1. **Introduction to the project on Churches and European Integration**

The main task of the research project on Churches and European Integration (CEI) is to produce new knowledge on the churches role in European political and social life during the cold war period, as well as in the recent past. Each of the five European universities participating in the project have individual viewpoints on the theme of the project, as well as a different emphasis on the research itself. All these themes form together a larger whole. Already at the preparatory stage of the project, it was obvious that the earlier research on the field was rather disconnected and its quality considerably uneven. The interest in and information about the role of the churches in Europe varied from country to another. Furthermore, a considerable number of the existing research seemed to be influenced by political interests. Such being the case, it was agreed that a mapping of these scattered research results and pieces of information should be brought together in a proper analysis of the present state of the art of knowledge.

During the first year of the project, each partner has been studying the research tradition and situation in their own country and speech area, both from the viewpoint of its own research theme as well as from the perspective of the whole project. First, the aim was to collect a bibliography on the research dealing with the main topics, and second, to produce a critical commentary on the most important of these studies. In the commentary part of the report, each partner evaluates the present state of knowledge; the quantity and quality of the research; the areas of interest it has managed to cover as well as the gaps which are left. The report analyses the picture given by research on the churches role in Europe, as well as values the reliability of the knowledge especially in proportion to the source material on which the research is based. Furthermore, the task of the commentary is to compare and analyse the themes which have become centres of attention in church social or political activities in different countries, as well as to what extent and under which criteria these activities have been valued or evaluated. One of the main aims is to assess the interpretation of earlier research on the churches; their possible commitment or independence in relation to the European political power structures. Furthermore, the report analyses the emphasis given by research on observing the churches stance towards peace, national or international identity, and inclusion in the European level.

The preliminary results of the mapping were discussed in the CEI’s six months workshop held in Helsinki in March 2002. At that stage, also, the uniform structure of the report was agreed. The report is meant to support the work of the research carried out in the project, especially because it aims to fill the most obvious gaps as well as to offer more diversified viewpoints in this field of research. Furthermore, the report will be useful also for other students of the churches in Europe, as well as for social and political decision makers and citizens, not to mention the churches themselves, both in national and international level.

2. **Studies on Churches post-war social and political role**

Thus far, only few studies have been published concerning the churches role in or understanding of the European integration process. Furthermore, only few studies deal with the churches’ common political or social activities in European level in general. However, church–state relations in various European countries, both east and west, have been analysed in a number of studies (Leisching 1973, State and Church in the European Union 1996, and from more global viewpoint, Tergel 1995).

Discussion about the role of the churches in Europe has been quite low key, yet it has been gradually growing during the last decade simultaneously with the external enlargement and internal strengthening of the European Union.

Their role in Europe has been described by researchers from two perspectives: the first can be considered as a spiritual one: keeping Christian values and thus European spiritual heritage in the forefront; the second task, through inter–church cooperation, is to support the building of a common Europe. In the latter case the churches seem to commit themselves in their common past and in common social good, but take a critical stance towards the kind of economic integration which could result further inequality both at a European and a global level. These viewpoints have been generally adopted by the researchers as well. (Robbers 1996, Peura 1999, Hallamaa 1999) Furthermore, it seems that thus far no major criticism has appeared but the churches role have been considered neutral or even positive as far it has been question of the European level in general. However, when one takes a look at more detailed research dealing with churches’ political or social role in one particular area or country, for example in the Nordic countries (Nordiske Folkekirker i opbrud 2001), or churches’ stance towards a particular event or period of history, such as dealing with their past relations with the communist systems (Religion and Nationalism in Eastern
Europe and Soviet Union (1987), Catholicism and Politics in Communist Societies (1990), the stance of research has been far more critical. The churches’ participation in the CSCE process which was followed up by the Conference of European Churches has been observed as well (Kunter 2000). Furthermore, there has been surprisingly vivid production of studies or collection of articles dealing with the churches in Europe which however has not managed to reach a wider audience because it has been published in minor European language, like Finnish or Swedish (Kirkot ja Euroopan murros 1996, Hallamaa 1999, Heikkilä 1999, Knuuttila 1999, Lauha 1999, Peura 1999). Most of these articles observe Europe and her churches from the viewpoint of Christian social-ethics, touching also the impact of main political changes on the churches’ teaching in the field (Hallamaa 1999, Knuuttila 1999).

3. Primary sources and documents
The churches themselves have tried to define their own understanding on their position in Europe and their role in its integration process. However, these collections of documents have mapped the topic mainly from the viewpoint of one denomination, denominational family (Katolische Kirche und Europa 1980, Unterwegs nach Europa 2001) or a local church (Kyrkorna och EU 1997). An exception is the joint project of the Conference of European Churches (CEC) and the Council of of Bishop’s Conferences of Europe (CCEE) which observes the churches joint activities in Europe from more diversified ecumenical point of view. The CEC’s working group on European Integration has also published a discussion paper on Churches in the process of European integration (Churches in the Process of European Integration 2001). All these reports and collections should be considered as sources and documents concerning the self-understanding of the churches and their role in Europe, but not as objective studies. However, one has to keep in mind that producing a common statement, such as the CEC working paper, is a lengthy process the result of which is more or less a compromise.

The variety of unpublished sources on churches in European societies is wide: there are national, administrative and church archives in each country and for each church. In the level of the international inter–church organisations the archives are more centralised. Many of these organisations keep their archives in the Ecumenical Centre in Geneva where the documentation concerning the World Council of Churches, the Conference of European Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the World Student Christian Federation can be found. Even though all of these except the CEC work on a global level, all of these archives consist material on European churches as well. Furthermore, the WCC has since XXX had a Europe secretary in its staff, whereas the WSCF has in its structure a European regional committee. The CEC founded in 1999 an office also to Brussels, where the Catholic Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences within the EU (COMECE) has its head quarters as well.

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The Peace Issue in Ecumenical Dialogues during the Cold War and its Implications on the Life of the Churches
Heiko Overmeyer
The peace issue was part of every ecumenical bilateral theological dialogue during the Cold War era. After the political “Wende” a debate in church historiography has started: researchers have tried to analyze the theological effort of ecumenical activities and especially of ecumenical dialogues and have disputed the question whether the ecumenical movements and especially the churches in Eastern Europe were highly influenced by the communist governments. It is surprising that today’s research mentions the peace-discussion in the Cold War but does not analyze the Peace Issue in ecumenical dialogues. And what is more surprising is that today’s research does not take discussions of social ethics in these dialogues into account. It is the aim of the project to close this gap in research. This will be done in two steps: First the published results of research concerning the ecumenical activities on and concerning the peace discussion in the Cold War have to be analyzed. A methodical problem must be faced: is it more important to see the document files or to hear the voices of contemporary witnesses? Secondly it will be asked for the possibilities of today’s ecumenical activities concerning the questions of social ethics – especially for those possibilities which are given by the peace discussion in the Cold War era. This could be a kind of basis for today’s socio-ethical efforts of churches in an ecumenical way. At the same time this could be a political contribution to European integration.

1. **The Task**

The task of the WP is to analyze the discussion of peace in official theological dialogues between churches in the political west and in the political east during the Cold War. The title itself implies the aspects that have to be taken into account. By the keyword Peace Issue the emphasis is put on a question of social ethics. In this context this means the relationship between church and society in the Cold War. The headword Ecumenical Dialogues makes clear that the task has to be looked at from an ecumenical point of view. Finally the keyword Cold War limits the period of time to the conflict between east and west during the nuclear arms race. The expression Cold War will be used according to the project’s definition: the time between the Second World War and the fall of the communist system in Europe.

In the first part ecumenical action in the Cold War has to be analysed. Especially the ecumenical discussion of the Peace Issue was the reason for conflicts between eastern European churches and their states. These conflicts lead to another important question: how far did social and political pressure on the one hand and political interests as well as social circumstances on the other, influence ecumenical activities? From today’s point of view we have to find out whether political circumstances pushed ecumenical activities more than theological aspects. If ecumenical efforts were only caused by political pressure, the theological and socio-ethical value of these efforts would be in doubt. This leads to the second part of the analysis: If ecumenical efforts are pushed through in times of political confrontation (maybe even by means of political confrontation) it has to be asked of what political value the results are after the situation of confrontation changes. The special questions for the WP are: can the results of theological dialogues concerning the peace issue be used for today’s political discussion if the circumstances are very different? Can different churches keep up their ecumenical cooperation when one main reason for this cooperation – that is the political pressure of the Cold War era – is no longer there? Moreover the question about a possible political and theological legitimation for an ecumenical cooperation in social affairs has to be settled.

One has to keep in mind that these dialogues were in danger of being instrumentalized: the churches as well as the governments were interested in the ecumenical contacts as they linked the political systems in a way. But one should not forget that these dialogues probably did have a theological and social merit. If that is the case, the results can be useful today. In order to analyse these problems the WP will concentrate on those dialogues, which took place between the German Protestant churches (in both parts of Germany) and Orthodox churches in Eastern Europe. This focus makes sense for two reasons: first the German Protestant churches played an important role in the peace discussion of the 1980s. And secondly these dialogues (and the Finnish dialogues, which will be analysed in an separate WP) are regarded to have been the most effective theological dialogues. First of all the significance the dialogues had in the time they were held will be analysed. Moreover a methodological approach will be presented with the help of which the significance of the results for today can be worked out.

2. **The State of the Art**

Not many results of research concerning the peace issue during the Cold War have been published. There is no monographic study analysing these problems at all. One can only find a few studies that discuss the problem of the WP in scattered chapters. These texts can be classified into three groups: first of all there are texts that show different opinions about the dialogues in general. The texts were written before as well as after the “Wende” (the political change in Europe). Another group of texts deals with the ecumenical institutions and their aims. With the help of these texts the bilateral dialogues can be contextualized in the whole ecumenical movement. The third group of texts analyses the ecumenical peace discussion and the discussion of social questions.
Studies concerning the dialogues in general discuss their aims, their political dependence and their results. A distinction has to be made between those voices from within the churches and those from outside, especially as far as the aims of the theological dialogues are concerned. From an external point of view the aim of the theological dialogues is the support of the political dialogue. This opinion was especially popular in the 1970s (cp. Bopp). One can find a few theological statements that share this opinion and emphasize the aim of reconciliation between the nations (cp. Held 1997). On the other hand most voices from within the church do not put that much emphasis on political aspects but on the necessity of knowledge about the other churches.

The thesis that ecumenical relationship and especially theological dialogues depended on politics is undisputed. Therefore the contemporary conditions have to be taken into account (cp. Hintikka, Schwarz). These reflexions lead to important questions: were the similarities between ecumenical and political speeches about the peace issue mostly motivated by the political situation? Did people want to pass on the good relationship between members of different churches to politicians of different communist countries? Or were the similarities between political and theological positions merely coincidental? Were the discussions about the peace issue motivated by the church members – regardless of any political pressure? The fact for example that the ROC (Russian Orthodox Church) stressed the peace issue because of its history and not only because of Soviet pressure (like Felmy pointed out) goes along with the second position. These kinds of differences have to be found out by the WP.

The value of the dialogues is highly disputed (cp. Schwarz). Often they are regarded as a form of communion between different churches but without any meaning from the dogmatical point of view. Getting to know each other better seems to be the most important aim (cp. Felmy, Althausen, Damaskinos). The fact that hardly any reception of the results can be found is a reason for some authors to question the ecumenical value as a whole. In contrast to this other authors mention that the bilateral theological dialogues were – and still are – an important part of the ecumenical movement (cp. Ionita, Lilienfeld). Another point of interest in this aspect is the connection between the participants of the church meetings and their states. To what extent were they influenced by political institutions? Finally the fact that hardly anyone seems to really know the other churches (cp. Oeldemann) rises the question if the dialogues have really achieved their aim in the long run?

After the “Wende” a big debate arose in German church-historiography concerning the ecumenical activities in the Cold War. On the one hand the thesis is held (especially by Boyens 1999) that the ecumenical movement since the 1970s acted in a one-sided way because the communists put a lot of pressure on it. On the other hand it is stressed (e.g. by Held 2000) that political circumstances also led to compromises. Listening to these different voices is important in order to work out which effect the political pressure had on the ecumenical efforts and what value these efforts aimed at.

There is no doubt about the fact that communist and even non-communist governments tried to influence the ecumenical movement and that the churches nevertheless had their own concepts and ideas in spite of this. A few authors mention that it was necessary to make compromises with the communist governments in order to secure the bridges between the political systems. These bridges were one reason that contributed to the fall of the communist systems in Europe. Generally speaking one always has to keep in mind that ecumenical activities do not take place in a vacuum but are in one way or another influenced by politics everywhere.

Two aims of the ecumenical efforts of eastern churches are quite obvious: first there is the attempt (for example by the ROC) to be protected against one’s own government by means of contacts to western churches. Secondly it is the vision of a socially acceptable way that differs from communism as well as from capitalism. This was the so-called “Third Way”. People within the churches had different opinions about the aim they wanted to achieve by taking part in the dialogues. These divergences of opinion are valued differently. Some authors (like Besier) think they weakened the political power of the ecumenical movement, others (like Kunter) see the various opinions as the reason that prevented the churches from being totally controlled by the political system. These polarizations in today’s research show that further analyses of the ecumenical movement, especially the ecumenical dialogues, are necessary. A close analysis of the dialogue’s original wording will be helpful to do so. An important question comes up: in how far were the participants of the dialogues influenced by their knowledge, that they could not talk frankly? (This observation has its consequences on the WP’s methodological approach.) Researchers and contemporary witnesses intensively discuss this question. Some researchers want to take the analyses of documents and archive files as the only basis of their research. Others stress the importance of interviews with contemporary witnesses. The groups seem to be equal in size, but as almost all contemporary witnesses can be found in the second it is obviously much bigger. This group does not only want to look at the activities that really took place. It wants to find out which opportunities there were under the difficult circumstances. This approach allows conclusions on how much was achieved at all rather than stressing what did not take place. The WP tries to connect both concepts: the results will be based on research in archives as well as on interviews with contemporary witnesses because neither the archives nor the witnesses can show the whole truth.

When talking about the peace discussion of the churches during the Cold War the following three aspects play an important role: the ecumenical status of the peace discussion, the conflicts between political and theological implications, and the importance of church statements in the entire peace discussion. When churches from the so
called Third World appeared on the ecumenical stage it could be seen that the peace issue became more and more a European problem because it was pushed only by European political circumstances. (cp. Dejung, Hogebrink, Weiler) Moreover Kvist suspects that it was only a problem for a certain period of time, especially from 1975 to 1982 the churches’ contribution to the peace issue seemed to be important. Other authors (like Raiser) suggest that there could be an ecumenical contribution to the Peace Issue even after the end of the Cold War. Comparing the contribution of churches to that of communist institutions reveals the following tension: of communist institutions peace is the same as military security. As far as this peace is guaranteed by the communist system every supporter of peace was automatically a protector of the communist system. Yet for the churches peace meant much more than just military security and silence of weapons.

As far as the peace issue is concerned it was not possible for the dialogues to come to a shared doctrine. However, quite a few agreements were reached by the ecumenical movement in the Cold War. Yet if one wants to work out which significance the results have for today two problems have to be taken into account: comments from the eastern European churches are often seen with a lot of suspicion because these churches were quite close to communist systems. The only exception is the Protestant churches in East Germany: they did not have such close contact. For this reason the WP concentrates on the dialogues of the East German churches. The second problem concerns the status of the results for the churches today. The results do not have a dogmatic significance. Furthermore they can be interpreted quite differently.

To sum up, the WP wants to contribute to the current research discussion by closely analysing the peace issue in the ecumenical dialogues. It will take both the document files and the memories of contemporary witnesses into account. The WP will have to work on two different levels: the contemporary and the current one. On the contemporary level it is not enough to just read the available results. It is necessary to analyse how far political or ecclesiastical pressure influenced the documents. In addition to that it has to be clarified which kind of ecclesiastical discussions disturbed the political influence and how the dialogues’ participants reacted to the pressure from the communist governments. Published volumes of documents do not only contain the wordings of the dialogue meetings but also offer short introductions and descriptions of them. In addition to these published texts one can find various archive files that were opened after the German unification. Yet it is not only the contemporary but also the current point of view about the dialogues that is important for the WP. What significance do the results have today? On the one hand this concerns the ecclesiastical and ecumenical significance. Perhaps the agreements in the peace issue can cause and legitimate ecumenical social action. But on the other hand this has a political significance, as well. If an ecumenical social activity is justified by those results the churches could play an important part in today’s politics – for example in the process of integration in today’s Europe – as they contribute a lot of social integration across national borders. And analysing the questions of this WP can give reasons why a kind of political action of churches is justified not only for political but also theological reasons. And this maybe could be reasons for churches to open to political problems. Generally speaking two aspects of results of the WP can be expected: First a theological one concerning the importance of the results of ecumenical dialogues for today’s churches, and secondly a political one concerning the possible role of churches in social integration.

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Churches in the Context of Recent Political and Economic Changes in Europe: European Churches and Globalisation.

Pauliina Arola

This work package offers an European argumentative analysis on the contemporary normative social teaching of European churches through selected case studies. The paradigm through which the European churches view globalisation and its implications on European societies are sought. Issues such as current state-church relationships, future of politics, role of nation state, secularism, liberalism, ethics of economy, the role of church and the future construct of Europe will be addressed in this study. The cases chosen are the contemporary social ethics of Russian Orthodox Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, Church of England, Evangelical Church of Germany/Catholic Bishops' Conference of Germany and Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences of the European Community. Through the study it will become apparent how the chosen churches bridge the gap when the European societies are struggling with both the elements of modernity and post modernity.

1. The Task
Changes in Europe and in the world have prompted a variety of socio-ethical reactions in the churches. The national and military conflicts have been in the focus of the churches contemporary teaching on war and peace. Dramatic economic changes, neo-liberal capitalism, growing unemployment as well as the disappointments in the role of politics and nation states to solve these problems have been critically studied in many recent social statements of the European Churches. The accelerated process of globalisation – and especially its implications to national economies – have also created worries in European churches. 

The aim of this work package is to offer an European argumentative analysis on the contemporary normative social teaching of European churches. A case approach is chosen with a selected, comparable material. The material at hand allows to search for the paradigm through which the European churches view globalisation and its implications on European societies. Issues such as current state-church relationships, future of politics, role of nation state, secularism, liberalism, ethics of economy, the role of church and the future construct of Europe is addressed in this study.

The case chosen are the contemporary social ethics of Russian Orthodox Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, Church of England, Evangelical Church of Germany/Catholic Bishops’ Conference of Germany and Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences of the European Community. By comparing these case studies a useful regional and denominational balance will be achieved. Through the study it will become apparent how the chosen churches bridge the gap when societies are struggling with elements of both modernity and post modernity.

2. The State of the Art
When viewing the literature and sources to study European Churches and Globalisation it is perhaps accurate to divide the existing material into four. (1) In the last ten years many prominent European and North American political scientists have published studies and polemic writings where they discuss post-modernity and social change, which is intertwined into globalisation. (2) Some researchers – mainly those interested in study of religions – have explored the impact of globalisation and the change in world systems in religions. The writings often carry a sociological perspective into religion and discuss topics such as secularisation, plurality and the importance of myths, signs and symbols. (3) As the Christian churches and theologians have more actively engaged themselves in the impacts of globalisation for Christianity and Christian churches in the last five to ten years a small number of publications have emerged to tackle the topic. These publications are often aimed to facilitate the debate in the churches themselves and contain often a critical view on the current project of globalisation with its social and environmental problems. (4) As a result of these study papers and publications some churches and Christian organisations have issued declarations and statements which define their approach to globalisations. These approaches to globalisation are often viewed through the future of welfare state/social market economy and nation state, or while discussing secularisation, human rights and global politics. It is noteworthy that there are only few publications, which study what the churches say on globalisation and how the churches view globalisation in general or in Europe in particular.
Perhaps the most prominent sociologists who have written on globalisation in such a manner that it is helpful when studying the approach of the churches to globalisation are Zygmunt Bauman, Ulrich Beck, Manuel Castells and Anthony Giddens. In their writings they aim to understand global processes and to define various terminology suitable when discussing globalisation. While Bauman and Beck often approach globalisation from the perspective of social change and citizens, Castells is tempted with his approach to information society attract those networked to the global systems and Giddens to find (third) ways to reform political processes. Martha Nussbaum, Saskia Sassen and Amartya Sen offer perhaps a less mainstream approaches when discussing the discontents of globalisation whether being the living conditions of those in the third world or of women. Roland Robertson has been surely the most prominent writer in exploring the impacts of globalisation on religion. With his writings on the sacred and the changing face of religion he discusses the social and religion theory in the global culture. His invention of the term “glocalisation” with which he refers to the interdependence of the local and the global in the globalised world has often been used in wider sociological debates too. Other prominent writers include Peter Beyer, Marcel Gauchet and Peter Merkel. In this sociology of religion approach topics often addressed include plurality, authority of religion, individualism vs. collectivism as well as the relation of religion and politics. It is fairly difficult to say something in general on those more theological approaches on globalisation, ethics and churches published in the last ten years. These books and study documents as well as other materials are rarely written in scientific purposes but rather with a more practical approach in mind. The approaches vary from each other and therefore the context into which the publication or the document has been produced is relevant. Examples in publications advocating a certain approach to globalisation, which the churches are expected to take (advocated by the author) can be seen in the works of Ulrich Duchrow, Robert J Schreither and Joerg Rieger. D.J.Bosch has written with a focus on a specific theme: mission. This kind of literature is available where the approach on globalisation can be viewed as a side topic. Anna Karin Hammar, Karen Bloomquist, Bas de Gaay Foortman, Berma Klein Goldewijk and Julio De Santa Ana have written more general publications and articles aiming to help the churches to establish and debate their points of view on globalisation. Are examples of the study papers produced by the churches themselves the example of Lutheran World Federation “Engaging Economic Globalisation as A Communion” can be mentioned.

3. Sources
Last but not least the bibliography contains documentation issued by the churches and international and ecumenical church organisations where the churches themselves establish their approaches to globalisation. From these documents – which are normally normative social statements issued by the authorities of a given church or an church related organisation – we have chosen to study the approaches of the Russian Orthodox Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, Church of England as well as the joint statement of the Evangelical Church in Germany and the German Bishops’ Conference. In order to establish the views of the Roman Catholic Church in Europe the statements of COMECE are to be studied. Similarly in all these statements the churches discuss the future of welfare, the role of nation state and often make remarks on economic ethics, secularisation and individualism.

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The WP 4 is observing the churches role and place in European integration through two independent sub-themes; the politics of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Conference of the European Churches (CEC) during the Cold War, and the political commitments of the Finnish Church during the 1960s and the 1970s. Even though the view point of these subthemes are different – the other one observing the work of international multi church and the other, a majority church of a rather homogenous small nation – they are, however, linked through similar framings of question. In the world divided in two ideological blocks, most of the international ecumenical organisations wanted to serve as independent meeting points for church leaders coming from different denominations, social systems, and cultures. A similar task devolved upon Finland on the basis of its geo-historical situation between the western and eastern cultural, political and religious traditions. Because the CEC and the WCC did not openly criticise the socialist governments on their human rights violations, and the Finnish Church did not take up the Soviet religious policy despite of its close contacts with the Moscow Patriarchate, they have all been criticised afterwards on being communist minded. However, thus far there has not been proper academic research observing the political stance and role of the ecumenical world organisations, or those of the Finnish Church, which would rely on critical analysis of diversified archival sources. The task of the WP 4 is to fill this gap in the field.

4. **The Task**

The general task of the WP4 is bipartite. On the one hand, the WP is observing the international definitions of the churches, particularly in the context of two international ecumenical organisations: the World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Conference of European Churches (CEC), during the Cold War. On the other hand, it views the position in one individual country, Finland, and particularly in its Lutheran majority church. These two case studies
have several features in common: During the cold war years, both the ecumenical organisations and the church of Finland shared the mutual experience of being between the east and the west, as well as the reluctance to be identified as part of either of the blocks. In Finland and in its church, this attitude was based on geographical facts, even though it was affected by other – at the moment less known – motives. For the ecumenical movement, being between east and west was more conscious definition of policy: their representatives had to find the way between these two camps in order to avoid being branded as the representative of either of the two political camps. To what extent they succeeded in their quest of political neutrality, has not yet properly been solved by research.

Secondly, these two objects of study shared the intention to serve as a forum for positive east–west encounter. In Finland, this emphasis was primarily seen in the state’s foreign policy, but it found support also among ecclesiastical circles. The same tendency can be seen in the ecumenical organisations as well where dialogues and consultations were organised in order to bring the representatives of eastern and western churches together to discuss for example church–state relations.

The third fact in common for both these objects of research is the later reputation of their eastern relations in particular. Especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, both the Church of Finland and the ecumenical movement have been accused of Finlandization. The ideological defeat of communism strengthened the ridicule about those churches and organisations which had not represented the politically correct pure anti–communism during the cold war years. Even though these accusations seem to include plenty of after wisdom, it is necessary to observe in the light of the existing documentation whether they are correct. There is a reason to believe that, after a proper analysis of the still unused archival material, a picture more faithful to the truth can be perceived.

Both the WCC and the CEC are of inter confessional nature. They were also the international ecumenical organisations which most often were facing the east–west problematic in European soil. This means, that the tensions arising within the organisations have since their creation (the WCC in 1948 and the CEC in 1959) been both theological and political. The political stance of both organisations is observed especially in the points of culmination in the international political tension which reflected primarily to the European politics, such as the Hungarian uprising (1956), the building of the Berlin Wall (1961) and the occupation of Czechoslovakia (1968). Besides the moments of crisis, also the main acts or processes of détente will be included here, i.e. the European Security and Cooperation process, the Helsinki CSCE meeting (1975), and finally the change in Eastern Europe in 1989.

The second task of the WP4 is to view religion and the society in the Finnish context during the Cold War period and especially in the 1960s and 1970s. The emphasis is laid on the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland which comprises of about 85% of the population. The central points of view are the church’s political role and its influence in the Finnish society. Special interest will also be paid to its attitudes and courses of action in relation to the international political reality of the Cold War, peace questions, as well as worldwide responsibility.

5. The present art of knowledge

Officially both the international ecumenical organisations mentioned above were, and are, non political and non governmental organisations. In practice, however, they lived and acted in a world of political actions, tensions and cooperation. Furthermore, their decisive organisations were formed by people who did not only represent their own church or denomination, but were also, sometimes in a more hidden way, affected by the social and political system where they came from. The power balance between these systems within the respective decisive organs affected the stance and actions taken by the organisations more than has necessarily been admitted.

Thus far, the research on the political orientations of the international ecumenical organisations have been only few. The accusations on these, however, have been various.

In the late 1960s, the evangelical wing of the WCC’s or the CEC’s member churches began to blame especially the leadership of the WCC about communist sympathies. For many years this discussion remained only within the ecumenical circles. The accusations presented by the Readers Digests in 1971 – and later in 1982 and 1993 – about the World Council of Churches abandoning its original ethos and replacing it with revolutionary Marxist sympathies brought this kind of critical speculation to wider western audience. This was also the stage where the WCC began to pay more serious attention in defending its reputation in public, even though it was still not ready or able to produce research of its own which would have filled the academic standards. In the international level, these attitudes did not appear only after the collapse of the Soviet system, but at least occasional pieces of study appeared also before that. Most of the accusations concerning the political sympathies of the ecumenical organisations were presented in more popular forums than in academic studies. In most of the cases, these publications were produced by private research institutions which worked in order to spread among the western Christianity information about the conditions under which the Christians were living in the socialist countries. These reports were usually burdened by lack of reliable primary sources as well as by biased way of treating the topic. Furthermore, their stance towards the international ecumenical organisations was notably critical, blaming them about indifference to the human rights violations in the Eastern Europe. The WCC in particular was a target of this criticism, but also the CEC, particularly because of its striving to bring together the European churches from both sides of the iron curtain. In order to make the positive
east–west encounter possible among the churches, the organisations had to choose a way of ecumenical diplomacy which would not hinder the participation of the East European churches which were highly dependent on the state authorities in their international relations.

In the course of the years, the ecumenical organisations themselves has produced some studies examining their own history, most important of which is the latter part of the history of the ecumenical movement first published by the WCC in 1970 covering the years between 1948 and 1968 (Ecumenical Advance 1993). Because most of the these publications however lack objectivity and generally overlook the political and social context in which the ecumenical activities have appeared, they should be considered as surveys rather than critical historical studies. Furthermore, these are very often based partly on the author’s personal notes and published documents, but not on primary sources (Koshy 1994). Some of these, especially the memoirs of leading ecumenists, serve however as useful sources for researchers.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Soviet led East European political sphere, an increasing number of publications and articles have appeared dealing with the postwar contacts between the international ecumenical organisations and the East European churches. Some of these, even though based on sufficient archival material, are rather biased and tendentious. After the publication of the results of Professor Gerhard Besier’s German research team, the accusations expressed in the book – especially a chapter observing the WCC contacts with the German Evangelical churches (Besier, Boyens & Lindemann 1999, Boyens 1999) – caused enormous irritation in ecumenical circles. The ecumenical organisations are presented in the book as nonchalant to human rights violations behind the iron curtain. Furthermore, western church men were accused of deliberately closing their eyes from seeing the growing problems which the East European churches were facing under the socialist governments. In relatively short period of time, both the WCC and the CEC produced articles – both for public and for restricted circulation – which were meant to prove Besier’s group’s accusations false (Der ORK in den Konflikten des Kalten Krieges 2000, Held 2001). In some cases these reactions slipped into apologist and rather subjective style, and thus cannot be considered as proper academic research – though, interesting documents of a hectic discussion.

Only recently, there has appeared studies which have managed to observe the stance of the international ecumenical organisations in the Cold War international politics with more objective style (Greschat 2000, Hintikka 2000, Kunter 2000a, 2000b). All of these are based both on published sources and unpublished archival material and tend to present the European churches’ political stances and the factors behind them from more diversified points of view than has been the custom.

The fact that all these studies mentioned above have been prepared simultaneously indicates that there is wider interest on observing the political role of the international ecumenical organisations during the Cold War years for a more profound way. The discussion about the topic and the studies dealing the question are however known only within rather limited circles in the ecumenical or academic circles.

The sources used thus far are can be found mainly in the archives of the ecumenical organisations. In some cases (Besier, Boyens & Lindemann 1999, Hintikka 2000, Kunter 2000a) national state and church archives have been used as well. However the international research agencies – such as Institut G2W in Switzerland or the Keston Institute in the UK – were rather critical towards the ecumenical organisations’ eastern policies and thus collected material relating to this as well. Radio Free Europe and other profane western research agencies may also have in their archives documentation that could be used as comparative material by the students of the Cold War European ecumenism. However, the most important research material can be found in Geneva, in the archives of the WCC, the CEC, as well as those of the Lutheran World Federation and the Reformed World Alliance. The Christian Peace Conference of Prague which served primarily as the cooperation organ for the east European churches, does not exist anymore, but its archives still remain in Prague. The archives consist of unpublished material, such as the correspondence between these organisations and their member churches, internal memorandums and personal motes of their staff. Furthermore, they also have a selection of official published minutes, reports and statements produced by each organisation.

Besides the possible political commitments, the ecumenical world organisations should also be observed from the viewpoint of the theological research produced in the sphere of the organisations themselves, especially those concerning the questions of society, revolution and justice.

In the Finnish context, before the 1990s, the churches and religion in general have hardly been an object of interest for historians operating with the national postwar years. This reflects the researchers’ attitudes and can be seen as a part of a rebellion against authorities and outdated institutions, typical especially to the 1960s and 1970s. On the basis of this research, it seems as if the role and importance of the church was minimal both in political life, in the society in general as well as in the everyday life of the people.

Neither have the Finnish church historians published many studies relevant to the project. What exists is mainly general surveys on the development and activities of the church, based on the church’s own reports and documents. Without a doubt, research on the background of the church’s policies and its political connections is insufficient. The
same can be said about the research concerning the social and political influence of the church on the national level and on the attitudes of individuals. Only recently, some specific works have slightly improved the research situation. The dissertation of Pekka Niiranen reveals interesting aspects of the long-time president Dr. Urho Kekkonen’s (president in 1956-1982) outlook of the world and modifies the former picture of him as an almost anti church or even unreligious politician (Niiranen 2000). New information has recently been gained also on the religious thinking of Dr. Mauno Koivisto (president in 1982-1994). The deep religiosity revealed in his memoirs based on letters from his youth and the wartime surprised the political elite of the 1990s (Koivisto XXX). In addition, sociologist Susan Sundback has dealt with the position of the religion and the church in the Finnish society in her study about the seceding from the Finnish Lutheran Church (Sundback 1990). The dissertation of Matti Helin gave interesting information about the changes in the church policies of the leftists People’s Democratic League in 1944-1961 (Helin 1993).

The role of churches and religion in modern European societies, specifically in the Finnish society, has also been studied in a compilation written by five Finnish researches (Uskonto ja nykyaika 1999). Their essays provide new insights to the problems which the European churches have faced in the 20th century, especially during the past decades. Professor Aila Lauha analyzes in her article the impact of ecumenical movement in encouraging the social awareness among European churches (Lauha 1999). Professor Juha Seppo analyzes in his essay the church-state relations in Finland since 1917 (Seppo 1999). Without a doubt, this concise compilation opens new perspectives for further research.

At the end of the 1990s, a Nordic research project was created to observe the Lutheran “folkskyrkor” and their change in the post war society till the end of the 1960s. The project had two subthemes which contribute the CEI work as well: the Nordic churches’ socio–political role and their ecumenical interaction. The results of this project which ended in 2000, has been published (Nordiske Folkekirker i opbrud 2001).

Besides the actual research, there are plenty of contemporary pamphlets as well as memoirs of bishops and leading theologians of the time. Although these publications do not qualify as research, they add notably to the picture of times when used critically. Judging from the research available for the time being, it is obvious that some of the basic features typical to the position of the Lutheran Church in the Finnish society have reliably been identified. Since the early years of independence, the image of the church had been patriotic, conservative and most apprehensive and even hostile in relation to Communist ideas. This heritage continued well past the Second World War. This right-wing conservative image disturbed even the church’s contacts to the social–democratic movement. In addition, after the war the church was often criticized for German sympathies from the 1920s onward. For many decades a semi–fascist stamp was easily given to the church, especially by the political left and its press. This picture has been further adopted by some younger Finnish historians reluctant to understand the political realities which made even the church leaders positive to the alliance with Germany. As late as in the 1990s, the media tried to find documents about the Lutheran clergy’s antisemitic attitudes and to find ideological Nazi–collaborators among them. Yet these claims have not been verified in reliable research.

In a similar way, after the collapse of Soviet Union, there has been lively discussion about the church’s possible collaboration with the Soviet regime and the KGB. The theological negotiations between the Finnish Lutheran Church and the Russian Orthodox Church which started in 1970 were understood as an expression of this policy. Real evidence of the church leaders’ uncritical collaboration with the Soviet or maybe with Stasi, not to mention treason, is still lacking. Future research in the Finnish, Soviet and German archives is needed to clear the picture. The role and policies of the Lutheran church after the Second World War has until now received little attention and the present state of knowledge is insufficient. Nevertheless, the fact is clear that the Lutheran Church did keep its central position among the Finnish people during the entire period of Cold War although the membership slightly declined. According to the present knowledge, it is also obvious that in the 1960s and 1970s the church and religion faced hard ideological pressure especially from the leftist or neoliberal political movements. Even inside the church, demands for modernization of the church were raised mainly by the younger generation. By many active church members, these demands were seen as leftist radicalism, unsuitable for the church. At the same time, the Finnish Lutheran Church faced a number of new theological, social and even political challenges in international and ecumenical cooperation. While the political situation in Europe and worldwide was often critical, making the peace question utmost actual, the Finnish Lutheran Church was challenged to review its social and political role. Because of the conservative and anti–communist heritage of the Lutheran Church of Finland, this process was not easy. How far and in which aspects the church actually changed remains to be studied.

During the last five years, a research group led by Professor Aila Lauha in the Department of Church History, University of Helsinki have begun to pay increasing attention to the fundamental questions described above, both on the national and on the international level. Some studies, both in the graduate and postgraduate level have already been finished. The WP 4 will partly be able to build on this foundation.
6. The Sources

**Documentation on international ecumenical relations**

- The archives of the WCC and the CEC. The documents (minutes, statements, documents) and periodicals published by these organisations.

- Archives and periodicals of the western research institutions specialised in Christian churches or on human rights in socialist societies, e.g. the Keston Institute, Institut Glaube in der 2. Welt, Radio Liberty / Radio Free Europe

**Documentation on the Church of Finland**

Most of the archival material available for the WP4’s Finnish theme is collected to the publication:

Lähetystyö ja ekumenia arkistojen valossa
1999 Mirja Härkönen, Antti Raunio, Timo Vasko (toim.) Lähetystyö ja ekumenia arkistojen valossa kristillisen lähetystyön ja ekumeenisen toiminnan arkistolähteitä Suomessa 1800_ ja1900_luvulla [Summary: Archives on the Missions and Ecumenical Activities in Finland. Archival sources from the 19th and 20th centuries on Christian missionary work and ecumenical activities in Finland.] Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran toimituksia, 182. Helsinki : Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura.

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Identity, the British Churches, and European Integration, 1940 – 1963

Philip Coupland

Work Package Five (WP5) reconstructs and analyses the thinking and practice of the British Churches in relation to the question of the United Kingdom’s political, socio-economic, cultural, and legal relationship to the rest of Europe, in the years after the end of the Second World War. The War marked the breakdown of the international polity and its aftermath saw the necessary reconstruction of international relations. This investigation will focus on the part that Christians played during the war years, and the immediate post-war decades, in the intellectual debates and domestic politics related to that issue. In so doing, the social theology and interventions of the Churches on the question of Britain’s relationship to integration in Western Europe and, additionally, the Cold War separation of the East of the continent from its West are considered. In approaching this topic, WP5 makes particular use of concepts of ‘identity’ and ‘narrative’. In general terms, it examines in the discourse and practice of the Churches the relationship between, on one hand, the universalism of Christian religious identity and the ecumenical movement and, on the other, the particularism of Christian models of national community and identity. The specific nature and function of national identity are also investigated in relation to, firstly, the Eurocentric identity and narrative which linked Britain to the historical tradition and consciousness of European “Christendom” and, secondly, the global, extra-European focus of constructions of national history and identity which associated Britishness, and therefore Britain as a political community, with the British Commonwealth and/or an ‘English-speaking’ or ‘Anglo-Saxon’ Atlanticist community. Given that the post-war reconstruction of Britain’s relations vis-à-vis continental Europe, the Commonwealth and North America was a crucial moment in that nation’s recent history, WP5 will hereby assess the role of a then influential, but since largely ignored, social institution—the Churches—at a pivotal historic moment.

1. Historiography: The State of the Art

A report of 1924 described the ‘Christian doctrine of International Relationships’ as the ‘dark continent of Christian ethics’. A bibliography of scholarly writing on the Churches’ engagement with inter-national relations in Europe—in common with the history of the Churches in British society during the twentieth century more generally—also resembles an early map of a new found land: Some major features are visible, here and there patches of detail indicate the penetration of intrepid pioneers into the interior, but otherwise great spaces of uncharted territory strike the eye.

The British Churches and European Integration. Adrian Hastings (1991), in what might be described as the ‘standard’ history of the Churches in England in the twentieth century, whilst recognising that Britain’s relationship to ‘Europe’ was a key problem facing the nation, has nothing to say about the Churches’ part in those debates. Historical writing on specific denominations, when it touches on the question at all, has not gone beyond a cursory
treatment. Similarly, Grace Davie’s (1994) widely read sociological text on post-war religion recognises the existence of a ‘European dimension’ to that topic but does not have the space to investigate it further. Kenneth Medhurst (2000) provides a useful short overview of the relationship of Christianity to the past and future of Europe, but does not comment on the British churches in any depth or detail. Similarly, whilst European integration as a political and cultural process has generated a considerable literature, its stress has been overwhelmingly on the secular.

This general neglect is in contrast to Jurgen Zeilstra’s (1995) valuable, but difficult to obtain study, European Unity in Ecumenical Thinking, 1937-1948. Zeilstra emerges from the archives to provide a substantial, carefully researched chapter detailing and analysing the thinking of the major British players in the World Council of Churches (in formation) on the future of Europe. Although achieving a major advance, Zeilstra leaves much scope for further work. In particular, his decision to conclude the British part of his study at 1945 neglects the immediate post-war period. Furthermore he admits (p. xiv) that the sources employed were selective rather than comprehensive. Not only does this leave considerable material unexamined but it also results in a somewhat exclusive focus on the—admittedly highly important—circle of British World Council of Churches (WCC) pioneers, whilst neglecting Christian opinion in Britain more widely. Heather Warren (1997) also provides a scholarly account of American ecumenical Christians’ treatment of inter-national relations over the same period, including US contacts with the British churches.

**The Churches and National Identity.** The general neglect of this topic is in strong contrast to the attention paid to the relationship between religion and—what for WP5 is a key concept—identity. Since the late 1980s ‘identity’ in general, and national identity in particular, have become major preoccupations in the humanities, and ‘Britishness’ and the historical relationship of the UK to continental Europe have received much attention. On the role of religion in the history of Britishness, Linda Colley’s (1992; 1996) work has been highly influential and other contributions have come from Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (1998), David Hempton (1996), Keith Robbins (1988, 1993, 1998), and John Wolff (1994). Aside from his vital contribution to the general theorisation of nationhood and nationalism—by recovering the role of religion from unjustified neglect—Adrian Hastings (1997) has much to say about the formation of England as a nation. National identity and religion in the individual nations of the Union has also benefited from research by Joseph Bradley (1995), Robert Pope (2001), Dorian Llywelyn (1999) and Ian McBride (1998). However, except for the brief treatments of the post-war period in the volume edited by Stuart Mews (1982) and John Kent’s (1998) work on Archbishop William Temple, the relationship between religion, British identity and European integration over the crucial period since 1945 has been largely neglected.

**The Churches and Politics in Britain.** Moving on to examine work related to other themes of WP5 there is some evidence of increasing interest. Among the prerequisites for a significant ecclesiastical role in the secular processes of integration was a socially orientated theology, particular interpretations of the church-state relationship and the means to exert influence in the public sphere and polity. Concerning the first of these, G.I.T. Machin (1998) has provided an invaluable survey of the evolving attitudes of the Churches on key social issues in the twentieth century and Reginald Ward (1988) has also surveyed the fortunes of protestant social activism. The collections edited by George Moyer (1985) and Paul Badham (1989) deal with the relationship between the Churches and the polity, and Church and state in contemporary Britain.

In regard to specific Christian political activism, Chris Bryant (1996) deals with perhaps the most significant radical Christian critique of society in his ‘personal history’ of Christian socialists. There is also material on this subject in John Cort’s (1988) study and David Ormrod (1987) deals somewhat uncritically with the beginnings of ‘Christian-Marxist’ dialogue. History writing on political radicalism of the 1930s and the 1940s has almost completely ignored the role of Christians in the debates of those years. Thus, the collection of essays edited by Marjorie Reeves (1999) is a welcome supplement to Zeilstra’s work on the Peace Aims Group. Taking in a range of subjects hitherto ignored, Christian Thinking and Social Order includes chapters on the Christian News-Letter and J.H. Oldham’s ‘Moot’, topics also included in Keith Clements’ (1999) biography of Oldham.

In some ways the biographical literature is the richest source on this subject. Clements’ exemplary treatment of Oldham should be read alongside Eleanor Jackson’s (1980) effective study of William Paton. John Kent’s (1992) thematic study of Temple, which includes a section of the ‘church in politics’, supplements F.A. Iremonger’s (1948) biography. Alan Suggate (1987) seeks inspiration for the present in Temple’s social ethics but also includes a very useful summary and analysis of his approach to inter-national affairs. Although a little dated in their style and approach, Ronald Jasper’s (1967, 1960) volumes on bishops George Bell and Arthur Cayley Headlam are essential reading, as is Owen Chadwick’s (1983) Hensley Henson. Edward Carpenter’s (1991) biography of Geoffrey Fisher provides a factually useful, if over-long, account but is unsatisfyingly bland in its assessment of Temple’s successor.

All these biographical treatments touch at different points on the themes being pursued by WP5. However, Dianne Kirby’s (1993, 1995, 1997, 1999a, 1999b, 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, 2000d, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c) combination of a
‘personal’ approach to history—she has written extensively on Cyril Foster Garbett, Archbishop of York—with her focus on the overlap between the Church and politics during the opening years of the Cold War is a welcome departure in historiography and particularly germane to this work. Regarding the post-war years as a whole, it is puzzling that despite the not insignificant part that the British Churches played in the Cold War a comprehensive monograph detailing that story has yet to appear. Despite its title, Owen Chadwick’s *The Christian Church in the Cold War* (1992) devotes only a proportion of its space to that topic, without any specific treatment of the Churches in Britain.

In contrast, the Roman Catholic Church in the Cold War and in world politics generally has been well served by historians, although British Catholics receive a very limited treatment by Dennis Dunn (1979), Hansjakob Stehle (1981), Eric Hanson (1987) and Anthony Rhodes (1992). In contrast, Thomas Moloney (1985) blends the personal and political in a study of Cardinal Hinsley’s career as an ecclesiastical statesman working between church and state, also touched on by Chadwick (1986). Moloney includes a chapter on the wartime organisation The Sword of Spirit (SoS), which is also examined by Stuart Mews (1983) and, in conjunction with its successor organisation, the Catholic Institute for International Relations, by Michael Walsh (1980, 1982). Catholic political attitudes and activism in domestic British politics are usefully summarised by Tom Buchanan (1996) and Joan Keating (1994, 1996) discusses the uneasy relationship between British Christian Democrats and the British left, including the tensions surrounding the issue of European integration.

**Ecumenism.** The ecumenical movement, representing as it does an integrative religious movement paralleling efforts to reformulate inter-national relations, a crucial resource for Christian intervention in foreign affairs, and an emerging model of a community transcending national divisions, represents an important element in this account. The official history (Payne, 1972) of the first three decades of the British Council of Churches deals briefly with questions relating to European integration. However, there have been no detailed treatments of the specific ecumenical role of the British Churches although many of the works referred to above do deal with persons involved or aspects of this question, as do the ‘standard’ works on the WCC edited by Ruth Rouse and Stephen Neill (1954) and Harold Fey (1970) (later collected in one volume: Rouse and Neill, 1994). Similarly, both Darril Hudson’s (1969) study of the ecumenical movement’s engagement with international affairs up to 1948 and Edward Duff’s (1956) analysis of the early thinking of the WCC on international relations adopt a general approach. The tentative engagements of the British churches with Conference of European Churches (CEC) are discussed by John Arnold (1999a, 1999b) in the short official history of the CEC (Gurney, c.1999) and elsewhere. Brief reference to British attitudes also appears in Hans Hebly’s (1986) more incisive examination of the career of the CEC. We might add in passing that the fact that contributors to these volumes are themselves largely insiders in the ecumenical movement inevitably raises historiographical issues. Obviously all histories are personal and partial, but the extent to which texts dealing with the Churches have been written by activists or, at the least, by authors who share a similar religious worldview, cannot be without implications for the reader.

This brief survey, whilst not claiming to be exhaustive, clearly indicates the considerable scope for WP5 to open up new and fruitful avenues of research in Britain’s—and so Europe’s—recent history.

### 3. Primary Sources

**Contemporary published sources.** To chart the nature and development British Christian thinking on this topic the considerable volume of contemporary monographs and collected works, pamphlets, denominational newspapers and periodicals are a key resource.

**Archival.** Although the otherwise useful guide edited by Walter Lipgens (1980) only makes passing reference to archival collections relating to the Churches, very considerable holdings of unpublished papers of official church bodies, Christian pressure groups and individuals exist for the British Churches. In common with the contemporary published material, these archives have not received the attention they deserve and have been, to-date, relatively little used by historians. The archives of the British state held at the Public Record Office and the private papers of British politicians also contain much material relating to the political activism of the Churches.

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Note: The current author was also grateful to refer to Derek Ford’s ‘An analysis of the response by the Christian UK
        Polytechnic University, 1999). However, as this work is neither catalogued nor available publicly, it has not been
        included here.

WP-6

The Cultural and Social Impact of the Nordic Churches
on European Integration

Anders Jarlert

In this work-package we are observing and analyzing the role and importance of the Churches for the integration
process in Sweden. This will be done in four distinct sections, studying the problem from four different angles: 1.
Swedishness, Catholicism and European integration, investigating the activity of the Roman Catholic Church in
Sweden from 1945 up to the present time, in a Nordic and European perspective, 2. The Church of Sweden and Social Democratic Church politics in the Welfare State, 1944-1973, mainly how Swedish Social Democracy has played a key role for the transformation and conformity of the Church of Sweden to the democratic order on the basis of a ‘secularized Lutheranism, 3. The contacts between the Church of Sweden and international society, mostly Europe, on an informal level, starting from the organisation Church of Sweden Abroad (SKUT), and continuing with a study of the individual as a representative of every entity she/he is a part of, and 4. The transformation of the Swedish Christian Democratic Party from its founding as an isolated, confessional group between the political blocs in 1964, to a party in the European Christian Democratic tradition, firmly established in the non-Socialist bloc, with conservative, social values, in the 1990s and onwards. All four studies will deal with the question for the role of Churches and denominations in the transformation of the attitudes towards Europe and integration in the Swedish society since the Law of religious freedom was established in 1951.

1. Task
Christianity has, with certain qualifications, always played a unifying role in European society. Theological, cultural, ideological, and political ideas, expressions and techniques have diffused throughout the continent with the Church, and – as time went – the churches, as a medium.

As late as in 1860, the liberalization of religious legislation made it possible for Swedish citizens to become members of other, recognised religious bodies without having to leave the country. Up to the Law of religious freedom of 1951, Swedish citizenship was normally regarded as identical to membership of the Lutheran Church of Sweden. Since 1950 there has been a great change of attitudes towards other churches and denominations. This change of attitudes can be seen as the result of a successful process of integration, which on one hand is due to theological reorientations of the churches, on the other hand is due to a radical change of Swedish society. An important prerequisite for the integration of refugees from other countries has been that religious dissenter groups have tried to form national identities on a religious ground. Thus, a pluralisation of Swedish national identity was made possible before the arrival of the new refugee groups. This pluralisation of national identities is an important factor in the global process of modernization.

Another important prerequisite has been the development of a mutual respect, since integration is a process of mutual integration between different social and ethnic groups and society.

Associate Professor Yvonne Maria Werner studies Swedishness, Catholicism and European integration from the example of the Roman Catholic Church in Sweden after 1945. Her aim is to investigate the Catholic activity in Sweden in a Nordic and European perspective from 1945 up to the present time. Her question is how the Nordic Catholic culture – moulded out since 1860 - was manifested after 1945, and in what way it changed as a result of the reforms after Vatican II, which paved the way for Catholic commitment to the Ecumenical movement and thus for a more open form of Catholicism. She will concentrate her study in three major fields, namely 1) the Catholic Church and the refugee and immigrant question, 2) the reforms following the Second Vatican Council, and the ecumenical discussions between Catholics and Lutherans in Sweden, 3) the commitment of the Swedish Catholic Church in the European Catholic co-operation, its activities regarding the European question, and its relation to the Swedish state. Stages important to this study are the Swedish law of religious freedom in 1951 and the establishment of diplomatic relations between Sweden and the Vatican in 1982. A highpoint in the ecumenical relations between the Church of Sweden and the national Catholic Church was the visit of Pope John Paul II in Sweden in 1989, and the ecumenical vespers in the Church of St. Peter in Rome in 1991 and 1999, with the Pope presiding at the High altar together with the Lutheran archbishops of Sweden and Finland.

A hypothesis is that the ecumenical dialogue has contributed to create a more positive opinion regarding European integration. Ecumenism can thus be regarded as an important step toward europeanization. Prof. Werner will also pay attention to the work of the Scandinavian Catholic Episcopal Conference, which surely has contributed to integrate the Nordic Catholic Churches in the European Catholic structures. Of special interest are the Conference’s relations with the German Episcopal Conference, since a great part of the economical aid to Catholic activities in Scandinavia has come from Germany. Theories and models developed within recent sociological and cultural-historical research will serve as a theoretical frame for this study.

Doctoral Student Daniel Alvunger will write his dissertation in History on the Secular Lutheran Kingdom of Swedish Nation, that is the Church of Sweden and Social Democratic Church politics in the Welfare State, 1944-1973. His aim is to provide an understanding of how Swedish Social Democracy has played a key role for the transformation and growing conformity of the Church of Sweden to the democratic order on the basis of a ‘secularized Lutheranism’. The dissertation will focus on conflicts in relation to this process of establishment and in particular on how the reforms of State authority was answered by advocates of an orthodox Lutheran faith within the Church of Sweden. Three central issues will be studied: the relation between Church and State, Educational politics concerning religious education, and Family politics concerning the issue of abortion and sexual-ethical issues. The Church politics and the notion of the Church in the Social Democratic Labour party is polarized against the notion of the
Carl-Eber Olivestam, Karl-Göran Algotsson, and Gunnar Richardson - these three concerning the change of religious

Mr. Alvunger builds on the ground of previous research made by some of the authors in the Nordic research volume, confessional borders.
Christians sympathize with the Catholic standpoint, which has created new opportunities for co-operation across
has widened the gap between the Catholic and the mainstream Swedish view, but at the same time many Protestant
forms of piety, from devotional candles and pictures of Mary to Catholic liturgical practices. The same ambiguity
membership used anti-Catholic sentiments. On the other hand there has been a growing interest in adopting Catholic
Sweden after 1945. Some of the older studies are chronological surveys rather than scientific works. The debate on
Human Rights and the European Court. Otherwise, not much research has been done on the Catholic Church in
create a distinguished Nordic Catholic culture and identity. In previous research it has also been stressed that the
In her own research, Professor Werner has shown how the Nordic Roman Catholics in the period before 1945 tried to
modernization (Peter van der Veer, Karl Gabriel, Frans-Xaver Kaufmann) are of general use to the whole WP.
International theories on confessionalism and national identity (Hugh McLeod, Olaf Blaschke), and on religion and
Doctor Martin Bergman studies the diffusion and contacts between the Church of Sweden and international society, mostly Europe, on an informal level. The impact of art, literature, music, and customs from other churches and countries since World War II and, especially since the 1960s, has been unsurpassed. For example, Carmelite mystics, songs from Taizé, or postcard icons have for some members of the Church of Sweden become everyday parts of their spirituality. Dr. Bergman takes his starting-point in the official organisation Church of Sweden Abroad (SKUT), an organisation that recognises as a part of its mission to be a vehicle for practical ecumenics, and serving as a meeting-place for individuals from different traditions. This organisation also recognises as a task for its representatives to gather information and methods that might be useful in the Church of Sweden.

In the post-World War II situation we find an increasing number of individuals travelling abroad or living in more than one country. Thus the forms of diffusion are changing, and, especially in the form of personal contacts, can display manifold forms. Such a mixture might be of special relevance for Churches in the situation of the Nordic Lutheran Churches. Among casual, occasional, or regular contacts, based on curiosity, friendship, or quest of knowledge or spiritual inspiration and enrichment, pilgrimage is one of the most long-lasting that has continued in spite of periods of official resentment and prescription. The Porvoo agreement has made official contacts on lower levels such as interchanges of clergy between Lutheran and Anglican Churches in different countries much easier, while, on the other hand, the Schengen treaty has made contacts with Churches in other parts of the world somewhat more difficult. Dr. Bergman opens for studying the individual as a representative of every entity she/he is a part of.
Professor Anders Jarlert is the organizer and leader of the WP work, its seminars, and its external information. He also studies the transformation of the Swedish Christian Democratic Party from its founding as a very small, mostly Free Church confessional group as a reaction against secularization, between the political blocs, in the 1960s, to a Christian Democratic Party in the European tradition and fellowship, firmly established in the non-Socialist bloc, with even practising Jewish members, and with a conservative attitude to social values, in the 1990s and onwards. What makes this transformation especially interesting is that it reflects the great change of attitudes within several Christian Churches and denominations towards Europe, the European Union, and European integration. An important prerequisite for this study is the construction of national identities on religious ground, which, together with the growing openness to Ecumenical dialogue from different Christian bodies, including the Roman Catholic Church, has opened up for the change of attitudes towards Europe and European matters. This development is partly dependent on the process studied by Mr. Alvunger, with a growing integration between the Church of Sweden and Social Democracy.

2. The State of the Art
Since 1950, Churches and denominations have experienced a development of conformation and integration in the common value-system of the Swedish Welfare State. This have to a certain extent been the case of several academic studies, almost everyone written in Swedish, and thus not open to European readers. International theories on confessionalism and national identity (Hugh McLeod, Olaf Blaschke), and on religion and modernization (Peter van der Veer, Karl Gabriel, Frans-Xaver Kaufmann) are of general use to the whole WP. In her own research, Professor Werner has shown how the Nordic Roman Catholics in the period before 1945 tried to create a distinguished Nordic Catholic culture and identity. In previous research it has also been stressed that the presence of the Catholic Church in Sweden has contributed to delay the Swedish accession to the convention on Human Rights and the European Court. Otherwise, not much research has been done on the Catholic Church in Sweden after 1945. Some of the older studies are chronological surveys rather than scientific works. The debate on Swedish membership in the European Union revealed a similar tendency, where some of those who were against a membership used anti-Catholic sentiments. On the other hand there has been a growing interest in adopting Catholic forms of piety, from devotional candles and pictures of Mary to Catholic liturgical practices. The same ambiguity can be observed regarding Catholic moral teaching. Here the development of Swedish family politics since the 1960s has widened the gap between the Catholic and the mainstream Swedish view, but at the same time many Protestant Christians sympathize with the Catholic standpoint, which has created new opportunities for co-operation across confessional borders.
Mr. Alvunger builds on the ground of previous research made by some of the authors in the Nordic research volume, Nordiske folkekirker i oprud, as well as on Kjell Blückert’s dissertation (in English), and on books (in Swedish) by Carl-Eber Olivestam, Karl-Göran Algotsson, and Gunnar Richardson - these three concerning the change of religious
education. Generally, this research stresses the change of religious education from a normative and ethical-evangelical upbringing subject to a descriptive and ethical theoretical subject, while the fundamental aspects of how this development affected the Church has been neglected. Research regarding the Social Democratic Church politics and its relation to the formation of the Church of Sweden to the common value-system of the Swedish Welfare State is generally lacking. Neither has the importance of Social Democracy for the formation and integration of the Church of Sweden been investigated.

Dr. Bergman uses the dissertation on the Church of Sweden Abroad (SKUT) by Ingemar Bergmark. However, this book deals with this organisation in the early period of 1911-1933, when it was mostly concerned with the care for seamen abroad. He also makes use of a report edited by David Holm on Church and tourism, The Porvoo Common Statement, and the 2001 report on the future of the SKUT. Also literature on the changing context of the Churches around the Baltic Sea, as well as on Nordic Integration politics will be used (Haskel, Lindgren, Solem, Sundellius). These books include research on low-level contacts on a political level, but there is a lack of research concerning the personal contacts that changes and deepen the relationships between Churches, cultures, and nations.

Professor Jarlert – like Mr. Alvunger – makes a start in the research volume, Nordiske folkekirker i opbrud, of which he is one of the authors. He will also use some academic research on the Christian Democratic party in Sweden (Attefall & Holmström, Johansson) as well as literature on Christian Democratic parties in Europe (Fogarty, Hanley, Hahn & Lucker, Irving, Kalyvas). Further, political writings on European politics from the Swedish Christian Democratic party (Arböl) will be used as well as biographical literature (Svensson).

3. The existing sources

Professor Werner’s sources are partly primarily source material from the Swedish National archives, partly printed sources such as Catholic magazines, official Catholic statements and reports, and private memoirs. The material from the Vatican archives is not accessible after 1922, but there are copies of the reports to Rome in the Catholic Diocesan archive at the National archives in Stockholm.

Mr. Alvunger’s material consists mainly of parliamentary and synodal records, but also of records from the national conferences of the Social Democratic party. Together with this comes articles in periodicals and newspapers, mainly Social Democratic or ecclesiastical ones.

In Dr. Bergman’s work, sources to the diffusion and personal contacts are themselves diffused, and therefore not always easy to find, or even preserved, limitations and approaches into the problem and the sources are of importance. Specific sources are found in the publications and archives of the Church of Sweden Abroad (SKUT), in specially constructed questionnaires, as well as in interviews on a local level.

Professor Jarlert’s sources are mainly printed and unprinted material from the Christian Democratic Party, as well as interviews and comparative material from other political sources such as parliamentary records and periodicals, in comparison with material from European political bodies. An important methodical point is the common comparative work in the project, primarily together with the tasks of Prof. Werner and Mr. Alvunger.

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The political commitments of East European Christianity since the Cold War.

The Estonian case

Lea Altnurme
Riho Altnurme

During Communist rule, East European Christians had either to become martyrs or make compromises in their lives. Martyrology and political history containing accusations against those who collaborated are at present the favourite genres for depicting the church history of Eastern Europe in the second half of the 20th century. History reflecting other aspects of church life is as yet virtually non-existent. There is still a lot of unused material available for research, both in the archives and in the form of memoirs. From the point of view of the topic Churches and European integration, it is important to describe the contacts with the Western world during this difficult period and at the very end of it that have facilitated reintegration. Estonia was a mostly Lutheran country that had to be a part of the Soviet Union at that time. Yet ties with Western churches were maintained through ecumenical organisations from the 1950s onwards. The true nature of these contacts should be made clear. The end of 1980s brought
enormous new opportunities for bonds of friendship with the West. The influence on Estonians of friendship churches and Christian organisations, and the popularity among Estonian youth of the Taizé movement are uninvestigated phenomena that could clarify the picture of the reopening of Eastern Europe.

1. Task
This work package seeks to promote a deeper understanding of the situation of the East European churches under Soviet rule. People in Western and sometimes also in Eastern Europe still have a relatively limited knowledge of the activities of the churches in these difficult years. To some extent, relations with the Western world were still preserved through the churches, among other channels. It is possible to speak of uninterrupted ties in these years through contacts within ecumenical organisations and between individuals. On the other hand, the Christian culture that is one of the cultural foundations of present-day European integration, was kept alive in the churches. In present times, a better understanding of these topics should help towards the future integration of the new Eastern European candidate states into the European Union.

Estonia is taken as a case study from Eastern Europe for various reasons. The activity of church leaders in ecumenical organisations and in establishing contacts with the West in general is one reason. The present-day religious situation in Estonia can be described as a local particularity in this context. Estonia has been particularly successful in reintegration with Western Europe after the political shift that took place, despite the fact that it was once a part of the Soviet Union. There may be some ties between those phenomena.

In Estonia the Evangelical Lutheran Church has traditionally been the majority church and the Orthodox Church the minority church (78% and 19% of population respectively before WWII). Today only 14% of the population see themselves as Lutheran, whereas 13% are orthodox (this is also a sign of Russian identity). All other confessions were and have remained under 1%. This shows the organisational weakness of the established churches. Latvia and Lithuania are quite different. Latvia has had two major churches – the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic, and today the Roman-Catholic church is demonstrating signs of growth. Lithuania has remained a Roman Catholic country, with small Protestant and Orthodox minorities. The churches in the latter countries were also influenced by the atheist regime, where the protestant churches proved to be easier to defend.

Two levels are examined in the work package. First, the official contacts between churches in East and West, mostly through ecumenical organisations. The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC) will be examined as an example, starting from the 1950s, when official contacts with Western Churches were re-established. The leaders of the EELC have been quite active in international ecumenical organisations, especially Jaan Kiivit Sen., who was one of the first presidents of the Conference of European Churches (CEC). The hypothesis of the influence of social democratic thinking through Western theologians and the possibility of “Christian socialism” in the Soviet system will be investigated. One particular question is contacts with the exile church – the church of refugees, who were clearly anti-communist. Whether it was indeed useful for the churches to be in contact with the West (paying the price of making compromises with the Soviet authorities) or should the churches have remained in open opposition to Communist rule (which could have prevented them from having any contact with the outside world)? What were the theological grounds for compromise with the authorities? The nature of the contacts should be examined: whether they were dictated by the Soviet state or in the interest of the churches? The answers to these questions will not be altogether clear-cut.

The second is the individual level. The influence of Western culture on the Estonian mentality through contacts with Western church members became increasingly possible at the end of the 1980s. The Estonian case permits an examination of the issue of how communication between Christians of different countries may contribute to the process of integration in Europe.

Sociological polls have revealed the low level of religiosity, particularly in terms of affiliation with religious institutions, among Estonians. At the same time, the foundations of Estonian culture lie in Western Christianity, which is seated deep in the Estonian national psyche - a fact that is known yet not much acknowledged in the current post-Soviet society. The Estonian self-concept also includes a firm conviction of its place in European culture, which underscores the need for Estonians to re-discover their cultural roots. Since Christianity is still the intellectual basis for European integration, despite the secularisation of society on the continent, the re-Christianisation of Estonia might be viewed as one part of the integration process. Interest in the role of personal cross-border contacts in this respect has given rise to the main point of this level: how did churches contribute to European integration, both at the individual and congregational level, in Estonia in the 1990s?

The two phenomena that would presumably lead to the best answers to the questions posed are the aid provided by and the influence on the re-Christianisation of Estonians of friendship churches and Christian organisations, and the Taizé movement’s popularity among and the influence on Estonian youth. It is intended for these two studies to be joined into an analysis of the influence of international contacts at the individual level on Estonians’ re-Christianisation and reintegration into Europe.
The hypothesis of the WP7 is that although the people of Estonia were practically in isolation, integration took place thanks to the culture and mentality maintained by the Churches, among others. Moreover, external isolation was not absolute. Therefore, it is easily possible to proceed to more comprehensive integration nowadays.

2. The State of the Art

**Soviet-era historiography.** Since the beginning of the Soviet occupation in Estonia, analyses of Soviet religious policy, including those dealing with relations between the EELC and the Soviet authorities, have been published abroad. Mainly based on word of mouth and information obtained from the Soviet propagandistic sources, these did not provide a precise representation of reality. One can find examples of an extremely emotional and anti-communist analysis based on limited source material (Võõbus 1984). One of the most objective studies (although also based on indirect sources) issued abroad during the occupation era covered relations between the state and the churches from 1940-1974 (Salo 1974). In Estonia itself, the only works published on religion during that time were atheistically biased publications and atheistic propaganda, as well as propagandistic writings and books aimed at the foreign reader. One could only get a glimpse of the real situation from unpublished writings (Salumaa).

**Historiography from 1991.** As the occupation ended, archives were opened, giving access to source materials for academic research. In the last decade, studies of the Soviet regime’s religious policy were published both in Estonia and elsewhere. The studies included those examining relations between the Lutheran church and the Soviet state in Estonia; however, they failed to achieve a comprehensive and systematic treatment of the topic. The first more extensive wave of publications came in 1995-1997. A brief synopsis of the period opened the line (Kiivit 1995). Censorship as a weapon in the war against religion was surveyed, dealing also with the broader context of church-state relations (Lotman 1995). There were some treatments of particular developments in relations between church and state (Paul 1996). All of the articles also tried to give an overview of the period and failed to concentrate on one particular problem. This was a period in which a completely new area and materials were discovered.

Indrek Jürjo’s book, which revealed many KGB contacts of publicly known Estonians, using archival documents of the KGB and the local Communist Party (Jürjo 1996) caused a sharp discussion in the whole society. One chapter was devoted to the EELC “in the Grip of the KGB”. It claimed that all church leaders and also some pastors were in one way or another connected with the KGB. The archival evidence was partly indirect, as only some limited collections of materials from the KGB archives in Estonia still existed. The reaction from the church circles was ambivalent – this research confirmed facts that had been partly known (or suspected) in the church. The tone of the accusations and the fact that the unpleasant past was revealed to the public was probably the cause of the irritation evident in church circles. Nobody tried to refute the fact of collaboration, the issue was its extent. The most important question in this context was and remains: whether collaboration was really necessary and in the interest of the church and its members?

In 1997 it was claimed that there was still a lack of interest among church historians in contemporary church history (Paul 1997). As a common feature for this period, one can mention the unbalanced use of the archival sources. Many authors also relied on their personal memoirs, and with few exceptions (Viise 1995) neither used interviews nor collected memoirs.

New studies were published in the new millennium. These were based on their predecessors from the mid-1990s, and their endeavour was to provide a more detailed and systematic analysis of the archival records, as well as to broaden the base of source materials. There came a study of the formative years 1944-1949 in Soviet-era church-state relations based on an in-depth analysis of the archival records (Altnurme 2000, 2001). Another doctoral dissertation, which according to its title claimed to describe the religious situation in only a small part of Estonia, provides an overview of Soviet-era church life in Estonia as a whole, improving first and foremost on the statistics published until that time (Plaat 2001). Religiousness in a society in transition was described in one of the few studies on religion in Estonia to be performed in the 1990s (Liiman 2001). Mikko Malkavaara has made the most recent well-documented attempt to write about the foreign relations of the EELC (Malkavaara 2001).

Research on the history of individual congregations in the Soviet period has been conducted by students of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Tartu and of the Institute of Theology (IT) of the EELC (in manuscript). Some findings from these works add valuable brushstrokes to the overall picture. Another topic is martyrlogy. There is a proposal to prepare initial material for the publication of a relevant reference book about Lutherans (Vaher 1997) and also several articles about the martyrdom of the representatives of other churches in Estonia.

A common difficulty for the foreign researcher (and reader) is the fact that most of the materials and research on these topics is published in Estonian. Also, some research about this period in Estonian church history is still done by foreigners (although their research is often not as well known in Estonia). There were some remarkable works by US political scientist Robert F. Goeckel, a specialist on church-state relations in Eastern Europe, particularly in the former DDR. In the 1990s he focused his research on the influence of Soviet government policy on the Baltic churches (Goeckel 1993, 1995). He offers relatively innovative approaches to local issues, and tries to compare the Baltic states. His primary emphasis is on the late 1980’s, namely on the relationship of the Lutheran churches to the
democratisation process taking place in society at large. He concludes that the church’s role has been more that of an outsider in society and has consisted in using the benefits of change, instead of creating the change itself. Goeckel is evidently the only foreigner to have made use of the materials stored at the Estonian National Archives. Nor can the useful comparative information from the other Baltic States be overlooked (Das Gute behaltet 1996, Talonen 1997). Most problems still arise, however, with material in local languages, which makes it difficult for Baltic researchers to work with comparative studies.

To date, several systematic studies of church life under Communist regimes have also been published in Western Europe. In general, however, these are fairly superficial, and occasionally even misleading. As a rule, the churches of the Baltic countries are studied as a whole; a non-Estonian researcher would normally not perform a study of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church alone. There are, however, also exceptions (Hart 1993). The role of the Lutheran church in the development of Estonian nationalism has generally been small, general thanks to the long-term Baltic German dominance in the Lutheran church. Hart’s view about the Lutheran church as a latent church that helped to create an atmosphere for the struggle for independence seems to offer a more positive approach towards the situation today, when the church is rather weakly manifested in society.

In general, the most investigated topic in this period has been the relationship between church and state (especially intriguing has been the topic of the church and the KGB). Other aspects of church life have been underestimated. Foreign contacts have also been investigated from only one, political aspect (if at all). The influence of the church in society must be further researched. A great deal of unused material is available, especially in the archives. More detailed research remains to be conducted.

3. The existing sources

Archival sources. The archival sources for this research topic can be found mostly in the archives in Tallinn, but also in Moscow, Geneva, Stockholm, etc. The Estonian State Archives (Tallinn) holds voluminous files from the archive of the Estonian representative of the Council for the Religious Affairs. The representative was the most important state official dealing strictly with the matters of the churches (until 1965 there were two such officials in Estonia – one for the Russian Orthodox Church and the other for all the other religious organisations). His materials include, among others, annual files about the foreign contacts of the church leaders (starting from 1955). These files include most of the correspondence of the church leaders with their foreign colleagues as well as the texts of their speeches held abroad.

The Branch of the Estonian State Archives (Tallinn), which was formerly the archive of the Communist Party of Estonia, preserves documents from the party archive as well as the files that were left behind by the Soviet security services (MGB, KGB etc.). In addition, it contains files concerning the work of those organisations with religious communities and the police investigation files on the repressed persons. Control over foreign contacts was always a high priority for security services. Personal reports from clergymen about their trips abroad are preserved.

In the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC) Consistory Archive one can find additional material reflecting the church’s point of view. However, the personal opinions of church leaders and pastors are available from security agents’ reports rather than from the official documents of the church.

The State Archives of the Russian Federation provides valuable information on the overall religious policy of the Soviet Union in that period. Correspondence with the Estonian representative of the Council for Religious Affairs is also preserved there.

The Swedish State Archives hold the materials about the EELC in exile up to the middle of the 1970s (later materials are in Toronto). The attitudes of the exile church towards the church at home and also information about the contacts between them can be obtained there.

Archives in Geneva (the Lutheran World Federation etc.) as well as at different deaneries of the exiled church in Canada, the USA and elsewhere are still to be investigated.

The problem with the archives of the church in exile seems to be the division of materials between many locations. All of the archives used until this point had free access, except for the collection of the exile church in Stockholm, which required permission, although this was easily obtained from the church authorities. As there are very few published sources available, work in the archives is of great importance.

“Soft sources”. Many persons involved in church activities in that period are still alive. Therefore many memoirs and interviews could be used. The Estonian Literary Museum holds a collection of biographies collected in the last few years. One of its sub-collections contains religious biographies (by now 72 records, collected by Lea Altnurme). In addition, the museum holds a collection of pastors’ biographies. In the last two years, an occasional questioning of elderly church members and pastors about the church life in the Soviet period (including the foreign relations of the churches) has been conducted by Riho Altnurme and students of the Faculty of Theology of the University of Tartu. The results are preserved by the Faculty of Theology.
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The second world war caused unprecedented hardship, but it also accelerated change. By Margaret MacMillan. Margaret MacMillan. It is impossible to know how many women in Europe were raped by the Red Army soldiers, who saw them as part of the spoils of war, but in Germany alone some 2 million women had abortions every year between 1945 and 1948. The allies did what they could to feed and house the refugees and to reunite families that had been forcibly torn apart, but the scale of the task and the obstacles were enormous. In western Europe, voters turned to social democratic parties such as the Labour party in Britain. In the east, the new communist regimes that were imposed by the triumphant Soviet Union were at first welcomed by many as the agents of change.