

Reviews

Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century
edited by Pedro Ramet. Duke University Press. 471 pp.

This is the first volume in an important new three-part series called *Christianity under Stress*. The others will deal with the Roman Catholic and Protestant experience of life under communism. But obviously the volume devoted to the autocephalous Orthodox churches which naturally gives pride of place to the Russian Orthodox Church, at home and abroad, will take one to the heart of the issue of the church and politics in its Soviet form.

Yet reading the work has been a disconcerting experience: every day the papers shake up the neat patterns of scholarship. The cut-off date for most of the authors — to judge by their bibliographies — appears to have been about 1985, and their approach is rigorous and historical. But that was precisely the date at which everything began unexpectedly to shift. No one predicted Gorbachev and *perestroika*. There were warnings that sooner or later the 'nationalities problem' would have to be faced, but few expected that moment to come so soon or so virulently. Gorbachev thinks of 'nationalities' as his biggest headache. Yet, except obviously in the Baltic and Moslem republics, it is frequently autocephaly that adds stiffening to national consciousness and provides its principal ingredient.

The clearest example is the Armenian Apostolic Church which, says Claire Seda Moudarian, 'throughout its tormented history has been the symbol and refuge of national personality' (p. 354). Under Stalin it suffered atrociously until by 1945 only four monks remained to take part in the election of a new Catholicos. In the 1960s a personality cult was allowed to flourish around Vazgen I, but its cynical purpose was to demonstrate to the World Council of Churches the 'openness' of Soviet society. It did not mean greater pastoral care for the laity. Nevertheless the Armenian Church was atavistically there as became clear when the tragedies of earthquake and massacre struck in the 1980s.

The autocephaly of the equally ancient Georgian Church was abolished by Tsar Alexander I in 1812 and subsequent exarchs were Russian. But after the revolution a meeting of Georgian bishops abolished the exarchate and restored autocephaly. For three years a Georgian Democratic Republic existed which strove for national reconciliation. This came to an end when Soviet power was established in February 1921 and a year later the new patriarch, Ambrosi, sent a daring appeal to the International Allied Conference in Geneva. It talked of 117 years of 'cruel despotism' and declared that the Russian 'occupying forces' were desecrating Georgia's language and culture and that the church, 'which for centuries constituted the grandeur and power of the national Georgian state, is today totally deprived of its rights.'

This was prophetic. The Georgian Church was almost eliminated. But, as in Russia, the Great Patriotic War meant that all emotional resources had to be mobilised and, no doubt on ex-seminarian Stalin's instructions, the Russian Orthodox Church recognised Georgian autocephaly. Battered again under Khrushchev and rocked by scandals, the Georgian Church nevertheless began in the late 1970s to embody dissident aspirations. 'Atheist propaganda today,' said a leaflet, 'fights the very idea of Georgia.' So once again a church becomes indistinguishable from the nationalist aspirations it embodies and expresses.

The Armenian and Georgian churches existed long before the baptism of Vladimir (Volodymyr) in 988 and could be forgiven for feeling slightly superior during the millennium celebrations. Although Vladimir was baptised in Kiev, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church enjoyed only a fleeting existence between 1919 and 1930 when it was 'self-dissolved'. Bohdan R. Borciukiw's wholly fascinating chapter chronicles the vicissitudes of this church which survives, in so far as it does, mainly in the West. After its annihilation in 1930, it revived in 1941-42 during the Nazi occupation which was natural, understandable and, in the circumstances of Stalinism, fatal.

But Borciukiw presents it not as collusion with the occupiers but as 'a spontaneous religious revival, with believers reopening churches and searching out surviving clergy to minister to them' (p. 316). Much the same could be said of the small Ukrainian Catholic Church (four out of 50 millions) which at that date had only two years experience of Soviet rule and was even more hostile to Moscow.

But it is the officially non-existent Ukrainian Orthodox Church which illustrates the dilemma of autocephaly: autocephaly is good, provided it serves Russian interests which, in Ukraine, have coincided with Soviet interests. Borciukiw concludes: 'Thus, what was condemned as the chief vice of the Ukrainian church became, in the

eyes of the Kremlin, the principal virtue of the Russian church — a dual standard that became characteristic of Soviet nationalist and religious policy in the Ukraine' (p. 329). The Ukrainian church's 'vice' was to embody Ukrainian nationalism. One can expect it to revive. At the first assembly of the Popular Movement of Ukraine for Restructuring, *Rukh*, in September 1989, Volodymyr Yavorivsky declared that 'We are a people without a nation, a language or a state.' Or a church, he might have added.

This review does not do justice to the excellent chapters on the Orthodox churches of Albania, Finland, Greece, Romania, Serbia, or Ethiopia. They raise different questions only loosely connected with Soviet power. I omit the Orthodox churches of Poland and Slovakia which appear to have dwindled into insignificance once people had free choice of belonging or not (as in Slovakia in 1968).

So far I have talked politics. What of theology? In a chapter called *The Doctrinal Foundation of Orthodoxy* Michael A. Meerson expounds the classic doctrine that unity in the Orthodox churches is a matter of *Koinonia* or communion and it is not based on a single monarchic authority (so much for Rome). The local churches exist in their own right and their bishops are in communion with each other. That sort of unity echoes what we know of the early church. Orthodoxy therefore solves the theological problem of church unity by avoiding on the one hand Anglican anarchy (let the provinces do what they will) and Roman autocracy (all must heed the bishop of Rome).

But things are not so simple, and that is why there is plenty of room for ecumenical dialogue. Pedro Ramet, the editor, writes a crucial chapter on *Autocephaly and National Identity* which illustrates how Meerson's admirable theological categories break down when actually applied. From the 19th century onwards, he says, 'to be a nation meant to have a church of one's own, and to be entitled to one's own state' (p. 4). But there was an important and intolerable limitation: 'Subject peoples such as Macedonians, Belorussians and Ukrainians were described as 'lacking true history'; they were said to speak the 'dialects' of other 'historical nations' and were denied the right to have their own autocephalous churches.

I have not mentioned the key chapter on *The Russian Orthodox Church* by Philip Walters and Jane Ellis' study of *The Publications of the Orthodox Church in the USSR*. But since this is essentially an unfinished, shifting and surprise-filled story, for future developments we will have to read *RCL*. Meantime this stout volume stands on the shelf supreme, a compendium of information available nowhere else.

*Islam and the Russian Empire:**Reform and Revolution in Central Asia*

by Hélène Carrère d'Encausse. London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd.,
1988. 288 pp., £29.50.

Of the numerous works describing events concerning the Muslim peoples in the Russian Empire, the majority tend to focus attention on Tatar groups and their leaders, where the names of Gaspirali, Sultan Galiyev, Vahitov and Ibragimov are notable. This book is both useful and unusual in its detailed account, virtually exclusively, of the lands of the old Emirate of Bukhara. It provides a record of episodes and circumstances, in which these men rarely figure, which led to the growth and eventual dissolution of the reformist movement there.

This is a much needed translation of a book originally published in France in 1966 as *Réformes et révolution chez les Musulmans de l'Empire Russe*. Detail is the key word, for the work is extremely well researched and annotated with mainly early Russian and Turkish sources. The result is a thorough exploration of factors often skimmed over or neglected in other books which tend to concentrate on the chain of political events that culminated in the creation of the Uzbek SSR in February 1924 (which also contained the then Tadzhik ASSR within its borders). The stage is set here with an informed description of the contradictions between the backwardness of Bukhara and the slow but evident signs of evolutionary change. The book begins with a picture of Bukharan life and society on the eve of the Russian conquest. It outlines the nature and organisation of land ownership; the laws binding the peasants to the land; the structure of the ruling classes and the 19th century development of intermediary links between them and the masses; political, administrative and military hierarchies and the power of the *ulema* vis-a-vis the emir and his government and the clergy's all-pervading influence over the peasants. Carrère d'Encausse discusses the enormous influence of water in the life of all Bukharans and the subsequent need for irrigation which then became the principal motive for, and justification of, centralised state power.

All aspects of Bukharan life were affected by the Russian victory, though it must be remembered that Bukhara did maintain a nominal independence, especially as regards its domestic affairs. The description of changes in the economic life of the emirate due to the influx of capital, the building of the railroad, the nascent development of financial institutions and the growth of Russian settlements makes one realise how these and similar factors are frequently overlooked, as if somehow they were not experienced there.

It is in this context that the author discusses the growing importance of cotton, and the development of Russian-Bukharan relations

around it. This alone makes the book worthwhile, given the dire repercussions this has had for Central Asia today, though this was not so apparent or critical at the time of the book's writing more than 20 years ago. Clearly the relationship that entailed the export of most raw cotton to Russia and its re-import into Central Asia in the form of manufactured goods was established during this tsarist period and intensified during the Soviet one. More telling is Carrère d'Encausse's point that, 'the extension of cotton cultivation led to reduced production of foodstuffs, which then had to be imported from Russia', something echoed, almost verbatim today in articles from papers such as *Pravda vostoka* and *Turkmenskaya iskra*.

One very interesting chapter, almost a digression but valuable as it is uncommon, concerns the essence of Islam, of its role in history, as understood by its adherents, and its perceived decline throughout the world. It is this perception, the author explains, that helped to stimulate and provoke the consequent political struggle for 'Islamic' liberation, in the forms of pan-Islamism, pan-Turkism and reformism. Though there is some description of the religious reform movement among the more easternised Tatars in the Russian Empire, the book concentrates on the experiences of Bukhara, informing us of some of the lesser known Bukharan thinkers who served as forerunners to the reform movement there. These include Ahmad Makhdum Danish (1827-97) whom Carrère d'Encausse describes as 'one of the true intellectual pioneers of 19th century Central Asia and the precursor of all strictly Turkestanian reformists'. Danish looked to his own land and people as both the source and solutions of the problems facing Bukhara, proclaiming the need for the regeneration of the Muslim world on a rational, more democratic and educated basis.

Much of what is described above is contained in the first few chapters of the book; the rest is a detailed and specific record of the convulsive events that would see the Bukharan state through the various Russian revolutions, the creation of the People's Republic and its becoming part of the Soviet Union. It is interesting that it was the Russian defeat at the hands of the Japanese in 1904-1905 that would prove the first sign to the Bukharan reformists that independence might be possible, given the apparently much weakened state of the Russian Empire. This time also saw the beginnings of 'organised banditry' — sporadic peasant uprisings against the Russians that formed the basis of the Basmachi movement in Central Asia. Though in many ways the Central Asians remained on the periphery of revolutionary activity, then dominated by the Tatars (Central Asia was not even represented in the first duma), the time marked the political awakening and the subsequent rise of organised and articulated demands from the reformist Jadids there.

Throughout the book there are comprehensive accounts of the conflicts, deceptions, alliances and clashes between the various forces and factions in Bukhara. These include the emir and his palace officials who, while not always despotic, were often opportunistic; the Islamic clergy who consistently blocked any attempt at reform and who could easily rally the masses against it; the Russian officials, first tsarist, then provisional, then Soviet; and the reforming Jadids themselves, who went from favour to disgrace to exile and back, splitting into factions along the way in their struggle for influence and change. The revolutions first of 1905, then February 1917 and finally October of that year, though 'purely Russian affairs', had their consequences for Bukhara, and on these Jadid contests for power. We can only wonder about the opportunity lost by Kerensky after the February 1917 revolution in his proclamation that, 'on no account should equal rights be established in Turkestan', an attitude which increasingly and irremediably drew the Jadids towards the Bolsheviks as their only hope. Carrère d'Encausse notes well the irony of this alliance given that the party's programme corresponded least to Bukharan Jadid aspirations.

The relations between the Jadids and the Russians after the establishment of Soviet power are better known, and here the author offers behind-the-scenes details of the oscillating nature of the collaboration, reminding us that the ultimate Soviet victory was anything but easy in the face of continual battles, politicking and position changing. Carrère d'Encausse excellently expounds upon the motives and practicalities behind all these moves. This includes the reasons why the Soviets allowed for the establishment of an 'independent' Bukharan People's Republic, though it is an interesting point that *Pravda* put its coverage of the formation of the Republics of Bukhara and Khiva under the heading of provincial rather than foreign news. Also significant are the concessions to the Muslim peasants required for the Soviets to hold on to their influence, and the decline and eventual end of the Bukharan Republic on the back of the Basmachi rebellion.

Perhaps some would disagree with the author's conclusion that 'it was not the Soviet state that annexed Bukhara but the Bukharan leaders themselves who suppressed their national state', but this is explained by the likelihood that the Jadids believed it possible to pursue the national struggle within a united, Soviet context. Whether this was in fact the experience of the people of the old emirate is left for scholars of more recent Central Asian history. This detailed, historical work succeeds well in bringing to life the Bukhara of the period of the turn of the century.

Die georgische orthodoxe Kirche und ihr Glaubenszeugnis
 (The Georgian Orthodox Church and its Witness)
 by Lothar Heiser. Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 1989. 247 pp.

The Georgian Orthodox Church is one of the oldest in the world, dating back over 1,500 years. The present book, part of a series on *Sources of Eastern Theology* and written by a Catholic priest, covers the whole of this period of Christian witness.

In its first section which is on Georgian history the reader is introduced to art, literature and geography with special reference to their bearing on the religious development of the country. Heiser traces the origins of the Georgian Orthodox Church and its relations with other churches. A few pages are devoted to the Soviet period and the renewal of the church under Patriarch Ilya II.

In the second, rather longer part, the author takes the parable of Jesus as the true vine — the grape being of great importance to Georgians — to demonstrate the ways in which the history, art and literature of the Georgian Orthodox Church 'speak' about God. Quoting from Georgian sources and using examples from Georgian art he suggests that the vine of belief bore rich fruit in Georgia.

The work contains 32 photographs giving visual representation to theses explored in the text, and overall presents a version of Georgian life not to be found in conventional guide books or coffee table albums. It is well worth reading by all who want a richer understanding of the beautiful Georgian republic and its distinctive spirituality.

GABRIELA HÖHNS

The Making of the Georgian Nation

by Ronald Grigor Suny.

London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 1989. 413 pp., £29.95.

Events in Georgia have hit the headlines this year. The tragic suppression of demonstrations in Tbilisi in April, continuing strains in Georgian-Abkhaz relations and the increasingly open expression of Georgian national aspirations have brought this small, but proud and ancient nation prominently to the attention of the western public. The volume reviewed here was of course completed some time before this year's turbulent happenings, but is nonetheless essential reading for anyone wishing to understand the background to recent developments.

Like any small people with strategically important territory, the Georgians have always been dependent to an extent on the interplay of large and powerful neighbours. Georgia has been in turn under the influence of the Byzantine and Persian empires, invaded by the Arabs and Mongols, and caught in a complex web of relations between Turkey, Iran and Russia. Despite all this, the Georgians were able to create a distinctive Christian civilisation which flourished above all in the 'golden age' of the 11th and 12th centuries. By the end of the 18th century however the Georgian kingdoms were in decline, and the country was incorporated into the Russian Empire not least to ensure its survival as a Christian state in the face of constant threats from Turkey and Iran.

Under the tsars Georgia underwent a transformation more radical than at any previous stage of its history. With Russian rule came economic integration into the empire and far-reaching changes in the structure of society, including the rise of a predominantly Armenian bourgeoisie which took over the power traditionally held by Georgian noble families. The autocephaly of the Georgian Church, one of the most ancient in Christendom, was abolished in 1811 and the church was ruled thereafter by a Russian hierarchy with services largely in the Russian language. At the same time, paradoxically perhaps, Georgian literature and political culture flourished and an influential social democratic movement developed. At the end of the 19th century Marxist ideas came to Georgia and a party dominated by mensheviks was formed. When the Russian Empire broke up in 1917 this party was able to lead Georgia to a brief period of independence — albeit initially under German protection — which lasted until the Red Army invaded in February 1921.

Although Lenin was in favour of giving a considerable degree of autonomy to Georgia and the other Transcaucasian republics (and indeed was occupied with this matter right up to his death in 1924) the history of Georgia in the Soviet period is dominated by the figure of one of its most notorious sons, the failed seminary student Iosif Jugashvili who called himself Stalin. Both directly and through his lieutenant Lavrenti Beria, Stalin imposed on Georgia the hardships of collectivisation and the horror of the Great Purges. Once again however, this time of oppression created conditions for the consolidation and flourishing of Georgian nationhood through the industrialisation of the economy, the growth of the urban population and the 'nativisation' of educational, cultural and governmental institutions. The Georgian Church also reached, in the early 1950s, a degree of reconciliation with the state, following the partial restoration of autocephaly in 1917 and the recognition of its canonical status in 1943.

The period since the death of Stalin has been marked by more overt expressions of Georgian national feeling, with major demonstrations reported in March 1956 (the third anniversary of Stalin's death) and April 1978 — the latter in support of the Georgian language. The authorities have been, perhaps uniquely in the Soviet Union, sensitive to popular opinion, although under Shevardnadze a serious attempt was made to get to grips with corruption in the local economy. The paradox of Georgian history, however, has continued to the present day: a basically centralist and internationalist system has in fact resulted in the creation of a coherent Georgian nation with a strong sense of its own identity and a remarkable ability to defend its own interests.

Such, in barest outline, is the account of Georgian history offered by Prof. Suny in the volume under review. It is an impressive work, giving both a sense of the broad sweep of events and considerable detail about individual phenomena. Throughout the book the reader is struck by the resilience of the Georgian people who have preserved their identity, aspirations and Christian faith over centuries of domination by a succession of foreign powers, an insight which is undoubtedly crucial when attempting to interpret more recent events. A few comments of a more critical nature, however, are also in order. Firstly, the author makes less use than might be expected in a standard historical work of primary sources in Georgian, with consequently greater reliance on material in Russian and western languages. (His renderings of Georgian words, also, are not always above criticism.) Secondly, he has not always resisted the temptation to pay more attention than is justified to Armenian matters (which are his first area of expertise). Thirdly, while his account of economic and political developments is extremely full, it would have been valuable to have more detail about cultural questions which also contribute greatly to national consciousness. And fourthly, the editor's preface and publisher's blurb are a little too dismissive of previous western scholarship.

Such criticism, however, must not be allowed to detract from a positive evaluation of Suny's work. Its timely appearance makes an important contribution to Georgian studies, and the author must be thanked for his vivid, readable and essentially reliable account. The publisher also deserves congratulation for a standard of binding and technical production which make the book a pleasure to use.

Religionen in der UdSSR

edited by Ottokar Basse and Gerd Stricker.

Kaltbrunn: G2W-Verlag Zollikon, 1989. Paperback, 342 pp.

This book is the most complete survey of all religious groups in the Soviet Union since Walter Kolarz's seminal work *Religion in the Soviet Union*, published in 1961. Unlike Kolarz's book, which was written singlehanded, this is a collection of pieces by 11 different authors. The editors have decided to retain the different approach of the separate authors, but the book reads as a systematic whole.

Most of the contributions started life as lectures at an October 1986 meeting in Bad Segeberg, West Germany, but were updated to include events up to August 1988. Each author starts with a historical introduction to each religious group, often stretching back to the pre-revolutionary period. The fate of each church through the Soviet era and its current situation is described. There are obvious problems in allocating the right amount of space to each group when the subject matter is so disparate and the availability of information so varied. Perhaps the most serious under-representation comes in the chapters on the Baptists and the Catholics. The Baptists, numbering up to about four million and with a well-documented, eventful history, merit only 15 pages. Johannes Heibly's contribution — though competent and balanced — scarcely does justice to the complexities of more than 100 years of Baptist history. The chapter on Catholicism contributed by Gerd Stricker, deals with Latin-rite and Eastern-rite Catholicism together, without being able to give ample space to either. There are for example, only two pages on the Ukrainian Catholic Church after 1949. The Roman Catholic Churches in Lithuania and Latvia get only two pages each. Belorussia, with about 140 Catholic parishes, gets just ten lines.

Some religious groups are not mentioned, as the authors admit. These include the Jehovah's Witnesses — a not insignificant group among Ukrainians, Germans and Russians — and the Hare Krishnas, who deserve a few lines. The chapter on the Orthodox Church covers the Russian Orthodox Church in the Russian republic alone, not in Ukraine or Moldavia where much of interest is going on.

The Germanic origin of the book is apparent in the sometimes surprising choice of subjects. There is an excellent chapter by Gerd Stricker on German church life — both Protestant and Catholic — after 1941, and there is also a chapter on the Lutheran Church from the 12th century in East Prussia and the Baltic region — the former domain of the Teutonic knights. However interesting such early history may be, it does not have much bearing on the current situation.

Among the best contributions to the collection is the article by Gerd Stricker on the Old Believers. Freely admitting his indebtedness to Peter Hauptmann, Stricker fills in the background to this surprisingly little-known group. The chapter by Fritz Peyer, based on an earlier article in G2W's magazine, gives permanence to what is the only reliable survey of the life of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Transcarpathia. Also good is the chapter by Walter Hollenweger on the Pentecostals. The chapters on the non-Christian religions, Judaism, Islam and Buddhism, are variable. As is usual with surveys of Judaism the religious aspects are referred to only briefly in a cultural and ethnic history. Hans Bräker's surveys of Islam and Buddhism provide as comprehensive a picture as possible, given the shortage of accurate information on the subject.

The book's bibliography, documents, time chart and maps add to its usefulness for reference purposes. On the whole this work — while not the equal of Kolarz's — is the most complete and reliable survey of the religious groups of the Soviet Union up to 1988.

GEORGE HARRISON

Christianity and Marxism Worldwide: An Annotated Bibliography
 edited by Mark Elliott. Wheaton: Institute for the Study of
 Christianity and Marxism, Wheaton College, 1988. 136 pp.

Ten years ago Robert Yule produced a bibliography of English language works on religion and communism, but since then the amount of literature on the subject has grown considerably. In this new book Mark Elliott and his fellow editors have produced a study aid which is more selective in its choice of titles but much wider in scope. Whereas its predecessor covered only the USSR, Eastern Europe and Asia, this bibliography includes sections on religion and Marxism, on Africa, and on liberation theology. Additionally, each section is prefaced by a short essay setting out the main areas of debate. For example, Raymond C. Hundley, introducing the section on liberation theology, raises questions about its use of Scripture, application of Marxist categories to theological analysis, and its ambiguous attitude towards violence as a means of bringing about social change. Refreshingly not all of the editors share the same perspective on the proper relationship between Christianity and Marxism.

The book is clearly designed for those coming to the subject for the first time and as such it will be invaluable. Doubtless individual

specialists will occasionally find their own favourites missing, but such quibbles would seem pedantic, especially when it is remembered that most of the books cited here has its own, often substantial, bibliography. Of books published since this collection was compiled the reviewer would single out for special mention Dmitri Pospelovsky's three-volume *History of Soviet Atheism in Theory and Practice, and the Believer*, and *Marxism and Religion* by David McLellan.

JOHN ANDERSON

Book Notes

This section includes notes on books that, whilst not dealing directly with religion in communist lands, may be of interest to readers of RCL.

Yugoslavia: Politics, Economics and Society
by Bruce McFarlane. London and New York:
Pinter Publishers, 1988. Paperback, 240 pp.

This is a superficial but quite useful overview of contemporary Yugoslavia appearing in the series *Marxist Regimes*. It begins with a brief historical background, statistical information and a table of abbreviations which set the scene, and continues with a potted chapter on modern political history; this is followed by chapters on the constitution, the party, government structure, political dissent, the economic system and its development and concludes with contemporary political issues, including foreign policy and current topics in domestic policy. Religion and the state of the churches occupy a brief section in the chapter on political dissent in Yugoslavia which is unfortunately full of errors. Archbishop Stepinac was released from prison in 1951, not 1952 (p. 79); he was appointed cardinal in November 1952 and as a result Yugoslavia broke off relations with the Holy See on 17 December 1952, not 1953. The law regulating relations between the churches and the state was passed in May 1953 not 1954. The accuracy of dates in other chapters should be checked. McFarlane's English occasionally obscures his meaning. The book does, however, have a good index.

STELLA ALEXANDER

Ideology and Soviet Politics
edited by Stephen White and Alex Pravda.
London: Macmillan, 1988. 258 pp.

What role does ideology play in Soviet political life? Does ideology determine or constrain policy? Do Soviet leaders or citizens believe in Marxism-Leninism? And what precisely do we mean in speaking of Soviet ideology? These are some of the questions touched upon in this valuable collection of essays, based on papers given at a conference held in London during 1985. In their preface the editors argue that:

Far too often. . . the official ideology of Marxism-Leninism has been taken as a 'given' in discussions of this kind, and little detailed attention has been given to the changes that have taken place in official doctrine over years or to the changing functions that ideology has been called upon to perform.

Most of the authors would accept Michael Waller's suggestion that it can be extremely misleading 'to start with the ideology and to explain a group's actions in terms of it' (p. 22). Rather, most authors choose to start with the policies pursued in particular areas and to examine how those involved give their actions an ideological frame of reference. Particularly stimulating are Michael Waller's 'What is to Count as Ideology in Soviet politics?' and Alex Pravda's 'Ideology and the Policy Process'. It is a shame that there is not a chapter on Soviet religious policy, for here is an area where ideology, however defined, would appear to play a key role. And it is certainly the case that much western writing on that policy tends, rightly or wrongly, to treat ideology as a 'given'.

JOHN ANDERSON

Perestroika Annual edited by Alexander Yakovlev.
London: Futura, 1988. Paperback, 364 pp. £12.50.

This collection of essays by leading reformist intellectuals in the Soviet Union is nominally edited by Aleksandr Yakovlev, the politburo member believed to be in large part responsible for the cultural liberalisation of recent years. In his opening essay this urbane former ambassador to Canada makes much of the inter-relationship of political, economic and moral change, and suggests that reform is necessary if 'alienation' — traditionally said to exist only in capitalist society — is to be overcome in the USSR; Fedor Burlatsky looks at the differing leadership styles of Khrushchev, Andropov and Brezhnev, and, perhaps inevitably, finds the latter lacking; the economist Abel Aganbegyan repeats the now familiar litany of economic failings inherited by Gorbachev and suggests that the initial reform efforts were based on an underestimation of both the extent of the crisis and the degree of opposition that would have to be overcome. The church's contribution comes in the shape of reflections of Metropolitan Aleksii of Leningrad and Novgorod on the millennium year. This senior cleric stresses the role of Orthodoxy in the development of national culture and notes the ways in which the church has been able to take a more prominent part in public life since

late 1987. Though he criticises the existing legislation on religious activities, Metropolitan Aleksii argues that there are no insoluble problems in the relations between church and state. Most of the contributions reflect the political situation 12 months ago and many now seem dated — Boris Yel'tsin, for example, is seen as having no political future! The one exception to this is the provocative essay by sociologist Tat'yana Zaslavskaya who analyses the social forces supporting or opposing *perestroika*. Her conclusion that many sectors of society are either opposed to change or are sitting on the fence waiting for reform to bring tangible results gives little cause for optimism.

JOHN ANDERSON

Books Received

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

Allen, Chris, Radu M. S., Somerville K., & Baxter J., *Benin, The Congo and Burkina Faso: Economics, Politics and Society* (Marxist regimes series). London: Pinter Publishers, 1989. 300 pp.

Antonov, Boris, *'Prisoners of Conscience' in the USSR and their Patrons*. Moscow: Novosti Press Agency, 1988. 60 pp.

Beach, Dr Bert B., *Bright Candle of Courage*. Oshawa, Ontario: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1989. 127 pp.

Békés, Gellért, *Mindszenty József a népbíróság előtt*. Budapest: Pannon Kiadó, 1989. 270 pp.

Borggreffe, Friedhelm and Opocenska, Jana, *Christen im Herzen Europas: CSSR*. Kassel: Verlag des Gustav Adolf Werkes, 1989. 236 pp.

Bressan, Luigi, *Libertà religiosa nel diritto internazionale: Dichiarazioni e norme internazionali*. Padua: CEDAM, 1989. 285 pp.

Chetverikov, Prot. Sergei, *Optina Pustyn'*. Paris: YMCA Press, 1988. 251 pp.

Christen in Osteuropa: 'Perestroika' und Religion, 38. Internationaler Kongress 'Kirche in Not'. Königstein: Albertus-Magnus-Kolleg, 1988. 178 pp.

Dowman, Keith, *The Power-Places of Central Tibet: the Pilgrim's Guide*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1988. 345 pp.

Freedman, Robert O. (editor), *Soviet Jewry in the 1980s. The Politics of Anti-Semitism and Emigration and the Dynamics of Resettlement*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 1989. 260 pp.

Goricheva, Tatiana, *Cry of the Spirit: Christian Testimonies from the Soviet Union*, (selected from *Nadezhda*). London: Collins, Fount Paperbacks, 1989. 157 pp.

Grigulevich, Iosif Romul'dovich, *Latinskaya Amerika: tserkov' i revolyutsionnoye dvizheniye 1960 - nachalo 1980-kh godov*. Moscow: Nauka, 1988. 175 pp.

Grossu, Sergiu, *Maîtresse, Dieu existe: les enfants dans l'état de l'athéisme soviétique*. Paris: Fayard, 1988. 248 pp.

Gulstainis, Valentinas, *Be kaltės: 15 metų Sibiro tremtyje ir lageriuose*. Vilnius: Mintis, 1989. 460 pp.

Heller, Mikhail, *Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn: k 70-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya*. London: Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd., 1989. 117 pp.

- Khristianstvo i Rus'* (No. 2 in the series *Sovetskoye religiovedeniye*). Moscow: Nauka, 1988. 136 pp.
- Knight, Amy W.**, *The KGB: Police and Politics in the Soviet Union*. London: Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1988. 348 pp.
- Koval'skii, Nikolai Aleksandrovich & Ivanova I. M.**, *Katolitsizm i mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya*. Moscow: Mezhdunarodnoye otnosheniya, 1989. 272 pp.
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