

The Future of (Post)Socialism: Eastern European Perspectives. Ed. John Frederick Bailyn, Dijana Jelača, and Danijela Lugarić. Pangaea II: Global/Local Studies, eds. Saïd Amir Arjomand and Wolf Schäfer. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2018. xiii, 264 pp. Tables. Figures. Index. Notes. References. \$90.00, hard bound. \$22.95, paperback.

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The consequences of confining socialism to the historical record are in dire need of theorization. While postsocialist discourse offers many useful critiques of nostalgia, nationalism, and neoliberalism, it remains unquestioned that by existing in a post-89 world, we are living in a world in which socialism belongs to the past. Reading 1989 as the end of socialism's historical unfolding both ignores that pockets of socialism still exist beyond the borders of Europe and also too hastily accedes to a progressivist model of history. The latter problem is the point of departure for *The Future of (Post)Socialism*, an expansive volume edited by John Frederick Bailyn, Dijana Jelača, and Danijela Lugarić. The nine essays, introduction, and afterword in this volume deal with issues ranging from Eastern Europe's ongoing significance to the global far-right to the enclosure of public space in Russia to countermemory politics in Croatia. An interdisciplinary text, *The Future of (Post)Socialism* offers many valuable openings through which to critically reconsider the foreclosure of socialist futurity (in its historical, political, and affective dimensions) in contemporary Eastern Europe.

Editors Dijana Jelača and Danijela Lugarić introduce the volume's intervention with a series of questions. Most critically, they ask: "how might the 'post' be rendered complicated by the notion that the unfinished business of socialism continues to influence the trajectory of the future?" (1). Throughout the book, the editors of this text and the contributing authors complicate linear historiography and seek to reveal what socialism's "unfinished business" might be. The first section, "New Approaches to (Post)Socialism: The Theory in Transition" responds to this question in primarily theoretical terms. The authors here contest the myth of Eastern Europe's international

political impotence (David Ost), argue for the ongoing relevance of the socialist-capitalist global opposition (David M. Kotz), and resist the progressivist straightening of postsocialist historiography (Jelisaveta Blagojević and Jovana Timotijević). The second section, “(Post)Socialist Space(s),” deals with the redefinition of space after socialism, on both the national and local level. Authors discuss the disavowal of socialism in new national branding campaigns (Robert A. Saunders), the conflict of the public and private in postsocialist *dachas* (Olga Shevchenko), and the residual significance of Soviet Bakuvian (*bakinets*) identity (Heather D. DeHaan). The final section of the book, “Memories of the Future,” deals with socialism’s “unfinished business” in terms of private and public memory. The chapters in this section engage with the recuperation of socialist memory in the post-Yugoslav cultural sphere (Maša Kolanović), the ubiquity of historical revisionism in struggles over public memory and space in Croatia (Sanja Potkonjak and Nevena Škrbić Alempijević), and the deployment of pre-socialist national myths in Lithuania’s educational system (Iveta Silova).

These chapters all highlight the enormous work underway at the state level to erase any positive legacy of socialism from the public sphere. While some of the authors represent themselves as having neutral or ambivalent positions regarding the struggle over socialist memory in Eastern Europe, others are explicitly critical of that erasure. Reminding readers of the numerous achievements of socialist states, Kotz sees a re-articulation of socialism—one that is decentralized, democratic, and participatory—as the only antidote to the catastrophic fate of the capitalist world system (60). In agreement with Kotz’s political vision, Blagojević and Timotijević argue that a radicalization of socialism necessitates the inclusion of “minor voices, narratives, and histories, as well as archives and realities that are forgotten and restrained” (79). This narrative expansion includes, for example, the critical appropriation of the Soviet discourse of “friendship of peoples” in Baku, Azerbaijan (DeHaan) and the use of postsocialist nostalgia as an active strategy of socialist political planning (Kolanović). Significantly, these authors demonstrate how the historical and lived experience of socialism continues to provide a language with which to articulate futurity in Eastern Europe.

Considering the focus on enduring socialist political visions for the future, I had hoped that the volume would have devoted more attention to the relationship of postsocialism to global

capitalism. In the book's introduction, Jelača and Lugarić use Stuart Hall's seminal essay, "When Was the 'Post-Colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," to frame the issue of postsocialism's peculiar temporality. In that essay, however, Hall is not only interested in the question of temporality. He also sharply critiques postcolonial scholars' failure to theorize the relationship of postcolonialism to global capitalism as "seriously damaging and disabling for everything positive which the post-colonial paradigm can, and has the ambition to, accomplish" (1996, 257). A more explicit consideration of the role of global capitalism and structures of class, race, gender, and sexuality would have helped to clarify the theoretical confusion that can accompany analogies of postsocialism and postcolonialism. Elaborating on the structural relationship between (post)socialism and (post)colonialism, including their material differences (which go unnamed in the book), would also help remedy the vagueness of some concepts like "multiplicity" that surface throughout the text. For example, without framing what Blagojević and Timotijević refer to as restrained "minor voices" in terms of their class position in global capitalism, there is a risk of producing an equivalence of fascist and anti-fascist politics in instances of anti-socialist historical revisionism, or even of ultimately prioritizing the voice of the fascist political subject (whose perspective was "restrained" during state socialism). In light of Ost's analysis of how postsocialist Eastern Europe has served as the vanguard for the global far-right, rhetorical precision is of extreme importance.

Overall, this volume offers a necessary intervention into postsocialist discourse, which too often tautologically confines socialism to the past. Interrogating the peculiarities of postsocialist temporality significantly exposes the ideological underpinnings of the transition narrative and reveals the many ways that socialism continues to live on in the region's political imagination as well as in people's daily lives. As it is evident that postsocialism is not coming to an end any time soon, the conversation about *The Future of (Post)Socialism* is critical to scholars working in anthropology, sociology, history, and cultural studies, as well as those scholars specifically working at the intersection of postsocialist and postcolonial studies.