

totalitarianisms, she observes (133), is used to exculpate the proto-fascist (yet, arguably, non-totalitarian) regime of Miklós Horthy. Réka Szentiványi's chapter discusses Budapest's House of Terror, a museum that, although ostensibly dedicated to the examination of fascist and communist dictatorships, focuses almost exclusively on the latter, and depicts all Hungarians as victims (166). Fidesz and its leader Viktor Orbán, she shows, deploy memory politics strategically: to polarize society and cement their power, in pursuit of conspicuously undemocratic ends.

The undoubted quality of some chapters notwithstanding, the volume overall is limited by its framing assumptions, notably the categorical coupling of Nazism and communism as brutal totalitarian systems. Defining communism as a "criminal system" effaces the heterogeneity of its historical record, which included 1930s Russia but also 1960s Yugoslavia and 1980s Hungary. It posits a Manichean dualism of totalitarian regimes (criminal, violent) and liberal democracies (legitimate, non-violent). Yet if one compares, say, communist East Germany (1949–89) with Britain or the US in the same decades, one finds that the two democracies undertook an enormously higher number of political killings, including massacres and other atrocities, than did the communist dictatorship. Or consider 1930s Ukraine. The Holodomor was not simply a manifestation of Stalinist terror and the Gulag, it was simultaneously the reimposition of a colonial relationship that, initially established under tsarism, had been abolished in the 1920s. Germany's own history exhibits a parallel course. The semi-democratic Wilhelmine regime enacted horrific colonial violence, notably the genocide of the Herero and Nama. Following Versailles, Weimar Germany was largely non-colonial (even as some forces, notably Konrad Adenauer's German Colonial Society, agitated for re-colonization). Nazism committed to colonization across central and eastern Europe and beyond, a goal that drew inspiration from Germany's own colonial record, and from American and British racism and imperialism. Germany's refusal today to offer reparations for its genocides in Africa flows from a memory politics that recognizes evil only when it was perpetrated by a so-called totalitarian regime.

In the concluding chapter, Frank-Lothar Kroll asks if there can be "pan-European sites of memory" (220). If we are guided by the progressive core of Holocaust memorialization, that is, repentance for the oppression and murder inflicted by European regimes upon minorities, such sites, while including the locations in central and eastern Europe discussed in this volume, will be global in reach.

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***Restless History: Political Imaginaries and Their Discontents in Post-Stalinist Bulgaria.*** By Zhivka Valiavicharska. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021. xvi, 275pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Figures. \$39.95, paper.  
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The last decade—shaped by global recession, populist politicians and rightwing extremism—has seen scholarly efforts to salvage the left from the scrapyard of post-communist transition as a viable intellectual and political alternative. Bulgarian studies have seen a fair share of these attempts. In 2015, anthropologist Kristen Ghodsee's *The Left Side of History* admired the selfless dedication of interwar individuals who fought for a better world in Nazi-dominated and postwar Europe. Historian Maria Todorova's *Imagining Utopia: The Lost World of Socialists at Europe's Margins* (2020) resurrected leftwing men and women from the decades before the Great European

War, marginalized or forgotten with the Bolshevization and Stalinization of east European socialism. Professor of political and social theory Zhivka Valiavicharska continues this quest with *Restless History*. Her investigation of socialist humanism of the 1960s and 70s explores a Marxism freed of Leninist-Stalinist garb and pushing globally for personal and national liberation on anti-capitalist, anti-colonial, and anti-racist principles. While the left's state socialist experiment crashed between 1989 and 1991, this book argues that the ideas and policies of the bygone "Second World" deserve rediscovery and consideration.

The book's six chapters evaluate both the liberating and dark facets of socialist humanism in the post-Stalinist Soviet bloc. The first chapter explores the global context of Marxist revival, as many strands of thought (the New Left, Yugoslavia's Praxis School, anti-colonial critics, and US civil rights advocates) converged and clashed. Walking readers through the collection and work of Moscow's Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Valiavicharska traces how this body—which in the 1930s served the coagulation of doctrinaire Marxism-Leninism—after Stalin's death enabled the rediscovery of early Marx and the subsequent revival of alienation, dialectical analysis, and human agency as analytical concepts across Cold War borders. Still, Valiavicharska sees a crucial difference between western Marxist humanism and ideas coming out of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. Thinkers in non-capitalist states had to transcend traditional Marxist focus on productivity and class conflict and offer solutions for the new realities in eastern Europe of the 1960s and 70s.

Chapter 2 illustrates this transition by analyzing eastern Europe's theoretical and political attention to "social reproduction." In Bulgaria championed by feminist sociologists, the concept criticized Stalinist ideas of gender equality as production- and male-centered. It inspired women in the 1970s and 80s to demand policies of socialized care, leisure, and a healthy work-life balance. Here, as in the other chapters, Valiavicharska points to the double-edge of socialist humanism. While feminist theorists spoke of "social reproduction" in tandem with another core concept of late or "developed socialism"—the "holistically developed person"—to extract unprecedented social services for working women, the state used theory and practice to solidify motherhood as central to the identity and role of women. Pro-nativist policies aimed to both increase declining birth rates and reduce reproduction among minority populations, a move toward ethnonationalist social engineering that women activists and scholars willingly supported.

Valiavicharska deepens the analysis of interactions between the Bulgarian socialist state and its Muslim (Turkish, Pomak, and Roma) minorities in the next three chapters. She demonstrates how Marxist humanism's tripartite interest in de-Stalinization (and de-Sovietization), continued modernization, and all-rounded citizens "helped construct a continuous historical narrative of a unified 'Bulgarian people' throughout the ages" (21). This narrative framed religious and ethnic pluralism as threatening to the socialist state. It rejected traditional views of Bulgarian Turks as ethnically different, cast all Muslims as ethnic Bulgarians forcibly Islamized under the Ottoman "yoke," and thus justified radical policies of assimilation in the 1970s and 80s. Furthermore, as Bulgarian socialist humanists never articulated a non-statist vision of socialist community, they contributed to the birth of "ethno-statism" (24, 118–20). The very same institutions of population management that extended social welfare, schooling, and healthcare to Bulgarian (Christian) citizens mobilized in the forceful renaming of Pomaks, Roma, and Turks in the name of national unity.

The tension between emancipatory socialist humanist claims and oppressive state policies is especially jarring when one considers Bulgaria's international

engagements (Chapter 6). In the 1960s and 70s, the country actively participated in the Cold War east-south exchange. It professed solidarity with countries from the Global South based on Bulgaria's nineteenth-century struggles against Ottoman control, opposition to western imperialist capitalism, and tangible achievements under socialism. These claims sounded hollow by the late 1980s as ethnic cleansing and the expulsion of some 350,000 Bulgarian Turks to Turkey marred the country's international reputation.

*Restless History* is an ambitious intellectual project that seeks to explore Second World Marxist humanism on its own terms and with its multiple, ambivalent legacies. The book's 200 pages do not always fulfil the promises and aspirations laid out in the excellent introduction. While Valiavicharska's conceptual framework in comparative, the chapters on gender and minority politics begs for assessment of the Bulgarian case next to other countries in the Soviet bloc. Yet the author succeeds in her goal of taking state socialism seriously and integrating it—with its achievements and flaws—into the history of the twentieth century.

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***The Secret Police and the Religious Underground in Communist and Post-Communist Eastern Europe.*** Ed. James A. Kapaló and Kinga Povedák. New York:

Routledge, 2022. xiii, 340 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. \$175.00, hardbound; \$48.95, ebook.

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This eclectic yet engaging collection tackles a controversial topic: the role of the secret police in former communist systems and the churches, which is controversial because some heroes of the revolutions of 1989 have been tarnished by complicity with the secret police and also because the revelations from the files have produced contested memory and history.

While not avoiding the issue of complicity entirely, the authors of this volume seek to use the secret police records as a window into the functioning of the secret police itself and its perception of religious groups. The contributors focus primarily, though not exclusively, on the underground existence of minority religions, seeing them as understudied and offering particular insights into resilience, adaptation, and agency by religious groups. Within this subset, most of the contributors explore the “lived experience” of religious groups, rather than their institutional relationship with the respective regime. In doing so, as James Kapaló notes, they find that the secret police files offer insights into the “unintended archival ‘traces’ of religious material worlds and agencies” (261).

Although all are viewed as subversive by the regimes, the groups vary in terms of the circumstances of their marginalized existence. Some are schismatic groups (such as the True Orthodox Church in Soviet Ukraine, New Orientation Protestants in Czechoslovakia); others are sectarians (Hare Krishna in Soviet Lithuania, Baptists in Romania, Jehovah's Witnesses in Hungary, Romania, and Soviet Moldavia); still others are forced into illegality (monastic orders, Greek Catholics). The authors suggest certain common features of these groups—repression that pre-dated the communist period, an affinity for clandestine activity, apocalyptic views, and relative lack of hierarchy—which made them more suspect to the secret police than the traditional national churches. In some cases, their vulnerability was heightened by foreign/transnational ties (Inochentists to Romania, Jehovah's Witnesses to the US) and their