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.
doi: 10.1017/slr.2023.33

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

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indirect resistance to regime norms (rejection of military service and political participation, and tendency to proselytize).

Official archives chronicle primarily state relations with the legally registered churches; the underground churches maintained few records themselves. Filling this double vacuum, the secret police files, though subjective and motivated/distorted by ideology and efforts at control, offer scarce and credible evidence regarding these marginal religious groups.

Though the authors' findings confirm the well-documented methods of the secret police (surveillance, infiltration, control, subversion), they shed light on some of the unintended consequences of their practices. The use of "model criminal cases" (70–72), templates of reporting, and career training all suggest a certain bureaucratic routinization and professionalization; yet plagiarized masters degrees (202–4), application of conservative norms of sexual morality (310–13), not to mention the primitive understanding of religion and church practices all reveal an organization too rigid and ill-equipped to do more than exercise coercion and seek control over a putative hidden enemy or a "co-constructed clerical reaction" (202).

Quite innovative and intriguing is the application of participant-observation and ethnographic approaches to analyze "vernacular religion" through the lens of the secret police (Ch. 10). Curtailing pilgrimages to the site of a 1965 apparition of Mary in Poland (Ch. 7; use of "photo elicitation" in studying the case of a crackdown on an underground Pentecostal group in Hungary (Ch. 11); food and financial records of Inochentists in Romania (Ch. 12), all are used by the respective authors to develop alternative narratives to that of victim and oppressor. One need not be convinced of the theoretical notion of "performative religion" to see the need for a corrective framing and value in the methods used.

In the final section, authors approach the question of coming-to-terms-with-the-past by the religious groups, albeit not systematically. The Romanian case gets more treatment in excellent chapters on the politics of the Securitate files, the work of the presidential commission, the neo-Protestant reckoning, and the braking action of the Romanian Orthodox Church (Ch. 13, 15). Closed files in Yugoslavia make accountability very difficult (Ch. 14). The efforts have been halting, uneven, and politicized, and the editors highlight the "varieties" and "complexity of interpretation" (27, 28). Key cases such as the former GDR and Poland are not dealt with in this volume, but the evidence of the Romanian Orthodox Church mirrors the experience of these traditional national churches in their reluctance.

Some limits of this collection should be noted. Though affirming the need for comparative work, the cases tend to focus heavily on a few countries (Romania and Hungary, in particular) and several western Soviet republics. Jehovah's Witnesses enjoy treatment in several chapters; it could be useful to study Mormon or Christian Scientist groups, as has been done extensively in the case of the GDR. In some cases, more context would be useful (extensive Catholic *samizdat* in Lithuania as context for the Hare Krishna phenomenon). This reader found himself looking for treatment of the oppositional "Catholic base communities" in the Hungarian cases.

On the issue of resistance, the editors see the religious groups as exercising "conscious and unconscious forms of defiance, resilience, and creative agency" (11), not merely the artificial construct of the regime nor derivative of their apolitical identity. In their view, "the concrete actions taken undermined or disrupted the state's ability to pursue its social, cultural and economic policies" (10). Yet the traditional churches, or dissenters in them, likely did more to "undermine or disrupt" the regimes in places like Poland, East Germany, or even Czechoslovakia.

The editors highlight the "enormous potential for further research" on underground religions (11). The heavy reliance on Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Moldovan

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archives for the Soviet cases underscores that much of this potential lies in Russian secret police archives that continue to remain beyond the reach of scholars. The lessons from the Romanian Orthodox Church offer some insight into why that potential remains unrealized.

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A State of Secrecy: Stasi Informers and the Culture of Surveillance. By Alison Lewis. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021. 315 pp. Notes. Bibliography. Index. Photographs. $60.00, hard bound.
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For more than thirty years, the history of the East German Ministry of State Security, the MfS, or Stasi, has been almost synonymous with the history of the former GDR. One of the reasons is that the East German version of socialism held the unofficial world record in denunciation. Although the GDR's population was only 16–18 million inhabitants and existed four decades, the MfS recruited some 620,000 agents, which does not even count the agents recruited by Military Intelligence or the Police, which ran their own networks. Together with the massive Soviet military presence and the hermetically closed borders this army of spies was the central pillar of the Communist Regime in East Germany.

After the peaceful revolution of 1989, the gruesome legacy was made available to the public. The opening of the Stasi-Archives was the first step of what is known as the Archival Revolution in central and eastern Europe. In its wake, a flow of research followed, based on the 111 km of Stasi documents. The vanguard were the employees of the research department of the archive, which possessed privileged access. Regarding the agents of the MfS, most prominent scholarship of the political scientist Helmut Müller-Enbergs must be mentioned. Although the German research on the MfS is usually thorough, it has often slipped the attention of the international public in the English-speaking world. The job of "translating" German research to the world audience has fallen to a handful of outside scholars. The work of Alison Lewis is a fine example of such a successful knowledge transfer to the Anglosphere.

Lewis's book is structured around five widely known cases of authors who were working for the MfS. The cases are Paul Wien, Maja Wien, Helga H. Novak, Paul Gratzik, and Sascha Anderson. Lewis uses the secret spy careers of her case persons to make operational mechanisms of the spy craft, such as motivation and dependency, come alive. The cases are quite different: Novak only had a short and rather unsuccessful cooperation with the repression apparatus, whereas Paul Wien supported both the MfS and the KGB for decades with information on a cavalcade of famous cultural personalities like Günther Grass, Lew Kopelew, Stefan Heym, or Christa Wolf.

Alison Lewis does not make lengthy arguments for her case choices, except that "each represents a different point along the spectrum of personalities involved in collaboration with the Stasi" (xxxiii). However, her choice mirrors the German public debate quite well. The work of the Main Department XX of the MfS has been a flagship in understanding it. This part of the Stasi was among others responsible for alleged underground activities within the cultural scene and academia. In many ways, this part of the Stasi surveillance machinery corresponds well with the image of repression known from the Oscar-winning film *The Lives of Others*. Prying into the life of cultural celebrities attracted more public and scholarly interest than the military security of Main Department I, for instance. Furthermore, both victims and perpetrators within

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