

COMPLICITY AND PERSEVERANCE: HUNGARIAN LUTHERANS DURING AND AFTER COMMUNISM

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In this essay I will be talking about the struggles within my small Lutheran church in the heart of Europe, in Hungary. But let me immediately offer a corrective: this is not only about my church but also your church, for “the church is catholic, universal,” as John Donne, the seventeenth-century English poet said in his celebrated meditation. “No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent... therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee.”¹

I hope that my story, colleagues and friends, sisters and brothers, is going to turn into your story at the end of the day because, as the apostle Paul says, we are part of one another and we as Christians are meant to bear each others’ burden. I come from that part of our common globe where Christian faith, the faith of the church, was tried and was found wanting because of persecution. Good for you that you were never exposed to such pressure and persecution. Or, perhaps, bad for you that you have never had this experience. You have your own latent dangers and pitfalls, perhaps not as harmful and painful as ours, lurking after you to threaten your faith, such as prosperity and materialism and empire-building.

The story I am going to share with you is going to be rather grim and tragic. But nothing is written in vain. The story is also written for our and your learning as the good old “Lutheran” St. Paul said in 1 Corinthians 10.

From Hard Communism to Goulash Communism

Hungary is a small nation with a thousand-year-old history. The Hungarian language is a small, strange linguistic island in the vast sea of Germanic and Slavonic languages. It is related to none of these groups, as it is not an Indo-European but a Finno-Ugric language. The pagan Hungarians converted to Christianity in the year 1000, and ever since the history of the nation has been a constant fight for integrity and independence since geographically and geopolitically it is on the border of east and west. We had Tatar and Turkish invasions in the Middle Ages and early modernity. For centuries the Hapsburgs wanted to colonize the country; their conflicts were solved by the Compro-

mise of 1867 that marked the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. However, due in part to reemerging improper conduct—Hungarian “pride” over ethnic minorities during the peaceful and prosperous Austro-Hungarian monarchy—Hungary lost two-thirds of its territory with the end of the First World War. Due to another ill-fated alliance, Hungary again found herself on the side of losers in 1945. The Soviets came to liberate the country from Nazi occupation, but as somebody in the movie *Freedom’s Fury* said, they liberated us also from our freedom as they forgot to go home. The western world admired the courage of this small nation but ungraciously let it down because of its involvement with the occupation of the Suez Canal in 1956.

The history of communism has two phases: we may call the first phase of the late forties and the early fifties “hard communism” or “Stalinism.” This cruel suppression of the Hungarian revolution by the Russian tanks on November 4, 1956, marked the beginning of the Kádár era, or “soft communism,” better known here as “goulash communism.” For a couple of decades Hungary became “the happiest barracks in the eastern European concentration camp.” Party Secretary János Kádár, traitor to the revolution, could provide a relative welfare for the inhabitants, but he had no inhibitions against joining the Soviets in crushing the Prague Spring of 1968.

Some 200,000 people fled the country from the Russian tanks in 1956, and soon after the revolution hundreds were executed. During the three decades of soft communism (1957–1988) we Hungarians were not sent to concentration camps any more. We were even allowed to travel to the west once every three years. All in all, I daresay, this “soft communism” was psychologically and morally more dangerous than Stalinist tyranny. During the Stalinist terror everybody knew who was who, while during the Kádár regime we were gradually hypnotized to take our situation as reality, both ultimate and penultimate, and there was no way out. Most people believed that communism, or socialism as they called it, would have no end, as these were the limits of our existence not just for our generation but also for several generations to come. Not even two years before

1989 would any Hungarian, or any citizen of the world, predict that this system would collapse like a pack of cards. I heard once the German theologian Gerhard Sauter say that for him the sudden fall of communism with the disappearance of the Berlin wall was hard evidence of the judgment of God.

A Minority within a Minority

My topic is "complicity and perseverance." The Christian churches have, unfortunately, not proven better than any other earthly institution. That is to say, they were just as ill-prepared for the advent of communism as for its collapse forty years later. They proved to be the foolish virgins without oil in their lamps and thus were unready, not for the coming of the bridegroom but for the coming and going of the enemy. God forbid that we should call communism the enemy! No, the enemy is much more sophisticated than any secular ideology, however hostile it might appear to Christian faith. Evil was, and is, I am afraid to say, lurking in our midst, among ourselves, in ourselves.

If Hungarians with their ten million inhabitants are a minority among the peoples of Europe, the Lutherans (3%) in Hungary are also a minority among the Roman Catholics (60%), and Reformed Christians (20%) of the population. My story, therefore, is going to be a story of a minority within a minority. But we have learned from our Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, that might is not necessarily a virtue, since God frequently chooses the oppressed, the marginal, and the minority.

Hungarian Lutherans have a different theology both from Catholics and the Reformed. The Roman Catholic church has always held that the country was a *regnum marianum*, a country protected by the Virgin Mary ever since King Stephen offered his crown and land to the Blessed Virgin. For Catholics, the communists' anti-religious Marxist ideology did

indeed seem to be the devil incarnate, as this modern totalitarian system, so alien from the soul and religion of the people, seemed indeed to be demonic. Their most outstanding leader, Cardinal Mindszenty, identified himself not just with the Catholics but with the whole people and developed a theology and practice of resistance. The communists put Mindszenty into prison: he was released in the midst of the 1956 revolution when he made an impressive radio address blaming "the inheritors of the fallen system." When the Russian tanks crushed the revolution, he got shelter from the American embassy for fifteen years. He was a hero of resistance, but the Roman Catholic Church began to adopt a more cautious *modus vivendi* policy, called the "policy of small steps," which was soon also approved by the Holy See. All the arrangements suited the international climate of the 1960s and also the inclusive ideology of the Kádár regime: "He who is not against us is with us." When Cardinal Mindszenty was allowed to leave the American embassy for western Europe in 1971, he found himself a forsaken and lonely figure.

The Reformed church at the beginning of communism was following the rather unfortunate advice of their "pope" Karl Barth. They developed a special theology of judgment arguing, in the spirit of the Old Testament prophets, that we should take communism as the judgment of God, since in the past our churches have lined up with reactionary powers: Protestant bishops, for example, had voted for the law discriminating against the Jews. The Reformed also had a hero, namely Bishop László Ravasz, who emerged in the 1956 revolution but was removed after the failure of the revolution. The Reformed, just as the Catholics, have always been more politically committed than their Lutheran brethren. The Calvinists were proud to uphold their progressive political history when they rebelled against the Hapsburgs and the Catholics and were keen on using this credit both in the Stalinist and

the soft communist period. A "red" bishop of the Reformed church left the church after 1956 and became the foreign minister of the Kádár regime. The Reformed bishops of the Kádár era developed a so-called "theology of service," an ideology that tried to tame pious church members to serve not only their Lord but also the communist state.

Confessors, Compromisers, Collaborators, and Controversialists

The Lutheran story is, however, more colorful, exciting, and dramatic. In a 1999 lecture, which later was published as an article, I introduced the twentieth-century history of the Hungarian Lutheran church by analyzing the inaugural speeches of bishops between 1939 and 1990, as their different theological or pseudo-theological emphases reflected well the various drifts that the boat of this small church was taking. The typology I offered was as follows.

- the confessing bishop, Lajos Ordass
- the compromising bishops, Zoltán Túróczy and József Szabó
- the collaborating bishops pre-1956, László Dezséry and Lajos Vető
- the collaborating bishops post-1956, Zoltán Káldy, Ernő Ottlyk, and Gyula Nagy
- the controversial bishops, Béla Harmati and Imre Szebik²

In the aforementioned article I described my typology thus:

Whomever I call "compromiser" was, to a certain extent, also necessarily a "confessor." But it means that in unexpectedly difficult political situations there were some who managed to remain loyal to the gospel and remained unmoveable when they believed vital principles were at stake. The "compromisers" also tried to remain faithful to the gospel, but they wished to find a rational *modus vivendi*... The collaborator

is the one who is only nominally chosen by the church: it is ultimately the state that places him into office. Again, I would not immediately stamp them as traitors, since they might have been convinced that their theology of church government was the only "way" for the church. I considered bishops elected in 1987 and 1990 as "controversial" because their positions depended on their past: they took their offices without letting the cleansing processes, coming from below, prevail within the church.³

A similar typology to mine was developed by American Lutheran theologian and ethicist H. David Baer.⁴

Let us begin by considering evangelical or pietist yet "compromising" Bishop Zoltán Túróczy. Túróczy, unlike the confessing Bishop Ordass, was not passionate about defending church-related schools during the aggressive communist nationalization of parochial school in 1948. He and his followers argued that "martyr blood cannot flood for the schools," since the church's main mission is the ministry and the sacraments. While the confessing Bishop Ordass was in prison, Túróczy signed the "Agreement" with communist leaders. His conduct is characterized by Baer with a quote from a Transylvanian poet: *ahogy lehet*, which means "in the way that it is possible." This type was ready for compromise for the sake of a *modus vivendi*. In an evangelical spirit they found that the time of the "people's church" and historical Christendom had come to an end. They believed that when old doors closed (like those of church schools), God would open new ones. There would be revivals, evangelizations, and thus hope for the church to become a missionary church. For this pietist attitude the church school was adiaphora, neutral and indifferent from the point of view of proclaiming the gospel.

Túróczy stands in contrast to the "collaborating" or "red" bishops

László Dezséry and Lajos Vető, and also the General Inspector Iván Reök. "Collaboration," comments Baer, "entailed affirming Hungarian socialism as religious truth... Collaboration was *ahogy lehet* gone amok: shrewd compromise without the shrewdness, dogged survival without the purpose, and tragic figures without the noble spirit... Survival, not ministry, became the final good, and compromise was no longer subjected to moral considerations."⁵ These collaborators taught between 1949 and 1956 that "the church exists for socialism," which is, as Baer rightly observes, false teaching, and therefore the Lutheran church as represented by the leaders in that period "ceased to be a church."⁶

The "confessing bishop" is associated primarily with the name of the great Hungarian Lutheran saint, Bishop Lajos Ordass (1901-1978) whose name can be found on an oak frieze in the round sanctuary of Vinje Lutheran Church in Willmar,

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Minnesota, among a "great cloud of witnesses." The last three of the seventy-eight names of these witnesses from the Bible and the church are Bonhoeffer, Berggrav, and Ordass. When the oak frieze was made, Ordass was the only person still alive. He lived, however, in total isolation from 1958 until his death in 1978.

Here I must add a personal note. I was brought up as a Lutheran pastor's son. My father became a seminary professor when I was thirteen. Throughout the 1970s I gradually became alienated from my church, as I perceived it to be something false. I

chose therefore to have a secular career as a teacher, though I have always had some inner desire for ministry and theology. Several years after Bishop Ordass's death in the mid-1980s, his autobiography was published in Switzerland. I read it and it blew my mind. It was indeed an epiphany in my life. All of a sudden I understood the real history of the Lutheran church in the twentieth century, a story that was diametrically opposed to what we had been taught by the church establishment, including my own father who was a church historian. I understood that the church was a suffering church or, as I later learned from Luther, a hidden church. Since 1988 I have published several articles both in English and Hungarian and even a small book on Bishop Ordass⁷ in the hope of reappropriating his legacy that could, I firmly believe, lead to a renewal or reformation of my home church, which I considered to be in pretty bad shape.

In my understanding, Bishop Ordass's life, witness, and ministry were "cruciform." They display for us the Pauline and Lutheran paradoxes of the theology of the cross. Shakespeare, not unlike Luther, also teaches us that in a world turned upside down, dictators, fake usurpers, careerists, and pseudo-bishops send the chosen ones into exile. No wonder that Ordass could write a series of meditations, *At the Foot of the Cross*, which was published here in the United States as "by an imprisoned pastor behind the iron curtain."⁸ Ordass became so influential even in this country that he is the only Hungarian to have been selected among the texts of the Lutheran breviary *For All the Saints*.

Ordass was bishop from 1945 until his death in 1978, though he was active for less than five years: first between 1945 and 1948, at the end of which time he was imprisoned for protecting church schools, and then again between 1956 and 1958. He got back to his office during the 1956 revolution and remained there long after the Russians crushed the revolution, since the state wanted to win him for their

purposes. But unlike many others, he did not let himself be demoralized and fought with perseverance for the integrity of his church. He was twice elected to be the vice president of the Lutheran World Federation. Ordass, unlike the Roman Catholic Cardinal Mindszenty, was not a resister. He knew that his mandate was for the defense of his church and the people in his church. He remained a good Lutheran by not trying to convert his faith into political action and thereby risking the loss of his identity. But by remaining faithful to his principles, he became a formidable adversary to the communists. Baer recognized in Ordass an attitude (which I find very similar to Luther and Edwards) that ethicists label as "non-consequential" or "deontologist."

Deontology means a commitment to duty that excludes from moral consideration the effects, even the most negative ones, that result from adhering to duty. For a deontologist, duty has order of privilege over consequence. Often, and certainly in the case of Bishop Ordass, deontology depends on a sense of hidden providence. For a deontologist of this sort, disregarding consequences makes sense because one believes that that God controls history even when his providential care cannot be seen and, therefore, that God is responsible for the consequences both good and bad, that result from adhering to duty. Without faith in hidden providence, keeping duty a great cost can appear foolhardy or irresponsible.⁹

In the show trial of 1948, before the verdict, Ordass said the following words to the judges. "If I am convicted, then the conviction will become a veil that hides God's will from me and renders it incomprehensible to me. But I will accept it from the hand of God without grumbling. One thing I know—namely, that whatever happens to me is God's beneficial will."¹⁰

Bishop Zoltán Káldy (1918–1987) took over when the state removed Bishop Ordass in 1958. He was seen by both western European and North American Lutherans as somebody unlawfully usurping Ordass's seat for several decades. However, by 1984, when the Lutheran World Federation held its seventh assembly in Budapest (its first time behind the Iron Curtain), Káldy had managed to create such a positive image for himself among world Lutherans that he was elected president of the LWF. For him, this was a great moment of triumph, as Ordass's figure haunted the Lutheran church in Hungary and Káldy personally the whole time he was in office. But now he could boast that, while Ordass was "only" vice president, world Lutheranism justified him by electing him as president. However, his triumph was his failure, just as in a good Shakespearean history play or tragedy. During the assembly there came an unexpected public criticism from one of his pastors who criticized Káldy's false "theology of diakonia" and dictatorial style of conduct. Káldy had created a "theology" that he wanted to impose on all his pastors. Its essence was that a good Christian is meant to serve faithfully the communist state.

Baer does his best to be fair to Káldy by recognizing that Káldy's *mozgástér* space of maneuver was very limited, and within these limits he tried to serve his church, in particular through the improvement of its infrastructure. But Baer also rightly observes that the church is more than infrastructure. It is a spiritual body upon which Káldy inflicted serious wounds. Baer's perceptive insight is that Káldy's idea of the serving church was sliding into sycophancy. He himself "degenerated into a clerical tyrant and communist lackey."¹¹

Baer concludes that Túróczy, Dezséry and Vető, and Káldy were all versions of the *ahogy lehet*. Ordass stood alone, according to Baer, but only as an individual case. The potential suffering church in Hungary, he claims

(dubiously, in my opinion), never became a historical reality. However, Baer sees Ordass as "a permanent thorn in the flesh of Hungary's Lutheran Church" and concludes that "only a great church could produce such a great man."¹²

Complicity Close to Home

Ordass is a symbol of the virtues of perseverance, steadfastness, fidelity, and endurance. His favorite text from Scripture was Matthew 24:13, "But he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved." Our small minority church can offer for the world one true man, one shining example of perseverance. Ordass is indeed among the cloud of witnesses, a modern "extraordinary saint" of our time, whose testimony has bearing on us in the present and the future whether we are in the east or in the west.

I wish I could come now to a grand conclusion by holding up to you the one great star that shines "as the brightness of the firmament" (Daniel 12:3). According to Jonathan Edwards's *Religious Affections*, upon God's firmament there were not only fixed stars but also transient comets who were tempted and tried but unfortunately failed to endure. To my great sorrow, instead of a triumphant and glorious ending, it is their story with which I have to conclude.

"Complicity" is the word in my title. I would be false if I refused to talk about it for the sake of an impressive ending. I learned the semantic meaning of this word only recently. It fell like a bombshell into my own personal family history in the past two years. This story has to do with those people within the church who, as it has turned out, collaborated with the communist secret police. Some people say that during the hurricane of communism practically everybody became "complicit" or "muddy." But some others argue, rightly I think, that it made a difference whether your coat, your tongue, or your heart became "muddy."

Some clarification of the background seems to be necessary. The transition from communism to democracy was the result of peaceful negotiations between the reform communists and various branches of the opposition in 1989. Thank God that there was no bloodshed. But neither was there an elevating catharsis. In transmitting power, there was a consensus between the last Mohicans of communism and the victorious parliamentary parties that there should be no "witch-hunting." József Antall, the first prime minister of the freely elected government, was given a list of those involved with the communist secret police by his predecessor. The new prime minister disclosed the list only to a small circle in his government. The communist secret police was a very powerful and sophisticated system similar to the East German Stazi. In Hungary, as in some other former communist countries in eastern Europe, this collaboration remained hidden for more than fifteen years. These lists have frequently been cards in fierce political power games. Hungary is an extremely divided nation between the political left and the political right. In fact, both parties have their own former secret agents, and therefore none of them really supported the uncovering of this dirty past.

There were some rumors about some former and present church leaders as well. The archives, however, not been available for the public until quite recently.

In February 2005 there was an illegal internet list posted by a certain "expert" who identified several Roman Catholic, Reformed, and Lutheran church leaders as agents. When two recently retired bishops were mentioned among the Lutheran secret agents, it created immediate excitement. Due to the initiative of its leadership, the Lutheran church was the first to respond publicly to that list. Their public statement created much respect for our small church in the secular media. The church leaders in that

statement apologized for those who had been harmed by the agents' activity. And it was a courageous decision when the church set up a fact-finding committee to research the archives and identify those who were involved.

Parallel to the official fact-finding committee, a small renewal group of our church (the EBBE) decided in the fall of 2005 at my initiative to launch a series of lectures in the spirit of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Our purpose was not to hunt for individual cases but to clarify how the community of the church can and should confront this issue from the point of view of the

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Christian faith. Bonhoeffer's ideas in his great *Life Together* on confessions or *Stellvertretung* (vicarious suffering) have provided much inspiration. I edited the proceedings of these talks and some extra material in a book called *Truth and Reconciliation* published in May 2006.

At the national assembly of our church, where the fact-finding committee gave the first official report of their work, it was said that within the Lutheran church there were some fifty agents with pseudonyms. They identified only four, three of them already dead, the fourth being a retired bishop who had worked for several years for the Lutheran World Federation.

On June 23, 2006, when I visited my parents in their little cottage near Budapest, my father told me he had also had a pseudonym with the secret police. I was shocked. I knew, of course, that my father, who had been persecuted until 1970 as "reactionary" and "pietist," suddenly became a professor of church history at the

initiative of Bishop Káldy. I always regretted he had given up the dynamism of his parish ministry for a more comfortable position in the church establishment, and I had never been happy with his logic of compromise: "It is much better if I am here in the position than a left-wing colleague."

I know that he was loved by his students and that he protected them whenever he could. He has always had a generous and magnanimous heart. But I was very unhappy with this newly discovered flexibility. There was, for example, such a great contrast between his writings on twentieth century church history and those of Bishop Ordass. Much to his credit, my father never tried to separate me from my commitment to Ordass. Moreover, in the mid 1970s, he encouraged my brother and me to go and visit Bishop Ordass, whose name at the time was taboo in the church.

My father retired from the seminary eight years ago at the age of seventy-five. Since then he has received several decorations from his church and from the democratic government. On his eightieth birthday he even received the highest cultural decoration from the Austrian government.

I had always known that my father had been on the wrong side, and I was sorry for him. But when I was getting into my forties and fifties, our earlier, sometimes fierce, theological and political debates just faded away. He would come enthusiastically to the meetings of our renewal group. Sometimes I even mentioned to him what new data I had received about former bishops as being informers. Though I knew he had become a loyal supporter of Káldy, I did not for a minute imagine he also could have had a pseudonym. He kept this secret from my mother and his three children for a very long time. At last he told my brother, who recently became bishop, and two days later he told me. I understand he had also spoken with members of the fact-finding committee.

The Hungarian secular media published a series of articles in a weekly

literary journal with the title, "Communist Agents Were in the Leadership of the Hungarian Lutheran Church for Fifty Years." The articles identified all bishops as secret agents, along with several famous parish pastors and professors of theology. I felt that these articles were like the scourge of God on our church. In the last issue of the series on October 6, 2006, my father was also identified.¹³ To the great astonishment of many church members this man of good will, a pietist professor, was also an agent.

After that news went public, I felt as though I were burning in God's furnace. God has taught me to intercede for my parents. I have been fighting for my father in the forms of poems inspired by my morning Bible studies.

I was very happy that in the midst of pain I could experience the joys and blessings I undeservedly gained from my encountering God in Scripture, in nature, and in the works of Jonathan Edwards. I told my own sons the sad story of my father. Their reactions to what they learned struck me as unexpectedly wise and mature. It is promising that theirs is the future and that their burden is not as heavy as that of my own middle generation.

My father died peacefully at the age of eighty-three on December 4, 2007. Since my return from the USA just a year passed. During that time we had long mutual discussions before the Lord whether or not he should address other pastors with his personal story. Eventually, he was willing to share this experience. Within that period my father's energies were miraculously rejuvenated. He stumbled and fell but nevertheless trusted the Lord.

On the day of his death, one of the biblical texts from the *Herrnhuter Losung* (also known as Moravian Daily Texts, read daily also by Hungarian Lutherans) was Isaiah 40:30-31: "Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall: But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall

mount up with wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; and they shall walk, and not faint" (KJV). I also received much comfort from the letter of a Lutheran pastor in America: "I remember from our conversations together how the great biblical themes of love, forgiveness, and reconciliation were so prominent in your relationship with your father. These same gifts of love, forgiveness, and salvific reconciliation are now, praise God, the eternal gifts of God to your dad. As you shared with me, I came to know your father as a man of great faith, a broken vessel, like us all, mended by the hands of the potter. Know of my ongoing prayers for you."

Some of you might find that sharing this very personal and painful story is more than unusual, if not bizarre, in a prestigious scholarly lecture. However, I cannot help it; this is the full story. This way of sharing may prove therapeutic for all of us. Scandal and shame afflict the Lord's body even in your midst. But we are, let me remind you, one body, and I am grateful that you are willing to share this burden with me.

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Notes

1. John Donne, "Meditation XVII," *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, ed. Anthony Raspa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

2. Tibor Fabiny, "Theologies of Church Government in the Hungarian Lutheran Church during Communism (1945-1990)," *Religion in Eastern Europe*, 24/4 (August 2004): 11-29. In German, "Bekenner und Angepasste. Skizzen zu einem noch nicht geklärten Kapitel der jüngsten lutherischen Kirchengeschichte Ungarns," in *Glaube in der 2. Welt* (June 2000): 14-21.

3. *Ibid.*

4. The American Lutheran theologian and ethicist H. David Baer has also provided a typology not entirely different from the one I proposed seven years ago: *The Struggle of Hungarian Lutherans under Communism* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006). The author calls the genre of his book a "study of moral argument" and his concern is "with the theological arguments developed in Hungary's Lutheran church in response to communist dictatorship," 4.

5. *Ibid.*, 46, 50.

6. *Ibid.*, 128.

7. "Bishop Lajos Ordass and the Hungarian Lutheran Church," in *Hungarian Studies* 10/1 (1995): 65-98. "The Testimony of Bishop Lajos Ordass during Communism in Hungary," *Lutheran Quarterly* 18 (2004): 435-54. "The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and Its Aftermath in the Lutheran Church. The Case of Bishop Ordass," in *Im Räderwerk des 'real existierenden Sozialismus.' Kirchen in Ostmittel- und Osteuropa von Stalin bis Gorbatschow*, eds. Hartmut Lehmann und Jens Holger Schjorring (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2003), 31-40. "The Testimony of Bishop Lajos Ordass During Communism in Hungary," in *Zwischen den Mühlsteinen. Protestantische Kirchen in der Errichtung der kommunistischen Herrschaft im östlichen Europa*, eds. Peter Maser und Jean Holger Schjorring (Erlangen: Martin Luther Verlag, 2002), 303-20. *A megállás szimbóluma: Előadások Ordass Lajosról* [Symbol of Steadfast Belief: Lectures on Bishop Lajos Ordass] (Budapest: privately published by author, 2001), 303-20.

8. Lajos Ordass, *At the Foot of the Cross: Lenten Meditations by an Imprisoned Pastor behind the Iron Curtain* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1958).

9. *Ibid.*, 77.

10. Fabiny, "The Testimony of Bishop Lajos Ordass," 453. See also Eric W. Gritsch, "Der Schleier Gottes. Ein theologischer Rückblick auf Lajos Ordass," in *Lutherische Kirche in der Welt*, Jahrbuch der Martin-Luther Bundes, Folge 49 (Erlangen: Martin Luther Verlag, 2002), 264-76.

11. Baer, 100.

12. *Ibid.*, 132.

13. Tamás Majnai, "Öt évtizeden át ügynökök az evangélikus egyház élén IV" (Agents in the Leadership of the Lutheran church for Five Decades, Part IV), *Élet és Irodalom* 40 (October 6, 2006).