CHRISTIANITY AND MODERNITY IN EASTERN EUROPE

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31 Bishop Emilian Birdaş was replaced by Andrei Andreicuţ, his administrative vicar, in 1990. After a few months Birdaş was appointed Bishop Vicar of Caransebeş, a lower position in the hierarchy. He died two years later.

32 A special seminary (a secondary school to train priests) was opened in Tirgoviste in the mid-1960s for training devoted to the particular characteristics of former Greek Catholic parishes. Although the school was supposed to provide clergy to the poorer rural parishes of Transylvania, graduates were used less in former Greek Catholic parishes. Instead, the Church hierarcy preferred that university-educated priests lead these parishes. These educated priests came from the Sibiu Theological Institute in Transylvania, which stressed subjects like church history, canon law, homiletics, and liturgics—issues that were particularly difficult after the unification with the Greek Catholic Church.

33 Ioan Tutecean, interview by Anca Şincan, Mureşeni, Mureş, May 14, 2006.

34 Episcopia Ortodoxă Română Alba Iulia, *Dare de seamă. Secţia Economică* [Annual report. Economic Service]; File no. 4786, December 5, 1976, Arhivele Arhiepiscopiei Ortodoxe Române, Alba Iulia.

35 Most of the country had electricity in the household for merely two hours a day.

36 Ioan Tutecean, interview by Anca Şincan, Mureşeni, Mureş, May 14, 2006.

37 Ibid.

38 Maria Tutecean, interview by Anca Şincan, Mureşeni, Mureş, May 14, 2006.

39 The use of "Spirit" versus "Duh" and "Îndură-Te Spre Noi" versus "Miluieşte-ne" are considered the two most obvious differences in Greek Catholic and Orthodox religious services. This is obviously a gross overstatement.

40 Ioan Tutecean, interview by Anca Şincan, Mureşeni, Mureş, May 14, 2006.

Human Rights as a Theological and Political Controversy among East German and Czech Protestants

KATHARINA KUNTER

Undoubtedly, Christian churches, church-based groups, and individual believers were significant participants in the process of democratic transformation in Central and Eastern Europe at the end of the 1980s. The Catholic Church's political impact on Poland has been likened to "seeds of triumph," while some observers have labeled the East German transition a "Protestant revolution."[1] The role of the church has been symbolized by pictures of, for instance, the candlelit Monday demonstrations in front of St. Nicholas Church in Leipzig, or thousands of Poles gathered for a papal mass. From such images we gain the conventional perspective of the Christian churches acting as guardians of freedom and human rights and taking the lead in the political changes of the 1980s. But when we make a historical analysis of the churches' part, it is, as Hugh McLeod has stated, "less clear how significant that part was."[2] Furthermore, looking back now, twenty years after the turning points of 1989–1990, it is also unclear to what extent the political influence of the churches and the Christian religion was effected directly, through activism and institutional means, or more obliquely, through cultural influences.

John Lewis Gaddis's well-known phrase "we now know,"[3] which he applied to the political history of the Cold War and the communist states, applies equally to the history of Christianity in Eastern Europe. Since 1989 there have been many detailed national studies (including the recent, controversial studies of the churches' interactions with intelligence agencies) and some broader international and trans-national works concerning religion.[4] Most of these, from the field of religious sociology, explore the decreased sway of religious heritage and church institutions and the extent to which communist rule was responsible

for this decline of Christianity's social and cultural influence in Eastern Europe. Other studies, mostly by political scientists and historians, were written from a traditional political-historical perspective and are therefore focused on the connections between church and national identity or church and state.[5] A smaller number of studies by church historians describe and explain the survival of their own churches, sometimes seeking to legitimize the way that churches navigated amid opposition, conformity, and loyalty to the communist regimes.[6]

Considering the amount of literature published in the last two decades, the lack of cultural-history studies is still striking. The influence of churches as transmitted through the force of religious identity remains largely unexplored. Just as new historiographical approaches have recognized that feelings and emotions are historically influential,[7] so a new understanding of religious groups should look not only at their social or political functions but also at their shared mentalities and associated phenomena.[8] In recent German historiographic debates, the term "mentality" signifies the ideological and discursive structure of a particular group's culture and its associated emotional economy. Using this approach, this essay will explore one of the significant elements of Protestant discourse during the 1970s and 1980s: the issue of "human rights." Though Christians today generally endorse the concept of individual, human rights, Protestant elites in the former German Democratic Republic (hereafter GDR) found it problematic. Of course, this ambivalence was partly a product of the political antagonism of the Cold War, in which the "West" and "East" proclaimed competing ideas of rights: the liberal principle of individual, human rights and the socialist idea of collective, social rights. But at the same time, East German Protestants' concerns about the Western understanding of rights were also the result of historical aversion within German Protestant thought toward conceptions of human rights based in political liberalism or natural law.

The focus of this article is this particular cultural tradition—or "mentality"—of German Protestantism and the effect it had on Protestants' acceptance of modernity and modern political thought. This cultural imprint of German Protestantism did not change until the 1970s and 1980s, when involvement in ecumenical organizations, contact with non-German theologians, and the changing expectations of churchgoers in the GDR brought a transformation of East Ger-

man Protestants' perception of, and engagement with, human rights. By comparing this changing approach toward human rights to that of Protestants in Czechoslovakia, I will show that distinct discourses and corresponding structural mentalities regarding human rights existed among different Protestant Christian groups in Central Europe. Some political scientists, such as Gert-Joachim Glaeßner, deny that these differences in mentality exist. Rather, they have seen such variations as the positions of individual church leaders rather than the collective characteristics of a religious group. Contrary to this position, I will argue that, even though East German and Czech Protestants drew from the same theological references, their differing understandings of human rights as a concept valid for Christian ethics were grounded in distinct historical experiences and social and cultural settings.[9]

Human Rights in the German Protestant Tradition

Before we turn toward the concrete situation of Protestantism in East Germany and Czechoslovakia in the 1970s and 1980s, a short look at the historical ambivalence toward human rights in German Protestant theology is required. This is necessary because German Protestantism was, until the 1940s, still an important intellectual influence on other European Protestant churches, such as in the Czech Lands and Scandinavia.

In general, the modern idea of individual human rights that developed in Europe during the Enlightenment offered a liberal and secular perspective on man and society that the majority of the Christian churches could not integrate with their theological concepts. Long after the French Revolution, the Protestant attitude toward human rights was still represented by the prayer: "Freedom, egalitarianism and human rights keep from us, O my God."[10] At first, "human rights" for Protestants was a synonym for chaos, anarchy, and anti-clericalism. Later, during the Industrial Revolution, human rights stood for radical promises and false hopes of solutions to social problems. But for most German Protestants, human rights were no substitute for charity and evangelism. As the German Protestant Central Committee for Social Welfare (*Innere Mission*) declared, "Human rights and human power are unable to create bread."[11]

Beginning in the nineteenth century, German Protestants' skepticism about human rights heavily influenced both East and West European Protestants and continued to do so until the late 1970s. A well-known example of a German Protestant with wide influence across Europe is the Lutheran theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer. Normally seen as an outstanding opponent of Nazism and advocate of moral courage and the dignity of man, Bonhoeffer was not an advocate of the liberal conception of human rights. In his 1941 essay "The Church and the New Order in Europe," Bonhoeffer postulated a contrast between the understanding of freedom in his theology and within Western liberalism:

> Being free [in the biblical sense] means... not the dissolution of all authority but living within the authorities and bonds and *limited* by God's word. The question of individual freedoms—such as freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, etc.—can be addressed only within this overarching context. The important question is the extent to which these freedoms are necessary and suited for fostering and securing freedom to live according to the commands of God. That is, freedom is not in the first place an *individual* right but a *responsibility*; freedom is not in the first place oriented toward the individual but toward the neighbour.[12]

Human rights, he concluded, are a matter of charity, not of law. This theological and dogmatic argument remained unchanged in Bonhoeffer's influential *Ethics* (first published in 1949), in which he again refused the liberal concept of individual rights and argued for a theological determination of all existence:[13] "Therefore the church, too, has no relationship to the world other than through Jesus Christ. This means that the proper relationship of the church to the world does not derive from some natural law, or law of reason, or universal human rights, but *solely* from the gospel of Jesus Christ."[14]

Bonhoeffer's approach was typical of German Protestant theology in the early twentieth century, while the positive attitude toward liberal human rights expressed by figures like Ernst Troeltsch was the exception. Even after defeat in war, occupation and division, and Germans' encounter with ideas of democracy and socialism, Protestant theologians continued to hold to the traditional, critical approach to human

rights. For example, theologian Friedrich Delektat, speaking in January 1949 at the synod of the Lutheran Church, pointed to the conflict between abstract ideas and Germans' concrete problems: "If, instead of universal human rights, the introduction of the new constitutions in Germany promised every German his own bed for the year 1949 and every German family its own kitchen and own flat for the year 1950, and also if this promise should be kept, then so would the trust of the German population in the law and justice of the new state be strengthened much more than through those many newspaper articles about universal human rights, which are not possible to realize in practice today."[15]

Traces of this opinion can also be found in the periodical of the Confessing Church, *Junge Kirche*, first published as an anti-Nazi forum. In 1949 *Junge Kirche* characterized human rights as a "titanic attempt," arguing that there was no reference to God in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[16] That same year Protestant jurists and theologians from West Germany, meeting in Göttingen, broached the issue of natural law and human rights as an acceptable basis of law. They agreed that different "secularized forms" of natural law could not be the last normative instance for human rights.[17]

These examples indicate the continued ambivalence among Protestants in Germany toward the idea of human rights. Ironically, the very concept of individual rights owed much to German Protestantism. Luther, the Reformation, and Protestant theology had offered a new understanding of humanity based on individualism and personal responsibility, which allowed for the development of the modern liberal model of human rights. At the same time, however, German Protestant theology also assumed that all people should be Protestant Christians; therefore, a definition of, or argument for, human rights was not necessary. This line of argument could be described as the "idealistic" or "anti-natural law" approach, variations of which can be found among different traditions of European Protestantism. In the twentieth century, its leading advocate, along with Bonhoeffer, was the Swiss theologian Karl Barth. Like Bonhoeffer, Barth held to the notion of responsibility rather than rights. He argued that Christians, while ultimately committed to God's kingdom, are also "equally committed to responsibility for the earthly 'city,' called to work and (it may be) to struggle, as well as to pray, for it."[18] Barth wrote of these political duties as be-

ing carried out collectively, by the Christian church, not by individuals. He insisted upon the rights of the church to proclaim the Gospel and administer the sacraments, a liberty that was grounded not in ideas derived from liberalism or natural law but rather in the "concrete law of freedom." For Barth, the rights of the church, not of individuals, were fundamental to a just state. He wrote, "This right of the Church to liberty means the foundation, the maintenance, the restoration of everything—certainly of all human law. Wherever this right is recognized, and wherever a true Church makes use of it... there we shall find a legitimate human authority and an equally legitimate human independence."[19]

Even as we recognize this important and influential German view of human rights, it should also be mentioned that other Protestant perspectives of human rights existed. For example, American Protestants such as Frederick Nolde, John Foster Dulles, and Reinhold Niebuhr had a strong impact on the formulation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Likewise, the foundation of the World Council of Churches in 1948 was shaped by the work of Dutch General Secretary Willem Visser't Hooft and his understanding of religious freedom as a fundamental human right.[20]

Political and Church-Based Developments in the 1970s

Emerging from this theological and church-historical background, the discourse about Christianity and human rights that started in the 1970s ran counter to the German Protestant theological tradition. In this respect German Protestantism was behind the Roman Catholic Church (and definitely behind Catholic thinkers like Jacques Maritain). After controversial debates during the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), the Catholic Church had officially accepted human rights based on natural law, with the statement on religious liberty, "Dignitatis Humanae" (1965).[21] This declaration and, more influentially, the social and political movements of the 1960s widened the horizon of the somewhat isolated German Protestant churches and opened a theological discussion of human rights. However, the most important motivation to address human rights came from the East-

West conflict. The Cold War in Europe had changed by the 1970s; no longer enemies seeking to extend the territory under their control, the two superpowers now tried to consolidate their hegemony within existing boundaries. The United States and the Soviet Union wanted to maintain geopolitical stability in Europe with as few military, political, economic, and ideological costs as possible. Under this new geopolitical order, the successful *Ostpolitik* of West German chancellor Willy Brandt and the acceptance of two separate German states at the United Nations in 1973 set the scene for the multilateral European Security Conference. This diplomatic gathering of 35 European states, Canada, and the United States, later known as the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), ended in 1975 with the unanimous approval of the Helsinki Accords. The articles and "baskets" of the Helsinki Accords were strongly marked by the two different approaches to the issue of rights: that of the Western democracies, which promoted the liberal idea of individual rights, and that of the Eastern socialist states, which advocated social and collective human rights. Most influential for ongoing developments in Eastern Europe, however, was Article VII of the Accords, which required signatory states to respect human rights and religious liberty. This particular agreement on respect of human rights was derived from natural-law principles and was an accomplishment of the Vatican and its diplomatic representatives. [22]

The political impact of the Helsinki Accords provoked a response from European Protestant churches and ecumenical organizations. The two main German Protestant institutions, the West German *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland* (EKD) and the *Bund Evangelischer Kirchen* in East Germany (BEK), had to respond not only to the political but also to the ecclesiastical and ecumenical demands of the situation. The result was a debate about human rights that departed from the previous theological *Deutsche Sonderweg*.

In 1974 the EKD published for the first time a statement about human rights, followed by, in 1975 and 1976, two other official positions on human rights in the European ecumenical context. These declarations generated intense dispute about human rights at different levels within the Church in West Germany.[23] Only then did the Church's statements symbolize a turn toward secular language and Enlightenment concepts. However, because they sought to ground human rights not in natural law but in Protestant theology, they also tried—in the

tradition of Bonhoeffer—to avoid highlighting individual human rights. West German Church leaders and theologians instead pointed out the moral and social obligation of Protestants toward their brothers and sisters in society.

Very similar to these discussions among West German Protestants were those that began during the 1970s in the churches in the GDR, although they took place in the very different context of censorship, state pressure, and repression of individual believers in daily life. In 1973 the Theological Department of the Lutheran Committee in the GDR presented the study *Sorge um eine menschliche Welt—Normativität und Relativität der Menschenrechte* [Care for a human world: Normativity and relativity of Human Rights], in which its authors tried to develop a differentiated Christian viewpoint of human rights in a socialist society. The study presented an understanding of human rights that was both close to the socialist interpretation of collective rights and critical of the socialist state's abuses of individual rights: "Human rights and socialism have become influential examples for a better life, and their mobilizing power still works unchanged today... If the rights of others becomes the main priority of society, then the limitations for an increase in humanity that arise from the socialist approach also become visible."[24] This attempt at a balanced perspective was not well received. The East German government, in the person of State Secretary for Church Affairs Hans Seigewasser, denounced the study as "addressed against the internal and foreign affairs of the GDR." The authors were prohibited from releasing the study abroad or publishing it at home, and they were threatened with state sanctions.

This episode indicates East German Protestants' limited scope of activity in the early 1970s. But with the GDR's entrance into the United Nations in 1973 and the state's new international profile, the situation of the Protestant Church changed. The state now tried to use the Church to promote the foreign policy of the GDR in ecumenical discussions; Protestant representatives were expected to stress the positive role of the socialist countries in the CSCE process and, at the same time, abandon liberal concepts of human rights. The Church thus had to adjust for the new ideas encountered in ecumenical meetings and avoid being dominated by state instrumentalization. The issue of human rights was therefore a battleground for both sides. The Church was impelled to develop a response to the Helsinki Accords out of a

theological tradition that was skeptical of individual human rights in a liberal and democratic sense. At the same time, the state sought a policy that would safely accommodate the Church's widened horizons, insofar as it advanced the GDR's international aims, while limiting the influence of the East German Protestants' encounter with ideas of human rights.

Leading Protestant theologians and influential representatives of the BEK in ecumenical organizations, like Christa Lewek, Manfred Stolpe, and Günter Krusche, formulated an answer to this dilemma. They argued that the question of human rights was anchored in the social-political reality of the GDR and could be realized only under the conditions of socialism. Furthermore, they stated that individual and social human rights belonged together and were interdependent. Thus, the Synod stated, "Helsinki showed us: One cannot talk about peace without mentioning human rights. One can't want human rights for the individual without standing up for peace for all."[25] However, these prominent figures of the BEK were not representative of East German Protestants. With such abstract statements, the theologians and Church officials showed their closeness to the ideology of the regime. In addition, they were part of a privileged Protestant elite who worked in and for the *Bund Evangelischer Kirchen* and were isolated from ordinary Protestant believers. While this elite enjoyed, for example, the freedom to travel abroad (including to Western countries) and the opportunity to publish their theological writings on the "church in socialism," those who attended Sunday services suffered daily discrimination, and their children were barred from higher education. While the leading figures of the BEK did not see the necessity for political change and opposition by the churches, younger, more radical Protestants were restless for freedom of movement, employment, and conscience. Although their numbers were not large (about 4,000–6,000 younger Protestants belonged to the circle of these oppositional groups, in contrast to four or five million official members of the BEK), the oppositional churchgoers began at the end of the 1980s to influence ordinary churchgoers through their political engagement, their dynamic actions, and their demands for democracy and human rights in the GDR.[26] It was these believers, not the Church leaders and theologians, who drove the demonstrations of 1989.

Human Rights and Protestant Grassroots Groups in the 1980s

Despite the GDR's greater openness in the 1970s, tension filled the 1980s. Rising economic problems and the aging political elite's vice-like grip on power contributed to a collective gloom among East Germans. Perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union offered the hope of change, but the East German regime's continued inflexibility only further demoralized the general public. State policy against churches also grew more restrictive, while the BEK leadership sought to dampen any enthusiasm for Gorbachev's reforms, warning members against glasnost euphoria. Church leaders did not want what they believed to be risky, open discussions in groups and broader circles to jeopardize an improvement in church-state relations.[27] This reluctant response to the human-rights issue matched that of the top level of the BEK. By the late 1980s East German Protestant leaders continued to prefer dialogue with the state and maintenance of the status quo over the potential danger of discussions about freedom and human rights.

Gorbachev's "New Thinking" was therefore more appreciated by unofficial church-based groups and in circles of the independent peace movement, like the *Bausoldaten* discussed in David Doellinger's essay. Christians—mostly Protestants—in these groups expected new possibilities for participation in civil society and took the opportunity to express explicitly the social and political shortcomings of the GDR and to call for a critical and thorough debate about the political system.[28] The insistence by these Protestants, who organized groups at the grassroots level (*Basisgruppen*), on human rights for individuals in the socialist state was a radical departure from the discourse of Church leaders as well as from the traditions of German Protestant theology. Therefore, owing to this conflict with the views of the BEK leadership and the main current of German Protestant thought, Christian activists did not formulate their arguments against the repressive political situation in the GDR using theological concepts but instead turned to secular language.

One important episode that made clear this gap between the *Bund Evangelischer Kirchen* as an institution and ordinary Protestants involved the Conciliar Process for Justice, Peace and the Integrity of

Creation, initiated by the World Council of Churches at its 1983 Assembly in Vancouver. The Conciliar Process stimulated East German Protestants to express their dissent publicly for the first time and protest the absence of liberal freedoms and opportunities to participate in public discourse. In advance of three major ecumenical gatherings in Dresden and Magdeburg in 1986, a group of Protestants and Catholics started a "postcard campaign," inviting all Christians in the GDR to write their hopes and expectations for the meetings and the Conciliar Process. The campaign was a surprising success. By the start of 1987, almost 10,000 replies had been received from bakers, gardeners, kindergarten teachers, and other ordinary East Germans, who wrote clearly and impressively about their individual experiences in a socialist society.[29] From a historical perspective, this collection of requests and proposals—today lying in the archives of the Protestant Church in Berlin—represents an exceptional source of "history from below."[30] These postcards tell of the political deficiencies of the socialist state and give insight into the restricted, depressing, and gray daily life of the GDR in the late 1980s. Nearly all respondents, writing under the heading "Glasnost in the GDR," cited the major need in East German state and society for new political and economic structures. Besides other political and legal issues, such as the non-existent rule of law, an obvious theme in the postcards was the demand for civil and human rights on all levels, as well as the often expressed and deeply felt regret at struggling through daily life without hope or joy. For many respondents, the act of writing itself offered personal encouragement, connected with the hope that the church would become their advocate against the sorrows and hardships of their lives.

Although the postcard campaign was done under religious auspices, and the postcards were written mostly by Catholics and Protestants, the answers were not explicitly religious or theological. Respondents used secular language to express what they missed and did not connect their thoughts to any theological concept—neither to the statements of the *Bund Evangelischer Kirchen* nor the *Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland.* Comments written under the heading "Hopes for Words and Actions from the Church" mentioned notable contemporary figures as examples of Christian action, such as the German theologians Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Hans-Joachim Iwand, black South African pastor Frank Chikane, and Martin Luther King, Jr., or used biblical

references, mostly from the Sermon on the Mount, to legitimize the political engagement of the church. The only specific reference to German theological discourse was to the concept of *Shalom* formulated by Heino Falcke, a supporter of the grassroots Protestant groups. This absence of comment on statements of the BEK not only indicated that the Church's discourse on human rights remained abstract and elitist for most Protestants but also demonstrated that the gap between Church leaders and churchgoers in the GDR was almost as wide as that between the Politburo and the people. Ordinary Protestants, especially those of younger generations who belonged to the grassroots groups, distanced themselves increasingly from the institutional Church. No longer could the Lutheran Church in East Germany be seen as a *Volkskirche.*

At the same time, as Protestant opponents of the government became estranged from the institutional Church, the Protestant opposition became less and less a Christian movement. Because Church functionaries, in pursuing the idea of the "church in socialism" and following the tradition of German theology, did not offer a Christian argument for human rights, Protestants involved in grassroots opposition groups turned to a secularized discourse. The opposition set itself against the leadership of the East German Protestant Church, and laypeople became active in non-religious dissident groups. Similarly, when the Monday Demonstrations began at Leipzig's St. Nicholas Church in 1989, non-Christians had no confessional obstacles to joining with Christians in the protests against the state.

Despite the emerging divisions in the Church, East German Protestants attempted during the 1986 ecumenical gatherings to integrate liberal ideas of human rights into a theological framework. One of the working groups formed during the meetings, representing the whole spectrum of East German Protestantism (pastors, BEK functionaries, grassroots group members, and laypeople), worked to produce a statement on believers' political and social tasks in light of the Christian virtue of hope for the present and future. The final text of this working group, titled "More Justice in the GDR," became—more than any other document of this time—a symbol of the resistance of the church to the state in the last years of the GDR. It emboldened many East German Christians and encouraged them to join in the demonstrations of 1989, therefore becoming a significant element in the collective mem-

ory of the Protestant participants. Under the heading "Our Hope and Our Act," the document declared: "We Christians pray: 'Your kingdom come,' because we expect from God that which we cannot expect from man. We expect that God will one day wipe away all our tears. We expect his kingdom, in which all suffering and all injustice will have their end. Man cannot and need not build this kingdom. God's kingdom is God's concern... Therefore, we believe that already now and through our humble work, refreshing and encouraging signs of God's kingdom and his justice in our world are possible. Because God in Christ is close to all men, we seek every coalition of reason to advance toward a more humane world, in which peace and justice grow and the oppressed can again walk upright."[31]

Though the statement was influential to Protestants in their opposition to the state, its pious language concealed a very controversial debate. The working group's final text was a compromise in this debate, but the arguments showed that the German Protestant theological tradition remained a difficult legacy. The crucial points of the disagreement were the theological and ecclesiastical issues related to how Protestants, living in a real social and political context, understand and seek the "Kingdom of God." The working group, in its deliberations, addressed two major theological questions. First, when and how is the Kingdom of God coming—and what consequences will this have for the ongoing efforts of Protestants to change the social and political reality of the GDR? And second, in the context of the GDR, what priority should be given to the politics and ideology of socialism as opposed to the struggle for democracy and the rule of law? Were these lines of political activity connected to or exclusive of each other? And what was the relationship between opposition and authority in general?

Historically, the differing approaches to these questions were crystallized in two wings of German political Protestantism. One approach viewed the Kingdom of God as a real, concrete utopia, with democratic socialism as a model. Physicist Hans-Jürgen Fischbeck, one advocate of this idea, not only argued that the rule of the Socialist Unity Party in East Germany was illegitimate but also criticized Western capitalist democracies.[32] According to this approach, human rights based on a Western or liberal model would not play an important role in ideal politics and society; if they did, it would only be relative to collective social conditions. The second option, as theologian Richard Schröder

formulated it, viewed the Kingdom of God as an ideal. Following the traditional Lutheran idea of the two kingdoms, this stance held that the Kingdom of God was the *Kingdom of God.* Temporal power and authority were distinct from it, although not necessarily negative.[33] The consequence of this approach for its protagonists was that democracy was to be sought for rational reasons, for the improved functioning of the state and society, and not because of any theological justification. Human rights had a place in this concept, but only as the foundation of a liberal democracy built to a Western standard. The statement "More Justice in the GDR" successfully bridged the two theological arguments, but the subsequent history of the East German transition shows that proponents of these positions followed different political tracks.

From a historical perspective, the discourse on human rights and the coming of God's Kingdom marked a watershed in the long, ambivalent history of German Protestantism and human rights. Forced by the external political pressure of the Helsinki Accords, by the internal pressure of the SED dictatorship, by the demands of younger Christians engaged in political opposition, and, lastly, by ongoing secularization in the GDR, East German Protestants finally accepted human rights expressed in a secular language and defined as the highest normative standard for a democratic system. With that development, a 300-year tradition of skepticism toward the idea of human rights came to an end.

Czech Protestants and Human Rights

The argument that German Protestant engagement with the issue of human rights represented a theological *Sonderweg*, with its own national and cultural features and resulting discourse, can be seen clearly by a taking a comparative glance at Czechoslovakia. Though Czech and East German Protestants lived in neighboring socialist states and drew from common theological sources, their views of human rights and the cultural and historical contexts that shaped those views were quite different. The following section points out some of these different developments in Czech Protestantism. The aim of this comparison, in following a cultural history approach, is to show the two different sets of

mentalities, within two adjacent Protestant groups, in regard to questions of human rights, modernity, and secularization.

A main difference in the socio-political situations in the GDR and Czechoslovakia during the 1970s and 1980s was that Czechoslovakia had only one significant platform of opposition and defense of human rights, Charter 77, while in East Germany there existed various small oppositional groups. The one major group to emerge in the GDR, the Initiative for Peace and Human Rights (*Initiative Frieden und Menschenrechte*), was founded only in 1986 and explicitly followed the model of Charter 77. With this background in mind, a historical analysis of the mentalities, the political motives, and theological convictions of the Protestant signatories of Charter 77 has special relevance. However (and this is a valuable aim for further academic research), none of the historical, political, and sociological studies of Charter 77 have addressed the confessional affiliation of its members. H. Gordon Skilling's interviews with Charter 77 signatories in the 1980s included Protestant voices, but confessional affiliation or religious views were not made explicit or developed.[34] In her comparative study of Czech and East German dissidents, Annette Lutz considered religious identity as a motivational factor and the importance of the church as shelter for the opposition in the GDR, but she neglected to explore these topics with the Czech dissidents, and therefore had inconsistent results.[35] Finally, Gil Eyal, who in 2003 presented a sort of sociological group biography of Charter 77, oversimplified matters by subsuming Ladislav Hejdánek, a Protestant philosopher and a confessing member of the Church of the Czech Brethren, into the category "philosopher and intellectual."[36] This academic disregard of religion missed an important point: Among the 242 initial signers of Charter 77, over 7 percent were pastors and nearly 10 percent were lay members of the Church of the Czech Brethren.[37] Given that only 2 percent of the whole population belonged to the Church (between 200,000 and 240,000 people), Czech Protestants were over-represented among Charter 77 members.[38] In light of this remarkably high endorsement of the Charter 77 movement, the question arises as to why Czech Protestants, unlike East Germans, were more disposed to the defense of human rights.

In the twentieth century, Czech Protestants were much more familiar with traditions of liberal theology and political thought. Czechoslovakia, after its foundation in 1918, was one of the more open societ-

ies in Eastern Europe, combining a stable democracy with a relatively high educational standard among its people.[39] The first president of the new republic, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, was an advocate of the Anglo-American concept of individual rights and a role model for a liberal, constructive middle class, prompting some Czechs to combine commitment for democracy and human rights with civic involvement, even from an early stage of the state's independence. Furthermore, Masaryk's own religious biography exemplified the potential political relevance of Protestantism in modern European society.[40] Turning from the Catholic Church in 1870 and entering into the Reformed Protestant Church in 1880, Masaryk pinned his hopes on Protestantism, which he associated with democratic developments in his country and throughout Europe.

As president, Masaryk supported the 1920 union of the Czech Lutheran and Reformed churches into a single Protestant institution: the Evangelical Church of the Czech Brethren (*Českobratrská církev evangelická*). He also supported the formation in the same year of the Czechoslovak chapter of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), with which he had first come into contact during his visits to the United States. The YMCA, particularly the Academic Section, which issued publications and organized symposia and lectures, was influential for the development of the postwar generation of Czech Protestant intellectuals and their support for human rights. Leaders of the Academic YMCA were theologian Josef Lukl Hromádka and philosopher Emanuel Rádl, both supporters of Masaryk's political philosophy and regular commentators on Czechoslovak democracy; Rádl in particular was a strong proponent of the concept of individual human rights as opposed to the collective rights of nations. Nearly all of the leading theologians of the Church of the Czech Brethren in the postwar period participated in activities of the Academic YMCA. (Another prominent figure in the YMCA from its founding was Václav M. Havel, father of the future president.)

Among these Czech Protestant participants in the Academic YMCA who later signed Charter 77 was Božena Komárková.[41] A teacher of history and philosophy at a gymnasium in Moravia, she was arrested by the Gestapo in June 1942 on charges of being involved with the Czech underground resistance. After the war she earned a doctorate in philosophy at Masaryk University in Brno and submitted a

habitation thesis on human rights in nineteenth-century philosophy. Shortly before completing her study, she was dismissed from her teaching position. She became involved from the early 1950s in the political underground, organizing student groups. During the Prague Spring, Komárková, together with the phenomenologist philosopher Jan Patočka, was influential in working out in simple and clear language a defense of human rights as a fundamental European and Protestant value.

Komárková was a central figure in the history of Czech Protestantism because of her writings but, above all, because of her high moral and educational authority. In her underground work with students, she gathered around herself a group of young, gifted theologians and philosophers, who also joined the Charter 77 movement. One of these intellectuals was Ladislav Hejdánek, who was strongly influenced by Masaryk and especially Rádl.[42] Hejdánek, who always described himself as a member of the Czech Brethren, saw the recognition of civil rights and of human freedom as practical evidence of a living Christian faith: "Does religion, does Christianity still have a firm place for us and in the world, or any positive function or perspective in today's society? I can also add another question, which a Marxist recently posed to me openly and directly: Is there any positive meaning to be gleaned from the fact that in the struggle for fundamental human rights, freedom of religion in particular has been emphasized?"[43] He went on to answer his question: "Only action is fitting here. This can only be decided in practical life. The struggle for observance of the law and for the respect of civil rights and human liberty is one such opportunity for action, for demonstrating practically that Christianity is still alive."[44]

Another member of Komárková's circle was the minister and theologian Jakub Trojan. Like Hejdánek, Trojan also absorbed Masaryk's admiration of liberal democracy, and he added a sharp rejection of Luther's concept of the two kingdoms.[45] Trojan did reflect a hesitation about the natural basis of rights rooted in his Christian perspective. Yet he understood the liberal notion of human rights as central to Czech political thought, from Masaryk back to the leaders of the nineteenth-century nationalist movement, and he brought this secular understanding into his theology: "Even though I personally do not share the philosophy that provided the basis for the formulation of human rights at the UN—I prefer to think of it as a spiritual act whereby responsible

citizens agreed to recognise each others' dignity and independence, rather than the natural component of the human make-up—I consider that they have a major regulatory role to play in society... This is the task which [nineteenth-century journalist Karel] Havliček, [historian František] Palacky, and Masaryk had in mind when they formulated the ethics of public life and politics in our country."[46]

Beginning in the 1950s, Trojan belonged to a group of younger Czech theologians and pastors called the "New Orientation" (*Nová orientace*) who sought to represent the church in a more authentic way to an increasingly secular society. In this aim, Trojan and his group were inspired by the ideas of Rádl, Hromádka, and Bonhoeffer, along with those of Emil Brunner, Rudolf Bultmann, Paul Tillich, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Their reading, however, of the German and American theologians was necessarily selective. Of Bonhoeffer's works, for example, they only knew his last letters, published under the title *Widerstand und Ergebung* [Reality and Resistance]. The group found resonance with Bonhoeffer's personal example of a man in opposition to the authoritarian state as well as his thoughts about a religionless Christianity. However, the theologian's critical position toward the liberal idea of human rights was unknown to them at the time. In contrast to the view Bonhoeffer had held, Czech Protestants of the New Orientation regarded human rights as self-evident and an elemental condition of modern society. During the Prague Spring reforms, these young Czech Protestants pleaded for a theological parallel to Alexander Dubček's "socialism with a human face." But following the Warsaw Pact invasion of August 1968 and the imposition of "normalization" under Dubček's successor, Gustav Husák, members of the group and other younger pastors in the Church of the Czech Brethren were arrested and lost their jobs.[47] Those who were not jailed campaigned for the amnesty of imprisoned Christians and stood up for human rights and religious freedom; a few years later, they were among the first signatories of Charter 77. Thus the involvement of these Czech Protestants with the opposition movement of the 1970s and 1980s was only one more link in a long chain of political involvement under communism.

Charter 77 was a means of opposition and an intellectual forum but also a source of mutual support for its members. The movement pleaded for individual human and civil rights—religious freedom, freedom of speech, and freedom of movement—in clear, politically con-

crete statements and documents. A successful alternative social model, whose signatories grew from 242 to 800 by the end of 1977, its character was properly described in biblical language by Jiří Hájek, foreign minister during the 1968 reforms: "It all goes slowly, at a snail's pace, but still in the right direction. We proceed forward, relying on the laws, as the Bible says, 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law or the prophets; I am not come to destroy but to fulfill.' And so I think that we have reached the point when the Charter cannot be eradicated. It has emerged in the midst of this society and it is here to stay."[48]

Given the importance of Protestant—and Catholic—clergy and laypeople in Charter 77, Christians can be seen as the third force of the group, alongside reformed communists and non-communist artists and intellectuals.[49] These Christians understood themselves as part of a legal movement seeking democracy, the rule of law, and social pluralism. Until the end of 1989, this Christian wing of Charter 77 constantly issued statements on religious freedom and freedom of thought.[50] Whereas Protestants in the GDR never developed a similar common oppositional group linking different social and political milieus, Czech Brethren pastors and theologians saw human rights as a natural element of Protestant thought. As seven pastors of the Church of the Czech Brethren who were participants in Charter 77 argued, "The question of human rights...emerged from these intellectual roots, which go back to the Reformation and the Nonconformist movement of the churches in the English-speaking world. The values of our reformation—the free proclamation of God's word, the idea of religious tolerance, and the respect for conviction—bring us close to these ideals."[51]

This reference to the Bohemian reformation, beginning with Jan Hus in the fourteenth century and culminating with the seventeenth-century philosopher and bishop Jan Amos Komenský, suggests that nationalist Protestant narratives also played an important role in providing a historical background for accepting the legitimacy of human rights. The phrase "our reformation" indicates a deliberate distancing from the German reformation of Martin Luther with its different images of the Kingdom of God. Framed by this understanding of church history, as well as the strong understanding of being a persecuted religious minority, Czech Protestants understood concepts of individual freedom and human rights as part of a long-established national religious identity.

It was therefore easier for Czech pastors and theologians in Charter 77 to accept that they were in conflict not only with the state but also with the "official church": those members of the Czech Brethren who did not belong to the underground and, in particular, still held their offices in the Church's synodal council. The distance between these two factions was made apparent in the 1977 exchange between Protestant Chartists and professors of Prague's Komenský Protestant Theological Faculty. On April 22, Charter 77 submitted to the government a critical analysis of the state's failure to protect religious freedom in Czechoslovakia. The Theological Faculty responded on May 24 with a statement denying the legitimacy of religious freedom as a human right. Referring to the socialist model, the Faculty declared, "We see the socialist movement as an expression of human longing for freedom and social justice. We are thankful for everything that is being achieved in this respect in our country. We believe that the most suitable social order is socialist, one which enables us to find solutions to the basic problems in the historical path of humanity. By virtue of our faith and the aforementioned reasons, we see socialist society as a space in which we can do our work without secondary motives. Every suggestion that it is possible to see socialist society as something temporary (and not permanent) weakens our theology and disables our creative activity."[52]

The Faculty's statement marked the end of the dialogue of these two wings of Czech Protestantism.[53] But the split was not simply one between dissidents and collaborators; the Faculty's response was not only a statement of support for the socialist state but also an expression of a longstanding theological tradition. In stating their support for socialism, the professors followed the views of prominent German and Czech theologians, most notably the former dean (until his death in 1969) of the Theological Faculty, Josef Lukl Hromádka. Already in the interwar period, when he was leading the Academic YMCA, Hromádka endorsed socialism. And after World War II he pronounced his belief in the shared aims of Marxists and Christians and the primacy of social responsibility and collective rights over liberal individual rights. At the foundation of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1948, just after the Communist Party had seized power in Czechoslovakia, Hromádka indicated his sympathy for the change in government, saying, "Doesn't one smell, behind all these ringing slogans about 'free democracy,' behind all these endeavours to 'defend per-

sonal freedom' and 'free enterprise'... the material, economic interest of big industry and financial concerns?... Discipline, service, responsibility, self-control and self-sacrifice are in certain circumstances more important than human rights."[54]

Hromádka's importance in twentieth-century Czech Protestantism and his leadership in ecumenical organizations raised a special problem for Czech Brethren members of Charter 77. Božena Komárková and other intellectuals respected Hromádka for his leadership of the Academic YMCA, and Ladislav Hejdánek, Jakub Trojan, and members of the New Orientation had been influenced by his theology and his calls for dialogue between Christians and Marxists, but Hromádka never belonged to circles of the Protestant underground. Furthermore, Hromádka's reputation, especially in progressive Protestant circles in Western Europe, made it difficult for Protestant signatories of Charter 77 to gain international support. His European supporters refused to acknowledge the concrete violations of human rights under the socialist government in Czechoslovakia.[55] Consequently, the arguments of Protestant Charter 77 members for a liberal understanding of human rights remained more or less only among Czech Brethren clergy and other Chartists. Not until after 1989 were these Protestant dissidents able to voice their advocacy of human rights to the Czech church as a whole and to ecumenical organizations.

As this comparison of East German and Czech Protestants shows, the issue of human rights caused deep divisions among Christians, arising out of theological and political differences. Protestant participants in the Charter 77 movement saw their campaign for a liberal understanding of human rights and the associated protest against the socialist dictatorship as an integral part of their confessional identity as Czech Brethren. Justification for this stance referred to a collective memory of the Bohemian reformation and to a national tradition of progressive, democratic political and social thought, dating from the late nineteenth century and embodied by Tomáš Masaryk. German Protestants lacked this positive example of an alliance between democracy and Protestantism. Their skepticism concerning human rights, which had its origins in Protestant responses to the French Revolution, persisted into the twentieth century. This long-lasting tradition survived into the 1970s, when the Helsinki Process widened the intellectual horizon of East German Protestants to such an extent that

they could begin to approach the human rights issue. But crucial differences remained between Protestant opposition groups in the GDR and Czechoslovakia. Czech Protestants wanted to realize social and political changes in their republic through legal, constitutional changes. They argued for a liberal concept of human rights and signed Charter 77 and several other documents advocating religious freedom. For Protestants in East Germany (as well as in West Germany), it was much more difficult to find this clarity in expressing human rights as a fundamental Christian value.

Overall, it is remarkable that Protestant churches and groups, despite often cooperating or even actively collaborating with the socialist state, could—as did the Catholic Church in some East European countries—become an important source of alternative political ideas and activist strategies. The discourse on human rights in the GDR and Czechoslovakia is an example of this. Protestant perspectives on human rights in Central and Eastern Europe were laden with complexity and even ambiguity. Human rights in the Protestant tradition in Germany and Czechoslovakia were not a finished concept or a coherent ideology but rather a discursive frame, an ideological battleground. Even as we recognize that national and confessional traditions played an important role, the question remains as to whether there is something behind these differences that could be taken as a collective European Protestant mentality concerning modernity and human rights.

Notes

1 Hanna Diskin, *The Seeds of Triumph: Church and State in Gomulka's Poland* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001). Two early works that interpreted the East German *Wende* as a "Protestant revolution" are Gerhard Rein, ed., *Die Protestantische Revolution, 1987–1990: Ein deutsches Lesebuch* (Berlin: Wichern, 1990); and Erhardt Neubert, "Eine protestantische Revolution," *Deutschland Archiv* 23 (1990): 704–713.

2 Hugh McLeod, Risto Saarinen, and Aila Lauha, *North European Churches: From Cold War to Globalisation* (Tampere: Publications of the Church Research Institute, 2006), 77.

3 John Lewis Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

4 See, for example: Sabrina P. Ramet, *Nihil Obstat: Religion, Politics, and Social Change in East Central Europe and Russia* (Durham, NC, and London:

Duke University Press, 1998); William H. Swatos, ed., *Politics and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe: Traditions and Transitions* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994); Patrick Michel and Alan Braley, *Politics and Religion in Eastern Europe: Catholicism in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992); Detlef Pollack, Irena Borowik, and Wolfgang Jagodzinski, eds., *Religiöser Wandel in den postkommunistischen Ländern Mittel- und Osteuropas* (Würzburg: Ergon 1998); Miklós Tomka and Paul Zulehner, *Gott nach dem Kommunismus: Religion in den Reformländern Ost(Mittel)Europas* (Ostfildern: Schwabenverlag, 1999); Jens Holger Schjørring, ed., *Zwischen den Mühlsteinen: Protestantische Kirchen in der Phase der Errichtung der kommunistischen Herrschaft im östlichen Europa* (Erlangen: Martin Luther Verlag, 2002); Jens Holger Schjørring and Hartmut Lehmann, eds., *Im Räderwerk des real existierenden Sozialismus: Kirchen in Ostmittel- und Osteuropa von Stalin bis Gorbatschow* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003); Jens Holger Schjørring and Peter Maser, eds., *Wie die Träumenden? Kirchen in der Phase des Zusammenbruchs der kommunistischen Herrschaft im östlichen Europa* (Erlangen: Martin Luther Verlag, 2003); and Manfred Spieker, ed., *Vom Sozialismus zum demokratischen Rechtsstaat: Der Beitrag der katholischen Soziallehre zu den Transformationsprozessen in Polen und der ehemaligen DDR* (Paderborn: Schönigh Verlag, 1992).

5 See, for example: Martin Schulze Wessel, *Nationalisierung der Religion und Sakralisierung der Nation im östlichen Europa* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2006); István Keul, *Religion, Ethnie, Nation und die Aushandlung von Identität(en): Regionale Religionsgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2005); Peter F. Sugar, *East European Nationalism, Politics and Religion* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1999); George Weigel, *The Final Revolution: The Resistance Church and the Collapse of Communism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); and Niels C. Nielsen, *Revolutions in Eastern Europe: The Religious Roots* (New York: Orbis Books, 1991).

6 For further discussion of the churches in the GDR, see Katharina Seifert, *Glaube und Politik: Die Ökumenische Versammlung in der DDR 1988/89* (Leipzig: Benno Verlag, 2000); Werner Leich, *Du aber bleibst im Wechsel der Horizonte: Lebenserinnerung* (Wartburg Verlag, 2002); Gottfried Forck and Christa Sengespeick, *Das ganz Normale tun: Widerstandsräume in der DDR-Kirche* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1996); Albrecht Schönherr, *Gratwanderung* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1992); and Hagen Findeis and Detlef Pollack, *Selbstbewahrung oder Selbstverlust: Bischöfe und Repräsentanten* (Berlin: Christoph Links, 1999).

7 Ute Frevert, *Vertrauen. Historische Annäherungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2003).

8 A good overview of the debate over the mentalities of religious groups is offered in Olaf Blaschke and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann, "Religion in Geschichte und Gesellschaft: Sozialhistorische Perspektiven für die vergleichende Erforschung religiöser Mentalitäten und Milieus," in Olaf Blaschke

and Frank-Michael Kuhlemann, eds., *Religion im Kaiserreich: Milieus—Mentalitäten—Krisen* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1996), 7–56.

9 Gert-Joachim Glaeßner, *Demokratie nach dem Ende des Sozialismus: Regimewechsel, Transition und Postkommunismus* (Cologne: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 1994), 126–128.

10 Richard Allen, *Prelates and People: Ecclesiastical Social Thought in England, 1783–1852* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969), quoted in Martin Greschat, *Industrielle Revolution* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1980), 22.

11 Hartmut Lehmann, *Pietismus und weltliche Ordnung in Württemberg vom 17.–20. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969), 225.

12 Dietrich Bonhoeffer, "The Church and the New Order in Europe," in Mark S. Brocker, Lisa E. Dahill, and Douglas W. Stott, eds., *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works* vol. 16, *Conspiracy and Imprisonment* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006), 532. Emphasis in original.

13 The distinction between Bonhoeffer's understanding of freedom and human rights and the liberal tradition of human rights in North America and Western Europe is also clearly pointed out in the afterword to Bonhoeffer's *Ethics*: *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Werke*, vol. 6, *Ethik* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1998), 437. See also Heinz Eduard Tödt, "Dietrich Bonhoeffers Ethik und die Menschenrechte," in Ernst-Albert Scharffenorth, ed., *Theologische Perspektiven nach Dietrich Bonhoeffer* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1993), 139–142.

14 Bonhoeffer, *Ethics*, in Clifford J. Green, ed., *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Works* vol. 6 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 356. Emphasis in original.

15 Quoted by Martin Greschat, "Ökumenisches Handeln der Kirchen in den Zeiten des Kalten Krieges," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 1 (2000): 15.

16 The following is based on Katharina Kunter, "Vor Freiheit bewahre uns, o Herr! Deutschlands Protestanten, auch Dietrich Bonhoeffer, taten sich mit den Menschenrechten schwer," *Zeitzeichen* 2 (2002): 17–19; and Katharina Kunter, "Wegweiser aus Amerika. Mit den Freiheitsrechten des Einzelnen taten sich Deutschlands Protestanten lange schwer," *Zeitzeichen* 12 (2003): 28–30.

17 Evangelische Kirche in Deutschland, *Kirche und Recht: Ein vom Rat der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland veranlasstes Gespräch über die christliche Begründung des Rechts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1950).

18 Karl Barth, *Church and State*, trans. G. Ronald Howe (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1939); originally published as *Rechtfertigung und Recht* (1938), 81.

19 Ibid., 84.

20 Kenneth G. Grubb, et al., *The Church and International Disorder: An Ecumenical Study Prepared Under the Auspices of the World Council of Churches* (London: SCM, 1948).

21 See Paul Wuthe, *Für Menschenrechte und Religionsfreiheit in Europa: Die Politik des Heiligen Stuhls in der KSZE/OSZE* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002); and Eric Hanson, *The Catholic Church in World Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).

22 See Katharina Kunter, *Die Kirchen im KSZE-Prozess 1968–1978* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).
23 See, for example, Wolfgang Huber and Heinz Eduard Tödt, *Menschenrechte: Perspektiven einer menschlichen Welt* (München: Christian Kaiser, 1977); and Martin Honecker, *Das Recht des Menschen* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1977).
24 Theologischer Studienausschuss des Nationalkomitees des Lutherischen Weltbundes in der DDR, ed., *Sorge um eine menschliche Welt. Normativität und Relativität der Menschenrechte* (1974) in the private archive of Günter Krusche, Berlin. This was published in part in *Kirchliches Jahrbuch 1975*, 486–495. See also Günter Krusche, "Menschenrechte in christlicher Verantwortung. Die Kirchen in der DDR und die Menschenrechte," *Ökumenische Rundschau* 49 (2000): 26–42.
25 Statement of the Synod of the BEK, May 13–15, 1977, in *Mitteilungsblatt des BEK in der DDR* (Berlin, 1977), 18–24, in Evangelisches Zentralarchiv 101/602, Berlin.
26 Data on opposition groups from Detlef Pollack, *Politischer Protest: Politisch alternative Gruppen* (Wiesbaden: Verlag Leske & Biderich, 2000), 137–139; and Pollack, *Kirche in der Organisationsgesellschaft: Zum Wandel der gesellschaftlichen Lage der evangelischen Kirchen in der DDR* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1994), 373–379.
27 See report of Christoph Demke on the Konferenz der Kirchenleitungen, December 3, 1988, in Evangelisches Zentralarchiv 688/84, Berlin.
28 See, for example, Friedrich Schorlemmer, "Umkehren und Umgestalten: Rede auf dem Evangelischen Kirchentag in Halle Juni 1988," in *Bis alle Mauern fallen: Texte aus einem verschwundenen Land* (Berlin: Verlag der Nation, 1991), 48–67.
29 The postcards are collected in Evangelisches Zentralarchiv Bestand 117, Berlin.
30 For analysis of the postcard replies, see Katharina Kunter, *Erfüllte Hoffnungen und zerbrochene Träume: Evangelische Kirchen in Deutschland im Spannungsfeld von Demokratie und Sozialismus (1980–1993)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2006), 173–189.
31 Evangelischer Pressedienst Dokumentation, no. 6 (1989).
32 Hans-Jürgen Fischbeck, letter to Working Group 3, undated, in private archive of Heiko Lietz, Berlin.
33 Evangelischer Pressedienst Dokumentation, no. 6 (1989), 2.
34 H. Gordon Skilling, *Samizdat and an Independent Society in Central and Eastern Europe* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989); and H. Gordon Skilling and Paul Wilson, ed., *Civic Freedom in Central and Eastern Europe: Voices from Czechoslovakia* (London: Macmillan, 1991).
35 Annabelle Lutz, *Dissidenten und Bürgerbewegung: Ein Vergleich zwischen der DDR und Tschechoslowakei* (Frankfurt: Campus, 1999).
36 Gil Eyal, *The Origins of the Postcommunist Elites: From Prague Spring to the Breakup of Czechoslovakia* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

37 Thank you to Jan Dus and Alfred Kocab, Prague, for help in identifying and counting Christian members of Charter 77.

38 "Kirchen in der ČSSR I, Zahlenspiegel," in *ČSSR. Zur Lage der evangelischen Kirche der Böhmischen Brüder: Eine Dokumentation* (Küsnacht: Glaube in der Zweiten Welt Verlag, 1978), 3.

39 See Libor Prudký, "Die Kirche in der Tschechischen Republik—ihre Situation und Entwicklung," in Libor Prudký, Pero Aračić, Krunoslav Nikodem, Franjo Šanjek, Witold Zdaniewicz, and Miklós Tomka, *Religion und Kirchen in Ost(Mittel)Europa: Tschechien, Kroatien, Polen* (Ostfildern: Schwabenverlag, 2001), 29.

40 See the unpublished essay by Bruce R. Berglund, "Prague Castle as Sacred Acropolis: Faith, Conviction, and Skepticism in the House of Masaryk" (paper presented at the conference "Religion and the Challenges of Modernity: Christian Churches in 19th and 20th Century Eastern Europe," German Historical Institute, Warsaw, June 21, 2006).

41 I am thankful to Jan Šimsa, Brno, who shared his knowledge of Komárková in a two-day interview. See also Jan Šimsa, "Solidariteit met de geschokte," in *Božena Komárková, Leven van de geef: Christen-zijn in Tsjechië onder het nationaal-socialisme en het communisme* (Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok, 1998), 118–127.

42 Milan Walter, "Ladislav Hejdánek: Eine biographische Skizze," in Ladislav Hejdánek, *Wahrheit und Widerstand. Prager Briefe* (Kirchheim: P. Kirchheim Verlag, 1988), 276–279; and interview with Hejdánek in Doris Liebermann, Jürgen Fuchs, and Vlasta Wallat, eds., *Dissidenten, Präsidenten und Gemüsehändle: Tschechische und ostdeutsche Dissidenten 1968–1998* (Essen: Klartext, 1998), 141–154.

43 Ladislav Hejdánek, "Was ist Christentum?" in *Wahrheit und Widerstand: Prager Briefe*, 92.

44 Ibid., 97.

45 Jakub S. Trojan, "Ferdinand und andere unerfreuliche Kapitel," in Jakub S. Trojan, *Entfremdung und Nachfolge: Zwei theologisch-politische Essays* (Munich: Kaiser Verlag, 1980), 87–166. See also Wim Stougie, "Ethiek, moraal en de kerk. Portret van de Tsjechische theolog Jakub Trojan," in *Bulletin kerkelijke contacten Tsjechië en Slowakije*, no. 13 (1996), 6–7.

46 Jakub S. Trojan, *And the Nightingales Sing: Theological Reflections and Dialogues, Kostelec nad Labem 1980–1982* (Prague: Oikumene, 1992), 278.

47 Glaube in der 2. Welt, *ČSSR. Zur Lage der evangelischen Kirche der Böhmischen Brüder. Eine Dokumentation* (Küsnacht: Verlag Glaube in der Zweiten Welt, 1978), 12.

48 *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 13, 1977, quoted in Vladimir V. Kusin, *From Dubček to Charter 77: A Study of "Normalization" in Czechoslovakia, 1968–1978* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), 325.

49 Jakub Trojan, "The Position of the Churches throughout the Changes in the Czechoslovakian Society," in Joseph Pungur, ed., *An Eastern European Liberation Theology* (Calgary: Canada Angelus, 1992), 248–268.

50 Villem Prečan, ed., *Křestané a Charta 77* (Munich: Opus Bonum, 1980); and Ingeborg Gollert, ed., *Die Kirchen in der ČSSR und die Menschenrechtsbewegung "Charta 77": Dokumente, Briefe und Stellungnahmen der Evangelischen Kirche der Böhmischen Brüder* (Berlin: Osteuropa Dokumentationen, 1978). See also H. Gordon Skilling, *Charter 77 and Human Rights in Czechoslovakia* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1981), 287–290.

51 "Christen nehmen Stellung zur Charta," in Glaube in der 2. Welt, ed., *Osteuropäische Bürger werden aktiv! Bürgerinitiativen im Spiegel ihrer Dokumente* (Zollikon: Verlag Glaube in der 2. Welt, 1978), 46.

52 "Thesen der Dozenten der Theologischen Comenius-Fakultät in Prag," in *ČSSR. Zur Lage der evangelischen Kirche der Böhmischen Brüder*, 19; see also letter of Miloš Rejchrt, July 1, 1977, 23–27.

53 "Pfarrer zwischen den Zäunen. Alfred Kocáb, Pfarrer an der Prager Salvator-Gemeinde der EKBB," in *Dissidenten, Präsidenten und Gemüsehändler*, 130–140, especially 135.

54 Quoted in Bradley F. Abrams, *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004), 273. See also Ökumenischer Rat der Kirchen, ed., *Die Unordnung der Welt und Gottes Heilsplan: Die Kirche und die internationale Unordnung*, Band 4 (Geneva: ÖRK, 1948), 134–167.

55 Alfred Kocáb, "Wo hat es angefangen!? Zur Rolle von Josef L. Hromádka im Ost-West-Konflikt," in Heinz-Jürgen Joppien, ed., *Der Ökumenische Rat der Kirchen in den Konflikten des Kalten Krieges* (Frankfurt: Verlag Otto Lembeck, 2000), 310–315.