one subscription to *Slavic Review*, add \$15.00 to dues of higher paid member. Dues for students or those with salaries under \$10,000 are \$20.00. Subscriptions without membership are \$50.00. Single current issues and back issues to subscribers are \$15.00; for members, \$10.00 each. For overseas postage, please add \$6.00; for Canada, add \$5.00. Correspondence regarding membership, subscriptions, changes of address or items for the *Newsletter* should be sent to the AAASS headquarters at Stanford.

Articles, books for review, and correspondence concerning editorial matters or advertising should be sent to *Slavic Review*, 636 Williams Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6305. Building address is 36th & Spruce Streets. Telephone: 215-898-8096; FAX: 215-898-2998. E-mail: slavrev@sas.upenn.edu. Technical requirements for manuscript submissions may be found at the end of the advertising section.

Published by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Inc. Text set in Baskerville by Automated Composition Service, Inc., Lancaster, PA. Printed by Science Press, Ephrata, PA. Second-class postage paid at Palo Alto, CA and additional mailing office. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to AAASS, Jordan Quad/Acacia, 125 Panama Street, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-4130.

Copyright © 1996 *Slavic Review*: ISSN 0037-6779 by the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Inc. Permission to reproduce must generally be obtained from the Association's office. Copying is permitted in accordance with the fair use guidelines of the US Copyright Act of 1976. The Association permits the following additional educational uses without permission or payment of fees: academic libraries may place materials from *Slavic Review* on reserve (in multiple photocopied or electronically retrievable form) for students enrolled in specific courses; teachers may reproduce or have reproduced multiple copies (in photocopied or electronic form) for students in their courses. Those wishing to reproduce material from *Slavic Review* for any other purpose (general distribution, advertising or promotion, creating new collective works, resale, etc.) must obtain permission from the Association.

Slavic Review

AMERICAN QUARTERLY OF RUSSIAN, EURASIAN AND
EAST EUROPEAN STUDIES

VOLUME 54 NUMBER 4 • WINTER 1995

CONTRIBUTORS

ix

FROM THE EDITOR

x

ARTICLES

- The Politics of Agriculture: Identities and Socialist Sentiment
in Bulgaria 843
GERALD W. CREED
- Words Matter: Linguistic Conditions for Democracy in Russia 869
RICHARD D. ANDERSON, JR., VALERY I. CHERVYAKOV AND
PAVEL B. PARSHIN
- The Myth of Managed Migration: Migration Control and
Market in the Soviet Period 896
CYNTHIA BUCKLEY

RESEARCH NOTES

- Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia 917
MILICA BAKIĆ-HAYDEN
- Voltaire's Public and the Idea of Eastern Europe: Toward a
Literary Sociology of Continental Division 932
LARRY WOLFF

COMMENT

- Subjectivity, Politics and Order in Russian Political Evolution 943
RICHARD SAKWA

RESPONSE

- From an Iron Curtain to a Paper Curtain: Grounding
Transitologists or Students of Postcommunism? 965
TERRY LYNN KARL AND PHILIPPE C. SCHMITTER

- Paper Curtains and Paper Tigers 979
VALERIE BUNCE

REVIEW ESSAYS

- Memory, Archives, Politics: The Rise of Stalin in
Avtorkhanov's *Technology of Power* 988
MICHAEL DAVID-FOX

- Post-Transition Hungarian Cinema and Its National Imagery:
The 26th Annual Hungarian Film Festival 1004
CATHERINE PORTUGES

- The Art of Marina Goldovskaya 1010
JANE TAUBMAN

FEATURED REVIEWS

- O.V. Khlevniuk, A.V. Kvashonkin, L.P. Kosheleva and L.A.
Rogovaia, comps., *Stalinskoe Politburo v 30-e gody: Sbornik
dokumentov* (Alfred J. Rieber) 1016

- Lars T. Lih, Oleg V. Naumov and Oleg V. Khlevniuk, eds.,
Cathy Fitzpatrick, trans., *Stalin's Letters to Molotov, 1925–
1936; Pis'ma I.V. Stalina V.M. Molotovu, 1925–1936 gg.:
Sbornik dokumentov*; V.A. Kozlov and S.V. Mironenko, eds.,
*Arkhiv noveishoi istorii Rossii. Vol. 2, "Osobaia papka"
V.M. Molotova: Iz materialov Sekretariata NKVD-MVD SSSR
1944–56 gg. Katalog dokumentov* (Stephen Kotkin) 1017

- G. Procacci et al., eds., *The Cominform: Minutes of the Three
Conferences 1947/1948/1949* (Jonathan Haslam) 1019

- Andrzej Walicki, *Marxism and the Leap to the Kingdom of Freedom:
The Rise and Fall of the Communist Utopia* (Richard Sakwa) 1022

- Richard S. Wortman, *Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in
Russian Monarchy. Vol. 1, From Peter the Great to the Death of
Nicholas I* (Michael Confino) 1023

BOOK REVIEWS

- Svetlana Boym, *Common Places: Mythologies of Everyday Life in
Russia* (Richard Stites) 1026

Tim Scholl, <i>From Petipa to Balanchine: Classical Revival and the Modernization of Ballet</i> (Michelle D. Branson)	1027
John Tyrrell, <i>Janáček's Operas: A Documentary Account</i> (John K. Novak)	1028
Stuart Campbell, ed. and trans., <i>Russians on Russian Music, 1830–1880: An Anthology</i> (Malcolm Hamrick Brown)	1029
Gregory Myers, <i>The Lavrsky Troitsky Kondakar</i> (Miloš Velimirović)	1030
Timothy Rice, <i>May it Fill Your Soul: Experiencing Bulgarian Music</i> (Clara Levy)	1032
Tadeusz Kantor, <i>A Journey through Other Spaces: Essays and Manifestos, 1944–1990</i> , Michal Kobialka, ed. and trans. (Harold B. Segel)	1033
Gerda Hagenau, <i>Polnisches Theater und Drama: Ein integraler Bestandteil europäische Theaterkultur 966–1795</i> (Halina Stephan)	1034
Yuri Tsivian, <i>Early Cinema in Russia and Its Cultural Reception</i> , Alan Bodger, trans. (Louise McReynolds)	1035
Andreas Ebbinghaus, <i>Die altrussischen Marienikonen-Legenden</i> (Gail Lenhoff)	1037
Robert P. Hughes and Irina Paperno, eds., <i>Christianity and the Eastern Slavs</i> , Vol. 2 (Darra Goldstein)	1040
Susan Layton, <i>Russian Literature and Empire: Conquest of the Caucasus from Pushkin to Tolstoy</i> (Ronald Grigor Suny)	1041
Lewis Bagby, <i>Alexander Bestuzhev-Marlinsky and Russian Byronism</i> (Sarah Pratt)	1043
Michael Wachtel, <i>Russian Symbolism and Literary Tradition: Goethe, Novalis and the Poetics of Vyacheslav Ivanov</i> ; Michael Wachtel, ed., <i>Vjáčeslav Ivanov</i> (James West)	1044
Evelyn Bristol, <i>A History of Russian Poetry</i> (Michael Makin)	1045
Galya Diment, <i>The Autobiographical Novel of Co-Consciousness: Goncharov, Woolf, and Joyce</i> (Beth Holmgren)	1048
Robert A. Maguire, <i>Exploring Gogol</i> (Victor Erlich)	1050
William Edgerton, ed. and trans., <i>Memoirs of Peasant Tolstoyans in Soviet Russia</i> (Scott J. Seregny)	1052
Gareth Williams, <i>Tolstoy's Childhood</i> (Pamela Chester)	1053
Joseph Frank, <i>Dostoevsky: The Miraculous Years, 1865–1871</i> (Diane Oenning Thompson)	1055

Birgit Harreß, <i>Mensch und Welt in Dostoevskij's Werk: Ein Beitrag zur poetischen Anthropologie</i> (Roman S. Struc)	1056
Peter Thiergen, ed., <i>Ivan A. Gončarov: Leben, Werk und Wirkung. Beiträge der I. Internationale Gončarov-Konferenz, Bamberg, 8–10 Oktober 1991</i> (Marjorie L. Hoover)	1057
Anna Makolkina, <i>Semiotics of Misogyny through the Humor of Chekhov and Maugham</i> (Natalia Pervukhin)	1060
Nadja Jernakoff, ed., <i>Transactions of the Association of Russian-American Scholars in the U.S.A.</i> , Vol. XXV (Victor Terras)	1061
Isaac Babel, <i>1920 Diary</i> , H.T. Willetts, trans., Carol J. Avins, ed. (Efraim Sicher)	1062
Vladimir Markov, <i>O svobode v poezii: stat'i, esse, raznoe</i> (Lee B. Croft)	1064
Vera Adamantova, <i>Poetika perevoda M.A. Voloshina</i> (Aleksey Gibson)	1065
Clare Cavanagh, <i>Osip Mandelstam and the Modernist Creation of Tradition</i> (Eric Naiman)	1066
Anna A. Tavis, <i>Rilke's Russia: A Cultural Encounter</i> (Leon Burnett)	1067
Larissa Rudova, <i>Pasternak's Short Fiction and the Cultural Vanguard</i> (Christopher Barnes)	1068
Gary Saul Morson, <i>Narrative and Freedom: The Shadows of Time</i> (Olga Peters Hasty)	1070
Hans Günther, <i>Der sozialistische Übermensch: Maksim Gor'kij und der sowjetische Heldenmythos</i> (Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal)	1071
Kazimiera Ingdahl, <i>A Graveyard of Themes: The Genesis of Three Key Works by Iurii Olesha</i> , Charles Rougle, trans. (Eliot Borenstein)	1072
Iu.D. Ryskin, ed., A.S. Anikina, N.V. Gel'fand, I.V. Golenishcheva-Kutuzova, E.A. Mal'tseva and Iu.D. Ryskin, comps., <i>Sovetskoe literaturovedenie i kritika 1917–1925: Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' literatury na russkom iazyke</i> (Robert Whittaker)	1073
Toby W. Clyman and Diana Greene, eds., <i>Women Writers in Russian Literature</i> (Amy Mandelker)	1074
Philip A. Luelsdorff, ed., <i>The Prague School of Structural and Functional Linguistics: A Short Introduction</i> (Charles E. Townsend)	1076

Michael Frentzel, <i>Postwitzscher Tauff-Stein oder christliche und einfältige deutsch-wendische Predigt von der heiligen Taufe: ein sorbisches Sprachdenkmal aus dem Jahre 1688</i> , H. Schuster-Šewc, ed. (Gary H. Toops)	1077
V.N. Ponomarev, <i>Krymskaia voina i russko-amerikanskie otnosheniia</i> (Norman Saul)	1079
L.G. Zakharova and L.I. Tiutiunnik, comps. and eds., <i>1857–1861. Perepiska Imperatora Aleksandra II s Velikim Kniazem Konstantinom Nikolaevichem. Dnevnik Velikogo Kniazia Konstantina Nikolaevicha</i> (Richard Wortman)	1080
A.P. Korelin, ed., <i>Rossiiskie samoderzhtsy 1801–1917</i> (G.M. Hamburg)	1081
John J. Stephan, <i>The Russian Far East: A History</i> (Steven G. Marks)	1082
Heiko Haumann and Stefan Plaggenborg, <i>Aufbruch der Gesellschaft im verordneten Staat: Russland in der Spätphase des Zarenreiches</i> (Thomas C. Owen)	1083
Charles E. Timberlake, ed., <i>Religious and Secular Forces in Late Tsarist Russia: Essays in Honor of Donald W. Treadgold</i> (Stephen K. Batalden)	1084
Oleg V. Budnitskii, ed., <i>Krov' po sovesti: terrorizm v Rossii. Dokumenty i biografi</i> (Anna Geifman)	1086
Iu.V. Sokolov, <i>Krasnaia zvezda ili krest? Zhizn' i sud'ba generala Brusilova</i> (Stephen Brown)	1087
Robert F. Byrnes, <i>A History of Russian and East European Studies in the United States: Selected Essays</i> (Stanley B. Winters)	1088
S. Frederick Starr, ed., <i>The Legacy of History in Russia and the New States of Eurasia</i> (E. Willis Brooks)	1089
David L. Hoffman, <i>Peasant Metropolis: Social Identities in Moscow, 1929–1941</i> (Andrea Graziosi)	1090
Lewis H. Siegelbaum and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., <i>Making Workers Soviet: Power, Class, and Identity</i> (E.A. Swift)	1092
Robert Service, <i>Lenin: A Political Life</i> . Vol. 3, <i>The Iron Ring</i> (R.C. Elwood)	1094
Timothy Edward O'Connor, <i>The Engineer of Revolution: L.B. Krasin and the Bolsheviks, 1870–1926</i> (Harley Balzer)	1095
Stephen Kotkin, <i>Magnetic Mountain: Stalinism as a Civilization</i> (Hugh D. Hudson, Jr.)	1096
Valery N. Soyfer, <i>Lysenko and the Tragedy of Soviet Science</i> , Leo Gruliov and Rebecca Gruliov, trans. (Alexei Kojevnikov)	1098

O.V. Khlevniuk, <i>1937-i: Stalin, NKVD i sovetskoe obshchestvo</i> (Amy Knight)	1099
David Holloway, <i>Stalin and the Bomb: The Soviet Union and Atomic Energy, 1939–1956</i> (Alexei Kojevnikov)	1100
A.I. Ushakov, <i>Istoriia grazhdanskoi voiny v literature russkogo zarubezh'ia</i> ; O.V. Khlevniuk, <i>Stalin i Ordzhonikidze: Konflikty v Politbiuro v 30-e gody</i> ; E.Iu. Zubkova, <i>Obshchestvo i reformy 1945–1964</i> ; V.P. Buldakov, V.A. Mau, A.S. Tsipko, <i>Doklady k konferentsii. Rossiiskaia imperia, SSSR, Rossiiskaia Federatsiia: Istoriia odnoi strany? Preryvnost' i nepreryvnost' v otechestvennoi istorii XX veka</i> (Hiroaki Kuromiya)	1101
William J. Tompson, <i>Khrushchev: A Political Life</i> (James Richter)	1103
Nathaniel Davis, <i>A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy</i> ; Niels C. Nielsen, Jr., ed., <i>Christianity after Communism: Social, Political, and Cultural Struggle in Russia</i> (Daniel Peris)	1104
Klaus Heller and Herbert Jelitte, eds., <i>Das mittlere Wolgagebiet in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (Anders Henriksson)	1106
Suzanne Goldenberg, <i>Pride of Small Nations: The Caucasus and Post-Soviet Disorder</i> (Paul B. Henze)	1107
Peter Ferdinand, ed., <i>The New States of Central Asia and Their Neighbours</i> ; Ali Banuazizi and Myron Weiner, eds., <i>The New Geopolitics of Central Asia and Its Borderlands</i> (Adeeb Khalid)	1108
Levon Chorbajian, Patrick Donabedian and Claude Mutafian, <i>The Caucasian Knot: The History and Geopolitics of Nagorno-Karabagh</i> (Dennis R. Papazian)	1110
Paschalis M. Kitromilides, <i>Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-Eastern Europe</i> (Olga Augustinos)	1112
Vladimir Gligorov, <i>Why Do Countries Break Up? The Case of Yugoslavia</i> (Jim Seroka)	1113
Susan L. Woodward, <i>Balkan Tragedy: Chaos and Dissolution after the Cold War</i> (Robert M. Hayden)	1114
Jill Benderly and Evan Kraft, eds., <i>Independent Slovenia: Origins, Movements, Prospects</i> (Kenneth E. Basom)	1116
Joseph Held, <i>Dictionary of East European History since 1945</i> (Zoltan Barany)	1117

Andrea Petö and Mark Pittaway, eds., <i>Women in History—Women's History: Central and Eastern European Perspectives</i> (Lynn Lubamersky)	1118
György Györffy, <i>King Saint Stephen of Hungary</i> , Peter Doherty, trans. (Jean W. Sedlar)	1119
David M. Crowe, <i>A History of the Gypsies of Eastern Europe and Russia</i> (Luan Troxel)	1120
Charles W. Ingrao, ed., <i>State and Society in Early Modern Austria</i> (Christine L. Mueller)	1121
Mečislav Borák and Jan Gawrnicki, eds., <i>Nástin dějin Těšínska</i> (Kevin Hannan)	1122
H. Gordon Skilling, <i>T.G. Masaryk: Against the Current, 1882–1914</i> (James H. Satterwhite)	1124
Bohdan Boychuk, comp., Irena R. Makaryk, gen. ed., <i>Poza traditsii Antolohiia ukrain'skoi modernoi poezii v diiaspori</i> (Michael M. Naydan)	1125
Peter Fäßler, Thomas Held and Dirk Sawitzki, eds., <i>Lemberg-Lwów-Lviv: Eine Stadt im Schnittpunkt europäischer Kulturen</i> (Keely Stauter-Halsted)	1126
Ann Lencyk Pawliczko, ed., <i>Ukraine and Ukrainians throughout the World: A Demographic and Sociological Guide to the Homeland and Its Diaspora</i> (Yaroslav Bilinsky)	1127
S.C. Rowell, <i>Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire within East-Central Europe, 1295–1345</i> (Daniel Stone)	1129
Robert J. Kaiser, <i>The Geography of Nationalism in Russia and the USSR</i> (William Fierman)	1130
Sanford R. Lieberman, David E. Powell, Carol R. Saivetz and Sarah M. Terry, eds., <i>The Soviet Empire Reconsidered: Essays in Honor of Adam B. Ulam</i> (David L. Williams)	1131
Walker Connor, <i>Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding</i> (Ian Bremmer)	1132
Hélène Carrère d'Encausse, <i>The End of the Soviet Empire: The Triumph of the Nations</i> , Franklin Philip, trans. (Stephen Blank)	1134
Robert E. Ebel, <i>Energy Choices in Russia</i> (Robert Campbell)	1135
Joan DeBardeleben and John Hannigan, eds. <i>Environmental Security and Quality after Communism: Eastern Europe and the Soviet Successor States</i> (William Moskoff)	1136

Roy D. Laird, <i>The Soviet Legacy</i> (Mary Buckley)	1137
Hilary Pilkington, <i>Russia's Youth and Its Culture: A Nation's Constructors and Constructed</i> (Deborah Adelman)	1137
<i>The FirstBook of Demographics for the Republics of the Former Soviet Union, 1951–1990; The First Demographic Portraits of Russia, 1951–1990</i> (K. David Patterson)	1139
Graeme Gill, <i>The Collapse of a Single-Party System: The Disintegration of the CPSU</i> ; Theodore H. Friedgut and Jeffrey W. Hahn, eds., <i>Local Power and Post-Soviet Politics</i> (John Löwenhardt)	1140
Geoffrey Pridham, Eric Herring and George Sanford, eds., <i>Building Democracy? The International Dimension of Democratisation in Eastern Europe</i> (André Liebich)	1141
Gail W. Lapidus, ed., <i>The New Russia: Troubled Transformation</i> (Kathryn Stoner-Weiss)	1142
J. Michael Waller, <i>Secret Empire: The KGB in Russia Today</i> (William E. Odom)	1144
Richard Crockatt, <i>The Fifty Years War: The United States and the Soviet Union in World Politics, 1941–1991</i> (C.J. Bartlett)	1145
David H. Goldberg and Paul Marantz, eds., <i>The Decline of the Soviet Union and the Transformation of the Middle East</i> ; Alexei Vassiliev, <i>Russian Policy in the Middle East: From Messianism to Pragmatism</i> (Alvin Z. Rubinstein)	1146
Batara Simatupang, <i>The Polish Economic Crisis: Background, Causes and Aftermath</i> (Zenon X. Zygmunt)	1148
Henry S. Rowen, Charles Wolf, Jr. and Jeanne Zlotnick, eds., <i>Defense Conversion, Economic Reform, and the Outlook for the Russian and Ukrainian Economies</i> (Martin C. Spechler)	1149
Anders Åslund, ed., <i>Russian Economic Reform at Risk</i> (Michael Ellman)	1150
James R. Millar and Sharon L. Wolchik, eds., <i>The Social Legacy of Communism</i> (James Beale)	1152
LETTERS	1153
OBITUARY	1157
INDEX	1159
ERRATUM	1173