Discretion and Valour: Religious Conditions in Russia and Eastern Europe by Trevor Beeson

Revised edition, London: Collins/Fount, 1982, 416 pp. Paperback, £2.95

Reviewing a revision is a tempting business. Any scholar may ponder how he might have improved upon another's work. But the opportunity to comment upon someone else's revision of a great book is a rare privilege. For Trevor Beeson's *Discretion and Valour* is indeed a great book, an indispensable book. Only once, to my knowledge, has a book of this scope been attempted, and then only on the Soviet Union: Walter Kolarz's monumental *Religion in the Soviet Union*. The revision of *Discretion and Valour* makes it obvious that someone must undertake a similar updating of Kolarz's historic volume.

It is a joy to me, an exercise in nostalgia, to provide this review. In September of 1974, while I was Chaplain to the American Embassy in Moscow, I was a participant in the discussions between the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and the Patriarchate of Moscow. One morning, on my way to a conference session, I stopped in at the Embassy and to my great joy, I found a copy of Discretion and Valour, sent to me in the diplomatic bag. Needless to say, I paid only slight attention to the speeches in the morning plenary session. Shortly before lunch there was a pause in the business as we awaited some official translations. Metropolitan Nikodim asked, from the chair, if anyone had any brief announcements. Clutching my copy of Discretion and Valour, I made my way to the podium. For several minutes, I explained the intention of the British Council of Churches in undertaking this project. As soon as I had returned to my seat, the Metropolitan launched into what was even for him a rather bombastic tirade. He went on at great length about western interference in the church affairs of the socialist countries, he attacked many notable scholars by name, and ended up with a total rejection of the validity or usefulness of this book. We then adjourned for lunch. I went to him immediately and begged his forgiveness. "Forgiveness! What for?" "For the scandal," I replied. He glanced

around the ceiling and grinned, "Don't be so silly!" The members of the unseen listening audience had got his message — a bit more discretion than valour. As I left the Metropolitan, I was pounced upon by two leading Russian churchmen, one Orthodox and the other Baptist, who squabbled over which would get the first crack at it. For the rest of the day, Discretion and Valour made the circuit of the conference hall of the Rossiya Hotel, as Soviet church leaders quickly scanned the pages of the book they had all been waiting to see.

In the following eight years, I have lost more copies of that book than I would care to count. People keep asking me for a single volume that will provide a balanced and accurate picture of what is really happening to Christians behind the Iron Curtain. I never hesitate—"here's exactly what you're looking for". And that is precisely what it has been — a book in a class by itself. The breadth of the coverage, the lucidity of the prose style, and the sheer weight of factual material is unequalled.

As I read the introductory section of the revised edition, I found myself asking, how could Trevor Beeson improve upon the original version, beyond merely carrying on with the description of the succeeding years? The first chapter turned out to be almost an exact reproduction of the original version. The same was true with the second—a few new facts from the intervening years. At this point, I became a bit discouraged. Is this really a revision, or is it just the old book with a few extra facts tacked on? Then I looked to the back of the book and discovered that the new edition was sixty-five pages longer.

I jumped forward to the chapter on Bulgaria and discovered a gold mine. The new chapter was fifty per cent longer than the original, thoroughly reorganised and rewritten. There was more historical background and far more statistical information. Best of all, there was a substantial expansion of the sections on the Protestants and the Armenians. Finally, some very astute comments were made about the present Patriarch and the attitude of the Bulgarian State.

But what about Hungary — the original was one of the weaker chapters, with inadequate coverage of the Roman Catholics. In the revision, this chapter includes a great deal of new information about the entire Hungarian religious situation and the lack of details about the Catholics has been rectified.

The same praise must be accorded to the chapters on Poland, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia, in particular. All are packed with more accurate statistics and more detailed analysis, and yet remain highly readable. My only disappointment came in the chapter on Albania. The revision is an improvement, but reveals just how inadequate are our lines of communication with that "land of martyrs". Finally, I turned to the heart of the book, chapters three and four, on the Churches of the USSR. Here I met with a slight disappointment. Chapter three now begins with an

excellent exposition of Russian Orthodox Church life, but it then repeats, almost word for word, the original version. When new material is introduced, it sometimes slips into factual error. The mistakes are relatively minor, but are distressing, and should not be present in so authoritative a book, particularly as they are unnecessary. An example (p. 79):

At the age of twenty-eight he [Nikodim] was sent to Jerusalem as an archimandrite and as head of the Russian Orthodox mission. After two years he returned to Moscow to become head of the Patriarchate office. In the following year he was made Bishop of Podolsk and head of the Foreign Department of the Patriarchate. A year later he succeeded his old patron, Bishop Dimitri, as Archbishop of Yaroslavl, and in 1963 — when he was still only thirty-four — he became Metropolitan of Minsk. Only two more years were to pass before he was elevated to one of the great Orthodox sees: Leningrad and Ladoga.

The facts about Nikodim's meteoric rise are readily available from many sources. The paragraph should read:

At the age of twenty-six he was sent to Jerusalem as a hieromonk and member of the staff of the Russian Orthodox mission. In a matter of months, he was made Deputy Head, hegumen, then archimandrite and Head of the mission. After three years he returned to Moscow to become head of the Patriarchate chancellery. In the following year he was made Bishop of Podolsk and head of the Department of External Church Relations of the Patriarchate. Four months later he succeeded his old patron, Archbishop Dimitri, as Bishop of Yaroslavl, was soon elevated to the rank of Archbishop, and in 1963 — when he was still only thirty-three — he became Metropolitan of Minsk. Only two more months (!) were to pass before he was elevated to one of the great Orthodox sees: Leningrad and Ladoga.

Such inaccuracy is out of place in so fine a book. Further, I question the statement on page 56 that there are six to ten monasteries and ten to fifteen convents. The names and addresses of the six functioning legal monasteries are well known, and there are twelve legal convents, two of which are attached to monasteries, well-documented. Beyond that, there is a *pustyn* attached to the convent in Riga.

Chapter three has its good points. There are excellent sketches of the personalities of Metropolitan Nikodim and Patriarch Pimen, and a concise and accurate account of Russian Orthodox dissent in recent years. Missing, however, is any mention of the current achievements of the Patriarchate, such as the building of massive new facilities for church publication, manufacture of church supplies and production of religious art.

The revision of chapter four is highly uneven. In his discussion of the

Protestants, Beeson makes good use of the increased availability of well-researched material, and offers us a compact and highly useable presentation. The same is true of his discussion of the Roman Catholics and the Jews. Nothing has been added, however, about the Old Believers and the other numerous Russian sects (and I note that the only available book that does justice to them, Nikita Struve's *Christians in Contemporary Russia*, has been dropped from the Bibliography). One must also ask why the Georgians and Armenians were omitted, as both are numerous in European Russia. And finally, if the Chechens and Ingushes were to be included, how could the Crimean Tatars be omitted?

The new edition ends with a chapter on the world church, in which East-West relations are discussed briefly. This has been brought up to date, and a valuable addition is a section on "Research and Study Centres". There is a brief section, entitled "For Further Reading". More useful might be citations at the end of each chapter, and there are several notable omissions in the list. The book concludes with an adequate Index.

All in all, the revised edition of *Discretion and Valour* is a notable success. The coverage is broader, more facts are somehow crammed in, and the book is still readable. Scholars will always want more from a popular book than it can provide, and we always find particular omissions which do not suit us. But, apart from a few errors of fact, it is difficult to fault very much in this unique book. There is so much that is new, particularly on the situation in the satellites, that the book is a necessity for any collection on religion behind the Iron Curtain. I shall probably lose as many copies of this edition as I did of the first!

RAYMOND OPPENHEIM

Christian-Marxist Dialogue in Eastern Europe by Paul Mojzes, Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1981, 336 pp., n.p.

Dr Mojzes is committed to Christian-Marxist dialogue and wants it to move forward. He has admirable if rather sad qualifications for writing its history. His grandparents perished at Auschwitz. His father, a Methodist preacher, was murdered by a Fascist camp guard in 1942. As a young man he accepted Marxism as "the scientific world-view" and became active in the youth movement of the Communist Party in Yugoslavia. He lost his communist faith in the United States and is now an academic and a United Methodist.

Unlike so many others who believed in "the god that failed", he has not become an anti-communist. Nor can he be regarded as a "dupe" of scheming communists. He lays his cards plainly on the table: "I am not a Marxist, nor am I specially attracted to Marxism. . The way Marx's ideas are being used to justify totalitarian, exploitive policies is repulsive" (p. 20). Why, then, is he so concerned with Christian-Marxist dialogue? His answer is because

"Marxism has some useful insights and challenges for Christianity" (*ibid.*). Or in the words of Arthur Jores to the Paulusgesellschaft in 1967: "We should not merely be mutually tolerant, but we should rejoice over our differences, which supply our life with saving tensions" (p. 21). This, he says, should be the motto of Christian-Marxist dialogue. It sounds more like a definition of a marriage than a dialogue.

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However, Mojzes knows perfectly well that he is writing at a time when détente and its companion, dialogue, are out of fashion. But he does not despair and writes: "My hope is to make a humble contribution to the reinvigoration of the dialogue, but the social realities are the true determinants of the perimeters of dialogue" (p. 19). If I understand this sentence, he means, for example, that the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 put an abrupt end to Jores' talk about rejoicing over differences. In Poland the "social realities" include the abolition of Solidarity and the rigours of martial law. In such conditions, some of Mojzes' remarks take on a hollow, even sinister, tone: "Among [Polish] Marxists there is a discussion about whether work is the supreme human value or whether work is to be subordinated to the needs of fuller development" (p. 319). That question is said to be "one of the major issues in the dialogue". In Poland that observation would be greeted with justifiable cynical laughter.

These two examples of the way "social realities" impose their "perimeters" on dialogue also illustrate a more general point. It seems that "Christian-Marxist dialogue" became an academic subject in the United States only when it had ceased (or was ceasing) to be practised in Europe. The result is that reading the book is like reviewing the contents of dusty old files. That makes the book valuable as a piece of history. Mojzes is particularly good on Yugoslavia, where "social realities" have been on the whole less troublesome. His account of the Paulusgesellschaft meetings is worth having, and his description of their founder, Erich Kellner, as "equally suspicious of the Vatican and Moscow" throws a flood of light on their ambivalence (p. 165). But the more one stresses this aspect of the book, the more it becomes a period piece.

Some of the participants, as a result, appear as in an old photograph. For example, Lezsek Kołakowski, surely an important figure, has observed that Christian-Marxist dialogue is like "fried snowballs in hell". I did not expect, and do not find, this remark quoted in the book, for obvious reasons. However, Mojzes is familiar enough with Kołakowski to inform us in a footnote that the Polish philosopher has become "a critic of Marxism" and "religious from a historical and social viewpoint" (p. 168). This intelligence is contained in an unpublished paper by James Stillman who interviewed Kołakowski in January 1972 in Oxford, England. Surely Kołakoswki has published enough in the last ten years for his views to be publicly available; and they are weighty enough to be taken into consideration. They are part of the history.

On other occasions, too, Mojzes seemed to be misled by his *fiches*. Just because Pope John Paul spoke of "true dialogue" in Poland, he assumes that the Pope is using "dialogue" in his sense (which implies a learning process). But that was not what John Paul meant. In the same speech he said that Christianity and Marxism "are diametrically opposed", making it clear that he believes that competition or conflict are the "normal" state of their relations. With that starting-point, "dialogue" becomes a matter of being courteous towards the "civil authorities" and trying to negotiate a better deal with them. Consequently, Mojzes' conclusion about the effect of the papal visit to Poland ("One may conclude from the above that dialogue in Poland has made significant strides"—. p. 101) is thoroughly unfounded. In any case, it has been falsified by subsequent events.

Perhaps the problem faced by Mojzes is inherent in his chosen theme. He wanted to write the history of Christian-Marxist dialogue in Eastern Europe: that is his thoroughly praiseworthy academic project. At the same time he wants this dialogue to succeed: that is his equally praiseworthy ideological project. But the two projects interfere with each other. It seems extremely doubtful that the meetings organised by CAREE (Christians Associated for Eastern Europe) from 1977 onwards can be considered to be in continuity with the Paulusgesellschaft meetings of the 1960s: indeed, it could be argued that they have nothing in common. The reason is that the "Marxists" involved in the CAREE meetings simply follow the party line (e.g. on the invasion of Afghanistan) and do not think creatively as Marxists. For them, Marxism has become merely a way of justifying the status quo. Their Marxism, as Kolakowski noted, has institutional content but no intellectual content. Meanwhile, the real dialogue between Christians and Marxists is taking place outside the institutional frameworks, in Latin America. It is not Mojzes' fault that the "social realities" have restricted the possibilities of dialogue; but it certainly bedevils his book.

PETER HEBBLETHWAITE

Rapport secret au Comité Central sur l'État de l'Église en URSS Introduction de Nikita Struve. Traduit du russe par Serge Benoit. Paris: Seuil, 1980, 190 pp.

The western public is often under the impression that the Orthodox Church in the Soviet Union enjoys a sort of semi-official status, and that antireligious repression concerns, almost exclusively, either the ethnic and
religious minorities, or outspoken dissidents. Many people also believe that
such repression is actually contrary to Soviet laws, and is perpetrated by
KGB agents acting arbitrarily. Although this last belief is partially accurate
in the sense that administrative arbitrariness dominates the entire Soviet
system (and is often criticised by the Soviet media themselves), it is also

based on a misconception: Soviet laws formally and openly discriminate against religion, and provide ample legal means for discretionary and arbitrary measures by central and local authorities against all religious groups.

The content of these laws is not secret: the decree of January 1918 and the law of 1929 (only slightly modified in 1975) formally deprive religious communities of all legal rights; they forbid all religious activities of a social and educational nature; they formally establish direct state control over all ecclesiastical appointments; and even make secret balloting at meetings of religious communities illegal. Furthermore, this system of prohibitions makes state supervision of all religious life inevitable and requires a vast bureaucratic network headed by the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR. The very existence of this bureaucracy illustrates the purely fictional character of the separation between Church and State: indeed the State is separated from the Church, but the Church is still very much attached to the State!

Perhaps the most revealing — and, originally, secret — document illustrating church-state relations in the USSR was recently clandestinely sent to the West, published in the original Russian in the Vestnik russkogo khristianskogo dvizheniya (Herald of the Russian Christian Movement) in Paris, and has now appeared in a French translation. The document is an official Report for the year 1974 to the Central Committee of the Communist Party by V. Furov, a Vice-Chairman of the state Council for Religious Affairs. (The French translation of the Report dates it as 1975, not 1974; this is due to a misprint in the Vestnik RKhD edition of the Report (No. 130, p. 287) where a date in September 1974 is wrongly printed as September 1975, leading to the mistaken conclusion that the Report was written later than indicated — Ed.) Here is a remarkable text, by a responsible Communist, addressed to trusted and convinced colleagues of the Soviet establishment, about ways of dealing with religion, without any deliberate attempts at masking reality or impressing credulous Westerners.

The Report contains statistics, figures on the numbers of active clergy and other data — including even financial reports of the active monasteries! — not officially available otherwise. Of course, it attributes to the Council the merit of promoting secularisation, shown through the diminution of the number of clergy and in religious practice in general. It condemns arbitrary interventions of local authorities in the affairs of the Church as they occurred during the Khrushchevian persecution of 1959-64, but at the same time, explains the thinnings in the ranks of the clergy between 1961 (8,252 active priests) and 1974 (only 5,994 remaining active) by the organic progress of Marxist education! Obviously the bureaucracy of the Council, represented by Furov, needed to justify its existence in the eyes of the Central Committee, and to claim some successes, including those obtained through forceful measures from 1961 to 1964.

However, perhaps the most fascinating part of the Report is a curious classification of the bishops of the Russian Church into three distinct groups: 1) The bishops who show "loyalty to socialist society" (17 bishops, including Patriarch Pimen); 2) The bishops who, while "loyal to the State", attempt nevertheless to "reinforce the role of the Church in the individual, family and social life" of the faithful, and encourage "young priests, fervent adepts of Orthodoxy" (23 bishops, including the late and famous Metropolitan Nikodim (Rotov)); 3) The bishops who try to "circumvent the [Soviet] legislation on the cults" and even to "corrupt and calumniate the representatives of the [state] Council [for religious affairs]" (17 bishops).

Obviously, only the first group of bishops is worthy of V. Furov's approval for their passivity and obedience. The other two groups, and particularly the third, are represented as a threat and a danger. Several concrete examples of opposition to the anti-religious policies of the government are described and deplored.

It is difficult to judge whether Furov is really accurate in his evaluation of individual bishops: it is obvious, for example, that he could not present *all* the bishops as adversaries of state policies, and it is possible that particular reasons have caused one or another classification, but his recognition that a majority of bishops, tacitly or openly, try to defend the Church, to the authorities' displeasure, is a really fascinating—and involuntary—homage rendered to the vitality of the Church, in spite of all the controls and repressions.

The Report also shows that, in the eyes of the Soviet bureaucracy, the Orthodox Church still represents a hostile body—the largest of the religious bodies which are the only ones tolerated within a monolithic Marxist society—and that its gradual demise, so often forecast and still anticipated by Furov, is not forthcoming.

The volume under review also contains appendices with helpful French translations of some relevant texts of Soviet legislation, information on the internal structure of the Russian Orthodox Church, data on the functioning monasteries and short biographies of the bishops mentioned in Furov's Report.

JOHN MEYENDORFF

Kardinal Wyszyński: Prymas i maz stanu (Cardinal Wyszyński: Primate and Statesman) by Andrzej Micewski. Paris, Editions du Dialogue, 1982, 444 pp.

In the early hours of the morning of 29 May 1981, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, Primate of the Catholic Church in Poland since 1949, died in Warsaw at the age of 79. A long and most remarkable chapter in the history of the Church in Poland and the Polish nation was closed. Apart from his religious

role as priest and leader of the Catholic Church, Cardinal Wyszyński played a very important part in the political life of the nation. It is to this latter aspect of his life and activities that Andrzej Micewski's book is devoted, although he calls it "an attempt at a general biographical essay". Micewski, a leading Polish Catholic intellectual and journalist who has been active in various Catholic political groups in Poland, is well equipped for this task. Apart from being an "insider", he was given access to the Cardinal's private notebooks and some hitherto unpublished church documents. This gives his book special significance.

As the title Cardinal Wyszyński: Primate and Statesman suggests, Micewski focuses his attention on the temporal, socio-political role played by the late Cardinal. At the same time he does not neglect the spiritual dimension of the Primate's life, in which the two orders, the heavenly and the terrestrial, were inextricably interwoven.

Most of the book's 444 pages deal with Cardinal Wyszyński's achievements in his capacity as Primate of the Catholic Church in Poland. We learn that on hearing that he had been nominated by Pope Pius XII to be the Primate of Poland, the then Bishop Wyszyński asked the Pope to rescind his nomination. The man who was later to be called "the Iron Cardinal" was afraid that he would not be able to carry the burden of so high and responsible an office. In 1949, however, he embarked on a 32-year-long journey, during which he became one of the most distinguished personalities of the Catholic Church in the contemporary world, and — nolens volens — a great Polish statesman and the highest moral authority in the Polish nation.

It is a pity that since it is written in Polish, this book cannot be read by western readers. The towering personality of Cardinal Wyszyński dominated post-war life in Poland and the vicissitudes he experienced give an invaluable insight into the East European political scene. He was a man of great integrity, combining firm principles with flexibility in action. He was never willing to give way where basic principles were concerned but was shrewdly pragmatic whenever it was possible. He was ready to make moves towards reconciliation, but he did not act in the spirit of conciliation. It was he who in 1950 made the first-ever agreement between the Church and the communist authorities in Eastern Europe, thus saving the Church's structure and institutions as well as its hierarchy. But it was also he who, three years later, did not bow to communist pressure, and chose to suffer imprisonment rather than to betray his principles and ideals. It is thanks to him that the Church in Poland has flourished in spite of all the persecution, whereas in neighbouring East European countries it has been terrorised into submission and obedience.

An achievement of historic proportions was the initiation of the Polish-German dialogue and reconciliation. For this alone he will go down in Polish history as a truly great statesman of courageous vision. He initiated a process which is far from having achieved its goal, but without him would have

started very much later. And if it were not for him, there would have probably not been a Polish Pope, as John Paul II himself said on one occasion. It is painfully tempting to think what course the events in Poland would have taken if Cardinal Wyszyński had not died in May 1981.

Let me conclude by quoting the final paragraph of Micewski's book: "It is very difficult to state briefly who Stefan Wyszyński was. Of course he was Primate and statesman, a priest and a good man, prince of the Church and leader of the nation, the defender of men and the guardian of law and morality. But that is not all. The point is that his greatness in specific Polish conditions was based on the fact that, without creating either a new doctrine or ideology, he intertwined national traditions with Christian values, thus building an indestructible bulwark. The fact that Poland has remained invincible will remain forever linked with his name. The Cardinal has safeguarded her spiritual, national and European identity."

TADEUSZ KADENACY

To the Unknown God

by Petru Dumitriu. London: Collins, 1982. 247 pp. Paperback, £5.95

Those who have read the powerful autobiographical novel *Incognito* (Fount 1978), by the Romanian writer Petru Dumitriu will welcome the publication of his latest book, *To the Unknown God* after a silence of nearly ten years. *Incognito*, surely one of the most striking novels to emerge from post-war Eastern Europe, left us with a vivid picture of Dumitriu's childhood in the Danube Delta, together with a frightening evocation of the war and Stalinist Europe. All was undergirded by a deep spirituality.

Drawing heavily on this experience, *To the Unknown God*, written in exile, is a personal attempt by Dumitriu to wrestle with the problem of evil, elaborating the spirituality that lies at the root of *Incognito*.

His is certainly a broad experience, as he notes with irony: "Three times in my life I have known hunger for months and years: under Hitler, under socialism and in the free world. I have seen the bare backside of the Fatherland, the Five-Year Plan and Liberty!" (p. 54).

Through this, haunted by Christ's cry of dereliction from the cross: "My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?", he comes to a conviction not that God is absent but that: "a part of God's absence is nothing but the absence of our own hearts . . . evil is the supremacy of me over Thee". (pp. 35, 67).

Occasionally wordy and self-conscious, this is overall an excellent book. The section "Note on Solitude" is a superb vision of prayer. "If I suggest a prayer, it is not because I pray at the drop of a hat. I see that God is also the God of pain, in a universe that is also a universe of suffering. And it is in that

darkness that I see vibrating the souls of a people at prayer." (p. 154).

This is a book not to be rushed, but to ponder at length. It deserves to be widely read, that we might better interpret the world.

DAVID NEWSOME

Books Received

Listing of a book here neither implies nor precludes review in a subsequent issue of RCL.

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