

signed together with Daniel's wife Larisa. In the spring of the same year he completed a book on the trials of five people, who, with a few others, had demonstrated in Pushkin Square not only for the release of Ginzburg's associates, Galanskov, Dobrovolsky, Lashkova, and Radzievsky, but also against the already famous new articles 190/1 and 190/3 of the Russian Criminal Code. They were found guilty under the same article 190/3—Khaustov also under article 190/1—against which they had protested.

A short introduction written by Karel van het Reve, six appendixes with the texts of the judgments and other documents, as well as four pages of notes, will certainly be helpful to all readers, particularly those who are not familiar with the unrest among Soviet intellectuals and with some aspects of Soviet criminal law and procedure.

This is not a book for lawyers only. It is a document that should be read by everybody.

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THE CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE MARXIST CRITICISM OF RELIGION. By *Helmut Gollwitzer*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970. ix, 173 pp. \$5.95.

MARXISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Roger Garaudy*. Translated by *René Hague*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970. 224 pp. \$5.95.

CHURCH IN A MARXIST SOCIETY: A CZECHOSLOVAK VIEW. By *Jan Milič Lochman*. New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, 1970. 198 pp. \$5.95.

These volumes have historical value as relics of a phenomenon of the sixties—the "Christian-Marxist dialogue."

When Gollwitzer, a German Protestant theologian, read the paper on which the present book is based before the Commission on Marxism of the Study Fellowship of the Evangelical Academies in Germany in 1958 and 1959, such organizations were pioneering ventures which had not yet aroused much interest among Marxists and which confined their activities largely to probing the bond between Marxism and atheism. Gollwitzer's book is accordingly a potpourri of somewhat ponderous but frequently enlightening observations on the accidental character of that connection. Some of his points are largely curiosities, such as his tracing of the "opiate of the people" figure (he finds anticipations of it in Goethe and Holbach) and his reminders of the Christian orientation of many early socialists, illustrated in this hymn written by Wilhelm Weitling for the children of his "Labor Union" members:

I am a little Communist,
And riches I disdain,
Because our Master Jesus Christ
Sought neither gold nor gain.
I am a little Communist,
And shall be kind and true,
And later as a Christian join
The Labor Union, too.

More substantial are Gollwitzer's generally convincing arguments that there is no logical necessity for a Marxist to repudiate religious faith. Quoting Lenin's statement that Marxism is "not a dogma, but a direction for action," Gollwitzer criticizes the thinking which, in his view, has turned a methodological program of sociopolitical character into a total world view with ontological dogmas. The method, he holds, can be accepted without the metaphysics. Little attempt is made by Gollwitzer himself to accept Marxism, though he does contend that its atheistic turn was an understandable reaction to failures of the Christian church. Basically he argues for a purified Marxism which need not dismiss religion.

To a surprising extent, just such a Marxism did develop during the sixties, and it made possible a genuine dialogue. In the relaxed spirit of de-Stalinization, a growing body of Marxist thinkers outside the Soviet Union began to elaborate an outlook which was nondogmatic and creative. A leader of this movement in France was Roger Garaudy, who also became a moving spirit in the Christian-Marxist dialogue.

Though the longest chapter in Garaudy's book is the chapter on religion, the book itself is a comprehensive and impressive account of liberalized Marxism as a general outlook. To a Soviet-style Marxist-Leninist, its contents must be nothing short of scandalous. The true theory of Marx and Lenin, Garaudy asserts, is not a "philosophy of being" but a "philosophy of act," which owes more to Kant and Fichte than to Feuerbach and is based on the idea of creative development. Garaudy scorns the dogmatism of set "laws" of dialectic and "stages" of history, under which, as he sees it, Marxism has slumbered for a quarter of a century. In area after area he casts out the old lumber of Stalinist orthodoxy, announcing that "the claim to possess once and for all either the prime elements of reality or the first principles of knowledge" is obsolete. Marxist ethics must emphasize man's freedom and responsibility; Marxist aesthetics must acknowledge the creative role of art: the concept of "reflection" is "as fatal for the arts as it is for the sciences." In religion, though Garaudy by no means renounces atheism, he takes great pains to emphasize that the Marxist must understand the "authentic demands" from which religions arise and must appreciate "the richness and beauty of the Christian message."

Lochman's book is at once a celebration of the Christian-Marxist dialogue as it developed in Czechoslovakia and a terse indication of the chief cause of its decline—the Soviet-led occupation of August 1968. The book provides background information on the history of Czech Protestantism, but Lochman's chief interest is to examine the problems faced by the church at what he calls "the end of the Constantinian era"—that is, the end of the historical epoch in which the church received either official or tacit support from the state. In Eastern Europe this means coexisting with Marxism, and clearly the growing dialogue was for East European churchmen such as Lochman one of the most promising developments of the whole postwar period.

As if in response to the overtures of Garaudy and other liberal Marxists, Lochman goes well beyond Gollwitzer in "accepting" Marxism. Theoretically, he deftly states a core of views which Christians and Marxists share: that man is a social creature, for whom history is significant, and that he is on his way to a promised future of greater justice. Practically, Lochman eschews any attempt to overcome or replace Marxism and stresses instead "the practical cooperation between Christians and Marxists as citizens of a socialist society"—cooperation which reached its apogee in Czechoslovakia in the spring of 1968.

After the occupation, Lochman writes bravely that "the experience of human values opened in the process of renewal in our society was too genuine and deep to be forgotten or given up." But in fact the situation was savagely changed. Lochman himself has left Czechoslovakia for Switzerland. Garaudy has been dismissed from the Central Committee and Politburo of the French Communist Party, and a number of other European Marxists prominent in the dialogue have experienced similar fates. As a significant force in European intellectual life, the Christian-Marxist dialogue is now all but dead; even as a dream, it no longer spurs the hopes that animated these generous thinkers in the sweet days of de-Stalinization.

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PATRIARCH AND PROPHETS: PERSECUTION OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH TODAY. By *Michael Bourdeaux*. New York and Washington: Praeger Publishers, 1970. 359 pp. \$10.00.

One of the principal but less-publicized features of Khrushchev's "de-Stalinization" program was the abandonment of Stalin's pragmatic post-1941 religious policy that provided, at least until 1954, for a strictly circumscribed *modus vivendi* between the atheistic regime and the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as other "loyal" religious groups which had recovered some of their earlier strength during and immediately after World War II. Paradoxically, "liberalization" of some other areas of Soviet life during the Khrushchev era was thus accompanied by an increasingly violent attack against both religious groups and religious beliefs and practices among the population. In the process, the Russian Orthodox Church—the chief beneficiary of Stalin's "religious NEP"—lost most of its monastic and theological institutions and over half of its churches, and was forced to renounce "voluntarily" not only some of the concessions it had received since 1941 but some of the limited rights it still enjoys under the Soviet law and also to "purge itself" of some of its best bishops and clergy who dared to oppose openly the official anti-religious measures. The manifest illegality and frequent brutality of these measures combined with the Moscow Patriarchate's policy of maintaining official silence about them—and indeed of denying the existence of any religious persecution—to evoke increasing ferment and manifestations of dissent among the Orthodox clergy and laymen. While many of the dissenters were eventually silenced by ecclesiastical and governmental reprisals, their courageous voices helped (as did also the much-delayed reaction of foreign public opinion) to ease the antireligious pressure on the Church during recent years.

These developments are profusely documented in Michael Bourdeaux's *Patriarch and Prophets*, a companion volume to his 1968 book *Religious Ferment in Russia* (which dealt with the opposition of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists to Soviet religious policy since 1960). Unlike the latter volume, *Patriarch and Prophets* separates commentary from documentation; unfortunately, but perhaps inevitably, many documents are offered in an incomplete form, though the editor frequently offers a brief summary of the parts left out. It is noteworthy that both Soviet and *samizdat* documents are included; dealing occasionally with the same problems, they offer contrasting versions of the same events and persons. Prefaced by a lucid introduction on church-state relations in the USSR, the documents are arranged in eight sections dealing with such aspects of the problem as features and