khanate as examples of banal nationalism that normalize the rise of Kazakh nationalism. According to Caron, such practices cost the exclusion of Russians in contradiction to the constitutional guarantees (187, 191, 199, 201).

To conclude, this book provides several concrete examples of the Soviet legacy and helps us understand why it is still relevant to talk about the Soviet past casting a shadow on the present of the ex-Soviet republics. On the other hand, the book sheds light on the discontinuities, as manifested in the nationalization of urban spaces and Kazakhization. The book will appeal to a wide range of readers including those with a general interest in Central Asian politics. The book is rich on context; it offers less when it comes to theoretical discussions about nation-state and state-building. In places, it briefly mentions theories of banal nationalism, ideological recycling, state-building, reformation, and multi-vectorism. Definitions of these concepts would have been welcome. Overall, however, the book will be a relevant read for those interested in studying Soviet policies and governance in post-Soviet states.

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Jelena Subotić, *Yellow Star, Red Star: Holocaust Remembrance After Communism*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019.

In *Yellow Star, Red Star*, Jelena Subotić examines the appropriation of Holocaust memory as a tool for managing national identities in Eastern Europe, both during and after the communist era. In particular, the monograph focuses on how Serbia, Croatia, and Lithuania, and to some extent other states, intervened in Holocaust remembrance to resolve their own contemporary "ontological insecurities," which have stemmed from changing national identities, the states' international status, and their relationships with other international actors. Their acts of memory appropriation, according to Subotić, involve "narcissistic identification"—turning

Holocaust remembrance inwards, to shift the suffering from the Jewish people to one's own people. During the communist period, Holocaust memory was appropriated to create a homogenous pan-Soviet identity around a unified suffering at the hands of fascism. However, in the post-communist era, narratives shifted away from this unified suffering, instead victimizing the dominant ethnic groups of each state to reshape national identities and promote nationalism. Subotić argues that, to fulfill their aspirations to join the European Union after the fall of communism, the post-communist states have faced conflicting sources of insecurity; while they aim to be perceived as European, this means sharing in the cosmopolitan narratives of Western Europe in the twentieth century, the strongest of which may be the narratives of the Holocaust. On the other hand, in order to shape their own post-communist national identities, attempts have been made to absolve these nations of crimes committed during the Holocaust, instead shifting the focus of suffering onto themselves as targeted ethnicities.

In Subotić's analysis of Serbia, she demonstrates how narratives of World War II have long focused on the genocidal atrocities committed against the Serbs by the Croatian Ustasha government during the war, ignoring the occurrence of Serbian-Nazi collaboration at the time. To create a pan-national socialist identity in the post-war communist era, a narrative of multi-ethnic "brotherhood and unity" was developed with an emphasis on the anti-fascist resistance. However, Serbians and Croatians experienced further conflict during the war in the 1990s, and the ensuing post-Milošević era became one of revisionism, focusing on the delegitimation of communism and an attack on multiculturalism to create a nationalist Serbian identity. In Croatia, the quest for ontological security was complicated by the genocidal atrocities committed by the Ustasha. Attempts to delete these atrocities from public memory resulted in the destruction or erasure of specifically Jewish monuments. Fabricated memories emerged, such as the repositioning of Jasenovac, from a concentration camp to a prison for Croatian nationalists. This destructive form of memory intervention was often arranged by the new government,

as a means of erasing or managing Croatia's memory baggage as perpetrator of atrocities in World War II.

In her description of memory politics in Lithuania, Subotić explains how the Lithuanian state underwent an extensive process of Sovietization after its annexation in 1940 with waves of politically motivated deportations to Siberia. Subotić notes that a number of members of the Jewish population, which had long been a segregated part of Lithuanian society, were drawn to the multicultural communist ideals of the Soviet regime. For this reason, Jews were largely considered to have welcomed the regime and were persecuted for this belief by the anti-Soviet resistance. Many of the first pogroms occurred before the arrival of the Germans in 1941, remembered in Jewish memory as "the first week." In Lithuanian memory, blame was nevertheless attributed to Germans and their intimidating presence. When the Soviet Union regained the Lithuanian territory, Stalinist terror ensued with a new round of deportations and imprisonment. Subotić notes that more ethnic Lithuanians died after the war than during. In post-communist Lithuania, the United Nations' definition of genocide was expanded to include persecution on social and political grounds. This allowed the construction of a "Soviet genocide" narrative to remember the Stalinist deportations. The narrative of a "double genocide," or "double occupation," first by the Soviet Union, then by Nazi Germany, exists in both Lithuania and Ukraine; in the latter case, the Holodomor (a man-made famine that occurred in the early 1930s) features as the second genocide.

Of particular interest is Subotić's criticism of the European Union and Russia. Subotić demonstrates how the ontological insecurities of the post-communist states exist largely due to their political positioning between these two powers. Subotić criticizes the European Union for overlooking anti-Semitic memory intervention and decentralizing the Holocaust in public memory through its promotion of the pan-European memory framework of "two totalitarianisms"—a concept that situates communism alongside the Holocaust as equal in its destruction. Subotić describes the states' eastern neighbor, Russia, as both "memory entrepreneur" and "territorial expansionist." She argues that Russia's

continued maintenance of the narrative of the "Soviet hero" has enabled it to aggressively weaponize the memory of World War II to justify its territorial expansionism into Ukraine. Russia mobilizes the narrative to fight anti-Russian nationalists under the guise of a supposed "genocide" against Russians in Ukraine.

Subotić's work benefits from her use of a variety of sources, including personal interviews, historical records, and visits to memorial sites. Throughout her work, she argues for the need to reshape coopted Holocaust remembrance at the state level to become inclusive of Jewish suffering. Currently, genuine attempts to correct the revisionist and fabricated narratives occur only at grassroots levels with funding from local Jewish community organizations and cultural centers. Without the support of governments, these corrections cannot enter public memory. Instead, governments make clear attempts to revise and erase Holocaust memory, for example in Poland, where President Andrzej Duda criminalized any implication that Poles committed crimes during the Holocaust. Similar laws have been passed in Ukraine, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Moldova. These actions effectively absolve the nation of responsibility for its criminal past, instead using Holocaust memory to fight memory battles and construct new identities. Subotić's contribution to the field of Holocaust memory argues for a unified view of Holocaust remembrance, unburdened by the political aspirations of individual states.

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