

by sexual liberation and increasing divorce rates, the movement became, by the end of the century, one of the most powerful grassroots conservative movements of the century. To the white born-again evangelical Protestants who overwhelmingly comprised its membership, abortion was not simply a moral issue: it was deemed part of an overall liberal assault on traditional gender arrangements, especially women's withdrawal from domesticity, and as a license for (female) sexual excess—punishment for which would be specifically reserved for women, who would be denied access to contraceptives and abortion.

Though clearly concerned about the potential of social conservatism to undermine access to abortion and other reproductive freedoms—most notably through an increasingly conservative Supreme Court—and noting that worldwide, 675,000 women still die annually from pregnancy-related causes and botched abortions, Gordon concludes on an optimistic note. Gains include the establishment of an enduring network of women's health organisations with significant influence upon mainstream medicine, and an international trend even in very traditional cultures toward smaller families. Though the fight is far from over, the defense of abortion rights has had the positive effect of revitalizing the feminist movement and leading to a crucial recognition of the importance of sexual freedom for women worldwide.

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Frances Lee Bernstein, *The Dictatorship of Sex: Lifestyle Advice for the Soviet Masses* (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2007).

The focus of this detailed study is the programme of 'sexual enlightenment' in the Soviet Union of the 1920s in which a part of the medical profession tried to assume the leading role in solving the 'sex question' that had first emerged in the later nineteenth century. The immediate context for the medical advice on health and sexual behaviour was NEP (the New Economic Policy adopted in 1921), denounced by many communists as a concession to forces hostile to the revolution which encouraged sexual promiscuity, taken by its opponents as proof of the immorality and hedonism of capitalism. At the same time, the authorities were concerned about the 'sexual revolution' which was proclaimed by young comrades in particular but also by a few prominent communists, notably Alexandra Kollontai who was widely condemned (and misunderstood) as a promoter of 'free love'. In addition, there were serious social problems after seven years of war, not least the millions of abandoned children, as well as what the communists deemed to be hangovers of pre-revolutionary moral disorder, such as widespread prostitution, drug-taking, and venereal disease.

Building a new order, it was held, required discipline (there was great

concern over rising rates of divorce and illegitimacy); the conservation of energy (reflecting fear of sexual 'excess' and of masturbation); and the affirmation of sexual difference and separate spheres for the sexes (so viewing homosexuality as a pathology). Thus, the doctors sought to impose their authority on the sex question by medicalizing it, and here the author notes a gender difference in their treatment of male and female sexual dysfunction: the physicians considered that male patients could successfully act on their advice, whereas female sexuality was seen mainly as a cause of men's problems (e.g. impotence). In contrast, the physicians regarded female sexual problems, which were generally reduced to one (frigidity), to be a medical mystery. As the author observes, this medicalization of sexuality entailed making it a public rather than a private affair, a matter for the collective and not for either the individual or the family. Men were urged to conserve their energy for production, and women theirs primarily for reproduction. Even when building socialism, women's main social function was as mother: Thus, they were expected to shoulder the double burden of home and paid employment with dutiful forbearance from the beginning of the Soviet state.

With Stalin's tightening grip on power in the early 1930s, the sex question was declared solved, and the medical experts subordinated to the state, in some cases with great brutality. Yet as the author reveals, Stalin's pro-natalism and intolerance of sexual 'deviance' cannot simply be dismissed as a retreat into traditional values. Indeed, the medical advice of the 1920s had relied so heavily on biological determinism that they lent an apparently scientific basis to Stalin's insistence on traditional gender roles. Ironically, such 'biologising' was now condemned as a deviation from Marxism-Leninism, while what was considered as sexual deviance was conflated with political dissent. The medical efforts at sexual education in the 1920s now gave way to prohibition, such as the re-criminalisation of prostitution, homosexuality and abortion in the first half of the 1930s, as well as restrictions on divorce and the unavailability of contraception, which was considered (and agreed by most doctors) to be dangerous for women's health.

As the author acknowledges, there are problems with the sources, including inadequate and scattered storage, severe financial hardship faced by archives and libraries, and bureaucratic inefficiency and inertia. She did, however, receive invaluable support from key individuals, while she has been assiduous, persistent and imaginative in uncovering a rich body of evidence. Though it is for the most part limited to the advisors, her close reading of both their writings and related illustrations (necessary in a still largely illiterate and semi-literate society) gives us some idea of the targets of such counsel. That so much advice on the benefits of sublimation of sexual appetites, and indeed of abstention from sexual activity, was issued throughout the 1920s suggests that the masses were not heeding it, leading to growing calls for regulation of behaviour. The majority of these medical 'enlighteners' were male, but the women shared their functionalist view of sex. They all wanted to prevent and eradicate disease and improve popular health.

They believed that the well-being of the people depended on their sexual health, and more narrowly on healthy marriages. The evidence here shows how little concerned these advisors on popular health and lifestyle were with sexual fulfillment, as if sex (in contrast to the state) would wither away, its only function procreation: A far cry indeed from Kollontai's appeal to the 'winged Eros'. Thus, neither the sexual enlightenment of the 1920s nor the 'Great Retreat' of the next decade were concerned with sexual satisfaction; rather, both sought to imbue (or inflict) the discipline of collective duty over the selfish pleasure of bourgeois individualism. It was, as the author concludes, a negation of rather than a solution to the sex question.

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Paul Rutherford, *A World Made Sexy: Freud to Madonna* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007).

Born of a "chance remark" by Michel Foucault on the twentieth century's shift "from coercion to provocation" in regulating sexuality, Paul Rutherford's *A World Made Sexy* explores the rise of eroticism in the service of commerce with reference to art, film, television, print media, and more, visiting several familiar pop culture phenomena on the way (3). *A World Made Sexy* is "the story of the building of a modern utopia of Eros where just about everyone (who was affluent, that is) might dream, play, and above all, shop" (3). Rutherford traces the "Eros project," as he terms it, through museums and exhibitions devoted to sex and the "erotics of power" in Bond films and Madonna videos. The book's main thrust, however, is a study of advertising and "the sexual sell"; Rutherford examines the intellectual underpinnings of the Eros project in the works of Freud and his followers, a few successful twentieth-century manifestations such as *Playboy* and Barbie, and some of the angst such advertising engendered. The penultimate chapter considers the resulting "theatres of the libido" which characterized advertising by the 1990s with reference to a number of ads, primarily television commercials. The book concludes with a return to Foucault and a meditation on his theories of sexuality in light of this post-1945 "libidinal economy." Rutherford ultimately argues that the Eros project, whatever else it might do, was in itself "liberating," or at least "did multiply the avenues of enjoyment for many, many people" (256).

A World Made Sexy attempts to answer a series of broad and slippery questions about the relationship between commerce and sexuality in the affluent West, with varying degrees of success. Rutherford convincingly contextualizes Freud's ideas and their dissemination through Wilhelm Reich, Herbert Marcuse, and Ernest Dichter, examining the ways in which belief in "the subconscious" and the pleasure principle shaped both erotically-charged advertising and the respons-