Kurtović's book: everything at the same time can either be one thing or another. This is what communist ideologists call the dialectic. In practice, however, everything happens as the Party, or rather its leaders, order. The Party line is not consistent; it is governed by the laws of its own dialectic. That which is forbidden today may be permitted tomorrow. Today someone may go to prison for something which the Party in its opportunism will tolerate, or sometimes even recommend.

Kurtović probably cannot be numbered among the "hawks" of the Yugoslav regime. He is obviously trying to convince at least the Church that he is by nature a "dove". It is quite clear that he is surrounded by a large majority of hawks, to whom he is trying to prove something which is against their beliefs and practice. And a "dove" like Kurtović is in the unenviable position of being regarded as a "white crow" by both sides, trusted neither by communists nor by believers.

All the dialectical contradictions of communist "doves", all their tightrope walking, it must be admitted, are not without positive results. In the rare periods of relative liberalization their efforts do from time to time lead towards a thaw, to some practical dialogue (although Kurtović himself does not believe in a dialogue between Christianity and Marxism) and, in general, the Church in Yugoslavia does appear to be moving slowly towards freedom. This freedom is not so much given as won, step by step, in a constant struggle. It cannot be denied that the Church is one of the forces within Yugoslav society, and communists know how to be realists and opportunists when it comes to a trial of strength.

VLADIMIR PAVLINIC

Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945
by Stella Alexander,
Cambridge University Press, 1979, xxi + 351 pp., £15.

Some time in the mid-'60s an international party of journalists was taken on a government-sponsored tour of Croatia, which naturally included a number of historic Roman Catholic churches—historic, but still used for worship, with the usual stalls selling devotional literature. The Soviet correspondent was particularly assiduous in buying copies of this literature. The tour ended with a question-and-answer session with the then Secretary of the Croatian Party Executive Committee, Miko Tripalo. When his turn came, the Russian waved his bundle of religious pamphlets and asked how it was possible for so much religious propaganda to be available. "Gentlemen", came the reply from the Communist Party Secretary, "you must understand that this is a Catholic republic."

This undocumented story does not find a place in Stella Alexander's ground-breaking work, *Church and State in Yugoslavia since 1945;* but it typifies some of the ambiguities in that relationship which have made Mrs Alexander's task such a formidable one. Her book tackles every important aspect of the development of relations between the Yugoslav communist government and the major Christian Churches. The inter-war background is well described in a brief prologue, while the "fateful events" of the Second World War, which set its mark heavily on the Churches even before it brought the Partisans to power, justly form the starting point for Mrs Alexander's study. Thereafter Mrs Alexander deals with the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches in alternate chapters, with an interjected survey of the legislative framework. The Muslims, understandably perhaps, are not covered; it is not the author's fault that recent events in the Islamic world have increased our interest in Muslims everywhere. The main documented narrative ends in 1968. Mrs Alexander was prevented from working in Yugoslavia after 1972, but an epilogue adds a few brush-strokes up to 1974.

The great merit of the work is its detailed exposition of events—meetings, discussions, reprisals, trials, rivalries, reconciliations. To achieve this, Mrs Alexander has supplemented a wide reading of published sources by conversations with numerous Yugoslavs and others (Catholic, Orthodox and Marxist) in a position to throw light on her subject. Names and dates abound, but the broad perspective of policy-making and general attitudes on either side is never wholly lost to sight. Although her basic sympathies primarily lie with the believers, she is at pains to give due weight to the interests of the Yugoslav State as perceived by the communist leaders.

One of the book's pervasive themes is not so much Church and State as Church and people. The interaction of religion and nationalism (variously defined) has been decisive. In Yugoslavia, even more than in most other communist States, the Party's attitude to the Churches has been determined as much by the Churches' identification (or failure to identify) with "national" interests as by the Party's atheistic ideology or even the Churches' social and economic position. Here the war years were crucial. Only the Slovenian resistance movement included a Christian group; the Catholic Church in Croatia compromised with the Ustasa State, while protesting at its excesses. After the War the Church challenged the communists on the classic issues of education, publications, marriage and property: the Party replied by accusations of war-time collaboration with the enemy. The Serbian Orthodox Church was no less traumatically affected by the War, but the result was to confirm, for years to come, its alienation from the Catholics, more even than from the communists. So after the War Stepinac was tried and sentenced in Zagreb, while Gavrilo came back from Dachau to his Patriarchate in Belgrade.

Mrs Alexander brings out well the inconsistencies of cause and effect in

church-state relations. Thus the liberalization and devolution of power to the republics in the 1960s, coinciding with the death of Stepinac and the Second Vatican Council, led to a lasting improvement in relations with the Catholic Church. The Serbian Orthodox, whose reconciliation with the government had been rather easier, found the same devolution embroiling them with a dissident Macedonian Church, supported by the government. The re-assertion of central Party authority since 1971 has not deterred Mrs Alexander from a conclusion of qualified optimism. Of the two tendencies which she detects in the Party—on the one hand, the "humanist and Marxist", ready for dialogue and participation by believers in the life of a socialist self-managing society, and, on the other, an impatient hard-line opposition to religion in any form—she sees some reason to hope that the former will prevail.

Given a lapse of five years between the dates of the epilogue and of publication, the proof-reading is perhaps a trifle slipshod; but an excellent index helps the reader to find his way about an inherently complex subject.

RICHARD KINDERSLEY

Religion and Modernization in the Soviet Union
edited by Dennis J. Dunn, Westview Press, Boulder, Colorado, 1977, 414 pp. No price.

According to some western social scientists, religion appears to have little relevance to modern society. This compendium, which contains papers read at an international conference by leading experts on religion in Soviet society and on the major religious groups in the USSR, dramatically disproves such a simplistic view. A brief review can hardly do justice to a collection of essays with such a timely topic and rich content. The thorough research on which these pioneering essays are based can only add to its interest for readers of *RCL*.

Modernization was defined in the conference proposal as the means "by which societies have been and are being transformed under the impact of the scientific and technological revolution" and as a process desired by most people. However, each contributor modified this term in his own specific way. Thus, Professor Treadgold prefers instead the term "Westernization", while Dr Monas questions whether any meaningful index of modernization exists and follows Vico in seeing modernization as a cyclical regression in history. Nevertheless, all the authors agree that interference in religious matters by the Soviet State and Party apparatus has decisively limited religion's ability to modernize. All likewise agree that, despite secularization, religion remains strong among the masses and is growing among the