incredulously witnessed "anti-Zionist" banners over Auschwitz streets—gravely weakened Polish communism. Neither Gomułka nor Moczar long survived in office, and the 1980s witnessed burgeoning opposition intent on toppling, not reforming, the communist system.

Plocker argues that existing literature, both Polish and English, interprets the anti-Zionist campaigns as undertakings serving ulterior purposes: to ingratiate the government with Moscow, to stave off revisionism, to open paths of advancement within the party to lower-echelon members. Plocker holds, however, that the authorities acted authentically from *fear*. Invoking recent theorizations of emotion in history, she argues that Gomułka and company convinced themselves that the Zionist-West German threat did indeed menace the existence of communism in Poland, not only as evidenced by the disinclination of many highly placed party and intelligentsia members to enthusiastically support the Soviet anti-Israeli line, but especially by widespread revisionist inclinations, which derived in reality from the defects of Gomułka's regime. One could go farther: the specters of pre-communist antisemitism awakened in them.

Plocker offers trenchant formulations of her position. By initiating discussion of Jews in the CP, "the genie was out of the bottle and Poles began speaking of a Jewish-dominated Communist Party, a belief that was already well spread among the population" (188). In the party leadership, "fear of the Żydokomuna [antisemitic shibboleth of 'Jewish Communism'] trumped the fear of the Żyd [Jewish 'fifth column']" (188). With his characteristic wit, the Jewish-born communist poet Antoni Słonimski spoke of the reversal of fear of Jewish communism into "Żydo antykomuna," a new myth that Jews in the CP were working secretly to undermine it (116).

Self-preservation led the party to end the anti-Zionist campaign, but by then it had dealt itself a deep wound in civilized eyes. Moreover, as Plocker demonstrates in an engrossing chapter on how the standard Polish encyclopedia's treatment of the Holocaust was revised in a Polish nationalist direction, the 1967–68 campaign gave enduring public voice to the post-communist right-wing defensiveness about Polish victimhood, antisemitism, and wartime collaboration that stamps official historiography and Holocaust politics to the present day.

The solid and sophisticated existing literature, as penned especially by Dariusz Stola, Joanna Wawrzyniak, Marcin Zaremba and other colleagues, acknowledges the irrational and emotionally-driven dimensions of the anti-Zionist campaign to a greater degree than Plocker allows. Her book, while not exactly the first English-language synthesis (see Joseph Banaś, Tadeusz Szafar, Lionel Kochan, eds., *The Scapegoats: The Exodus of the Remnants of Polish Jewry* [London, 1979]), nonetheless succeeds in establishing itself as an empirically pathbreaking and interpretively original and persuasive study of the final tragedy of Polish Jewry, and of those who sought equality and acceptance as "Poles of Jewish descent" in the society of their birth.

William W. Hagen
*University of California, Davis*

***Culture from the Slums: Punk Rock in East and West Germany***. By Jeff Hayton. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. xviii, 364 pp. Discography. Bibliography. Index. Illustrations. Photographs. $100.00, hard bound.
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While Jeff Hayton's *Culture from the Slums: Punk Rock in East and West Germany* is grounded in German history, it contributes to the growing body of work on punk in

central and eastern Europe and to recent comparative and transnational accounts of punk. Despite its conventional main argument, the book brings new evidence and examples to the perennial Slavic Studies question of whether the First and Second Worlds should be understood as opposites or as alternative pathways to modernity.

Hayton's approach foregrounds sociological and political analysis rather than punk's musicological and literary aspects. The book's first main argument is that punk was a "medium for alternative living and a motor of social change," with "emancipatory potential. . . on both sides of the Berlin Wall" allowing punks to "oppose convention and advance difference as the basis for alternative identities and communities" (8). The first half of the book examines punk through (perhaps surprisingly) traditional anthropological categories, but also up-to-date theory from English and German scholarship on punk's "Origins and Scenes, "Beliefs and Practices," and "Language and Identity." Hayton analyzes German punk's genesis and meaning in both East and West Germany in parallel, acknowledging both differences and similarities. Identity features largely, with *Anderssein* or "being different," (64) placed alongside authenticity at punk's ideological core. Hayton's integrated analysis of East and West German punk is plausible, if optimistic, emphasizing punk's creativity and agency over its nihilism and rage (likewise, Hayton perhaps too neatly excises far right skinheads from punks).

The second argument, developed in the book's second half, is that punk "helps explain why West Germany flourished and why East Germany collapsed," as punk "remained fundamentally indigestible to Eastern state socialism" but "proved unable to withstand Western democratic capitalism" (9). In this section, the chapters alternate between East and West Germany, examining punk's different trajectories before showing how both histories shaped punk's legacy in a reunited Germany. In the east, Hayton traces punk's genesis through contact with the west, its suppression by the Stasi (secret police), its survival in uncomfortable alliance with protestant churches, spaces of refuge from the omnipresent state, and unsuccessful efforts by the Communist Party and state to integrate punk. In the west, Hayton describes the split between creative Kunstpunks and doctrinaire Hardcores, punk's commercialization in Neue Deutsche Welle, and Hardcores' reaction against the perceived commercial threat to punk's authenticity. While the divergent narratives of the two punk scenes are interesting, the underlying argument lends itself to reproducing the decades-long status quo of comparative studies of popular culture: examining a complex mix of economic, social, and cultural factors in popular culture in the west but emphasizing the clash between society and the state in the east.

The book's greatest strength is its impressive archival source base in both East and West Germany, along with its extensive secondary sources in German and English. Hayton includes some references to east European and Russian punk and popular culture, but deeper engagement with scholarship on punk in other eastern bloc states could have revealed fascinating comparisons—for instance, how some central/east European scenes (Poland, Hungary, and Yugoslavia) actually had much in common with West German punk, while others (USSR, Czechoslovakia) more closely resembled the East German scene.

If the book's extensive archival source base is its strength, it also contains a liability. While Hayton's archival sources on West German punk are complemented by an assortment of mainstream periodicals and punk 'zines, the account of East German punk relies heavily on state security archives, resulting in a rich and multifaceted account of West German punk and a comparatively monochromatic image of punk in East Germany. While Hayton acknowledges this imbalance, it nonetheless leaves the reader wondering if the overwhelming emphasis on opposition to the state in East German punk is an artifact of the sources as much as the scene.

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The merits of Hayton's careful research and analysis often reveal themselves more effectively at the paragraph level than in the book's overarching argument, however, for instance, examining tensions between punks and protestant clergy and within the East German Communist Party, efforts by the West German state to suppress punk, and punk's breeches into popular awareness, including on state airwaves, in Eastern Germany. These and myriad other examples, as well as the book's expansive and original archival research on both sides of the "iron curtain," make it well worth reading for scholars of east/central European punk and popular culture and anyone interested in comparing culture and society under state socialism and capitalism.

Raymond Patton
*John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY*

***Meanwhile, In Russia . . . Russian Internet Memes and Viral Video***. By Eliot Borenstein. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022. 146 pp. Notes. Index. Illustrations. $61.00, hard bound; $17.95, paper.
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For such a small work *Meanwhile, In Russia* packs a big punch. The book traces the evolution of culture on the Russian internet (RUNET), showing that, while much of the content is not political in nature, the internet has been a relatively safe space for mocking those in power or the vagaries of everyday life. Absurdity is in fact often the point since, as Borenstein puts it, the "refusal to engage with official discourse on its own terms is a common thread running through Internet culture" (4). Two additional conclusions permeate Borenstein's analysis: he argues that it is impossible to separate internet content from "the real world" and that memes have long played an important role in the construction of Russian identity, something that makes them crucial to understanding events in the country today.

The book begins with two introductory chapters. The first explains the origins of the term "meme" and considers various ways of conceptualizing them. That is followed, in Chapter 2, by a discussion of Soviet memetic culture after World War II, in other words, from the era when state propaganda campaigns began to look increasingly stale. Borenstein shows how Soviet joke culture and Russian television advertisements from the 1990s paved the way for the widespread use of memes on the Russian internet. A closer examination of how memes play with the Soviet past is the subject of the next chapter. Among the examples that are discussed are images mocking the themes of death and immortality associated with the Lenin cult or reminding viewers about "highlights" of the Khrushchev era, such as his corn program and speech at the United Nations.

Borenstein shifts his focus to the contemporary era in the middle chapters of *Meanwhile in Russia*. First, what he terms folk heroes of the RUNET—characters such as the Jolly Milkman, Peter Piglet, Vatnik, and Zhdun—and how they fit into modern Russian culture are explained. The subsequent chapter offers a detailed analysis of memes about international figures, notably the "Putin—khuilo," "Obama is a Shmoe," "Angry Greta," and "What do you think of that, Elon Musk?" memes. Here, Borenstein reminds readers about a 2019 Russian law that allows for the prosecution of people who make memes about public figures, but notes that it is rarely used. Certainly, no one was charged in connection with the examples considered in the chapter. Other well-known memes such as the squatting Slav or those that involve dashcam footage are discussed in Chapter 6. Throughout this section of the book,