Saulius Grybkauskas, *Sovietinė nomenklatūra ir pramonė Lietuvoje 1965–1985 metais*, Vilnius: LII leidykla, 2011. 438 p. ISBN 978-9955-847-38-0

Focusing on the inner workings of industrial management in late socialist Lithuania, Saulius Grybkauskas has written an important book that sheds light on the political dimensions of industrialisation in the Soviet Union. Its purpose is to highlight dynamic tensions and conflicts stemming from, on the one hand, economic nationalism practised by the governing bodies in Soviet Lithuania lobbying for resources and local power, and the push towards centralisation of the industrial sector in the USSR, on the other. In so doing, Grybkauskas reveals that late socialism was less of an era of stagnation than it has been termed in popular and academic writings, but rather a dynamic, competitive and uncertain space for pursuing individual career goals, advancing organisational innovations, creating new power leverages in the Soviet political system, and reshaping the operation of industries that employed more than a third of Lithuania's population.

'The Soviet Nomenklatura and Industry in Lithuania in 1965–1985' is based on an array of published and original archival resources, biographies, memoirs and interviews. It features an impressive list of interviews that reads like a 'who's who in the Soviet Lithuanian nomenklatura', including such powerhouses as Algirdas Brazauskas (secretary for the economy with the Central Committee of the Lithuanian Communist Party in 1977–1988), Pranas Kuokstis (chairman of the Industry Division on the Board of the Council of Ministers of Soviet Lithuania in 1965–1982), and Bronius Zaikauskas (deputy chairman in 1976–1979, principal deputy chairman in 1980–1984, and chairman in 1984–1988 of the State Planning Committee of Soviet Lithuania).

In addition to studying the highest echelons of the Soviet nomenklatura in Lithuania, Grybkauskas also examines the strategies of lower-level managers, and their efforts to find a place in the corridors of power. The last section of the book in particular points to the struggles taking place in the middle-level administration, such as, for instance, a notable conflict between the director of the Vilnius Factory of Construction Machinery, V. Zinovjevas, and its deputy engineer A. Maliukevičius (p. 337). This case highlights the competition and increasing tensions between the director of an industrial enterprise who finds himself sandwiched between top national and all-Union administrators and his staff aspiring to take over his position.

Through an analysis of rich archival sources, spanning local factory holdings and the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee archive, Grybkauskas points to the ways in which the Soviet system was both reproduced and continuously challenged in its efforts to cultivate a pool of qualified cadres who anxiously waited in line for positions to open. As Grybkauskas argues, it is these intense and dynamic negotiations and conflicts, cutting across the industrial management system, that defined every day's functioning of the industrial sector in the Soviet Union.

'The Soviet Nomenklatura and Industry in Lithuania in 1965–1985' consists of six parts divided into chapters, several of which are further subdivided. The first two parts focus on historiography, and introduce the organisation of the industrial management system in Soviet Lithuania, in particular during and after Alexei Kosygin's reforms of 1965–1971, which transformed the organisation and methods of industrial management in the Soviet Union. It was during this period that factories were granted more autonomy and received material incentives to improve worker productivity, effectively forging new kinds of relationship and engendering tensions across the industrial sector that grew to define Soviet society in late socialism.

The next chapters develop the theory of economic nationalism, by focusing on the expression of national interests and identities in industrial management politics. Grybkauskas challenges the current definition of economic nationalism that refers to attempts by sovereign nations to protect their economic interests through trade agreements and tariffs, to conceptualise a unique combination of political and economic interests and national identity politics under socialism (p. 113). For Grybkauskas, economic nationalism is a pragmatic strategy, advanced by the nomenklatura to balance the demands of central government in Moscow, the needs of factory employees, and the concerns of most of the population of the republic, while protecting their own political legitimacy and power locally (p. 138).

Entitled 'The Relationships between All-Union Level Ministries and the Soviet Lithuanian Government', the next part tracks the changing organisational structures of the industrial sector in the Soviet Union, to examine how these changes affected the interdependency relationships between all-Union ministries presiding over particular industrial sectors and the governing bodies in Soviet Lithuania. It shows how local economic elites competed with Union ministries for influence over industrial development, and sought to build enterprises that met local consumer needs, such as food, clothing, appliances and construction materials. Central to this set of chapters is the discussion about the notion of 'national interests' (p. 142–144). Citing poignant examples, Grybkauskas shows how a mere reference to the idea that Soviet republics might have national interests was a dangerous proposition in the Soviet Union, yet it was precisely such an organisation of administrative relations at the all-Union level that constituted the *de facto* mechanism for resource allocation in Soviet industry.

Tracking networks of formal and informal exchanges in Soviet factories, the next chapters examine power leverages that factory managers and leaders of the Party had at their disposal in their daily operations. It focuses particularly on the relationships between the Lithuanian Communist Party and the factory management. This part of the book also provides a clear view of the structure of the *nomenklatura*, ranging from the local district level (*rajonas*) managers, to the leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party, to the powerful managers of factories classified as being of all-Union importance, to the KGB and the military presence in the local *nomenklatura*.

The last and the longest part in the book focuses on the factory as a site for negotiating several layers of administrative power. Starting with an analysis of the role of the factory manager, Grybkauskas shows how their authority was both challenged and reinforced through social and political networks centered around production. While the manager was the nominal leader of the administration, the deputy engineer played an important role in the administrative decision-making, and was often considered to be the manager's main rival. Similarly, Communist Party committees in each of the factories claimed relative autonomy, and exerted a significant influence over cadre hiring processes through their direct engagement in human resource departments. And even though workers and the service staff constituted the lower rungs of the industrial sector, they were deeply implicated in the administrative system, in that their skills and work were needed for meeting production plans, and also because they could (and on rare occasions did) retaliate and go on strike. Finally, cutting across these groups were national sentiments, which opened additional schisms in the social fabric of the workplace.

'The Soviet Nomenklatura and Industry in Lithuania in 1965–1985' is a terrific book, which deepens our understanding of the negotiations and exchanges taking place behind the closed doors of the byzantine Soviet bureaucracy, not only in Vilnius and Moscow, but also in local Communist Party committees and personnel departments in factories. It presents a complicated picture of the Soviet regime in general, and its industrial sector in particular, revealing underlying conflicts and tensions based on competing national, ideological and economic interests, which, as Grybkauskas shows, led to the breaking up of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s.

The only minor suggestion that might be helpful as Grybkauskas embarks on new projects is the issue of the role of gender in the Soviet *nomenklatura*. While it is clear that the *nomenklatura* in Soviet Lithuania was almost exclusively staffed by males, it might be worthwhile considering the role of women in its daily operations. Relegated to the peripheries of the power games taking place in the office, women were nevertheless central in reproducing power relations, as secretaries, staff members, confidantes, junior colleagues and fellow Party members. Interviews with

retired secretaries and other support staff could add another perspective on the functioning of the industrial system, providing a different take on the nature of conflicts and career aspirations of its main protagonists.

‘The Soviet Nomenklatura and Industry in Lithuania in 1965–1985’ is primarily aimed at Lithuanian academic audiences interested in modern history, comparative studies of socialism, industrial development, and the socialist bureaucracy. Because its narrative is not laden with disciplinary jargon, it will also be accessible to a general readership. It is important to note that the book includes a lengthy summary in English, outlining the key arguments and themes. Even though the summary does not quite capture the empirical richness and depth of the study, English-speaking readers might find it a useful contribution to the on-going debates in the history of socialism, industrialisation and bureaucracy.

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