freedom", which has produced the most inhuman unfreedom the world has ever known. He returns always to the concept of our collective responsibility for "what is" and our necessary guilt, even the guilt of dissidents, for the Gulag Archipelago.

I cheered silently at the end of *Underground Notes*. Why? Because I glimpsed through it, for the first time, the implacable nature of the opposition to Marxism and the truly spiritual dynamic of its emerging, intellectually revolutionary, "ideology".

Solzhenitsyn gave, accidentally, the other day, encouragement to Mihajlov's view in his speech at Harvard on 8 June 1978: "A fact which cannot be disputed is the weakening of human beings in the West while in the East they are becoming firmer and stronger. Six decades for our people and three decades for the people of Eastern Europe; during that time we have been through a spiritual training far in advance of western experience. Life's complexity and mortal weight have produced stronger deeper and more interesting characters than those generated by standardized western well-being." (*The Times*, 26 July 1978).

I have often wondered whether the leaders of the communist States take the Hegel-Marx-Engels dialectic seriously any more. If they do, the sense of the infinite fluidity of history, of the movement of unperceived historical forces, with the only certainty that everything turns into its opposite must surely cause them to tremble.

Underground Notes is compulsory reading for those who want to understand the new religious philosophy emerging from the underground. It made me see that dissidence is not peripheral but central – the beginning of a shudder of revulsion against Marxism and the Soviets. A cleaver is poised over the Kremlin. Perhaps over Belgrade too?

LESLIE PAUL

The Christian Peace Conference. Human Rights and Religion in the USSR by Laslo Revesz, *Conflict Studies*, No. 91, January 1978, Institute for the Study of Conflict, 17 pp., £2.

The story of western involvement in various Soviet-sponsored and manipulated international organizations is a complex one, and it is a mistake to draw inferences from one and then apply them to others. Laslo Revesz' account of the Christian Peace Conference (CPC) suffers from this simplistic approach. In particular it draws largely on a history of the CPC published in Hungary in 1971, which appears to be a *post hoc* rationalization to suit the East European thesis of much that had gone before. Those who were involved from the beginnings of the CPC in 1958 will remember that it sprang largely from the initiative of a group of Czech

theologians, headed by Dr Joseph Hromadka, a widely respected scholar and a man of integrity, who had spent the war years in the United States. He had considerable sympathy with some of the social aspirations of the communist regime, and thought it should be possible to work with them. After the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, churches in the communist bloc countries were forced to sever their links with the World Council of Churches, whose Secretary-General, Dr Wisser t'Hooft, was suspected by the Soviet Union of having helped to instigate the uprising. Hromadka and his associates cast about for some acceptable way of resuming their contacts with western Christians, and the theme of world peace was an obvious one for their purpose. The call which they sent out to their Christian brothers in the West was an urgent one, and was answered in the first instance with caution, but with a feeling that it could not simply be rejected. The late Dr Richard Uhlmann, a British Quaker of German-Jewish origin, and by no stretch of the imagination a "fellow-traveller", was one of the first to go to Prague, with the official backing of British Quakers, to talk to Dr Hromadka and his group. He was trained in philosophy and theology, and German was his mother tongue; he could meet German-trained theologians on their own ground. The movement was at first tolerated by the communist authorities but they moved in quickly when it became clear that it would be a useful vehicle for Soviet peace propaganda. The early years of the Conference were a long, tortuous and patient struggle to find a way of expressing a common ground to which the eastern delegates would be allowed to subscribe, and which representatives from western churches could accept, even with reservations. As time went on more western churches, including the Church of England, began to send observers or representatives to strengthen the western contingent. The Soviet government was eager for their support and this proved a powerful lever in the hands of men like Richard Uhlmann, Professor H. Gollwitzer, Milton Mayer and Dr Heinz Kloppenburg, who made it clear that western representatives could not be hoodwinked or manipulated, but had come to meet their Christian brothers from the East with the object of searching with goodwill for meeting points, if not common ground. The importance of these encounters lay in the encounters themselves, not in the statements which followed them; they were a long-drawn out process of mutual education in which the westerners played a vigorous role.

In the end this was all destroyed. Laslo Revesz points out that the CPC never criticized the Soviet invasion of Hungary. But the CPC did not come into existence until two years later and was at first in no position to criticize. By 1968, however, it was a large representative international body and had just held a widely attended Third World Assembly in Prague. The invasion of Czechoslovakia that autumn was a stunning blow which transformed the situation of the organization. The Working

Committee met in October 1968 in Paris, and for the first time two different points of view were embodied in the communiqué issued at the end of the meeting. Further attempts to persuade the whole Working Committee to condemn the invasion were, as might have been expected, unsuccessful and in October 1969 Dr Ondra, the General Secretary, was forced to resign. Dr Hromadka immediately declared his support for Dr Ondra and resigned as President. The western churches and the Japanese, and some of the Latin American representatives, withdrew their support from the organization. But the struggle broke the elderly Dr Hromadka and he died shortly after. It was after this that the big expansion in the Third World took place, and the emphasis shifted from east-west to north-south relations. Since that time the majority of western members of the CPC have been individuals who represent no one but themselves; Laslo Revesz' strictures certainly describe some of them. The situation in the eastern churches themselves varies from country to country, a fact of which readers of this journal will not need to be reminded.

Mr Revesz' article has appeared at a moment when the authorities in the eastern bloc, who would like to control the CPC, may be deciding that it is no longer worth the trouble; they need the support of the western churches to make the organization credible, but they would have to concede too much to persuade them to resume their support. But they would not have come to this conclusion if the CPC had been, from the beginning, the docile puppet which Mr Revesz describes.

STELLA ALEXANDER

Le Jésuite Clandestin, Mgr Michel d'Herbigny
by Paul Lesourd, Editions P. Lethielleux, Paris, 1976, 240 pp., 44 Frs.

Was Michel d'Herbigny (1880-1957) the victim of a grave miscarriage of justice, when he was stripped of his episcopal dignity in 1937 and silenced for the rest of his life in a French Jesuit novitiate? Mr Lesourd, a retired history professor, answers that question with a categorical affirmative. He hopes that the biography will initiate the posthumous rehabilitation of this once influential French ecclesiastic who is today all but forgotten.

Betraying a passionate interest in Russia's religious destiny soon after he joined the Jesuits in 1897, d'Herbigny became in the 1920s Pius XI's trusted adviser for Russian affairs. Consultor, and later President, of the Papal Commission for Russia established in 1925, he was secretly made