

FINAL REPORT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND KEY RESULTS

Description of research activities

The Project “Churches and European Integration” studied the political role of the Churches in the post-Second World War Europe. The topic was approached by using the methods of Church History, History and History of Ideas as well as Systematic Theology. The studies of the Project were conducted in five European countries (Finland, Sweden, Germany, Great Britain, Estonia), which allowed the Project to benefit from the various research traditions and methodological approaches. Researchers, either employed by the project or associated with it through other funding, have aimed at examining the question of to what extent, on the one hand, have churches brought positive input to European Integration and, on the other hand, whether churches played a disintegrative role in the Cold War Era and in its aftermath in Europe.

The fact that churches have traditionally been active in international and ecumenical co-operation and in the field of diaconal activities supported the hypothesis that churches have had a positive impact on integration. The potentially disintegrative effect was found in the fact that churches have often been national churches and strongholds of nationalism in their countries. The project also took into account the possibility that some Christian churches or groupings had deliberately decided or chosen to withdraw from politics during the years of the Cold War. Furthermore, in times of political crises, they seemed to have chosen to emphasize the eschatological and apocalyptic aspects.

This project did not start from scratch. For example, good research work was available on the developments and the policies of ecumenical work as well as on the recent political history of different countries. Thus, the first task of the research work within the project was to get a more precise overview of the research work that has already been done on this topic. The ground report was the result of these efforts, which did not list only the existing literature but also analysed it. The main point in the analysis was the following: What kind of picture did the research work give about recent history and what kinds of differences were shown between countries in the research work already done.

Special attention was given to the publications written in what have been called small languages, such as Estonian, Finnish and Swedish, which previously had not received any wider international audience.

Each partner university under the supervision of their respective director has done the research work independently. In the planning process of the project each partner already had complete freedom to decide how to approach the given common topic and how to nominate their own team of researchers. This independence was preserved throughout the whole project. The different aspects, which were chosen in the early stage of the project, are already a clear proof of the diversities between countries and churches and of their distinctive ways of understanding and interpreting contemporary church history.

During the project period four extensive workshops were organised. In addition, a public workshop and discussion panel took place in Brussels in March 2004. The Programme Coordination Committee met for seven times (four times together with members of the Advisory Board and a final conference was organised). Representatives from the project were also asked to take part in other meetings, for example prof. Aila Lauha acted as an invited expert on the theme "The role of religion in European integration" in the Reflection group on "The Spiritual and cultural dimensions of Europe" chaired by the President of the European Commission Romano Prodi. In addition to this the work packages, Programme Coordination Committee and the Advisory Board evaluated the work carried out. In the Finnish and Swedish work packages also some additional funding was gained for the project. Especially the final conference of the project in August 2004 was partly financed by funding from other sources. The research was carried out independently in the five participating countries according to the preliminary project plan. In some respects the project gained additional viewpoints through the fact that some researchers with outside funding were able to participate in it.

Most of the persons involved in the project are young researchers writing their dissertation or doing post-doctoral research. Researchers were able to present their work and receive feedback from each other, from the leadership of the project, and from the members of the scientific advisory board, in joint workshops. The Project has made a great impact in the field of research education and allowed new opportunities of international cooperation to the researchers involved in the work.

In the field of Humanities independent monographs are normally the main form for publishing. In unison to that, several dissertations and other books will in the near future most probably be published by researchers participating in the CEI –project as well. The project has been an important frame work for all of them. The list of articles already published by the researchers involved in this project during the years 2001 - 2004 is included in this final report.

This pioneer project has introduced something new and discovered a special innovation on how to study churches in a pan-European combination and context. Studying the life of churches and their impact deepens our understanding about the cultural heritage of Europe, of which an important and integral part is religion, especially the Christian faith.

In this final report we try to outline what is the state of the affairs in the end of the Churches and European Integration Project and how have the various work packages managed to follow the work plan as outlined in the contract and what kinds of results can be found so far.

Summary of the key results

The Project “Churches and European Integration” is a pioneering exploration of a wrongly neglected aspect of Europe’s recent history. The bulk of the work done in the project covers the period of the Cold War, and the main scientific breakthrough has been the demonstration that the importance of religion and the churches in the political history of this period in Northern Europe is much bigger than has generally been recognised. The importance of religion in the Cold War period has been fairly well - known in respect of Southern Europe and USA. However, the fact that this was the case also in Northern Europe has been ignored by historians . Their general presumption has been that these countries were too secularised for religion to be politically significant.

The CEI project shows that at least up to the later 1960 s any political history of Europe, as well as of the Cold War, has got to give serious attention to religion - though of course the precise role and significance of religion varies considerably from country to country. The project shows the close

relationships between politicians and church leaders in the period c. 1945 - 1965 in the UK and Finland - even to the extent of bishops being seen as possible candidates for the presidency in Finland; the role of religion in popular culture - with special influence on anti-communism in Finland; and the continuing role of Protestantism as an aspect of national identity in Sweden, with negative consequences for attitudes to the EEC, at least up to the 1960s. The project managed to clarify in a concrete way the social and political attitudes and actions of a number of European churches through deep going case studies, where mostly earlier unused archive material was used by the researchers.

One important finding of the project was the churches great general willingness to promote such endeavors which on both national and international level aimed to lessen prejudices, tension, and hatred between nations, political systems, and religious denominations. The churches also stressed importance on the mental unity of European people, and human rights. These aspects became especially clear in the Swedish case, clarifying how the Catholic minority church of Sweden became integrated into the somewhat secularized Lutheran society in the post-war period. The German work package highlights the unique bridge-building role of the churches during periods of maximum East-West tension, and re-interprets the meetings between German and Soviet churches, drawing uniquely on interviews with each of the parties to these encounters. Although most of the work relates to the Cold War era, some of the work packages offer valuable insights into the contemporary situation, the work on post-Communist Estonia being particularly interesting in this respect, since language barriers mean that the distinctive situation in that country is little known elsewhere.

The research clarified that during the Cold War period the discussions and activities concerning the European unity in the churches under examination were dominated by questions of peace, human rights, religious freedom and general social responsibility of Christians, whereas the actual process towards European integration was thoroughly discussed only in the British case. Nevertheless, a general observation of this project is that the churches did more to assist than to hinder the processes of European integration.

During the post Cold war era the interest of the Northern churches was more explicitly focused on European integration. The analysis of theological statements by the Helsinki work package as well as the research carried out in Estonia and Germany point out a greater willingness to actively promote

such politics that would help Europe to become more aware of the rights and needs of different minorities and other parts of the world.

In late 1990ies the churches find themselves increasingly interacting in a global, interdependent environment where it is considered that many issues are out church's hands and even out of the hands of national governments. The study on European churches and globalisation it is assessed that in the future it will be a challenge for the churches to seek "policy coherence" in the theology and social teaching when it comes to integrating the national concerns to the global responsibility.

CHURCHES AND EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

FINAL REPORT

1. THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES IN THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCHES BEFORE THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The theoretical framework of the project

Political dimension have always been present in the ideology and practise of Christian Churches. Ethical and moral questions belong in an elementary way to Christian preaching and theology. Especially in modern times the issues of just society, social responsibility and the questions of war and peace have belonged to the key questions explored by the Churches.

A common ground can be found in the teaching of the Christian churches. Nevertheless, also differences can be distinguished. The theological differences may have led B even in the recent past B the Churches to different and even contradicting solutions. A certain passivity of Lutheran Churches to tackle the political developments during the Third Reich was an example. After the Second World War their policy was heavily criticized not only by foreign Churches but also in Germany resulting in world wide willingness to rethink and even renovate the Lutheran social ethics. Similarly, other churches have learned from historical mistakes as well and revised their own social ethical approaches. This does not alter the fact that the churches even today want to base their social ethical programmes on their own confessional heritage.

The Churches have their own traditions, but at the same time they have inevitably been political actors by themselves and as such also marked by the time. When studying Churches historically it is meaningful to ask to which extent the churches have in a particular time, in their statements and actions settled to follow the common political trends of the time and therefore been in the mains tream and to which extent they have had something independent to offer.

The understanding within this project has been that in the studies of the European political history of recent past not only the processes of political events and decision making are worth while to be discussed but also the social and political attitudes and values of people need to be analysed in different historic contexts. The analysis and interpretation of these attitudes and values, their background and influence are a challenge that concerns both historians and church historians. Christian Churches and organizations have been important actors in forming ideological perceptions and opinions amongst the Europeans. Since the 19th century they have acted as pioneers in the field of international co-operation. In order to understand the recent past it is therefore necessary to understand the attitudes and the model of action adopted by the Churches. To initiate this project has been very much motivated by this kind of understanding.

The goals and structure of this project

The Project “Churches and European Integration” studied the political role of the Churches in the post - Second World War Europe, concentrating on the development in the Northern part of Europe. The topic was approached by using the methods of Church History, History and History of Ideas as well as Systematic Theology. The studies of the Project were conducted in five different countries (Finland, Sweden, Germany, United Kingdom, Estonia), which allowed the project to benefit from the various research traditions and methodological approaches.

An important goal of this project has been to provide new information about the recent past. Previous research on the topic was rather scarce. (See the ground report, 2002, of this project for to get a general analysis of the previous research). The fact that several archives had only recently been opened for research added to the importance to start this project.

The aim of this project was not only to provide new historical information but also create critical understanding of the churches’ attitudes and actions during the cold war. It is today often asked why the churches in different European countries chose partly different strategies in social and political matters. The project aimed to add new elements to this scientific discussion.

In this project five universities from five Northern European countries have been cooperating. All of them studied the political role of the churches especially in their own countries through a specific case study defined by themselves. The religious situation in these countries has many similarities. One common feature is a strong predominance of Protestantism, and in the Swedish, Finnish and in some respect the Estonian case, mainly Lutheranism. The existence of a kind of national churches is also typical to these areas. Another common feature of the religious life typical to all cases is that the levels of church-going are generally known to be some way below the European average.

Whereas there were a lot of mutual similarities in religious situation in respective countries, there were significant differences to be found in the geopolitical position of them. This fact was expected to be of added value for the project and enable comparisons .

Typical features in the position of the five countries:

Finland: After the Second World War an officially non-allied small democracy having a difficult geo-political position next to the Soviet Union

Sweden: A politically neutral western democracy with no imminent threats from outside

Germany: A divided nation with traumatic past of Nazi period, increases gradually its economical and political influence in Europe.

United Kingdom: A super-power from a European perspective, one of the winners of the war and politically very influential during the entire Cold War period.

Estonia: A nation that lost its independence during the war; as a part of the Soviet Union separated from the Western democracies by the Iron Curtain.

In addition to the goals of providing new information, some other goals were set. Firstly, the researchers were challenged to compare the different research traditions in each country and to find

new impulses for their analyses. Secondly, the results of the project were meant to be open to public discussion within the churches and even wider.

Common guidelines for the research and implementation

This research project had to analyse how some specific European churches perceived the situation and problems of the tense, divided Cold War Europe. Moreover, the purpose was to find out, what kinds of social and political programs and actions were developed amongst the Churches both nationally and internationally, and how these actions were motivated. The perspective of the project was partly stretched to cover the political reality, which followed the Cold War, that is to the 1990s. An important connecting feature to the research was to ask, how far the churches through their teaching or activities actually supported and encouraged the broadly understood European integration. Although the research was based on independent case studies in each country, the results were planned to be discussed in four workshops consisting of the members of the coordination committee, the advisory board of the project, and all researchers.

For to stimulate the discussion in the workshops and to enable the researchers to find out common themes some general guidelines were sketched by the coordinator of the project. It was not expected that all of the following aspects would be equally important in each case.

The first central point of view recommended to the researchers was to look at the *political and ideological attitudes of the churches*. In the post-war situation all of the churches had to face the reality of the Cold War and the effects of the Iron Curtain at the very least on ideological level: they had to reflect their attitude to the communistic ideology. This could not be avoided because of the anti-religious elements in Communism as an ideology. Thus it was relevant to ask what kind of picture of Communism the Churches had and in which way it changed.

Moreover, other questions to be asked on this ideological level were: How did the Churches view the general conditions for the European unity? What kind of Europe they wanted to build? What did they

think of the integration? What kind of vision did they have for the future of Europe? Did they consider that the Churches would have had an active role in tomorrow's Europe?

Second central point of view for joint consideration was the examination of the practical activities of the Churches; *the level of actions*. The project had an interest to study whether the Churches really were involved in planning and implementing political, economic, and military forms of co-operation. What kinds of activities did the Churches have both nationally and internationally? Such activities could for example be research activities, projects, organizations, aid work, peace activities, and radio work.

Thirdly, it was recommended to pay attention to the *theological approaches* of the Churches in social and political issues to be found in e.g. social ethical statements and manifestos. Especially the theological discussions and consultations launched by the Churches across the Iron Curtain were to be taken into consideration.

The fourth level was to look at *the impact* of the work of the Churches and Christian organizations in the political life of each country and on European level.

Guidelines also were given to the researchers concerning the implementation of the research results. As mentioned already in the application, this project wanted to give impulses also to the orientation of the churches in present when facing social and political issues and even to the politicians.

2. CHURCHES IN DIALOGUE DURING COLD WAR

Until this project, there was not much research on the relationship between Churches in Eastern and Western Europe during the Cold War, and especially not on the focus of the peace issue in these ecumenical dialogues. A monographic study on this question was missing. The issue was of great importance, since after the end of the Cold War one could observe an ideological evaluation of the peace issue in dialogues between churches. The main questions dealt with in this project therefore were:

- How can these dialogues and the peace issue be evaluated?
- Who were the main actors, and which was their interest?
- How did the states try to influence the dialogues?
- How did the dialogues on peace influence the tension between the states?

The research has shown that there was also relevant pressure especially from the Eastern European states on the participants in the dialogues; it was possible to formulate Christian convictions and to put a special accent into these dialogue documents, which were different from the official standpoints of the states. Although the churches in Eastern Europe were not free in their acting, they could express their special desires and opinions. The project could show that churches can positively influence the societies where they live, and it could show that peace talks were not in vain as it is interpreted sometimes today.

The Historical Circumstances

In the period of the Cold War several dialogues between churches in Eastern and Western Europe took place. In our research project, special attention has been paid to the dialogues between the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) and the Protestant Churches in Eastern and Western Germany respectively. The official dialogue between Russian Orthodoxy and Western German Protestant Churches (EKD) started in 1959, it was called Arnoldshain with respect to the place of the first meeting. Background of this dialogue was the will on German side to contribute to reconciliation between Germany and the victims of the Second World War. From the Russian side, there was an interest to get in contact with Western Church of another confession, but also an interest of the state to express political opinions abroad via the Orthodox Church.

The dialogue with the Protestant Church in Eastern Germany (BEK) started in 1974, after the Eastern German local churches split off from the Western German Protestant Church and formed their own Protestant Church organisation. Both dialogues were joined in 1990 after the reunification of Germany into a new one, which is still continuing.

These dialogues therefore have to be seen within the context of the Cold War. It is of highest interest to compare them, since we are dealing with dialogues between an Orthodox Church and Protestant Churches with the same cultural background, but living in different political systems. In the one case it was a dialogue between the Russian Orthodox Church and the church of the “enemy”, in the other case it was an inter-church dialogue between churches in the same political camp.

The State of Research

As mentioned above, there have been also dialogues with other churches involved. There should be mentioned the dialogue between the Protestant Church in Western Germany and the Romanian Orthodox Church, the Protestant Church in Eastern Germany and the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Russian Orthodox Church with the Protestant Church in Finland, and the dialogue between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church in Germany. But the German-Russian dialogues are of special interest, because they emphasized the peace issue very strongly. In all the other dialogues, the peace question did not play a very important role, with the exception of the Russian-Finish dialogue, which is researched by an own research project of the Finish Protestant Church.

The two Russian-German dialogues, and especially the issue of peace, did not play an important and visible role in the historical and church-historical debates that were led after the Cold War. However, there is a lively discussion about the ecumenical context between Western and Eastern European Churches during the Cold War in general. The churches were attacked, because they kept in contact with churches in the socialist and communist States in spite of the influence of the communist governments on “their” churches. That means that if Christians and churches tried to work for peace, they were considered to work for the enemies, in Western Europe they were considered to work for the communists, and in Eastern Europe they were considered to work for Western political interests. This way, churches like

the Eastern German Protestant Church were misunderstood and found themselves between the different frontiers of the Cold War. They were suspected of working for the enemy from both sides. Nevertheless, one has to take into account that these dialogues were the one and only side of ecumenical efforts in the Cold War time. Moreover, so it was argued, the Western European Churches were aware of this danger and were convinced that they had to forge links between Western and communist countries. The Western Churches were convinced that they were able to cope with the danger of the communist influence.

The importance and the value of the peace issue in these dialogues are today evaluated differently by the participants themselves. In one official evaluation meeting, a Russian participant even blamed the discussions about the peace topic for having been influenced by the communists. Therefore, these discussions were worthless. Other participants stressed the importance of the peace issue. But in general one can say that this question was not researched systematically, and the peace issue is hardly mentioned in the scientific debates. It has to be seen in the context of the ecumenical relations during the Cold War in general.

The Important Characteristics in the Discussion of Peace

When we speak about the discussion of the peace issue in the both dialogues it has to be pointed out very clearly that the word “discussion” might cause a misjudgement in this context: During both dialogues real discussions about the issue of peace were very rare. In general, there were different lectures concerning this topic and a few remarks were made in the results. It has to be admitted that the Russian Orthodox participants of the Arnoldshain Dialogue clearly dominated the issue of peace during the first 20 years of this dialogue – but of course, the Protestant participants had to accept the statements which were made in the official results. It is interesting that these first 20 years corresponded with the dominating position of members of the Protestant Councils of Brethren within the Protestant delegations – as far as the issue of peace was concerned. One can call this period a first phase of the dialogue; it ended in the late 1970ies and the early 1980ies. This turning point coincided with the crisis between both blocks because of the Afghanistan invasion and the different plans to modernise the nuclear arsenals. It has to be pointed out that after this turning point even the Protestant lectures concerning the issue of peace became more political.

The Political Impact

The first result concerning the issue of peace which was achieved in the Arnoldshain Dialogue was to justify that the Churches are obliged to do a practical – nearly political – work in the different societies. In the eyes of the participants, it is not a social or political necessity which makes the Churches assume this obligation, but it is the Christian message. One typical example for this conviction can be found in the results of Arnoldshain 4 (1969): The theological subject of this meeting was the question of baptism. Baptism is seen to bring about the Christians` reconciliation with God. It is this reconciliation that obliges them to fight against the sin and the bad, to be a committed Christian and consequently be involved in politics as well. This directly leads to the issue of peace, because according to the participants the work for peace on earth is a part of the fight against the sin. This example very clearly shows a pattern and at the same time the most important element of the issue of peace which comes up during both dialogues and mainly goes back to the Orthodox participants: The basic element of a Christian life has to be fight against the sin – and this fight is understood as an element of reconciliation with God. In this way, the issue of peace becomes much more than a political topic, it becomes part of the systematical theological issues.

To fulfil this necessary work, the Christians and the Churches are obliged to work together with Non-Christians. A small difference can be found between the both dialogues: While in the Sagorsk dialogue it is stressed that besides the message of the Christian Churches the situation and the structure of the world are reasons for this cooperation, the expectations of the Arnoldshain Dialogue seem to be higher. Here it is pointed out very clearly that a cooperation between Christians and Non-Christians - which includes even Marxists – can only be justified if both groups share the same social aims. This means that according to the results of the Arnoldshain Dialogue the possibility of cooperation depend on political or social aims and not on theological or religious reasons! Again the issue of peace becomes important here, because the aims which have to be shared between Christians and Non-Christians are the prevention of war, of social injustice and of hate between different countries and people. It has to be seen that peace and better living conditions for all people are a central topic, which is especially mentioned by the Orthodox participants of the Arnoldshain Dialogue and which became part of the results. Here some characteristic elements can be seen: In the eyes of the different participants of both dialogues peace means much more than the absence of war. It is

necessary to have a more detailed look at the contents of the issue of peace in both dialogues, too. It can be said that the contents are very similar:

It is conspicuous that peace has been linked with justice since 1969. Justice is understood in a very earthly way: In general, this combination shall express that earthly peace cannot become true if parts of the world have to suffer hunger, unjust political and economic situation etc. Since the late 1970ies the factor of environmental protection has been added. This means that peace is always more than an isolated topic, and that peace, justice and environmental protection belong together in some way. This development corresponds to what in the World Council of Churches has been discussed at the same time. The ecumenical movement became more and more political. In addition to the phenomenon that the issue of peace must not be isolated, a second observation has to be pointed out: Peace is connected with different attributes: The participants of the dialogues use the phrases of real and full peace, peace as saviour of all life, peace on earth, peace of man's soul and peace between the whole mankind, peace as the most important thing which is wanted by good etc. This has to be seen as another hint that the issue of peace is even more than a political issue and more than the absence of war.

Today one has to realize that every time when the participants of ROC left the field of a theological discussion of peace and came to a more political one – which happened in nearly every lecture which was focussed on the issue of peace – the statements became more one-sided and sometimes very polemical. These more practical or political statements about the actual problems of peace were bipartite, too: On the one hand one can find statements, which were not disturbing even for Western Europeans. If, for example, the participants talked about the necessity to defeat hunger in the world, to prevent the earth from war, to defeat hate, social injustice etc., these aims were absolutely undisputed. Undisputed as well were those statements, in which the Churches definitely were seen as obliged to stand by the side of all those who have to suffer. But on the other hand, especially the participants of the ROC (in both dialogues) and at least sometimes those of the BEK (in the Sagorsk dialogue) added descriptions and expressions, which have to be seen as politically one-sided and polemical ones, e. g. which the government of the USA was blamed to be responsible for the political crisis of the early 1980ies.

Other speeches called the American policy imperialistic and pointed out that the USA were the most bitter enemy of peace, while the Soviet government and its policy were regarded as those who tried to solve the world's economic, political and social problems in a good way. Generally speaking it has to be pointed out that many of the Orthodox lecturers took the political position that the Western, the capitalist system, had to be seen as a part of the bad in the world. Obviously, some sharp and sometimes very polemical criticism of the capitalist world and the imperialistic policy of the Western states could be found in the first half of the 1980ies. One has to admit that very rarely protest was voiced against those one-sided and polemical statements by the Western German Protestant participants, but at least two protests have to be taken into account: First, one representative of the EKD, Harbsmeier, protested against the comment that the Western political system could be equated with the bad. Second, in the Sagorsk Dialogue the delegation of the BEK refused to declare in a separate document that the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan was necessary a sign for the Soviet responsibility and a help for its neighbours. But in general, it has to be said that both parties of the Sagorsk Dialogue obviously were able to identify themselves and their Churches with the communist or socialist political system. For example, it was no problem to point out that the both Churches belonged to the big family of the socialist states. This contrasts for example with the result that the participants of the BEK described their ethics of peace and this way automatically implied criticism of their own state, which definitely was understood by governmental observers.

The Theological Impact

In addition to these really political statements, a theological point of view could be seen every time when the issue of peace is mentioned. This theological view was especially taken by Russian-Orthodox participants but it was taken up in the results, too – and this way it became part of the common statements of these dialogues. It has already been pointed out that all delegations saw the necessity of a work of the Churches in the different societies to save what is called peace and that peace not only means the absence of war but also better and just living conditions for the whole world. Obviously, for the Churches peace is even more than this – and this was described in both dialogues, too. One gets a first impression of this if one thinks about the different descriptions of peace like peace on earth, whole peace etc. This earthly work of the Christians, the work for peace and justice in the earthly world and in every society, is clearly characterized to be a historical development of the Christian Churches – but

most of the time only by the Protestant representatives. That means that they clearly pointed out that this work was central for the Christians but not in the centre of their faith. On the other hand the Orthodox representatives stressed the theological meaning of the issue of peace, too. Both points of view were included in the results.

Thinking about what characterizes the theological side of the issue of peace one can find a very clear starting point, which has already been mentioned: The sin and the bad. The dialogue partners linked this with the theology of creation: According to them, in the beginning mankind was determined to be good, but this determination was definitely lost because of the sin and the bad. Moreover, it is impossible for mankind to gain back this genuine determination on its own. On the other hand it is important to be determined to be reconciled with God, but this can only happen with the help of Christ. This is important as far as the issue of peace is concerned, because what is called the whole and real peace is the same as the genuine determination of man. At the same time this means that in the eyes of the participants the whole peace cannot be achieved outside the Christian church! One can suspect that such a point of view of the Churches could have led to a strong reaction of the Communist representatives if it had not been linked with some “correct” political statements.

In both dialogues three steps of peace are described – and the “role” of what is called the whole or the real peace is bipartite: On the one hand, the real peace is seen as one of the three steps, on the other hand the real peace automatically leads to the fulfilling of the other two steps. These three steps are, in a range firstly, the peace with God as the real or whole peace and the genuine determination of mankind, secondly, the peace of mind and thirdly, the peace between mankind, the peace on earth. In any case the real peace means peace with God – and this automatically contains the idea of the realization of the good. If this had been achieved, the other two steps of peace would have been achieved automatically, too. In the eyes of the participants this aim is only offered by Jesus Christ and his message of reconciliation between God and mankind. On the other hand this does not mean that Christians automatically achieve the whole peace – it can only be achieved when mankind is reconciled with God. In order to make this promise come true not only it is necessary to be baptized, but also to work for one’s peace of mind and for social harmony – and this means the work for peace of every human being in the world. These considerations lead to the other two steps of peace.

The second step, the peace of mind, can only be achieved by those who believe in Christ, because they have the possibility of a spiritual life. The step of the peace in the earthly world or between mankind is the step that makes the Christians work for social harmony in the world. This step, which can be achieved and has to be achieved by the whole mankind, is supposed to save the earth as well as life on earth – and at this stage, the Christians and the Churches have to cooperate with all those, who want to achieve peace on earth – in all its implications. It has already been mentioned that cooperation with all Non-Christians who want to achieve the same aim as the Christians is possible. And this aim can be summarized with the word peace on earth including all its connotations. Nevertheless, there is always a considerable and essential difference between Christians and Non-Christians, who both want to achieve peace on earth: The motivation of both is totally different. Christians are motivated by the Christian message of reconciliation between God and man and God's love which makes this reconciliation come true. In this way they are reconciled with God. On the other hand the Non-Christians are in the eyes of participants motivated by common sense, which has to be regarded as the last glance of the fact that in the beginning there had been peace between God and mankind. Of course, even in the eyes of the participants nobody definitely knows where and how the Holy Spirit works and because of this nobody can say whether there will be a reconciliation between Non-Christian and God; but the representatives in both dialogues believed that what they called the real peace can only be achieved by Christian believers. To sum it up one can say that the big theological claim of the Churches concerning the issue of peace again is expressed in a way that it could somehow be seen as a criticism of Communism and Communist Politics: What is called the new man can according to this attitude not be the one which Communism wants to produce.

Results

After having a look at the Arnoldshain and the Sagorsk dialogues like it was done here, one has to ask what kind of results can be formulated. It is possible to touch three levels: First, it has to be mentioned what this kind of investigation can contribute to a historical-scientific perspective, secondly to a political perspective and thirdly to the issue of peace.

Two things have to be pointed out very clearly: The dialogues of Arnoldshain and Sagorsk are not typical dialogues, because the issue of peace played such a prominent role; it has never

had this importance in any other dialogue which was held between German Churches and Churches from Eastern Europe during the Cold War. Therefore, one can come to a first conclusion for the historical-scientific level: All ecumenical activities during the Cold War (or during every other time) have to be analysed as separate and unique activity; this implies that it is very difficult to find statement which can be generalized. From this point arises the necessity of further research in order to understand the relationship between the Churches in Eastern and Western Europe and to see how the inter-church dialogues could influence the political developments we need to have research on all respective dialogues and contexts. Without that we cannot gain a complete picture of the situation.

Secondly, the ambivalent character of the issue of peace which was discussed between Eastern and Western European Churches during the Cold War has never disappeared, not even in the Arnoldshain and the Sagorsk dialogue: Nevertheless, it was possible to find a few and strong hints that the issue of peace was more than to Communists and their influence and control of both dialogues.

This ambivalent character becomes stronger when one takes a look at two other aspects: today's problems in the ecumenical movement, especially concerning the Eastern European Churches, and the fact that these dialogues and their statements have hardly been perceived, especially not by the ROC. Today it has to be asked whether it was an effect of Communist control of the ROC that this Church has become more and more open toward the ecumenical movement since the late 1950ies: its character totally changed after the end of the Soviet regime. In spite of all the questions and ambivalent feelings concerning the issue of peace, it has to be stressed that this issue was accepted by all participating Churches of both dialogues. Additionally, it has to be remarked that at least within the leadership of the EKD the criticism concerning this topic and the possible dangers were openly discussed, but nevertheless one found reasons to accept this issue as a part of the dialogue. It has to be added that responsible members of the EKD believed that even in the Rocs speech about peace there was much more than a polemical-political side. Concerning the case of the BEK it has to be said that even the Eastern German governmental side was not really sure about its influence and possibility to control the BEK and its activities, especially the ecumenical ones. These historical observations make it hard to understand why the issue of peace as one element of both bilateral theological dialogues was not discussed on a larger scale after the end of the Cold War.

When focussing the political level, it has to be admitted that there was one very strong Communist impact which could be seen in the different political and anti-Western remarks of the participants of the ROC and the BEK. In addition to this it has to be remembered that even a few of the participants of the EKD were left-winged. But what seems to be more important from today's political perspective is another observation: In times of difficult political relations and sometimes of a political crisis like the time of the Cold War, even the Churches from Western and Eastern European countries were able to keep permanent contact and to talk not only about theological issues, but about the probably most important issue of that time, the issue of peace. Two preconditions had to be given to make this possible: On the one hand, the Churches played – at least in the minds of the Communist politicians – an important role in the society or in the world. On the other hand, the Churches either wanted or were forced to discuss this more or less political issue. It has to be asked whether both preconditions are still given today. As to the second precondition it is important and significant to say that with the beginning 1980ies the participants of the EKD in the Arnoldshain Dialogue discussed the issue of peace in a more political and less general way than before. Obviously, they felt the necessity to change their “strategy” when the political relations got colder and more dangerous.

One thought has to be added as far as the political level is concerned: It is worked out very clearly that every basic agreement in a *common* social work of the different Churches or in a common theory of social-ethical issues can only come true after a basic agreement on the main theological issues was reached. It could be asked whether this very firm conviction might contradict Huntington's theory of a borderline of culture between Eastern and Western Christianity, as it might mean that for both participating Churches even a basic theological agreement seemed to be possible.

A kind of agreement between both Churches can be found as to the issue of peace: Besides all polemical and political remarks, theological considerations played an important role and a few agreements have been shown above. It has to be said very clearly, that the issue of peace as it was discussed during the Cold War is no longer important today, because the basic system and structure of Europe and of the world has to become totally different. Nevertheless, the theological basic elements which were discussed have not changed – they were used for example in the chapter about war in the Russian Orthodox Social Doctrine. As a main result

of this investigation it has to be stressed that in spite of all possible political control and of all threat of peace which was given in the difficult political situation between the Eastern and the Western political block, theological thoughts were the basic elements of every discussion of peace in both dialogues. Those theological thought culminated in the statement that real and full peace only can be achieved in the reconciliation between mankind and God and in the faith that the sin is the reason for having lost this peace. At the same time this means that even in times in which the Churches themselves are threatened, they cannot totally forget their message and their mission. In a way, political topics which should be discussed or supported by the Churches have to harmonize with the Christian message.

And this has to be said about the topic of Europe and Europe integration, too: It has been pointed out, that his topic was no central one of both dialogues. But it always became important when in their eyes the social aims of the Churches became threat. First, this was the problem of peace during the whole Cold War, but especially during the 1980ies. The strong possibility of a nuclear war threat the Churches` aim which can be called whole peace for everyone – and because of this, the Churches discussed the problem of peace as a European one and as a problem of the whole world. While doing so, somehow the Churches became part of the integration process of the peace-movement. Second, this was at the end of both dialogues, when the Communist system broke down: Again, the Churches saw their aim of a whole peace threat by the political situation. This time, they criticised movements of separation in Europe and demanded from Western Europe to integrate the whole Europe and not to separate from the Non-European world. So to say, during the Cold War it was the problem of peace which forced the Churches to speak about Europe, too, in both dialogues. It has to be asked whether there is a new political and social problem like the peace was, which unites the Churches at least a little bit concerning social and political problems and which is linked with the Christian message like the peace.

3. CHURCHES AND GLOBALISATION

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 on national economies – have also created worries in European churches.

The social teaching studied in this framework address the recent social teaching of a number of particular European churches: Russian Orthodox Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, the churches in Germany and European Catholic Bishops Conference. The method is in this case is not historian, but of systematic theology. The documents are assessed against the theological tradition of the given churches.

The focus of the study

The aim of the study has been to offer European argumentative analysis on the contemporary normative social teaching of European churches. A case approach was chosen with a selected, comparable material in order to try 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 were addressed in this study. The aim of the study was to answer to the following questions: How does a given church view globalisation? How does that church see its own political role in the era of globalisation? What kind of “political programme” a given church advocates for in the era of globalisation and why?

The cases chosen were the contemporary social ethics of Russian Orthodox Church, Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences of the European Community. As the study continues after the completion of the Churches and European Integration Project two additional cases will be looked at; Church of England and the Evangelical Church of Germany/Catholic Bishops’ Conference of Germany. By

comparing these case studies a useful regional and denominational balance will be achieved. Through the study it became apparent how the chosen churches bridge the gap when societies are struggling with elements of both modernity and post modernity.

The three case studies were studied through the recent normative social statements. In addition to these three, in the course of study relevant normative social statements from other European churches as well as European and international ecumenical organisations were gathered. The results of the study have been published partially through scientific articles. A more detailed presentation of the research will be published as Ms Arola's dissertation is finalised. In this brief explanation of the core content of the study a glance will be made to the three case studies. This text looks at the Russian Orthodox Churches war and peace – teaching and arguments on how the church could involve itself politically, the issues of welfare state in the Finnish Lutheran social teaching and the question of international responsibility as debated by the Commission of the Bishop's Conferences of the European Community.

Russian Orthodox Church, Participation, War and Peace

The case of Russian Orthodox Church was analysed mainly through the The Jubilee Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church (13.-16.8.2000, Moscow) document "Bases of the Social Concept of the Russian Orthodox Church". The document explores mainly the teaching of the Russian Orthodox Church on the church-state relations and on a wide variety of questions, which the church considers socially significant at the moment of writing. According to the document it also reflects the official position of Moscow Patriarchate on relations with state and secular society as well as gives a number of guidelines to be applied by the episcopate, clergy and laity. The document is very broad on its nature and in details explores the thinking of the Russian Orthodox Church in various issues church and state.

The statement stresses in a very explicit manner, that it is not possible for the clergy and for the Church's Supreme Authorities to participate in activities of political organisations and election processes. Public support for the running political organisations or candidates and election campaigns are mentioned in particular. The clergy is not to be nominated for elections to any body at any level. At the same time participation "in the expression of popular will by voting" is encouraged.

The statement makes a glance to the history of Russian Orthodox Church with state-related politics and stresses the importance of the blessing given by the Church for a clergyman interested in political involvement. A twofold question has been asked within the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church: "How far can the Church go in assuming responsibility for political decisions without casting doubt on their pastoral authority and secondly, is it permissible for the Church to refuse participation in legislation and the opportunity to make a moral impact on the political process at a time when a particular decision determines as much as the fate of the country?" This question was asked in 1988 and seems to be one of the core issues. At that time the Bishops' Council adopted a procedure whereby the Supreme Church Authorities should decide beforehand in every particular case whether the participation of the clergy in an election campaign was desirable. Despite of this decision some representatives of clergy decided to take part in the elections without obtaining the blessing of the Church. This was regrettable according to the Church while no particular sanctions were imposed on "the violators". In 1993 as parliament was established in Russia the Holy Synod decided that the clergy should refrain from participating in the parliamentary elections in Russia as nominees to the parliament. The clergy who violated this decision should be defrocked. It was also seen undesirable for a clergyman to join political parties, movements, unions, blocs and other organisations which are intended for pre-election struggle. This decision was seen being a response "to the challenges of time in faithfulness to the holy canons". This understanding was confirmed again in the Bishops' Council in 1997.

The statement stresses that while the standpoint on the clergy's participation in political struggle is very explicit it does not mean that the Church should not express her stands on socially significant issues and to present this stand to government bodies "in any country and on any level". This duty is reserved to the Councils, the church authorities and to those empowered to act for them. It is also expressed that this right of expression of the Church can never be delegated to public offices, political or secular organisations.

While the clergy is not encouraged to political participation the laity is welcomed to do so. Various models of the state are recognised: autocracy, constitutional monarchy and various forms of republican system. It is stated that the participation of the Orthodox

laity in civic and political processes has been difficult only in the context of non-Christian rule and the regime of state atheism. The problem with the political activity is seen - in divided and controversial society – to be in the understanding that most political decisions adopted and actions taken tend to benefit only one part of the society. The Orthodox laity participating in the political processes and in the government should base their work in “the norms of gospel’s morality, the unity of justice and mercy, the concern for the spiritual and material welfare of people, the love of the fatherland and the desire to transform the surrounding world according to the word of Christ”. An Orthodox Christian should also avoid turning the public service into a service, which nourishes pride, greed and other vices. An Orthodox statesman or politician is called to be very sensitive spiritually and morally.

Despite an emphasis on the individual participation in the political life the statement also recognises the more collective approach. The existence of Christian Orthodox political organisations and Christian Orthodox units in larger political associations is viewed being positive. These organisations are invited to consult the Church authorities and to co-ordinate their actions in implementing the Church’s position on public issues. If a situation arises where the statements or actions of these organisations differ from those of the Church the Church Authorities are to realize the differing positions and to state it publicly “in order to avoid confusion and misunderstandings”. This difference should compel the Orthodox laity participating in this organisation whether it is appropriate for them to continue their membership in this political organisation. It is also said very explicitly that the Orthodox Christians should not involve themselves into societies, which presuppose one’s total subjection to leaders and refuse consulting the Church Authorities. The Church cannot approve the participation of Orthodox laity or clergy in non-Orthodox societies of this kind.

The statement affirms the understanding according to which war is evil and is generated through a “sinful abuse of God-given freedom”. While this is the case a traditional just war doctrine is present and arguments are provided from the security and justice points of view. While recognising war as evil, the Church does not prohibit her children from participating in hostilities if at stake is the security of their neighbours and the restoration of trampled justice. Then war is considered to be necessary though undesirable but means. In all times, Orthodoxy has had profound

respect for soldiers who gave their lives to protect the life and security of their neighbours. The Holy Church has canonised many soldiers, taking into account their Christian virtues and applying to them Christ's world: "Greater love hath no man but this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." (Jn. 15:13)

It is the understanding in the statement that war should be waged according to certain rules and that "a fighting man should not lose his morality, forgetting that his enemy is a human being too". But it is recognised that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish an aggressive war from a defensive war. Especially a case when one or two states or the world community initiate hostilities on the grounds that it is necessary to protect people who fell victim to an aggression. Therefore the support of Church for these kinds of activities has to explore individually in every case. A special issue of the methods of war is also brought up. In particular the issue of the conditions and the attitude towards the war prisoners and the civilians of the opposite side – in particular women, children and the elderly – is mentioned.

It is also mentioned that there is an agreement between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian Armed Forces and law-enforcement agencies which "opens up considerable opportunities for overcoming the artificially created dividing walls, for bringing the military back to the established Orthodox traditions of service to the fatherland". When referring to the understanding of the peace it is stated that the biblical understanding of peace is much broader than the one, which is normally used in the political language. The peace referred to surpasses the efforts of man and brings man into peace with God, with himself and with other people. Also references to the relationship of peace and righteousness are made in various biblical quotes. Peace is seen as a gift of God, which characterises the life of the Church in its both internal and external dimensions. Thus it should transform the inner man and be manifested outwardly. Peacemaking is therefore a task of the Church. Therefore the statement reminds that the Russian Orthodox Church seeks to carry this "peace service" on national and international level. This takes place through trying to help in resolving various conflicts and in trying to bring nations, ethnic groups, governments and political forces to harmony. This does not take place only through appeals but also through facilitation in organising negotiations between hostile parties and by giving aid to those who suffer. Also it is stated that the Russian Orthodox Church is in opposition

to propaganda of war and violence as well as to manifestations of hatred that are to provoke fratricidal clashes.

When introducing its understanding on war and peace-related issues the Russian Orthodox Church also introduces its understanding on international relations and the concept of moral justice. The following principles to be followed are presented: 1) love of one's neighbours, 2) people and Fatherland and understanding of the needs of other nations and 3) the conviction that it is impossible to serve one's country by immoral means. These are the same principles, which have been used to define the ethical limits of war since the Middle Ages according to the statement. The document also places Christianity into an important role in developing high moral standards in international relations.

Finnish Lutheran Church and Welfare state

The main ethical document analysed in discussing the view of Finnish Lutheran Church on welfare state is the statement "Towards the Common Good – Statement on the Future of the Welfare Society by the Bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland" which was released in March 1999. The ethical basis of this statement lies in the natural moral law and the interpretation of the Golden Rule. In the statement the Bishops insist on greater responsibility of the individual, communities and the state on promoting the common good by basing their arguments on the Ethics of the Golden Rule. Strong structures of the welfare state and/or welfare society get undivided support from the Bishops. The welfare state is to be seen as a practical application of Lutheran social ethics. In the statement the Bishops express their concern on globalisation and on the free capital markets and address issues such as unemployment, exclusion and the widening gap between the rich and the poor.

The statement focuses around two fundamental questions. It formulates both of them explicitly. First, it attempts to understand how the relationships of democracy, justice and market economy should be understood. Secondly, it is asked how the individual responsibility should be widened and to what direction. The whole statement can be considered as an attempt to answer to the first question, while the second question does not get a proper, concrete answer and any answers suggested return to the collective level or remain general.

When discussing the future of welfare state and welfare society the statement defines some of the problems encountered by the welfare state, describes the Bishops motivation to defend the strong role of the public authority as the defender of the welfare society and makes some suggestions on how the welfare society could be further strengthened.

The basis of the welfare state has been in the continuous economic growth, high employment rate and the constant increases in productivity and thus in the constant increase of the amount of resources to be distributed. The crisis of the labour together with the tightening of the attitudes of the people has caused problems to this model. As all the time fewer are participating in the labour force many start to question whether the society has the necessary financial means to sustain the welfare state. Especially the attitude of the well-off middle class is of concern to the Bishops. They already see signs that the middle class seem to be thinking that they are capable of living well enough without the welfare state being a burden. The working life is divided into two. According to the statement there are those who are “the elite of the working life” and those who have to survive with a small salary in just temporary jobs.

The economic recession of 1990ies brought the job insecurity as well as the poverty and the hunger back to Finland. The Bishops also fear that the poverty is pushing people against each other. The economic differences between various social groups have grown. According to the Bishops this could be justifiable if it would help the situation of those least off but it seems obvious for them that the increase of differences in income and the extension of the rules of markets to areas such as education would only be destructive to the Nordic model of society. The statement also suggests some problems in the Finnish public policy and in its results by referring to the work of the Parliament of Finland where issues such as unemployment/shortage of personnel, grey economy and economic crime, work not offering enough incentive as an alternative to living on social security, 600.000 Finns resorting to some sort of social welfare, communes and regions being in financial difficulties and the taxation of small and medium income families being too harsh are elaborated on. These concerns have fostered the discussion on the future of welfare state.

The Bishops can also see reasons why some would like to reduce social services. There is an interest to lower the tax burden; some fear the age pyramid and others wish to balance globalisation with European finance policies. Prior to any action a fundamental discussion is needed, the Bishops demand. Some would prefer the return to the social policies, which would

be focused more to the actual need but the Bishops are sceptical if those with higher incomes would feel motivated to be just “the payers” unless they would be receiving some benefits from the welfare system too. This could cause a severe problem to the legitimacy of the welfare system, the Bishops fear. A society built to the economic growth only, without a proper functioning social net can be also dangerous according to the statement. This has been visible in the economic crisis in Asia. Therefore the question of the motivation seems to be of great importance. On the one hand the motivation of the taxpayers is to be maintained and on the other hand it is to be clarified how and to what direction the responsibility of the individual citizens’ can be widened. Then the society is not built on the economic growth only but also the commitment of its citizens’.

According to the Bishops the Nordic welfare state, which carries social responsibility, is an achievement that is not to be given up. This is the echo of the statement as a whole. The Nordic welfare state is viewed unique, as it combines the common good with the good of the individual. The basic structure of the welfare state is important for the church already because it carries meanings from the tradition of the church itself. The Bishops consider the best in the Nordic welfare state being historical application of the Golden Rule where the aim is in the common good and where one puts oneself to the position of the other. Social exclusion is not to be accepted nor is it acceptable to limit oneself to giving material help only. The starting point is to be that all citizens are equal members in the society and are also able to sense that they are equal in the eyes of the society and the others.

While the Bishops commit themselves to the welfare state they see also the shortcomings of the present model and want to suggest some ways to further develop the Finnish model. Small-scale farming, handicraft professions and co-operatives are viewed as new forms of compassion and as new forms of well-being. Also the citizens’ initiatives for service production are to be supported, as explained earlier. While these suggestions are made, it is also feared that the society will lessen its support to those in need, if these new initiatives are developed. It is clearly the task of the state to secure the basic social security to all its citizens. This basic income is to enable those less fortunate to “develop into moral and politically independent decision makers”. This basic security is, according to the Bishops, to be composed of income, education and health care so widely that it serves all citizens reasonably without being dependent on their income or social status. This concludes the basic message of the Bishops: the Nordic model and its values are not to be given up.

On the contrary – ways should be sought to try to promote these values even further. It is explained that while it is decided that the social rights would be secured it does not yet imply how they would be secured. It does not necessarily mean a welfare state, which is exactly as it is today, the Bishops explain. But at the same time it is vital that the strong social responsibility of the state and the society is not to be replaced by shifting the responsibility to somebody else. As explained earlier, it is not only the Finnish model, which is in the crisis according to the statement, but also the bipolar European welfare model all together. But both the Nordic and the Southern European model have their strengths and therefore the statement suggests that the public responsibility approach of the Nordic model and the individual and family responsibility approach of the Southern European model should influence together and by completing each other to the European social thought.

When discussing the future of the welfare the statement seems to suggest that there is a need to further clarify the roles the individuals, communities and the third sector, states, European union and its social policies, global political community and enterprises in the distribution of the common good. Despite the lack of clarity of the roles it is possible according to the Bishops to commit oneself to the model of Nordic welfare state with its commitment on the positive rights. For the Bishops this represents commitment to the Nordic values, which are represented by three different actors. The Finnish welfare state, the Lutheran social ethics as well as the tradition of the labour movement all point to the importance of the positive rights. Here the opposite is the emphasis on the negative rights suggested by economic liberalism. The threat of the economic liberalism, which is visible through the hardening of the people's attitudes and the lack of legitimacy for the welfare state motivates the Bishops even further to speak for the positive rights. They suggest that the positive rights also keep up the motivation of those well off for the future of welfare state. While there is a commitment on the welfare state and the positive rights the Bishops do not feel that it is for them to say how all this should be organised. Even when the roles of different actors composing the welfare net is to be clarified according to the Bishops a new balance is to be sought between the state and the third sector as well as the private businesses. It is to be understood that the state is to play the first violin as the Bishops still have belief on the capacity of the state to serve justice and to represent competence to solve social problems.

The Bishops consider the principles of market economy harmful for the welfare state as it is represented for example by the growing gap between the income levels of people. It is also suggested that people are pushed against each other due to poverty. The Bishops also mention that the welfare state has actually been developed in the conditions of economic growth. Even though they seem to criticise the economic growth as a fundament for construction of any society and as a sole target for individual life the statement does not take a stand how these positive rights could be delivered to people if the economic growth would not be a factor. Moderation is not defined but if the interest of the middle class is to be maintained through distribution of income in order to keep up the legitimacy of the welfare state, it is well probable that economic growth is to be intended to. Even more problematic this is when it is viewed in the global level. This topic the Bishops do not address. Are the developing countries entitled to economic growth?

European Catholic Bishops and International Order

A European contribution on the Catholic Social Teaching on globalisation is presented in a document Global Governance. Our responsibility to make globalisation an opportunity for all in 2001. The paper was commissioned by the Commission of the Bishop's Conferences of the European Community (COMECE) and composed by a group of international experts. Interestingly the group was led by Mr. Michel Camdessus who is the former Director of International Monetary Fund (IMF). It is necessary to emphasize that the document was created at the invitation of the Commission of the Bishop's Conferences of the European Community but actually not written or elaborated by the Bishops' themselves.

Even though it is explicitly mentioned that the individuals in the group of international experts represent their personal views and not the views of their institutions perhaps it is to be seen as some kind of sign of European Catholic political influence and commitment that the individuals participating in such as group work or have worked in organisations such as International Monetary Fund, Office of the German Federal Chancellor, European Parliament, International Labour Organisations, European Commission, GATT and World Trade Organisation. The minority of the members in the group represent different bodies (COMECE, National Bishops' Conferences or the Vatican) of the Catholic Church.

“Global Governance – Our responsibility to make globalisation an opportunity for all” is a document which aims to rationalize why a Global Governance Group, “the final stone” for the system of global governance, would be necessary. It is obvious for the reader that the creation of such a group which would bring co-ordination and coherence to the governance of globalisation and which would deal with horizontal matters in global level is the central element of the COMECE-argumentation.

The path leading to its final conclusion – a Global Governance Group – introduces three elements forming the ground for the conclusion that such a coordinative group is necessary. These are the general analysis of the current situation and the features of global economic interdependence, establishment of certain values and principles for global governance as well as some proposals that the ad-hoc group of COMECE makes for the existing international institutions.

The concept of globalisation is defined as growth of global economic interdependence that in return is the consequence of technological progress and the opening up of national economies to competition both internally and externally. This process of opening up of national economies is due to political decisions representing according to the ad-hoc group actions of political will. It is clear to the author’s of this document that the developments are not to be shifted around or changed: globalisation is to stay. While the statement makes it clear that the process of globalisation is very clearly driven by the economic progress it is nevertheless recognised that the current process of globalisation has other features than economic too. These are mentioned to be cultural, environmental and political. The key player – nevertheless – is the rise in foreign direct investment and all the time growing international division of labour which deepens the interdependence in the economic life of the globe.

It is suggested that globalisation has offered many people with opportunities and improvements. It is not clear whose action of political will the opening up of national economies is viewed to be. As the actions of political will are described as many it is probable that it is suggested that several decision makers have been and are involved. It is perhaps surprising that the political decisions leading to the opening up of national economies are viewed as determination. This multilateral process of decision-making is perhaps also due to the greater global economic interdependence and the need inbuilt to the system of economic

globalisation that due to political determination of all the actors. It is also questionable if the increased global economic and other interdependence is due to conscious decision-making resulting as economic globalisation. The statement is suggesting that while the decisions have been intentional now the process of deepening the global interdependence cannot be irreversified.

Regardless of these positive developments the ad-hoc group emphasizes that many people have had difficulties to adapt to the change needed and due to this inability to adapt are excluded from the benefits that the globalisation is able to bring the people with. This exclusion makes the people even further disadvantaged in the process of accelerating globalisation. It is unclear from the ad hoc group reasoning how these difficulties for adaptation have been created and what they are. In the last few decades it has been custom in the Catholic social teaching to refer to the sinful structures as in the Papal Encyclical *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*. These sinful structures are characterized by continuous search for profit and eagerness for power where the human dignity has paid the prize. It remains open from the thinking of the ad hoc group if it is due to these sinful structures that this inability of the people exist or if it of some different origin: a skill or quality lacking in these people who then become disadvantaged and due to this reason excluded. Poverty is defined being lack of freedom, which leads to the lack of opportunity.

While these problems are perhaps not clearly addressed in the statement it is recognised that in the international community today there is the largest possible difference which ever has been recorded between rich and poor countries. While this is the also the gap between the rich and the poor in many countries is widening. These problems are also analysed to be the key reasons for both migration as well as the break up of communities leading into violent conflicts and political instability.

The fears about the loss of cultural identity are also mentioned as negative effects of globalisation by the ad-hoc group while at the same time the world of diversity and greater efficiency are mentioned as positive elements in the process of globalisation. The statement suggests that the battle against cultural homogenisation is not solved through effective global governance but rather through culturally committed people who want to preserve their national – as explicated in the statement – or other identities.

Absolute number of very poor people has grown and inequality between countries and within countries has grown. The change through the instruments of shrinking official development aid has not proved to be promising in easing this situation. This situation, which is far from satisfying, is calling for “another, more coherent approach”. The key conclusion, which paths the way for the Global Governance Group, is that the open economies do not work without political structures opening up as well. It remains a bit ambivalent if this political opening up is necessary in order to actively steer politically the global economy or if it necessary due to the difficulties national level political actions unmatchable to the challenges which the global arena provide. Being able to manage in the global competition is mentioned to be one of the key challenges for the industrialized countries. Political interaction is needed, the ad hoc group states. This political interaction would provide opportunities both to deal effectively to the questions of trade and finance that in the current environment remain unsolvable in the national level and to foster new efforts in reducing worldwide poverty and environmental risks.

But while the Global Governance Group is necessary so is the liberalization of trade too. The statement assesses that the potential gains for liberalising trade for developing countries is to be far greater than today’s volume of official development aid. The development aid has had many barriers to break according to the statement. The lack of appropriate national policies on poverty reduction as well as the incapacitated administration and corruption has made the task of indigenous development difficult. The conclusion from these developments for the ad hoc group is that the objectives of various UN Conferences as well as the aim of the international community to have the number of people in extreme poverty by 2015 are unrealistic.

European Union is mentioned as “a unique and convincing example of a governance system based on supranational and multilateral political co-operation”. This conclusion is perhaps necessary in the document of a EU-focused organisation. The statement suggests also that the European Union and its member states are expected to carry particular responsibility in this process taking into consideration the particular history of Europe in the last fifty years. In order for such a governance to exist basic values and principles are needed according to the ad-hoc group. The values and principles making the European Union such a successful example of governance are not elaborated on in the statement. European Union is mentioned

as key institution also when the statement comment how the global governance structures should be created. They are not to replace either the national governments or the regional political organisations such as European Union. The legitimacy for these efforts is to be acquired from the national and regional political organisations. It is clear in the statement that these organisations have a role too. Also the business life and the non-governmental organisations are expected to make their contribution to the global common good as well.

This notion of global common good bears resemblance to the Papal notion of universal common good which reaches beyond individual states and is introduced in the *Pacem in Terris* as mentioned earlier. The social function of property – as suggested in *Gaudium et Spes* – is implicitly indicated. When describing the role of business community to statement refers to the need for the business to conjugate its long-term interest with the global common good. This implies that the business is not being forced under any political supervision or strong guidance, but the business is voluntarily expected to do so. The usage of the word “must” when referring to the needs of the business to ensure from its end the compatibility of both the global common good and the interests of business indicates nevertheless a strong moral obligation.

The statement is ready to give role for the non-governmental organisation to provide a contribution to the world public opinion. This expectation from the international NGOs speaks for the emerging global civil society but also emphasized the need to organise a global political arena where both the public debate and public opinions are formed. The statement emphasizes the need for “a responsible input” by the international non-governmental organisations, which in return suggests that the inputs, which the authors of this statement might not find responsible, are not welcome. The contextualization of these comments to the events of violence breaking out in the anti-capitalist demonstrations in high-level global gatherings of financial institutions and groups (such as International Monetary Fund or G8) are surely reasons for this emphasis on responsibility. It is clearly emphasized that that the “NGOs should refine what has always been central to their achievements: patient and non-violent efforts to seek the truth in order to help public opinion become more aware and enlightened. NGOs must above all respect the democratic political process and act accordingly.” The problem with this analysis and expectation is that the most aggressive and violent outbursts of the civil society has been mainly towards the international financial

institutions which according to the demonstrators have been mainly considered inadequately democratic or even dictatorial.

Issues for further study

As indicated earlier it is vital that the study is complemented with further denominational and national case studies. After doing so it will be important to compare the key elements in contemporary social teaching of selected group of churches to one another. As Ms Arola's work on her dissertation continues this work is expected to be carried through. As for future reference it would be vital to analyse how in general, the social and theological statements influence the political activity of churches. Additionally, it would be of great importance to view how the social statements resulting with political activity are received by the decision makers, both in national and in European levels.

4. THE COLD WAR AND THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH OF FINLAND

At the University of Helsinki a group of researchers carried out a case study about the Lutheran Church of Finland. Under the leadership of Professor Aila Lauha they studied the political and ideological attitudes and the political role and programme of this majority church. (The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the majority church in Finland with over 85 % of the population as its members (1992). In the 1960s and 1970s, an even higher percentage of the population belonged to it (approximately 92 %).

To focus the study to this specific church, Church of Finland, was relevant from following view points. Finland can be seen as a special case in the post-war European history. Since the Middle Ages it has had to define its position between East and West, both culturally, spiritually, mentally, and politically. The Second World War added to this tension in a profound way. Since the end of the war Finland had to balance between the communistic world and the western democracies. It was on the other hand a modern capitalistic state with clearly western values, but in 1948 it had to enter into the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. During the Cold War Finland had many times to take up the challenges caused by the Soviet and Communistic pressure, specifically during the most severe Cold War crises. In addition Finland had to avoid entering in any political or economical agreements or alliances which could be seen as problematic from the Soviet point of view.

The geopolitical position of Finland had an influence to the religious life and especially to the Lutheran Church. The Church was challenged to seek a constructive way to deal with the political realities, to find out its relevance in the Finnish culture and society, and to keep and develop the contacts with other churches on both sides of the Iron Curtain. To analyse the Finnish case in this research project was thus expected to add to the knowledge of the political role of European churches in a many-sided and multilayered way.

Key research questions

The Helsinki Group concentrated on following research questions. What kind of social and political responsibility did the Church and its leaders think the Church of Finland should take

up both nationally and internationally? What practical direction was recommended if any? Did the church pursue any specific social or political programme for the Lutheran Church of Finland, for European Churches as an entity, or for Ecumenical organizations during the Cold War? Was the opinion uniform within the Church or were different views held? Did the analysis and programme change during the post-war period, and if so, in what ways?

We knew that the Church of Finland had a distinct background that could influence its decisions: it was the national church of a small country that had only with great difficulties maintained independence in World War II. There was also a strong anti-Communist tendency within the Church of Finland as a heritage of the Civil War in 1918. The aim was to find out whether these attitudes remained and still influenced the social and political course of the Church of Finland after the War, when Finland was forced to balance between the two blocs.

Previous state of knowledge

In the Finnish context, before the 1990s, the churches and religion in general had hardly been an object of interest for *historians* operating with the national post-war years. The lack of interest to the religious life derives from the researchers' contemporary attitudes. It can even be seen as a part of a rebellion against authorities and outdated institutions, typical especially to the 1960s and 1970s. In this previous historical research the church was normally depicted as an institution not having much relevance or importance in the Finnish Domestic or Foreign policy, and it was very seldom seen influential within the society in general or in the everyday life of the people.

Neither had the Finnish *church historians* published many studies relevant to the project. What existed were 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 church's policies and its political connections was insufficient. The same can be said about the church historical research concerning the genuine political importance of the church on the national level and on its influence on the social and political attitudes of individuals.

According to the previous state of knowledge it was clear that the Lutheran Church did somehow keep its position among the Finnish people during the entire period of Cold War although the membership slightly declined. It was 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. 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 as well as define its attitude to the iron curtain, to the communistic ideology and to the ideological division of Europe.

Key results

The research has given *new information* and deepened the understanding especially within the following three major thematic fields.

1. The definition of policy of the Church leaders concerning the tensions and political crises caused by the cold war

This project provided entirely new and interesting information about the *relations of the political and ecclesiastical leaders in Finland after the Second World War*. It became clear that President Urho Kekkonen, and the Archbishop of Finland had close relations at the very least in the late 1950ies and early 1960ies which according to the present state of knowledge can be seen as a specific period of crisis in Finnish foreign relations. During these years the church issued public statements, for example when Finland was faced with the Note Crisis in 1961. In previous research this kind of activity from the side of the Church was totally unknown.

Also in other respects the Lutheran Church Finland played a more conscious and even active role during the cold war than previously recognised. In the leadership of the church were both those who very openly supported President Urho Kekkonen's set friendly foreign policy (Bishop Eelis Gulin from Tampere), and those whose support was less obvious (Archbishop Ilmari Salomies and other bishops). None of the bishops opposed President Kekkonen publicly even if some of them shared in secret the suspicious views concerning Kekkonen's personality and moral integrity cherished by many parish pastors with right-wing political backgrounds.

Nevertheless it became clear, that the Church really was an important factor in the Finnish society in the turn of the 1960s. For example, two bishops were asked by the parties to act as presidential candidates in 1961. The political significance of the church was attested by the fact that even the President saw relations to the church as important to maintain at the very least until the latter part of his presidency.

The fact that the leaders of the Church accepted Kekkoneus Soviet friendly foreign policy, cannot be seen as a proof of positive attitude towards communism as an ideology or towards the Communist Party of Finland. The post-war bishops shared the anti-communist views of their predecessors and they were rather suspicious towards the Finnish communists and tried in many ways to slow down their rising support in the political life.

2. Attitudes towards communism as an ideology and the position of Christians living behind the Iron Curtain

Research carried out in the Helsinki also added knowledge about general attitudes within the Lutheran Church of Finland towards communism as an ideology and the situation of the Christians living in communist countries. New information was also gained about the response of the Church to the various and mainly very negative reports concerning the religious situation behind the Iron Curtain.

It became clear, that from the early 1960s on, the Church paid more and more attention to the incidents in the ideological tensions of Cold War, the position of the Christians living in the Communist countries, and the persecutions relating to religious beliefs. Some Finnish historians have argued that due to the crisis between Soviet-Finnish relations around 1960, hardly any critical literature was published about the situation in the Soviet Union. However this research shows that throughout the 1960s Christian literature was published in Finnish that openly argued about the lack of religious freedom in the Soviet Union. The persecutions of Christians in other communist countries were discussed as well. It is also notable, that the Church of Finland refused to promote a positive picture about the religious situation in communist countries, for example in Hungary, even though it aroused indignation among its partners.

When it came to communism as an ideology, there were two main lines among the Church of Finland. The official Church understood the reasons why communism had become so successful and it was quite critical towards the mistakes the Christian Churches had made in history. At the same time communism was seen as a ideological rival and the church was worried about its increasing influence both world wide and in Finland. Nevertheless the fear of communism did not lead to open controversies. The leaders, pastors and active Church member saw rather that dialogues and peaceful cooperation were the keys to cope with communism.

Inside the church there were some smaller groups with a more absolute and emotionally charged attitude toward communism. For them communism was a manifestation of Anti-Christ and it was as such often compared with Nazism. From the point of view of these groups the official Church of Finland was too naive and passive, and they demanded the Finnish Christian to fight more actively against the evil of Communism.

3. Open Anti-Soviet programmes and practical activities to contribute to the situation of the Christians behind the Iron Curtain

Thirdly, new information has been found out in relation to the those groups within the Lutheran Church of Finland that not only expressed some critical views about the status of religious freedom in the Communist states, but also produced materials and organized activities with a more or less clear anti-Soviet character.

The political life and decisions in Finland during the Cold War have often been described with the term finlandisization. This expression underlines the fact that the Finnish political leaders let the Soviet Union control both the internal and foreign politics and that even the people in general, including the active church members, dared not openly criticize the Soviet Union or its policies. The study within this project adds new aspects to the question of finlandisization.

A small opposition wing within the Church of Finland was not to be silenced by the fear of Soviet State in questions of Religious Freedom. This group had its roots in a rather Bible-conservative neo-pietistic movement, The Finnish Lutheran Mission (Suomen evankelis-luterilainen Kansanlähetyt, FLM). In 1967 FLM organized the work for Eastern Europe by

founding the Department of Slavic Missions. This Department published the magazine *Light in the East*, *Valoa Idässä*, including information about Christian behind the Iron Curtain and news about Slavic missions and often quoted on other Finnish magazines and newspapers, although often added with some reserved comments stated by the publisher.

The Department of Slavic Missions had a small hired staff but had dozens and even up to hundreds of voluntary workers, who donated money to the work of the Department and smuggled Bibles and New Testaments into Eastern European countries while travelling in those areas. The donations were used to support Christian radio programmes and for printing Bibles. The motivation of this group was deeply human and spiritual. They wanted to help these people by smuggling Bibles behind the Iron Curtain containing the one tangible idea they believed could help best, God's word. The ideology of the Slavic missions forced them at the same time to criticise the prevailing situation and attempt to improve it.

People inside the FLM and the Department of Slavic Missions claimed themselves not to be political actors. Nevertheless this is not the whole truth: When discussing the Soviet Union in the 1960s one could not avoid taking a stand on political questions.

The information distributed by the Department of Slavic Missions had its own political dimensions, especially when they also sent the petitions to the media, and when the media discussed them. In addition, the activity of this group influenced the image of the Lutheran Church of Finland: it can be claimed that this Christian opposition movement contributed to prevent the Church in a wider sense from being finlandized. Nevertheless by making noise about the violations of human rights and religious freedom in Eastern Europe the Department of Slavic Missions contributed to prevent a critical attitude towards the situation in communist Eastern Europe from fading.

Conclusions and impulses for new research topics

The research carried out within this work package clarified in many ways the understanding of the political role of the Lutheran Church of Finland during the post war period. The research manifested how deeply the Cold War political position of Finland between east and west effected the attitudes and activities in the Church.

The result of the Second World War initiated a new orientation and expansive changes in the Finnish political and societal life. A totally new course was needed at the very least in the mental attitudes to the neighbouring country of Finland, the former enemy in the war, Soviet Union. The Finnish society had in the 1920ies and 1930ies more or less confessed a right wing conservative, and even strong anti-Russian and anti-Soviet ideology. These attitudes had been common in the Lutheran Church as well. Since 1945 this was not any more diplomatically wise policy. Even though the feelings of Finnish people could not turn around overnight it was necessary to try to minimize open Soviet criticism and any hate-related expressions about the eastern neighbours.

The research in this work package confirms the hypothesis, that the new political orientation of 1945 had a massive effect also on the Lutheran Church. The church had to balance between the deep-rooted mistrust of the pastors towards communistic ideology and Soviet state, and the official friendly relations with Soviet Union, which were sealed by the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance in 1948.

The research in this project was focussed on different levels of Church life during the post war period: on the leaders of the Church, on the Christian publications and books that were wide-spread within the church and also openly discussed, and on the level of some politically active church groups. All these levels were needed for to get a more general picture about the attitudes prevalent within in the church.

This research has shown that in the attitudes within the church many common features are to be distinguished. Firstly, the patriotic atmosphere of both clergy and laity remained strong even after the war. There was in the church a common interest to keep the fatherland independent and the freedom of the church untouched. Nevertheless, there were partly different strategies in how to cope with the situation. Whereas the Church leaders were mainly careful and tried to avoid expressions or steps which could damage the position of Finland or withdraw the goodwill of the political leaders and political parties towards the church, critical comments and negative information concerning the religious situation behind the Iron Curtain were expressed by the ordinary clergy and printed in Christian books and other publications.

Especially in the 1950ies and early 1960ies the religious situation in the Communist Countries was still openly described and criticised in the church papers. However, since the 1970ies the

Church press became more cautious. This kind of modification in the publication policy was most apparent in the leading church papers with a close contact to the Church leaders.

Nevertheless, even in the latter half of Cold War there were Christian papers and magazines inside the Lutheran Church, which did not reduce their criticism, on the contrary. These were often papers published by conservative Church groups. They also organised Bible transport actions to help the Christians behind the Iron Curtain and collected money for missionary work. These actions became in Finland known not only through the inside publication of these groups because some Finnish newspapers repeated the information

The critical information given by these groups was some times contradicted in publicity, mainly by leftist papers or politicians. Also in the Church there was suspiciousness and tension when facing this delicate subject. Nevertheless, the publications of these groups were not censured nor were their activity forbidden by the political or ecclesiastical leaders. It is also obvious, that this critical information was believed by many Finnish citizens to be true, even outside the active church circles.

Thus in spite of the clear cautiousness of the church leaders, during the whole cold war period there were canals within the Lutheran Church which represented and transferred western-valued critical attitudes towards the Soviet religious policy and reminded the Finns about the negative effects of Iron Curtain in religious and human right matters. This kind of activity does not basically differ from the contemporary attitudes and activities in other Nordic countries, in many other Western democracies, and in the USA.

This research clarified the hypotheses that during the Cold War the church in Finland had a political image, which in the question of the Division of Europe and world into East and West bloc was clearly on the side of the West.

The research has added much to the analysis of the political role of the Lutheran church during the Cold War. It has confirmed that the international political development was followed by the church leaders and active church members with a keen interest. Their main concern was the position of Finland and its relation to the Soviet Union. Further, it was in the churches interest to maintain the status quo and avoid any conflicts that could harm the nation. This being the case, the Lutheran church of Finland hardly had much interest to take

part in such political discussions or attempts in Europe which did not have relevance to national interests of the Finns. This might be one of the main reasons why the political integration of Europe was not notably discussed inside the church.

New topics of interest have been raised on the basis of this research. Even if this project already provided possibilities for comparison of research traditions in five countries, a deeper comparison is needed in the future. For instance the Christian literature and its political dimensions need to be analysed in a comparative way. There remained also some unanswered questions in the latter half of the Cold War. New research in connection to this research project has already been started. Thus a Estonian scholar living in Finland, Docent Riho Saard, is writing about the dialogue between the Russian Orthodox and the Finnish Lutheran Churches 1970-1980. Very interesting new result are to be expected as result of this new project. Nevertheless it needs to be mentioned that the forthcoming dissertations of the three young researches Mr. Ville Jalovaara, Ms. Suvi Kyrö, and Ms. Piia Latvala, and of a couple of other Finnish researchers will in the coming years further add to the knowledge concerning the political role of the Lutheran Church of Finland during the Cold War period.

More detailed description of results of University of Helsinki

The researchers for this part of the study were Ville Jalovaara, Suvi Kyrö ja Piia Latvala, and the group was lead by the project coordinator Aila Lauha, all from the University of Helsinki. The research results of each part-study will be more profoundly discussed here by each individual researcher. All the researches are preparing a doctoral thesis with a topic close to the themes of this research project.

How the leadership of the Finnish Church responded to the cold war crises situations?

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the period of crisis in Finnish foreign policy from 1958 to 1962 (Ville Jalovaara)

The period from 1958 to 1962 is often referred to in Finland's political history as a period of a large foreign policy crisis. Occurring simultaneously in world history are the Berlin crisis and the Cuban missile crisis, the latter of which brought the world closer to nuclear war than any other moment during the cold war. These events also cast a shadow over Finland, which had since 1948 lived in rather difficult co-existence with the Soviet Union as a result of the Treaty

of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union. The purpose of this research has been to determine how this political period from 1958 to 1962 was reflected in activities and comments of the church.

Wars or other acute crises have historically slowed secularization and brought nations back to their religions. In such situations, calls for repentance are not uncommon. When a nation is faced with an external threat, internal controversies often calm down. The goal of this study has been to determine whether this crisis with the USSR had any affect on the church's general position in Finland and whether it silenced inner disputes within the church.

For many Finns, the memory of the war with the eastern neighbour was still fresh at the end of the 1950s. It was a scant fourteen years since the guns had been silenced on the fronts, and in the time elapsed, there had been continuous interference in the Finland's affairs by the Soviet Union. The aim of this study has been to find out what kind of picture the church wanted to give of the former enemy. Many communists also lived on the Finnish side of the border. Were any differences present in the church's attitude towards Finland's own communists and their Russian comrades?

Night-frost crisis - winter 1958-1959

In autumn 1958, the so-called "night-frost" crisis broke out between Finland and the Soviet Union. In the background was the distrust with which the Soviets viewed the coalition government led by social democrat Karl-August Fagerholm. The Russians believed some elements in the government to be hostile towards the USSR, and they therefore froze all important trade relations with Finland until the government was willing to resign. President of the Republic Urho Kekkonen travelled to Leningrad in January 1959 to meet with Premier Nikita Khrushchev, and as a result, relationships between the two nations improved. Fagerholm's cabinet was replaced by an Agrarian Union minority government, which had the trust of the Soviet Union largely because it was the president's own party.

During this crisis the Finnish church was active. The Archbishop wrote to the Foreign Minister giving his support in the face of the Soviet pressure, and on behalf of all Finnish bishops, he also wrote a letter of encouragement to President Kekkonen after the Fagerholm government had fallen. The religious press also gave its support to the cabinet. The church

feared that the communist who had just won the parliamentary elections would come into power, rendering the church's position tenuous.

Oulu's prophecy

Fear of the Soviet Union and the threat of global nuclear war manifested in the Finnish religious context in the form of several prophecies proclaiming that the Soviet Union was to occupy the country in the near future. Most well known of these prophecies initiated a movement in the northern city of Oulu in the summer of 1960. A member of Oulu's cathedral church Laila Heinonen proclaimed that unless the Finnish people did penance for its sins before autumn the Red army would invade the country. The message had arrived to a suitable political situation and soon it had spread throughout the land.

The movement gathered many supporters among church members and even clergy. However, some of the leaders of the church criticized the prophecy as being non-biblical. Finnish communists fiercely attacked the prophecy blaming the church for its existence. Movement led by Laila Heinonen's family received special attention during the note crisis with the Soviet Union in late autumn 1961. Supporters of the prophecy claimed that the revelation had come true when the crisis started.

A bishop as President of the Republic?

In January 1961, politicians in trying to find a rival candidate for President Kekkonen for next year's elections asked at least two Lutheran bishops to become candidates on behalf of their parties.

The chairman of Finland's social democratic party Väinö Tanner led a delegation representing four different parties to secretly meet with the bishop of the Helsinki diocese Martti Simojoki. Not represented were only the agrarian union, which had already nominated President Kekkonen as their candidate, and the communists. Bishop Simojoki considered the proposition for presidency but refused the candidacy. Bishop Eero Lehtinen from the Lapua diocese in western Finland was approached next. Following Lehtinen's refusal, these politicians continued in their search for a man of high moral standing and managed to get Chancellor of Justice Olavi Honka to represent them.

Note crisis

On 30 October 1961, Foreign Minister Gromyko gave Finland's Ambassador in Moscow a diplomatic note demanding military consultations based on the Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance between the nations. According to this note, West Germany's military activity in the region had increased so significantly that consultations were necessary.

Had the consultations taken place, it could have resulted in forces of the Red army coming to Finland to "help" it defend itself against an alleged threat of attack. Although Finnish media was self-censored during the note crisis, it wasn't difficult for most Finns to surmise that possibility of a German attack was non-existent. The real target of the note was Finnish domestic policy. The Soviets made this clear later in the crisis.

The Soviet Union saw Olavi Honka's candidacy as a threat to its interests in Finland, and the note was most probably intended to help in Kekkonen's re-election. To avoid the military consultations, Kekkonen dissolved the Parliament and ordered elections to be held earlier. At this stage Finnish bishops made a public appeal for national unity. In their statement, they referred to the upcoming presidential elections in a way which from Olavi Honka's perspective could be inferred as backing Kekkonen. This statement ended up in political use on both sides during the election process.

The ecclesiastical press gave its unanimous support to Kekkonen when he travelled at the end of November 1961 to meet with Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in Siberia. Kekkonen managed to negotiate effectively, avoiding military consultations. The President returned to Finland as a hero. He made a television speech in which he quoted the Bible in a very emotional way. This wasn't unusual for to him, however, as he often emphasized his religiosity and strong association with the church. He had a long-standing relationship with the bishops. Archbishop Ilmari Salomies and the Bishop of Tampere Eelis Gulin regularly corresponded with Kekkonen in his first presidential term from 1956 to 1962.

During Kekkonen's Siberian visit the Honka alliance had collapsed under foreign policy pressure. Archbishop Salomies acknowledged Kekkonen in his sermon at the opening service for the Finnish parliament in February 1962, the topic of which was "Do you bring peace?".

Kekkonen was so pleased that he referred to the Archbishop's sermon in his first speech as re-elected president.

VIII. World Youth Festival in Helsinki – summer 1962

Despite wide opposition in Finland, the World Festival of Youths and Students was held in Helsinki in summer 1962. Although only the communists were in favour of the event, the Finnish government could hardly refuse to host it. It was impossible to say to Moscow that we don't want your festival here.

Thus, thousands of youths filled the country's capital. Among them were also those who had come to resist the event. In addition, church organizations distributed new testaments and tracts. Riots broke out between police and anti-festival demonstrators. For an entire week, Helsinki became the centre of an ideological battle of the cold war.

In the Finnish church were individuals who were against the festival as well as those who tried to initiate dialogues with the communists. The Student Christian Federation of Finland sent its members to participate without antifestival propaganda.

The ecclesiastical newspaper *Kotimaa* criticized the festival, at the same time emphasizing the importance of Christian youth work. Bishops did not condemn the riots, although President Kekkonen did so. Despite the church calling for national unity when events like the note crisis occurred, its general attitude towards communism was clearly negative at the beginning of the 1960s.

Foreign relations and steps to the European integration

At the end of the 1960s, Finland was forced, for foreign policy reasons, to take the European economic integration development with caution. The Soviet Union saw the European Economic Community (ECC) as a part of the West's military preparations aimed against it and therefore wanted to prevent Finland from joining the ECC. However, the trade agreements were vital for Finnish economy to thrive. Therefore, in 1961, with the help of special arrangements, Finland became a member of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

The ecclesiastical newspaper *Kotimaa* saw this as a positive event. The Church of Finland in turn wanted to ally the country with to the West, through its ecumenical relationships with western churches. Scandinavian relations in particular were emphasized. The Finnish church nevertheless also maintained contacts with Eastern European churches.

Main research results

The period of large foreign policy crisis from 1958 to 1962 was clearly seen by the Finnish church as a time for strengthening Finland's unstable national position. The importance of national unity during this dangerous time was stressed in all political sectors. The attitude towards the Soviet Union was mainly along the same lines with that of the late President Juho Kusti Paasikivi. Finland had to accommodate whatever political system was in power in Russia since resistance could cost Finland her independence. During this period, however, the Finnish church was also openly critical of the Soviet Union. Persecutions of Christians in the USSR and in her satellite countries were reported by the ecclesiastical press. The general attitude of the clergy towards Finnish communism was clearly negative.

The Finnish Church wanted above all to preserve peace in Finland's frontiers. The recent war was viewed respectfully but warily, and the church certainly did not advocate the start of a new war. Also noteworthy is that the Finnish defence forces did not have, due to limitations imposed by the 1947 peace treaty, credible capability of defending the country against eastern aggression. Neither was the west willing to give any security guarantees. Diplomacy was therefore the best way to defend Finland's sovereignty.

Finland's independence was important to the church. It regarded its status as a state church with great respect and was ready to defend it against, for example, the anticlerical propaganda of native Finnish communists. Finland's position as an independent nation had to be safeguarded. Becoming a people's republic would certainly have meant great difficulties for the church and its status as a state church would undoubtedly have ended. Soviet satellite and Baltic countries were well-known, frightening examples of this. In defending Finland's sovereignty, the church was simultaneously protecting its own operational preconditions.

The ecclesiastical press and bishops' public statements were the church's primary means of influence. Compared to present-day, these were used often. The leaders of the church also had direct contacts with political leaders of the nation. Regarding foreign policy, the bishops were clearly aligned with President Kekkonen. However, some influential persons in the church did not support the way Finland handled her relationship with the USSR.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland was a significant agent in Finnish society during this period. Although in certain situations, the church publicly supported President Kekkonen, it was able to maintain relations with all political parties surprisingly well. Bishops being asked to run as rival candidates to President Kekkonen in 1961 demonstrates the respect with which the church was viewed. An exception was of course The Finnish People's Democratic League. Although a few clergymen tried to maintain an uneasy dialogue with communists, relations remained cold on the both sides.

The effect of the statement made by the bishops during the note crisis, for instance, is difficult to measure in retrospect. The future of Finland's sovereignty was generally thought to be in great danger in November 1961, so one can assume that the bishops' appeal for national unity was considered very carefully. The President of the Republic and other influential politicians wanted to maintain good relations with the church and often acknowledged the church's contributions. The church had much influence on public opinion and therefore made a good ally.

Communism in Christian literature published in Finland (Suvi Kyrö)

The overall conflict between East and West wasn't just political, economical and militant. It also influenced the conception of humanity, history and future expectations of the people living in both sides. Psychology and culture were among those weapons used in this battle. Yet, Christianity gained a position as a watershed between the cold war blocks. The Marxist ideology in the East was strongly anti-religious, and the Marxists considered Christian beliefs to be an important part of capitalistic society. For western churches the relationship towards a Marxist society was complex. The news about persecutions Christians faced in socialist countries endangered opinions about how to react to communism. Some thought it was better not make a big issue about these things, because it would only make things harder for those

living under the socialist regime. On the other hand, for example the neo-pietistic movement in particular, made a ruckus about the bad religious situation in East.

In Finland, as a neighbour of the Soviet Union the geo-political situation and the treaty of Friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance, which Finland had with the Soviet Union created its own perspective, which influenced on the church on how to deal with religion and communism. From the beginning of the 1960s, “Moscow’s opinion” became a more dominant factor within Finnish domestic and foreign policies, and the official Evangelical-Lutheran church gained much momentum due to this fact. In addition to that, the relationship between the church of Finland and the Finnish political left-wing parties was tensed.

This study is focussed on how much church was related to the political issues. How the church saw communism both in East European countries and in Finland? As this study is focussing on the cold war period, one purpose was also to evaluate weather the changes in the international politics significantly affected on church’s role. This study approaches the subject from the low level perspective and it concentrates on how Christian literature published in Finland dealt with communism during the cold war. Through the published literature it is possible to find out what kind of differences there were inside the Finnish church on how they reacted towards communism. By analyzing Christian literature it is possible to get a wider picture about how people inside the Finnish church thought about political issues.

After the World War II the Church Tries to Approach the Political Left

Soon after the World War II the relationship between the Evangelical-Lutheran Church and the political Left rapidly escalated in its focus and remained for the most part through the cold war. Despite the hard times following the World War II, during the depression years of 1945-1950, there was time of active publishing. The relationship between the church and leftist parties became the topic for twenty-five books. The question was especially important for younger priests who had served during the war and had there established closer relations with the average labourer. The social awakening they had felt during the war made them want to establish more cooperation with labourers. This was demonstrated by the fact, that most writers considered the socialist system to be the best option for the future. At the same time, the communist society was described as unchristian and unhealthy for the church.

There were two main reasons why the church felt suddenly interested in the labourer. The Finnish civil war in 1918 had left a strong suspicion between the priesthood and the labourer. Priests emphasized patriotism and were profiled for the rightist Parties, and from their point of view, the leftist's lack of patriotism created a threat to Finland's independence. Despite the trauma of the civil war during the World War II Finnish people defended their country as a one nation which had narrowed the gap between rightist and leftists. Therefore, some priests saw the social work carried out by the Left in a new perspective, and appreciated their objective of to creating a more equitable society.

Another reason for why the Christian literature tried to come to grips with the social aims of the leftists was the so-called "Danger Years". People feared that Finland's destiny would come to be the same as the eastern European countries', and that the Finnish communists would ultimately take power with the support of the Soviet Union. Faced with this situation, some priests tried to have closer relationship with left-wing parties, so that when the leftists took power things would not go so badly for the church. Some priests thought that it would be better for the church to try to adjust itself for the upcoming changes in society, rather than to be reluctantly dragged into them and be left in a weaker position. After the democratic elections in 1948, the threat of communists seizing power came to an end. At the same time, the Christian literature that tried to understand political left decreased as well.

Church Faces New Criticism

During the mid-1950s, the issue of communism and Christianity again became a topical issue within the Finnish Lutheran Church, and that also had its impact on publishing. At the same time, among the Finnish People's Democratic League (SKDL) there were growing demands to take more effective actions against the church. In the Parliament as well, the SDP required that the relations between church and state should be once again taken into consideration. Within Christian literature, all of this played out so that Christian writers have subsequently tended to hold more defined opinions about the different leftist parties as political factors. Earlier they had rather written about workers but from this time onwards political parties were handled too. The Christian books can almost be seen as a reaction against certain books written by Finnish communists who had negatively judged church.

After the World War II the Finnish church had grounded new fields of work. Besides the educational work, the work done in society was felt to be important. One of the new areas of work was the work done in the factories, which had already experimented in Germany and France. It attempted to focus on the problems of the industrialized society. The work started in 1953 and Licentiate of Theology Toivo I. Palo was pioneering it.

Palo organized a course based to the need to better understand the structure and problems of industrialized society. Twelve priests worked in the factories for six weeks and in the end they gathered together and wrote a book about their experiments. Some conclusions were that the workers interest towards Marxism was result from that church had forgotten them, where as Marxism had offered solutions to their problems. After this period in the factories the priests saw social demands of Marxism in a more positive way. This book is a good example of how the Finnish church tried to get closer relations with the workers and as it tried to do so, it also moderated its opinions about the Finnish communists. The worker priests made also some proposals to diminish the gab between the priests and the factory workers: foremost the Finnish church should speak more about the inequity in the society.

On the basis of the literature the attitude towards communism and the political left in generally aimed at reconciliation. The Finnish authors were keen to understand the motives of those who supported the left-wing parties. One exception took place in 1960 when the Vicar Jussi Järvilehto wrote about communism and Christianity from a totally different point of view. Järvilehto was irritated by the fact that at the same time as 96 % of the Finns were members of the Lutheran church, 23 % of them were also members of the SKP. For Järvilehto Christian faith and communism were like life and death, they couldn't live besides in Finland or in any other country.

International Crisis and Self-censorship

From 1960s onwards, there is a clear change in the Christian literature. Earlier it was mainly written by Finnish authors and the subjects concerned the situation in Finland but during the 1960s this suddenly changes, and there is more translated literature and about international topics. Especially the situation of Christians living inside the communist countries was the subject in several books published in the early 1960s. It has been claimed that the political crisis between Finnish and Soviet relationships during the years of 1958 and 1961 also spelled

a great change for Finnish media culture and censorship and self-censorship became dominant factors. It seems that there is certain cautiousness, but still very different type of books were published.

For example a Czech Josef Hromádka and a West-German Richard Solberg approached the situation eastern European countries from very different starting points. For Hromádka communism meant fighting for a better society and the anti-religious work carried out in communist countries wasn't mentioned in his book. Solberg's conclusions ended up being totally opposite from Hromadka's. He focussed on describing East Germany's situation and Solberg's aim was to reveal the difficult situation, in which churches existed in the communist state. Solberg's conclusion was that whatever its means were, communism tended to destroy churches.

It is interesting that both of these books found support among Finnish readers. An assistant in theological ethics and philosophy of religion named Tuomo Mannermaa subsequently wrote a book review about Solberg's work and compared it to Hromádka's book. Mannermaa thought that Solberg's book was written in a western manner, and said that sounded like American propaganda. Hromádka's book was, according to Mannermaa "healthy and written in a corrective way". A vicar named Mauno Mäkinen thought just the opposite. He thought Finnish Christians ought to read Solberg's book so that it wouldn't be too late for them to notice what was going on: Solberg's book amplified well how different political action in the East Germany had effected on church. Mäkinen also wondered if holding its position as a state church was a weakness for the Finnish Lutheran church.

Complex Relations to Ingria and Hungary

Finnish Lutheran Church had traditionally had close relations with the churches of Ingria and Hungary, but following the World War II the connections nearly ended. But the common background and the old relations affected so, that in publishing, the Finns were very cautious when it came to these two countries.

The hard destiny of the Ingrians was brought up by Aatami Kuortti, who had escaped Stalin's terror to Finland in 1930s. In ten years he wrote five books and most of them went to third editions. Even though Kuortti was fairly cautious as he wrote about the religious situation in

the Soviet Union, it still became clear that nearly all religious life had ended under the Soviet regime. Characteristic for the Finnish media were, that even though Kuortti's books were fairly popular, they didn't gain much publicity. In fact, it's hard to find even a book review about Kuortti's books. As vicar Mauno Mäkinen wrote a book review about Richard Solberg's book in 1965, he made a brief reference to Kuortti. According to Mäkinen, in Finland there clearly was demand for the literature of the Ingrians, but this sort of literature didn't gain much publicity, because of "understandable reasons". By this Mäkinen most likely meant the political atmosphere in Finland, as the people were cautious towards the Soviet Union.

Ecclesiastical relations between the Hungarian church and the Church of Finland advanced in 1965 when Archbishop of Finland named Martti Simojoki and the leading bishop of Hungarian church named Zoltan Káldy established a treaty of cooperation. Yet the relations between these two churches remained cautious. Many of those old Hungarian bishops and priests with whom the Finns used to work with, had been replaced, and the Finns didn't know what exactly the position of the Lutheran Church of Hungary was.

On the basis of publishing books it seems that the policy of the Finnish church in respect of the Hungarian church was, that no criticism was expressed and no revelations were made about the church's situation under the socialistic system, but they didn't publish any positive presentations about the situation in Hungary either.

In 1965 Bishop Káldy suggested to Archbishop Simojoki that new literature about Finnish and Hungarian churches would be published in both countries. The representatives of Finnish and Hungarian churches supported this idea and Archbishop Simojoki promised to write a preface to a book about Hungarian church named *The Hungarian Church Now and Yesterday*. However, this book was never published in Finnish, for Archbishop Simojoki had heard some information of the book and due to this he refused to write a preface and whole project expired. Apparently the Finnish and Hungarian outlooks on the churches role in a socialistic society didn't match. From the Finnish point of view, the new leaders of the Hungarian church had written about the situation in Hungary in a too positive way.

Fear of Communism Is Shown on Prophetic Literature

One typical genre of religious literature is these so-called prophetic books, which observe the past and the future in the light of the Bible's prophecies, especially the Apocalypse of St. John. Especially in the 1960s publishing prophetic literature seems to have connection with the incidents in international politics. In early 1960s after the crisis in Berlin and also in Finland, and then again in the end of the decade after the occupation of Prague there were obvious peaks in publishing prophetic literature.

The prophetic literature, which was both of Finnish and foreign origin, was mainly published by non-state congregations. In their own style, these books tried to calm down nervous minds, and they proclaimed, that things were going on just as God had planned, so even though situation was tensed, God would take care of His own.

Some common features in these books were, that communism was connected with Nazism and was seen as a work of Antichrist. The battle between the superpowers was present in these books, which probably was a result from the fact that many of the books were of American origin. In prophetic books, cold war appeared as a battle between God and Antichrist.

Some Books Tried to Wake Up Western Christians

At the end of the 1960s a new type of Christian literature that dealt with communism started to appear in Finland. This was due to the development in the 1960s as the neo-pietistic movement got more organized inside the Finnish Lutheran church and it founded its own publishing house *Uusi Tie*. One major thing for the neo-pietistic movement was to improve the mission work in the eastern European countries. This purpose was visible in the books that *Uusi Tie* published. It specialized in publishing so-called "true stories" about the Christians living in communist countries. From 1966 to 1972 twelve stories were published, and two of them were best sellers.

One typical feature for the neo-pietistic movement was that they tended to cooperate with the eastern European underground churches, where as the official Lutheran church gave preference to the official churches in the communist countries. This difference was clear in

the books, as the “true stories” underlined, how the official church was ruled by the communist government.

The writers like John Noble and Richard Wurmbrand stressed, how the communists were really frightened of Christianity, and these writers considered that Christian faith to be the only serious challenger against communism. The leaders of the western block and western Christians also, were blamed for being too passive and believing the lies communists told them. In Finland leftist parties accused these books for endangering the Finnish foreign policies.

Communist as a Member of the Finnish Lutheran Church

During the years of 1960 to 1972 the Christian literature focused on international issues. Only one book concerning communism in Finnish society was published. The initiative to write it came from a synod of Helsinki diocese. The synod felt, that this subject was important for the church, because 25 % of the Finns supported communism and therefore the church should have a clear opinion about it.

As the book came out in 1967 the writer, priest named Leino Hassinen evaluated that churches' situation in the eastern European countries were depressing. Hassinen admitted that some aims of the communist society were important, but what he was really worried about was the lack of human rights: that to achieve those purposes, communists were ready to sacrifice a generation or two.

For Hassinen being a communist in a communist country and again in Finland were two different phenomena. He thought that there was no inconsistency if one was both member of the SKP and the Lutheran church. This he argued by that the main point of a Finnish communist was, that he just wanted to have job. Hassinen stated that the communisms in the Eastern block and in Finland were two different things, and Finnish Christians should separate these two things. Finnish communism wasn't due to the anti-religious work done in the communist countries, the fact that most members of the SKP were also members of the Lutheran Church, proved that.

Main research results

During the early and mid parts of the cold war period, the Church of Finland was fairly active in taking part of the discussion concerning the leftist ideologies. Soon after the World War II the main interest lied on domestic issues, such as the relations between labourer and the Church, and how they could became less tensed. Another interesting feature is the socialist social structure was portrayed in a positive way. The end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s was the time of crises in international politics and also in Soviet-Finnish relationship. At the same time the Christian literature published in Finland focuses more on international topics. This can be seen in various types of literature. The tensed atmosphere in international politics aroused significantly anticommunist prophetic literature. These books saw the situation as a battle of good and evil.

From the 1960s on the so-called scientific Christian literature took actively part on the discussion how to react on communism and keep in touch with the Christians living in the Soviet block. Worrying thing in communism was the violation of human rights and religious freedom, still most of the both Finnish and foreign writers thought cooperation and dialogues were the keys to cope with the difficult situation. The neo-pietistic movement inside the Finnish Church reacted strongly against this official policy. They were active in publishing 'true stories' about the persecution of Christian in the communist countries. They tended to deny the official churches in the communist countries and cooperated only with the underground churches. One of the main purposes was also to encourage western Christians to start action against communism for example by transporting Bibles behind the Iron Curtain.

In the end all Christian literature shared the same concern about the difficult situation of the Christians living in the Soviet block and agreed that the position of the churches in the communist countries was problematic and systematically weakened by the governments. But there are differences in the way they tried to cope with the situation. The radical small groups inside the Church of Finland aimed to straight action and cooperated with the non-official congregations, whereas the official church worked with the leaders of the churches in the communist countries.

Unofficial contacts between East and West in the atmosphere of Cold War – Finnish Missionary work to the Slavic Countries 1967-1973 (Piia Latvala)

During the Cold War the Iron Curtain divided Europe geographically but, beyond that was a mental division: separation had come between the East and West not only both politically and economically but also mentally, ideologically and, when considering churches, spiritually. Christian Churches and common Christian people had to seek several ways of building bridges over the Iron Curtain. As many churches started theological negotiations and ecumenical work at the official level, approved by the states involved, behind the scenes the members of those same churches built unofficial contacts to Eastern European countries.

Western European churches had many kinds of activities behind the Iron Curtain. Concrete material aid was often delivered, such as food and clothes for the common people. Focused aid was also directed to the churches in the form of printing paper, organs, pastoral training, the legal distribution of Bibles and other spiritual material within the limits of the laws. Some groups tried also to have a straight ideological influence, like smuggling of forbidden material, radio-programmes and petitions which often concentrated on human rights and on communism as a violation of one's freedom of speech and freedom of religion. Some of these people were politically active, others spiritually, some both. This study concentrated on this kind of non-political activity originating in Finland, in neo-pietistic Christian circles.

Inside the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland the most active in missionary work in the East during the 1960s and 1970s was the Finnish Lutheran Mission (FLM) and its Department of Slavic Missions.

Focus of the study: Finnish Lutheran neo-pietists as an active missionary actor

In the Finnish Lutheran Church a pietistic movement began to grow during the 1950s and started to organize in the 1960s. New movement was called the neo-pietists. They based their teaching and thinking strongly on the Bible, which they interpreted quite conservatively. This study examined the missionary work to the former Eastern European countries, particularly to the Soviet Union, done by The Finnish Lutheran Mission (Suomen Evankelisluterilainen Kansanlähetyks, FLM). FLM is an organization that was founded to gather all the neo-pietists together. The neo-pietists criticised the Church about not fully recognising the terrible

position of Christians in Eastern Europe. Communism was seen as an apocalyptic power that would swallow the whole world, with Finland as its first target.

In FLM the work for Eastern Europe was organised through The Department of Slavic Missions, founded in November 1967. From the very beginning it began to publish its own magazine *Valoa Idässä* (Light in the East). The Department of Slavic Missions had quite a small hired staff but had dozens and even up to hundreds of voluntary workers, who donated money to the work of the Department and smuggled Bibles and New Testaments into Eastern European countries while travelling in those areas. The donations were used to support Christian radio programmes and for printing Bibles.

The Department of Slavic Missions as well as the entire FLM can be thought of as an opposition movement in the Church in regard to their views on the Cold War. The Department saw Christians' and churches' political roles as being different from the official position taken by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. They also emphasized different things in the Cold War atmosphere; while the Church was active in peace issues and human rights throughout the world (e.g. hunger in Biafra), the questions of human rights in communist Eastern Europe were emphasized most often in the Department of Slavic Missions. One main focus in this study has been on human rights and how the Department of Slavic Missions used it to justify its pretence of keeping Finns aware that there are people who hold opposing views in communist countries, thereby leading Finns to believe it was morally right to oppose Communism, even though the Department often states it is not for or against any political system, but works only for Christ. They did not want to be seen as hostile against communism and often repeated that they did not want to interfere in political matters. Whether they wanted to or not, in a way they were still active in political questions. In a country that is atheistic by law and by prevailing ideology, it is always a political statement to preach the gospel and distribute Bibles.

Right from the start, the FLM was active in many areas from Japan to Africa; missionary in Eastern Europe was just one field among others. The Church took an official stand against it only once during the years 1967-1973. In 1971 the FLM applied for the status of official missionary organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. The Bishops' Conference declared in 1971 that the FLM was given the status of official missionary organization of the Church except that its work in Catholic countries (e.g. Italy) and its

missionary work in Eastern European countries was not taken into account. Clearly the Slavic Missions were not accepted universally.

A Scandinavian front for helping Christians in Communist countries

The Department of Slavic Missions was based on an idea of a young (27) theology student, Per-Olof Malk. The other staff working with the Department was also young. This is important to keep in mind since the younger generation was quite radical and its awareness about political, social and spiritual matters was growing in the latter half of the 1960s. The personnel of the Department were also idealistic: this is also a manifestation of the radicalization of the younger generation. They wanted to take a stand and take action when the Soviet Union was seen both as a great world power and as an apocalyptic power.

The work of the Department of Slavic Missions as well as the overall work of The Finnish Lutheran Mission was very international. They created solid connections with several missionary organizations all around Europe. The Department of Slavic Missions had a close relationship with other Scandinavian mission organizations. The most important contacts the Department had were with Slaviska Missionen in Sweden (nowadays know as Ljus i Öster) and Misjon bak Jernteppet in Norway (nowadays known as Norsk misjon i Öst). In addition co-operation on some level was given to the German Licht im Osten and the organizations of Brother Andrew (Open Doors). Radio missions were organized with Trans World Radio.

Political or spiritual agitation?

The Department of Slavic Missions published its own magazine, Valoa Idässä but otherwise wanted to avoid too much attention. An attempt was made to keep its work secret, especially the smuggling of Bibles. They did not want to discuss publicly what, where, when and who of the deliveries. In this way the Department certainly tried to secure not only the safety of its couriers, but also the safety of the Christians they had contact with in Eastern European countries. Public attention was drawn instead to the violations of human rights in communist countries.

The leftist political parties were the ones who most accused the Department and its staff of producing political propaganda and who most wondered whether they had connections with

American security and intelligence services. The Department of Slavic Missions had invited several foreign guests to visit Finland and preach the Gospel but also to speak on the religious situation in communist countries and the difficulties that Christians were facing in them. Rev. Ingemar Martinson from Slaviska Missionen was the most frequent visitor often bringing with him the Bulgarian Rev. Haralan Popoff. The voice from the Russian radio programmes, Rev. Earl Pöysti from Trans World Radio also visited a few times. But the greatest interest was drawn by the Romanian Rev. Richard Wurmbrand and the Dutch Brother Andrew while they stayed in Finland. The media was quite interested in these visitors and the Finnish Security Police was also keeping their eye on them. The political left was accusing these men of taking advantage of people's spiritual sensitivity and giving disinformation about communist countries. The leftist political parties accused the Department of Slavic Missions and its guests of targeting their information toward people who were incapable of understanding their real meaning which to these parties was the distribution of anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda. The political left hinted that couriers may really be smuggling something more valuable than simply Bibles or may be working as rightist anti-communist agents.

The official Finnish Lutheran Church (the bishops, the central administration, and the church's newspapers) did not deny the desperate need for Bibles behind the Iron Curtain, but they did warn the Bible couriers that smuggling might endanger the life of those who received material and both the existence and the standard of living of the official church. Also couriers were in a dangerous position. The church did not support the work but neither did it clearly separate itself from it.

The financial policies of the Department of Slavic Missions drew public debate. The department emphasized that all of its money came from voluntary donors who were concerned about the situation in communist Eastern Europe. The leftist political parties in particular asked if some of the money needed for publishing and printing piles of small Bibles abroad came from some deceitful sources. They suspected that behind this money was some kind of international conspiracy against communism or even the political right. Financial reports from The Finnish Lutheran Mission tell that the Slavic Missions received considerably more financial donations than other missionary work done by the FLM. The staff of the Department of Slavic Missions regularly travelled all around Finland holding meetings and speaking in congregations. These people were very deeply and sincerely spiritual and were motivated in their work by the words of the Bible. They taught that God should be obeyed and

feared more than worldly authorities. There is no any kind of proof of money received from international anticommunist movements or American security or intelligence services.

The Finnish Security Police questioned the leaders of The Finnish Lutheran Missions and examined the work of the FLM several times during the years. They questioned those centrally involved in these actions but these meetings happened with a very smooth spirit and at times the personnel of the Security Police seemingly were a bit amused that the work Slavic Missions attracted such negative attention.

During the spring of 1969 customhouse officers presented an account of known smuggling activity and the realisation came quite generally that Bibles were one of the articles that were most smuggled. After this report became public the Department of Slavic Missions in particular was accused of intervening in other state's – the Soviet Union's – matters. It was said that missionary work to Eastern European countries was jeopardizing friendly relationships between Finland and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, leftist members of Parliament inquired about the work of the Department of Slavic Missions and asked whether the government should step in, or at least take notice of this type of anticommunist activity in Finland. The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Ahti Karjalainen had clear opinion: Finland is a free country and publishing of any kind of material may not be wise but is allowed in the name of freedom of speech; but the government was still to keep its eyes on this matter and would be prepared to react if it was necessary.

Central object of interest - Human Rights

While examining the sources on the Slavic Missions of the FLM it became apparent that violations of human rights in the communist countries and especially in the Soviet Union were at the centre of interest and information on the Slavic Missions.

The Department of Slavic Missions published its own information magazine *Valoa Idässä* (Light in the East) 5-6 times per year during 1968-1973. For the magazine the Department often received material from various international publications or directly from Eastern Europe with the Bible couriers who met people who gave them letters, petitions, stories, photographs, leaflets and printed underground newsletters and magazines to take to the West. Material (samizdat) received directly from the East was also further distributed to Sweden

(Slaviska Missionen), Norway (Misjon bak Jernteppet) and especially to the Keston Institute in England.

Human rights, especially the freedoms of religion, speech, thought, worship and teaching as well as the right to express one's religion (Christianity) and to just and equal treatment under the law were the main interest of the Department of Slavic Missions. It can be seen that human rights, especially those just mentioned, were seen in their narrow sense, i.e. how they could most benefit the Department of Slavic Missions. Others, such as the right to food, security, vote or work, were ignored by the Department.

Valoa Idässä based its content on material received from unregistered underground Christians in the East. These accused the Soviet Union of violating the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, especially Article 18. This article states *Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.* The Soviet Union had signed the document in 1948 after also taking part in the drafting committee. Despite this, these underground Christians accused Soviet religious legislation of being antireligious or at least it was interpreted that way by the authorities. It can be said that while publishing these statements the Department of Slavic Missions also accused the Soviet authorities of the same things. The right to perform missionary work in the Eastern European communist countries was basically equated with human rights (They must have the right to religious freedom and to own a Bible – they don't have Bibles – we must give them Bibles).

Those who were permitted to speak in this material were the parents or other family members of imprisoned Christians, basically unregistered Evangelicals and Baptists. It was believed then that the persecution was targeted against the unregistered and unofficial underground Church. It later became clear that all Christian churches were suffering under the communist regime, but perhaps none more so than the unregistered. They suffered because they did not want to register as the religious law of the Soviet Union in theory permitted. They believed that registration would ease the way for communist officials to take control over the lives of their parishes.

Internationally the most interesting documents were petitions from relatives of the imprisoned Christians. These relatives organized as the Council for the Relatives of the Imprisoned (translated freely), sent several petitions and lists of those imprisoned to the West. Petitions were sent to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the head of the Communist Party and other leading persons in the Soviet Union, the Commission of Human Rights in the UN and to the International Lawyers' association in Geneva. Petitions arrived in the west with the Bible couriers. It is not known if they arrived specifically with the Finnish couriers although the Department of Slavic Missions translated them into Finnish and published these petitions in *Valoa Idässä*. The Department of Slavic Missions also sent copies of one petition in 1967 to representatives of the Finnish media (newspapers, magazines, TV, radio) and to the bishops, priests, youth leaders and deacons of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland. Information on persecution of and human rights violations against Christians in the Soviet Union was spread throughout society in this manner. Some newspapers – both Christian and non-Christian – published articles on the petitions. Clearly, in contrast to what has often been claimed, people in Finland were not as blinded by the one official truth they were permitted to know about the Soviet Union.

Those who sent the petitions and other documents did so mainly for three reasons. First they wanted private prayer meetings and services to be held in peace. Secondly, they were against the practice of taking under aged children of Christian families to police stations and interrogating them in the absence of their parents. Thirdly they were against the trials in which judgments were based on trumped-up antireligious grounds. These same points were continually repeated ad nauseam in the material published in *Valoa Idässä*. Above all the writers wanted the freedoms to preach the gospel and to raise one's children according to the family's Christian heritage and values. It has rarely been told how the above-mentioned institutions reacted to these petitions. When it was mentioned at all these institutions were in every case criticized for doing nothing and ignoring the suffering.

Why so much talk of human rights?

While the Evangelical Lutheran Church focused mainly on the issue of peace concerning the relationships between the communist East and capitalist West and the churches on both sides, neopietist Christians focused on totally different issues. Why?

They had different international contacts than the official Church had and different positions regarding power in the Church because the FLM was a small movement whose members had little voice in the hierarchy of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. There definitely were different ways of dealing with the situation in the Soviet Union. These differing views were represented in the same (small) church in Finland from which even the loud minority of the Department of Slavic Missions could not be distinguished.

It is difficult to determine what goals the Department of Slavic Mission had in mind when it kept the questions of human rights so much in its agenda. Keeping alive the questions of human rights and religious freedom strengthened the image of poor and dismal living conditions of the Christians in communist countries in Finnish minds. The Department was not directly anti-Soviet because it did not incite people to rebellion. In using dramatic information and pictures of the accused, they drew peoples' attention to the situation occurring in the communist countries and to the work that the Department of Slavic Missions were doing. It was in this way easier to obtain both economic and prayer support for the work.

The Department accused western Christian churches, States (especially Finland) and individuals of being slack in their activities and ignorant of the difficult situation facing of their brothers and sisters in the East, in this manner identifying itself with the unregistered active 'true' Christians.

It was important then and still is that these basic rights are observed for each individual, because abuses and misconduct still occur. Churches have played and will continue to play a role in building a feeling of unity and breaking down the human-devised borders and suspicions that continue to separate people and nations.

Results: Spreading the Bibles was not only spiritual bur also political activity

Finland was accused of being 'finlandisized' during the Cold War era which meant that it let the Soviet Union control its political life and decisions, both in internal and foreign politics. It also meant that Finns dared not criticize the Soviet Union or its policies; they just wanted to think that everything was all right because they were too intimidated to take a critical stand. The Evangelical Lutheran Church was also accused of operating under the same type of finlandisized atmosphere.

This study gives a partly new sight the question of finlandisization. The Church had its own small but noisy opposition wing that had its own role to play in this tense political game whether it wanted to or not. People inside the FLM and the Department of Slavic Missions did not want to be political, but they were. When discussing the Soviet Union in the 1960s you were always taking a stand on political questions.

People in the Department of Slavic Missions believed it was the duty of Western Christians to help Christians in the communist East in any way possible. They understood Europe in its broader sense, that it was not just the free welfare state West. Their opinion was that churches should be more active in defending the poor and mistreated living in the East. They prompted people to carry a common responsibility for the suffering and oppressed. They wanted to help these people by smuggling Bibles containing the one tangible idea they believed could help best, God's word.

Their policy of making noise about the violations of human rights and religious freedom in Eastern European countries prevented a critical attitude towards the situation in communist Eastern Europe from fading. They probably did not have any political motives, however, because of their actions the Finnish public knew that everything was not as glorious and well in the societies behind the Iron Curtain as Soviet-propaganda suggested. When Finnish people were accused of being Finlandisized and of allowing the Soviet Union to interfere in its internal politics, this kind of criticism was a most welcome phenomenon. The people associated with the Slavic Missions worked for human rights, equality, peace, and the well-being of everyone at a time that these values were not self evident in Europe.

5. BRITISH CHURCHES AND THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION

One of the most crucial aspects of Britain's recent history is that nation's ambivalent – and today still troubled – relationship to the rest of Europe and the process of European integration. Whilst Britons can be said to be united with the peoples of the continent by their common religious heritage as the one-time nations of 'Christendom', at the same time they have been divided from Europe by centuries of religious conflict and the transformation of Britain – 'by the grace of God' – into a world power and bastion of 'Christian civilization'. WP5 reveals an important, but a hitherto little examined aspect of this area of political culture and its influence on foreign policy. Drawing on rich but little used contemporary sources, this research shows both the salience of Christian symbols and narratives in the political culture of the 1940s and 50s and the intimate, multi-dimensional and often morally complex networks of political influence between the Churches and the State. In so doing, WP5 employs one of the most influential concepts in the humanities in recent years: identity. By deconstructing and revealing the overlapping national and religious identities central to the ambivalent attitudes of Britons to their nation's place between continental Europe and the American superpower, this research provides a new and illuminating perspective in the historical study of national identity, the Cold War and European integration.

Key results of the Study

Contemporary church history, national identity, the Cold War and European integration are all subjects of a significant and increasing interest in current public discourse. However, not only has the political role of the Churches in Britain in the last century hitherto received relatively little consideration, but their attitudes and responses to the question of Britain and European integration has scarcely been referred to, either in relation to European unity as a product of the Cold War or integration as a process in itself. Similarly, although Adrian Hasting's important book *The Construction of Nationhood* (CUP, 1997) highlights the significance of religion in the formation of English national identity in earlier periods, and Krishan Kumar analyses the findings of the secondary literature on this topic in a section of his most recent book (*The Making of English National Identity* (CUP, 2003), neither deals at all with on the place that national identity held in the discourse of the Churches or the role which religious discourses in secular political culture in contemporary history. WP5 offers fresh historical

insights and novel conceptual analyses in all these areas. Using the extensive but neglected published literature of the period, rich but largely untapped archival sources of the churches and the British state, and interviews with many of the leading participants, Glasgow has uncovered and analysed an important but hitherto unexamined side of a crucial moment in Britain's contemporary history.

Despite the hard facts of geography and thirty years' membership of the European Union, the 'question of Europe' continues to loom large in Britain. Whatever is specifically at issue – political, socio-economic or cultural; major or trivial – the question of Britain's whole relationship to continental Europe, and, therefore, its wider geo-political alliances and its position in the world generally is never far from the surface. Irrespective of what is on the table the whole baggage of 'Britishness' is invariably there beneath. In this way, current debate and decision making draws continually on the historical and cultural roots of national identity. Inevitably at the same time is being asked what it means to be 'European', what Britain and the other countries of the western peninsula of Asia might have in common, what unites them. Whilst the cultural heritage of the Renaissance, Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution might be suggested, transcending these is the jagged but unbroken line of tradition leading back though Medieval Europe as 'Christendom' to the Roman Empire of Constantine, of a continent sharing the same faith and unified by the authority of an universal Church.

Current reference to the history of Europe as Christendom is not only problematic for a continent which is increasingly multicultural and multi-faith but also potentially explosive at the time when 'West' and 'East' could so easily be identified as religious communities polarised in the recrudescence of a conflict whose last decisive engagement was at the gates of Vienna in 1683. There is no dearth of recent examples at home and abroad of how fear and hatred can breathe new life into what would otherwise be neglected and waning religious traditions, making them the core identities of communities in deadly conflict. Despite this, and underlining the present and continuing significance of the 'spiritual' in the constitution of a common European identity, both the former President of the European Commission, Jacques Delors, and its current head, Romani Prodi, have spoken of the need for Europe to have a 'soul'.

In Britain, whereas church leaders continue to have an audible voice on public questions, at least on the surface, Christianity, in neither its cultural nor its institutional forms, has so far

played a large part in recent debates about Britain's future vis-à-vis continental Europe. However, within living memory, both the Churches and religious identity have been centrally implicated in the politics determining the nation's relationship to continental Europe, and in the rhetoric of conflict centred on a Europe newly divided between the Christian West and an East dominated by the atheistic quasi-religion of Communism. Given that the Churches at the time were closely linked to the establishment, and were unmatched in the size and heterogeneity of their membership, over which they had the potential to exert an influence backed by a rare authority, their neglect by historians is puzzling. In the context of the continued controversy of Britain's relationship to the rest of Europe and the possible emergence of a new West-East conflict, this omission is all the more surprising.

Although the interest of British Christians in the 'question of Europe' might be traced back to the Quaker William Penn's essay 'Toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe' of 1694, it was the pressures of late modernity – in particular the political crises and wars of the twentieth century which caused the Churches to take a serious interest in international relations. This was apparent, for example, in the enthusiastic support they gave to the League of Nations after the Great War and in the inclusion of the topic of international relations in the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics and Citizenship when it first sat in 1924.

This development reflected the particular preoccupation of Christians with the moral implications and human consequences of war, but the Churches also had a special contribution to the critique of the world of squabbling sovereign nation-states. Since the late nineteenth century, the denominations of the fractured Christendom had, through the ecumenical movement, themselves begun to slowly close the historical fissures which divided them in a process which led in 1937 to their decision to found a World Council of Churches. As WP5 has discussed, the Churches as a supra-national world community, and the transcendence of religious identity over nation and ideology, became important resources and symbols in Christian contributions to the debate about the reconstruction of world order. However, at the same time the idealism and supra-nationalism of Christian ecumenical thinking combined with a strong appreciation of the part that power played in international relations and a definite endorsement of the particularity of nationhood. These different assumptions about the inter-relationship of religious and national identities have critically informed the Churches' role in response to European integration.

In the 1940s William Temple and George Bell, as respectively, Archbishop of York (and then of Canterbury) and Bishop of Chichester, were among the most influential pioneers of the ecumenical movement. As WP5 has discussed, because of their radical voices they were also two most turbulent priests for Prime Minister Winston Churchill during the war years. Both were also personally committed to European federalism and they successively chaired the British Churches' Peace Aims Group through which ecclesiastical and political elites discussed post-war reconstruction and sought to influence elite and general opinion on that subject. The Group was the most influential of a number of lobby and discussion groups which contributed Christian perspectives to one of the most creative, imaginative and radical moments in the history of British social and political thought. This 'peace aims debate', so called because it sought to pressure the British government to add to its war aim of defeating the Axis powers, a constructive aim of creating a new and better world at home and abroad, came to dominate the political mainstream in the years leading up to Britain's 'electoral revolution' of 1945. It was also during the war years that, whilst international relations were in flux, Britain's political class, including the members of the Peace Aims Group, influenced the creation of the European and world order under which, in many respects, we still live.

In this and other episodes discussed in this work, problems in the Churches' theological understanding and actual approach to their relationship to the state become apparent and demanded detailed analysis. WP5 has shown how the widespread support for European federalism among Church people of the early war years became displaced in an Anglo-American discussion of the future of the world. This well illustrates the nature, tensions and dangers in Church-State relations. For the British participants in the tripartite wartime discussions between the Peace Aims Group, its opposite numbers in America and on the continent, power became as salient as moral principle in their preoccupations. The problems inherent in the relationship between the Churches and the State are further underlined by the degree to which the British group also became an important and influential channel through which the British government sought to influence American opinion and build the 'English-speaking alliance'. The fact that this 'alliance' remains at the heart of British foreign policy, and continues to stand in the way of the nation's full participation in the European Union, underlines the importance of historical context to an understanding of current concerns.

The unexpected death of Archbishop Temple in 1944 and the Prime Minister's preference for the Bishop of London, Geoffrey Fisher over the heir apparent, George Bell, as his successor,

meant that a historic opportunity for the Churches to challenge the status quo was ended. Out of step with both his Archbishop and the government, after the war the Bishop of Chichester became a radical voice calling in the wilderness: in 1947 advocating a 'United States of Europe', and in 1950 arguing in the House of Lords for Britain to play a full part in the Schuman plan from which the European Union of today eventually grew. But, as WP5 has also outlined, the politics of European unity can be played in more than one way and, in 1946, when Churchill – despite election defeat still Europe's most authoritative and influential politician – made the unexpected move at the beginning of the Cold War of founding the United Europe Movement, it was to the new Archbishop and other church leaders that he turned for support. Belying what would be their nation's future record, in 1948 British Christians were also important players in the European Movement. Anticipating recent debates about the question of what 'Europe' is, at the seminal Congress of Europe at the Hague they took the lead in ensuring that the Christian tradition was recognised as the foundation of European culture.

For the Labour governments of 1945-51, Europe also remained a vitally important issue as Prime Minister Clement Attlee and his ministers struggled to protect the national interest in the face of the economic and political consequences of the Second World War, the beginnings of the Cold War and of decolonisation. In contrast to Britain's usual 'Euro-sceptic' foot-dragging on this question, this was the moment when the government took what was ostensibly a position of leadership in the process of integration. Early in 1948, following the failure of efforts to work out a *modus vivendi* with the Soviet Union, and needing to draw the West together in an alliance against the apparent Russian threat, the Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin proposed that the countries of Western Europe be united in a 'Western Union'. However, as WP5 shows, this was to be a union based not on federal structures but on a 'spiritual union' and Bevin drew on the support of those whose chief business was the spiritual: the Churches. Through the collaboration of a Christian politician, Stafford Cripps, and a political Christian, Canon John Collins of Christian Action, Church and State worked closely together to foster Christian support for European unity. This course of action led Cripps to an audience with the Pius XII and for the widest divide in Christendom to be temporarily bridged in talks in pursuit of Protestant and Catholic co-operation in support of the European movement, and the creation of the Christian Movement for European Unity.

In this and other episodes, the Churches entered into the theologically problematic zone where the spheres of God and Cesar overlapped, where it was unclear who was influencing whom. Similarly, in the face of the division of Europe by what Churchill in 1946 called the ‘iron curtain’, whilst the Churches claimed they were influencing things to the Christian good, from another perspective they were the willing or unwitting weapons of politicians, civil servants, and the agents of the secret state. For all advocates of European unity the division of Europe at the end of the Second World War was a destructive blow to their vision for the future. However, for the Churches’ looking on at a Europe which was also once Christendom was split in two, leaving millions of Christians under the hegemony of an atheistic totalitarian state, it was a matter of special and particular concern. As WP5 demonstrates, whilst all the Churches agreed in their condemnation of totalitarianism and were rarely sanguine about the attitude of the Soviet state to religion, it was the voice of British Catholics which was raised most loudly in demanding that this division of Europe be resisted. The important part that Pope Pius XII and the Vatican played in the Anglo-American Cold War alliance has started to attract attention from historians, although much remains to be done. Not only did the always highly politicised Roman Church play a crucial role in those years, during which the pattern of European and world politics up to the collapse of the Soviet Union 1991 was set; but the Vatican has also been indicted for playing a leading part in the process whereby former fascists and war criminals became anti-Communist allies. Certain transactions – in particular the support of British Catholics and other Christians for eastern European exiles through the British League for European Freedom – were not merely ethically problematic but had the sulphurous aroma of a Mephistophelean bargain.

By the beginning of the 1950s the British political classes turned their back on Europe integration until the time when, following the collapse of the Anglo-American alliance over Suez in 1956, and with its bargaining position much weakened, Britain, which was increasingly the ‘sick-man of Europe’, took the road leading to entry to the European Community in 1973. As WP5 has found, the Churches also ignored this topic until when, at the time of Britain’s applications to join the EC in the 1960s, they renewed their interest in the question, albeit from a much weaker and increasingly peripheral position in a society which was becoming post-Christian. This project concluded by investigating the Christian contribution to the debate about Britain and European integration from that time up to the challenges to the European project of the present day. Not only do these include the re-integration of the countries of the former Soviet bloc into Europe but also the problematic

relationship between modern Europe and the heritage of Christendom in the context of multiculturalism, religious pluralism and what may be a new era of tension between ‘West’ and ‘East’.

As we now know, despite the great potential for Britain to play a leadership role in the new Europe which emerged in the decades following the Second World War, both government and people turned away from European integration. The cultural roots of European patriotism in Britain were too weak to encourage participation in integrated political and economic structures, whilst the identification of Britishness with a global community and world power was still too alluring. Given their frequent references to the cultural tradition of European Christendom, and the claim that Christians’ religious identity as members of a universal Church and human ‘brotherhood’ put them above the parochial claims of national identity, we might have anticipated that the Churches should have been the exception to the general British response. In the event, they followed the government’s retreat from European integration. To explain this outcome, WP5 analysed the ways in which, beneath the growing unity of the Churches in the ecumenical movement, denominational conflicts remained sharp. Similarly, WP5 has focused on the problematic relationship between, on the one hand, the potential integrating factors of the historical tradition of Europe as united ‘Christendom’, and Christianity as a supranational religious identity, and, on the other, particularistic factors of culture, and national identity for institutions whose relationship to the state and nations in the United Kingdom was intimate, and whose involvement in the imperial history at the heart of the construction of a global form of Britishness unusually close and enduring. By so doing, it has contributed timely and essential historical context to the debate about Britain’s cultural and political relationship to the rest of Europe, the United States of America and the wider world, the answer to which remains open and unresolved today.

Nonetheless, considerable work remains to be done to record and analyse the part that Churches in Britain and elsewhere in Europe have played in the politics of the integration. Similarly, the significance of Christian faith and history in late-modern concepts of ‘Europe’ as an ‘imagined’ community and ‘European’ as a cultural identity are important and timely subjects for states and civic society in the contemporary EU. Research in these areas might be developed not only among the current project partners but also, and particularly, through new contacts with researchers and analysts whose expertise is related to historical traditions not

touched by the CEI group to date (for example, the role of the Catholic Church/Social Democracy in Italy and France in the European movement).

6. THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL IMPACT OF THE NORDIC CHURCHES ON EUROPEAN INTEGRATION: CASE SWEDEN AS AN ILLUMINATING EXAMPLE

One of the purposes of this part of the study has been to analyse the Nordic Lutheran way as an integrative European theology and mentality (as an alternative to American or national theologies), politically exemplified in Nordic Social Democracy as an expression of secularised Lutheranism (implying that religious influence in an open sense is much broader than figures of Church attendance might suggest). This has been stressed by sociologists and historians like Susan Sundback in Finland and Uffe Oestergaard in Denmark. Further, the Nordic Lutheran way is exemplified in the change of Christian democratic parties from a national, confessional level to a European, super-confessional level.

Another purpose has been to analyse Nordic ecumenical cooperation on local, national, and international level as a cultural process of European integration, eg. in Lutheran-Roman Catholic relations in Sweden, which have created good conditions for a positive attitude towards the European Community in the churches, and to analyse the quick and successful process of religious integration in Sweden in comparison to the other Nordic countries from religious liberty (1951), the Abolition of the prohibition of monasteries (1951-1977), to Separation between the Lutheran Church and the state (2000) as a cultural process of European integration, experienced both in the national and the local society. Political resistance against European integration will be analysed as a strengthening factor of European, ecumenical cooperation between churches.

The many common features of the Nordic countries makes it quite possible to concentrate this study on one of them, and thus study the issue of churches and integration from different angles in the country of Sweden. As is clear from our application, the plans have all the time been to study Sweden as a special case study.

Especially two circumstances make the example of Sweden very elucidating. First, that Sweden for decades has had many more immigrants than the other Nordic countries. Thus, the need for integration has been earlier and stronger expressed in Sweden, and the development has been going on for such a long time that it now is possible to study and analyse integration on several levels, and from several different aspects. Secondly, the Roman Catholic Church in Sweden is much bigger than in the other Nordic countries. If it has been well integrated and

acted in an integrating way in Sweden, this could be applied to the other Nordic countries as well. Here, Danish material has been used in the analysis as well. Thirdly, the so-called Free churches have been much stronger in Sweden than in its fellow Nordic countries. This has made the religious situation in Sweden a more manifold one, which has made it possible to analyse more different variations in integrational attitudes.

The study has had *five distinctive parts*, all dealing with questions of Nordic Churches and European integration. Applying the theoretical model of Peter van Ham, in which integration is understood as the creation of a *Gemeinschaft* of shared values and ideas, we may ask whether the churches were forces of integration or disintegration. The answers depend on our understanding of the nature of European identity and *Gemeinschaft*. If our conceptions are built around ideas of uniformity, we may argue that the churches, with their denominational rivalries, only act as centrifugal forces. On the other hand, if we see European *Gemeinschaft* as a phenomenon that presupposes diversity and tolerance, even religious links with inherent conflicts with main-stream society may be valued.

Since the doctoral work of Daniel Alvunger (*The Secular Lutheran kingdom of Swedish Nation - The Church of Sweden and Social Democratic Church politics in the Welfare State, 1944-1973*) has not been paid by the CEI-project, and his doctoral dissertation will not be concluded until 2005, his results will be reported elsewhere. Underneath a short summary of each other part of the study will be offered followed a wider explanation of the key results in each.

In her work on Swedishness, Catholicism and European Integration. *The Catholic Church in Sweden after 1945*, Yvonne Maria Werner found that today, the Catholic Church is an integrated and accepted part of Swedish society. This change of attitudes seems to be the result of a successful process of integration, thanks to the theological reorientation by the Second Vatican Council, 1962-1965, but also due to the radical changes of Swedish society. In both cases, the former strategies of delimitation were abandoned in favour of more pluralistic views. A hypothesis is that the integration of the local Catholic Church into Swedish society can be regarded as an important condition for a more positive attitude towards European integration.

In his study on Local churches and European integration: Jönköping, 1965-1985, Erik Sidenvall argues that it is possible to discern three alternative approaches to Europe. He finds that the dominant trend was decidedly confessionalistic. An alternative was a growing ecumenical pattern, found in above all the Church of Sweden's contacts with the Roman Catholic Church. A third model, found among exponents of a strident evangelical sentiment, approached Europe as a missionary field. Nevertheless, whatever shape their relations with Europe took, facilitated the rehearsal of an international identity founded, not on ideas of nationality, but on notions of a shared Christianity. Therefore, by going beyond the nationalist agenda, the local churches belong to those organisations that can be said to have prepared people for living in a post-national, heavily diversified Europe.

In his study of the implementation of European Christian Democracy, Anders Jarlert has studied 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. While Nonconformist Protestants tended to oppose Swedish EU membership, the leadership of the party changed their attitude strongly in favour of European integration between 1988-1992, and still more up to 1996. Internal dissent within the party over the leadership's position weakened between 1992-1996. However, in the preparatory discussions before the Swedish referendum on the Euro, 2003, the attitude was divided even within the Party leadership. A hypothesis is that a totally changed attitude towards Swedish Catholicism, Catholic ethical doctrine, and immigrants in Sweden, does not imply such a wide change of attitude towards South European Catholicism in politics. A 'missionary' attitude is still noticeable towards Southern (and Eastern) Europe, but now as part of a much more open, integrational sentiment.

In his study of the Church of Sweden and the influence of 'low-level' integration, Martin Bergman applies a perspective of integration which is lacking an authoritative centre and with 'low-level' and 'attitudinal' integration as vital elements to the alterations the Church of Sweden is experiencing as a result of a greater integration, despite confessional and political boundaries. He regards four stratas successively piled on top of each other, from which ideas, actions and objects are imported and thus influencing the spirituality of the Church of Sweden: a Lutheran and mainly German one, the second consists of the contacts with the Anglican Church; the third is the Roman Catholic Church. The fourth stratum consists of the

contacts with the Orthodox churches. Emancipation and individualisation call social control, authority and power into question, but the disintegration of authority does not have to lead to isolation or social disintegration. Many forms of ecclesiastical integration, such as pilgrimage, demonstrate the yearning for a global idea, and a European, Christian identity.

Key results on the studies carried out

In her work on “Swedishness, Catholicism and European Integration. The Catholic Church in Sweden after 1945”, Yvonne Maria Werner finds out that the position of the Catholic Church in Swedish society has radically changed since 1860, when the liberalisation of religious legislation made it possible for Swedish citizens to become Catholics without having to leave the country. But the inherited view of Catholicism as a threat to Nordic national and cultural unity remained strong. Today, the Catholic Church, which is the largest Christian community after the Lutheran Church of Sweden, is an integrated and accepted part of Swedish society. This change of attitudes seems to be the result of a successful process of integration, thanks not only to the theological reorientation of the Catholic Church by the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) and the ensuing reforms, but also the radical changes that Swedish society underwent in the same period. In both cases, the former strategies of delimitation were abandoned in favour of more pluralistic views. Werner uses the word integration on two different levels: a domestic and a European level.

There is not much research done on the Catholic Church in Sweden. This study is thus based partly on primarily source material from the Swedish National archives, partly on printed sources 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 drafts and copies of the reports to Rome in the Catholic Diocesan archive at the National archives in Stockholm.

The churches’ role in the process of European cultural integration (here understood as the creation of European Gemeinschaft of shared values and ideas) has been little investigated. It goes without saying that, in a historical perspective, long before politicians started to seriously talk about the necessity of forging a European identity in the 1980s, European Christianity had done much to foster an international cultural environment.

In his study of the implementation of European Christian Democracy, Professor Anders Jarlert has studied 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.

The Christian Democratic parties in the Nordic countries have other sources of origin than the continental ones. They are originally Protestant; they have grown out of the national state, and in societies which have been homogeneous in language, culture, and ethnicity. They were founded out of an experience of vacuum or lack of interest in Christian values. These facts have sometimes been neglected in European countries with a less differentiated party structure. In its founding years, the Christian Democratic Party was supported especially from Pentecostal circles, where European integration traditionally has not been emphasized. The founding of the Christian Democratic party in 1964 may be interpreted as a conservative reaction to the liberalization and secularisation of the 1960s, in legislation, school politics (especially religious education), and public morals. However, it is important to observe that this conservatism was national, locally based, and confessional. Its anti-Catholicism was almost as self-evident as its anti-communism.

Still in 1985, the Christian Democratic party was described as at present 'a culturally conservative, family-conscious centre party with a radical position on environmental policy'. The party was found to fit well in the 'Christian Democratic family', with 'possibly the most radical position, both with regard to left-right issues and environmental policy'. During the 1980s, the economical debate made it impossible for any party to stand free from the Socialist or the Non-Socialist bloc in Swedish politics. The Christian Democrats profiled themselves as decidedly Non-Socialists. With the exception for one period with only their leader as a member of parliament, the party was not firmly established until after the election in 1991, when it got 26 MP:s and three ministers in the government.

In his study of the Church of Sweden and the influence of 'low-level' integration, Dr. Martin Bergman applies a perspective of integration which is lacking an authoritative centre and with 'low-level' and 'attitudinal' integration as vital elements to the alterations the Church of Sweden is experiencing as a result of a greater integration, despite confessional and political boundaries.

Nils Andrén has, in analysing Nordic integration, coined the phrase 'cobweb integration' for an integration lacking a 'central authoritative basis' but with a huge number of contacts, which together creates a strong web tying together and integrating the countries. Some researchers have combined Andrén's theory with the model of 'security-community', where integration is defined through the terms "sense of community" and 'peaceful change'. Bengt Sundelius, also starting in Nordic integration, has created a model separating three strands of integration, political integration, societal integration (activities 'outside the range of direct public involvement or control') and attitudinal integration. This model widens the concept from any narrow political and constitutional view to include a wider conception of society.

New results in these studies

Professor Werner's study concentrated on three major fields. The first concerned the refugee and immigrant question. The stream of refugees during and after the Second World War led to a rapid increase of the numbers of Catholics in Sweden. Today, there are about 165.000 registered Catholics in Sweden, for the most part immigrants or children of immigrants. Studying the Catholic pastoral care of the immigrants, Werner shows how the theological reorientation following with Vatican II radically changed the position of the Catholic Church in Swedish society. The development towards a more pluralistic model of Catholic immigrant pastoral care and integration shows certain similarities with the changes within Swedish immigrant policy in the same period. Here as well, the goal changed from assimilation to a more pluralistic model of integration, which stressed the rights of the immigrants to keep their own language and culture. With this new cultural pluralistic model also followed an increased appreciation of the so called 'immigrant congregations'. As the greatest of those 'immigrant congregations' appeared the Catholic Church that from the 1970s, and onward, received growing state subsidies.

The second field of investigation is the Catholic Church's development from confessional delimitation to ecumenical co-operation. Up to Vatican II, the Catholic Church emphasised its claim to be the only true church, and non-Catholic regions as the Nordic countries were regarded as missionary areas. This view was given up with the theological reorientation of Vatican II, which radically changed the conditions for the Catholic Church's work in the Nordic countries. Missionary engagement was replaced with ecumenical work for Christian

unity, ecumenical commissions were created, and the religious life got an ecumenical touch. This ecumenical engagement has highly contributed to the integration of the Catholic Church in Nordic society. The Catholic liturgical reform, which weakened the hierarchical and ritual aspects in favour of the idea of community, was an important factor in this change. It also opened the way to a cultural accommodation to local conditions, which in the Nordic area among other things meant that the Catholic Church incorporated Protestant hymns into its liturgy. At the same time, many Catholic religious traditions were introduced into Protestant services, not least in Sweden, which has contributed to smooth out the visual differences between Catholic and Protestant religious life.

The zeniths of this ecumenical development was the visit of Pope John Paul II to the Nordic countries in 1989 and the ecumenical vespers in the basilica of Saint Peter in Rome in 1991 and 1999, where the pope presided at the high altar together with the Lutheran archbishops of Finland and Sweden. These events have without doubt affected the views and opinions on the European Union and European integration. A study conducted in 1998 showed that active members of the Church of Sweden were generally positive to Sweden joining the EU, whilst socialists and professed atheists, were often against Swedish membership. In Sweden, the anti-Catholic traditions have since the beginning of the 20th century been connected with the European continent and the European project of integration, and in connection with the EU-referendum several commentators described the European Union as a Catholic creation that posed a threat to Swedish norms and values.

Finally, Werner has investigated the impact of political Catholicism and the Catholic political doctrine to the Swedish attitude toward the EU. Catholic politicians played an important role during the initial phase of the European process of integration, which was strongly supported by the Holy See. After 1989, the Holy See intensified its efforts to promote European integration. Catholic Episcopal synods for Europe were organised, and in several statements, the Pope stressed the importance of ecumenical dialogue for the development of this process. Before Vatican II, however, the European policy of the Holy See had a quite different direction, which was due to the then prevailing exclusivist view on Christian unity but also to the ideological character of preconciliar Catholicism. The strong Catholic presence in European politics of the post-war period reinforced the Nordic countries' sceptical attitude to the now initiated European process of integration. This was especially apparent in Sweden. Here the presence of the Catholic Church served to delay the country's accession to the

convention on Human Rights and the European Court. Also here, Vatican II was a turning point. With this Council the Catholic Church recognised the (relative) autonomy of civil society and the former strategies of delimitation was given up in favour of dialogue and co-operation with the non-Catholic world.

This change of perspectives is one of the factors that have made the Catholic to an accepted and integrated part of Nordic society. Catholicism no longer appears as an ideological alternative to the current political parties, but as a religious community, that can offer an ethical foundation for the politics at large. So one may conclude that it is the political and ideological consequences of Catholicism that Swedes reacted against, while at the same time many were attracted by Catholic piety and liturgical practice. The same ambiguity can be observed over Catholic moral teaching, where the Catholic idea of an eternal order of justice and ethics that transcends national legislation is foreign to the Swedish concept of justice. This antagonism between the Nordic and the official Catholic positions is especially apparent in the field of family ethics. The development of Swedish family politics since the 1960s has widened the gap between the Catholic and the mainstream Swedish view on this matter. But for many Protestant Christians, not least within the evangelical Free Churches, the Catholic Church's consequent defence of traditional sexual ethics and of the rights of the unborn children have lead to a more positive opinion toward Catholicism. This was indirectly expressed in the official comments of the Free Churches regarding Swedish membership in the EU. Here, besides the safeguard of peace and human rights, those questions were pointed out as an example of in what way the churches could contribute developing a common value ground for the European Union.

Dr. Sidenvall's research has given a local Swedish perspective on the churches' role in the cultural integration of Europe. The international involvement of the churches is often studied only at a fairly 'high' organisational level; little consideration has been taken of the local initiatives that in the life of the ordinary European may be of much more importance than formal agreements and visits by high-ranking ecclesiastical dignitaries. In other words, the ordinary 'prosaic' perspective has not to be forgotten when we consider cultural integration. In his research, Sidenvall explored how five Protestant denominations in Jönköping – one of the larger industrial cities of southern Sweden, well-known for the intensity and diversity of its religion – formed, maintained and developed networks of European contacts between 1965 and 1985. This period has been chosen since it is generally understood not only to be central

to Cold War experience, but also to the local implementation of the principles of the ecumenical movement in Sweden.

The Swedish political scientist Magnus Hagevi has persuasively argued that the Swedish Protestant churches' attitude towards the EU is contingent upon the extent to which its members has embraced what is defined as an evangelical world-view. The more evangelical, the more hostile to the EU, seems to be the general pattern. This observation seems to suggest that there may have been differences between the European networks of the main-line Protestant denominations compared to those of the various Evangelical communities. Further contextualised Hagevis' statement leads to a number of related questions. Firstly, given the fact that some branches of Swedish Evangelicalism has been reluctant to participate in the ecumenical movement at large, one may ask what impact ecumenical considerations had on these international relations? What impact had the development of local ecumenism? Secondly, a sceptical attitude towards the ecumenical movement on the part of Swedish Evangelicals has often been connected to a fairly anti-Catholic/anti-Orthodox mentality. What impact had such denominational rivalry on the choices made by the Jönköping congregations? Were there alternative approaches to Europe shaped by competing, either conscious or unconscious, theological models? Finally, this study will also try to address the more complex question, which of course can only be answered tentatively, of what is/was the significance – in terms of integration – of these various European networks.

As a way to organise his investigation, which in itself is a contribution to our current understanding, Sidenvall has been able to locate and describe three alternatives, albeit partially overlapping, approaches to Europe. The first and most widely accepted of these has been labelled 'confessionalistic'. With this term he describes how the churches' European networks were to a large extent shaped by prior notions of doctrinal, organisational or spiritual similarity – the Lutherans of the Church of Sweden sought to establish contacts with other Lutheran churches, the Jönköping Pentecostals formed links with other Pentecostals or Baptist across Europe. Above all the latter denomination had a particularly rich 'confessionalistic' network in, above all, Eastern Europe – network which facilitated regular exchanges across the East-West border.

A second approach to Europe was shaped by 'ecumenical' notions. This trend is discernible mostly in the Church of Sweden congregations' rich relations with Continental Roman

Catholicism. That local congregations could organise pilgrimage like trips to Roman Catholic centres in Europe, was a novelty in the pastoral activities of the Church of Sweden. There are several pieces of evidence that suggest that these journeys were instrumental in bringing members of the two churches closer together. When we reach the 1980s, and in spite of their hitherto solid anti-Catholicism, some of the Jönköping Evangelical churches started to form similar relations.

Finally, above all the more radical of the Jönköping 'Free churches' approached Europe as a 'missionary field'. In fact, those churches in which extreme hostility to the EU was later likely to be found were the ones that placed missionaries on the continent. Several of these endeavours were run in conjuncture with local Protestant congregations. In spite of the fact that these denominations emphasised that all societies and every human being, regardless of his denominational attachment, was in need of 'conversion', the rationale for these ventures was outspokenly anti-Catholic/anti-Orthodox. That entailed that it was mostly the nations around the Mediterranean that were targeted.

In summing up the results of his study, Sidenvall draws attention to the following points that have bearing on the local churches' contribution to the cultural integration of Europe: the capacity of ordinary congregations to form and maintain extensive international networks, which involved the ordinary member, in spite of political difficulties; the international, European, dimension that was part and parcel of local church membership; the catalysing role of individuals in forming international networks; the limited role played by ecumenical thought and the strength of the, seemingly old-fashioned, 'confessionalistic' trend.

In his study, Professor Anders Jarlert has studied 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. In this study, too, the three different approaches: a confessional one, an ecumenical one, and a missionary one, can be observed. While the 'official' development clearly has gone from a confessional attitude towards an ecumenical one – the party has now even practising Jewish members, a 'missionary' attitude can still be observed.

Research has shown that while Nonconformist Protestants have tended to oppose Swedish EU membership, the leadership of the Swedish Christian Democratic Party changed their attitude strongly in favour of European integration between 1988-1992, and still more up to 1996. Internal dissent within the party over the leadership's position weakened between 1992-1996. However, in the preparatory discussions before the Swedish referendum on the Euro, 2003, the attitude was divided even within the Party leadership. A possible explanation is that a totally changed attitude towards Swedish Catholicism, Catholic ethical doctrine, and immigrants in Sweden, that is, an ecumenical attitude, does not imply such a wide change of attitudes towards South European Catholicism in politics. A 'missionary' attitude is still noticeable towards Southern (and Eastern) Europe, but now as part of a much more open, integrational sentiment.

As in Sidenvall's study, this 'missionary' attitude must not necessarily be regarded as negative towards integration. Regardless of their different attitudes to European Christianity, by going beyond the nationalist agenda, the Jönköping churches or the Christian Democratic party belonged to those organisations that can be said to have prepared people for living in a post-national, heavily diversified Europe. However, with their different approaches and attitudes towards Europe, we have to ask ourselves whether they were forces of integration or disintegration. Our answer to that question depends, of course, on our understanding of the nature of European identity and *Gemeinschaft*. If our conceptions are built around ideas of uniformity, we may argue that the churches, with their denominational rivalries, only act as centrifugal forces. On the other hand, if we see European *Gemeinschaft* as a phenomenon that presupposes diversity and tolerance, even the link between Swedish and Spanish Pentecostalism, with all its inherent conflicts with main-stream society, may be valued. Paradoxically, in *la longue durée* constructive confrontation and cultural conversion may be the very elements from which Europeanness is forged.

In his study of the influence of 'low-level- integration, Dr. Martin Bergman has applied a perspective of integration lacking any authoritative centre and with a 'low-level' and 'attitudinal' integration as vital elements, on the alterations experienced by the Church of Sweden as a result of a greater integration. No integrative process is completed without an acceptance among the individuals of the integrating collectives. Lacking a general acceptance, the integrative process encounters serious difficulties in its role as safeguard for nonaggression.

Since the reformation, the main origins of influence on the Church of Sweden very schematically could be sketched like strata successively piled on top of each other, all of them still leaking substance into the river meandering through them. The stratum nearest the rock is the Lutheran, mainly German influence. Until the 19th century this stratum overwhelmingly dominated the picture. Although its relative importance have diminished greatly, the co-operation with other Lutheran churches, especially the Nordic, and the Baltic ones, is still important.

The second stratum consists of the contacts with the Anglican churches. In the 20th century contacts included the negotiations leading up to the agreement on intercommunion of 1922 between the Anglican Church and the Church of Sweden, and the Porvoo agreement of 1995 between Anglican and the most Nordic and Baltic, Lutheran churches. During the century many impulses were received from the Anglican community. Many priests visited Britain and brought home ideas. Relationships to orders and monasteries in England were formed and upheld by reciprocal visits.

The third stratum, the Catholic Church, for centuries lacked recognised influence in the Church of Sweden. Official contacts between these churches were rare before Vatican II. Nowadays the Catholic Church is conceived more as a partner than as a threat. The influence in liturgical matters has been huge, and while before Vatican II mainly persons of High church inclinations voluntarily imported liturgical ideas from the Catholic Church, today this also is done by many who probably understand themselves as anti-catholic.

The fourth, newest and most rapidly growing stratum consists of the contacts with and influences from the Orthodox and Oriental Churches. Maybe most conspicuous is the presence of the icons. From being primarily an object of art in museums the 'icon culture' spread, especially in the 80's and 90's. Icons in different functions were installed in numerous Swedish churches. The desert fathers and other ancient texts from the eastern half of Christendom, Russian saints, and modern orthodox spiritual books have made their entrance in an environment where they were all but unknown just fifty years ago. Individuals are no longer exclusively visiting Western monasteries; a growing number is cultivating Orthodox monastical contacts.

Beyond these strata we find both an urge for contacts on a global level and an eclectic behaviour, with little interest for confessional differences. Although Anglican, Catholic, and Orthodox monasticism have continued to influence Swedish spirituality, the deepest influence might well have come from monasteries beyond traditional confessions such as the widely popular reformed monastery and pilgrimage destination, Taizé. It was first noticed by the Swedish press around 1950 and its influence grew and Taizé has evolved as a site of pilgrimage with a particular image of centre of young Christians visited by several thousands of, especially young, Swedes every year.

In Sweden there was an explicit prohibition against pilgrimage issued in 1544. Pilgrimage had no place in the conception of the church. This rather isolationist system was not seriously challenged before the 20th century. The gradually emerging acceptance of and support for pilgrimage in a huge part of the Church of Sweden is thus an indicator of major changes in its spirituality. A connection between this development and an increasing interest for history is evident.

Integration is a complex process where many factors play a role. Integration affects not only the political strand in a society; it is a process involving society as whole, its groups and individuals. Integration of societies is to a large extent a result of integration or integrative tendencies and strategies among groups and individuals. Societal and attitudinal integration is growing in the ecclesiastical area. The development in the Church of Sweden is not unique in this aspect and neither is the development in the churches in general unique in society. The leading role of 'political' and 'high-level' integration is threatened. Not long ago the churches' relation to nationalistic currents often was strong. Today churches are among the outspoken supporters for international solidarity and co-operation. The contact with other Christians and their devotion and spirituality increases knowledge and a sense of community, thus strengthening an identity of belonging to one, global 'catholic' Church.

Proposals for further research

Since our project has dealt with the Christian religion and European integration only, a study of Islam and European integration would be very useful. There are large, well integrated groups of Moslems in the Swedish society, as well as other, not so well integrated groups.

This suggests that a study of the relations between Islam, Swedish society, and European integration could be very fruitful.

Another suggestion for further research is the study of regionality in churches. The Christian churches have since the Middle ages been organised with the regions, the dioceses, as their central level. Today, when the regions, both the smaller and the bigger ones, both the traditional, the new and the 'imagined' ones, have grown in importance throughout Europe, a study of the experiences of regionality in churches as a European pattern could be of much use to the development of modern Europe.

A third suggestion would be a study on religion and European respectively national identity, with emphasis on the majority Lutheran churches and the national Orthodox churches. In these churches, the actual problem of belonging to a wider community and still having a national character has for a long time formed the religious identity. This could be very fruitful actual efforts to combine the national identities with a European one.

7. CHURCHES OF EASTERN EUROPE – BREAKING THE ISOLATION THROUGH COMMUNICATION WITH THE WESTERN CHURCHES AND PREPARING FOR INTEGRATION. THE ESTONIAN CASE.

The topic of the study was chosen to describe the role of the churches and their active members in the political and social processes in Eastern Europe during the Cold War and during the restructuring process after the collapse of communism. Very little amount of competent research had been done in this field before as truthful research was not possible during the communist regime and in the recent situation the lack of resources for this kind of research has been the main obstacle. Current research has prepared the ground for continuation on many fields of religious (social) studies.

The whole of European civilisation evolved from Christianity, Latin Christianity to be more exact, which combined Judaic-Christian monotheism, Greek rationalism and Roman organisational skills. Although these factors changed and developed as time went by, their combinations shaped the European way of life.

In the early 1990s it became clear that the process of European integration could not rely solely on economic interests to achieve success. That is why presidents of the European Commission Jacques Delors and Jacques Santer initiated the “European spirit” program with the aim of finding common values and ethical and spiritual dimensions that facilitate European integration. It is no wonder that namely Christianity, with its historical contribution, was seen as the binding force of European identity and cultural unity. Humanism, Judaism and Islam were viewed as additional influences that should be integrated in the dialogue between cultures and religions. Yet this undertaking only succeeded to a certain extent because by the 1990s Europe was already a culturally and religiously versatile community where the position of traditional Christianity had weakened and its ability to unite society had diminished in many countries due to several processes, such as secularisation, individualisation of religious life, consolidation of foreign religions (Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, etc.) and proliferation of new religious movements. That is why by the end of the 20th century Christianity lost its influence of spiritual unification in Europe although the Catholic Church with the Pope has been making vigorous efforts to once again increase its influence in society.

At the same time, we must not forget that Christians still represent the largest religious body that has a network covering the whole of Europe – that is why Christianity can still be considered a force to be reckoned with in the process of integration, and if not all over Europe, then in most parts of it definitely.

The process of integration that has been involving Christian churches should stress not only the official international communication of church leaders, but individual communication as well as it unites simple members of congregations worldwide.

The topic in the study was divided into three parts:

- 1) Contacts between churches and ecumenical organisations (1950-60ies)
- 2) Individual contacts between church members (1980-1990ies)
- 3) European Union and churches (Christians) in Eastern Europe (1990-present day)

Estonia was chosen as an object of a case study for various reasons. First, it has an interesting religious composition. Being mostly Protestant (Lutheran) country, it has traditionally the orthodox minority, connecting thus both Western and Eastern church traditions. During the 20th century the country went through the secularisation and today only 31,8% of population claim to be a follower of a particular faith. Lutherans still keep a slight majority. Secondly, Estonia is a very successful reform country. It was a part of Soviet Union for most of the 20th century, suffering heavily from the isolation and ideological pressure, still it has succeeded in transformation reforms after the collapse of Soviet Union and it was accepted to EU on May 1, 2004. The integration processes have been extremely fast in Estonia. These facts make Estonia a good example for the research of the similar processes in Eastern Europe.

Results of research

The results of the study can be described as following:

The official contacts between the churches in East and West, mostly through the ecumenical organisations were the isolation-breakers during the hardest times of Cold War. Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC) started to communicate with the West from 1950s, when official contacts with Western Churches were re-established. The leaders of EELC have

been rather active in the international ecumenical organisations, especially Jaan Kiivit sn., who was one of the first presidents of the Conference of European Churches (CEC). Foreign contacts of Eastern European church leaders during the Cold War had worked for good of the church life in their countries to some extent. The church has got theological literature for teaching and has also mediated personal contacts to some extent. The parish members have got the possibility to hear the guests from the West. Still it must be kept in mind that the choice of contacts was made by the Council of Religious Affairs in Moscow, and the character of these contacts was heavily influenced by the political interest of Soviet state. The public speeches of church leaders were heavily censored and contained half-truths about the situation at home. In private conversations they could express themselves just a bit more freely. Some church leaders could show some independence in their actions abroad – but it did not end well for them finally.

The influence of Western culture on the Estonian mentality through contacts with Western Church members became increasingly possible at the end of 1980s. Two case studies, about the aid provided by friendship churches and Christian organisations and the popularity among and the influence on Estonian youth of the Taizé movement were carried out. An analysis of the influence of international contacts at the individual level on the reintegration into Europe of Estonians shows, that that activities of friendship congregations developed mostly on the basis of the network of personal acquaintances and contacts of church figures. At the close of the 20th century, Estonia attached considerable importance to the material aid side of these relations, resulting in the economic survival of many congregations and directions of church work. Currently the issue of material aid is losing its importance and friendship relations are set to be continued on more equal foundations than before. In the first half of the 1990s, pilgrimages to Taizé and annual conventions became very popular for several reasons. The inexpensive travel opportunity was also an attraction in itself but even the travellers without a religious motivation got the opportunity for the experience of a Christian community that was new for them. Both pilgrimages and the contacts with the friendship parishes gave for the people in Eastern Europe new understanding of a position of faith and faithful in a society, destroying negative stereotypes associated with religion.

The experience of friendship congregations and Taizé pilgrimages indicates that the spiritual foundations of cooperation and unification of Christians can easily be found in Christian teachings. But when this cooperation is placed within the framework of the process of

European integration, we notice that there is a lack of a common ideology and paradigm that can be combined with the Christian ideology. The European Union has no clear-cut positive connections with Christianity. This was proved by the insufficiency and weakness of religious arguments put forward by Christian supporters of joining the European Union.

Another general tendency that is noticeable among simple Estonians, including Christians, is the notion that the European Union is just another historical inevitability that befalls Estonia – and it does not matter whether it is considered to be a positive or negative thing. This attitude results in thoughts and discussions on how an inevitability like that can be used to our benefit, how we can make it useful or obtain advantages from it. People find it difficult to comprehend that this is our chance to participate in the shaping of Europe, its identity and common idea that unites all Europeans.

The following results will be discussed in detail.

Contacts between churches and ecumenical organisations (1950-60ies)

The study titled “Foreign relations of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church 1955-1967”. During the Cold War the Christians in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries lived in relative isolation. It was only since the middle of the 1950s that contacts with representatives of the Western churches became possible. In 1955 Jaan Kiivit Sr., the archbishop of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC), made his first foreign visits, to Finland and Great Britain. During the following years, until 1967 when he had to retire, he held several meetings with Western church leaders, not to mention participation in international church organisations. He was one of the first presidents of the Conference of European Churches (CEC), being also actively connected with the Prague Peace Conference. During his term of office, the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church was accepted into the World Council of Churches (WCC) (1962) and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) (1963).

It is clear from the plans and instructions issued to the Commissioner of Religious Affairs in Estonia (the highest state official responsible for religious affairs), that active participation in the activities of ecumenical organisations was very much encouraged by the authorities. When ecumenical organisations such as the WCC and LWF were created, state control over the

churches in the Baltic States was still not strong enough to control the process, and also the situation in international relations was different. After Stalin's death the situation changed.

The Baltic Lutheran churches' contacts with the West initially took place through the Russian Orthodox Church. Most of the letters of invitation to visit the Western countries reached Lutherans through the Orthodox Church, and had first to be accepted by the Orthodox Church leaders. If Jaan Kiivit Sr. himself received a letter of invitation (or just a letter from a Western church leader containing some important information on international relations), he first translated it into Estonian, then sent a copy of the original letter and the translation to the state commissioner, who organized the Russian translation, which was sent to Moscow. Only when the decision came from Moscow could an archbishop answer the letter, and in some cases it was then too late. It was often difficult for an Estonian delegate to attend meetings organized spontaneously. Another difficulty was the slow visa procedure, which sometimes lasted several months. And the Estonian Lutheran Church was not permitted to accept all invitations. In the later stage, when Kiivit was already a popular church leader abroad, the state officials from the Council for Religious Affairs "helped" him to choose which conference or meeting to attend if they happened to take place at the same time.

1955-1960 quite a lot of information could be passed to the West thanks to the slightly changed situation. In 1960ies many church leaders started to visit Estonia and Latvia as foreign guests. The guests have brought also sometimes literature as a gift and also Estonian church leaders have got the opportunity to buy literature when they visited foreign countries. The guests from socialist countries as well as from the ecumenical organisations had to follow the routes carefully planned by the Soviet authorities. There were certain enterprises that had to be visited – some factories and kolkhozes for example. The meetings with simple congregation members were carefully avoided. No direct contacts were allowed except with the "controlled" persons. Still the visitors could attend some services and even to preach but no advertisements about such events were made possible by authorities.

Thanks to the visit to Estonia of Finnish president U. K. Kekkonen in 1964 the direct ship line between Tallinn and Helsinki was established next year. Many church delegations started to use this new possibility. In 1966 20 000 tourists used this opportunity to visit Estonia, among them 10 groups particularly containing church activists from Finland, Denmark, West-

Germany and United States. It made much more work for authorities to control all the possible relations.

The texts of the speeches abroad were first made available to the Commissioner for Religious Affairs, translated into Russian at his office, sent to Moscow, and only then did permission come from Moscow (probably by phone) that the text had been approved. This information was not true, if one compares it with the data from other documents for use inside the country and the recollections of contemporary people. The official statements never contained the whole truth. In the best cases the statement itself was not wrong, but it described only the pleasant side of reality, i.e. did not describe the situation as it really was. In the context of censorship it is clear that the church leadership could not express their opinions freely. In later stages, the development of relatively strict self-censorship described by many Sovietologists probably took place.

Were statements different when expressed during informal meetings and conversations with Western church leaders? This depended on personalities. Kiivit seemed in his first meeting with the influential church leader Lund-Quist in 1955 to him a human and easily accessible churchman who avoided exaggerations and gave the facts carefully and openly. He wanted to say nothing about the political and economical questions of the country but kept talking about church matters. This impression was later shared by many others. In the later period Jaan Kiivit Sr. proved too independent a player for the state officials, and this was the main reason for his early retirement in 1967 as the documents found from the the Commissioner's files reveal. This has been the rumoured also before, although his bad health was the official reason.

The next archbishops of EELC during the Soviet period – Alfred Tooming (1968-1978) and Edgar Hark (1978-1986) were much less active in the foreign relations. Their participation in the ecumenical organisations was forced by the fact that Kiivit Sr. had prepared the ways (got the memberships etc.). Even their knowledge of languages was not in favour of the active relations – Edgar Hark is remembered for his speeches in Russian in the international meetings. On the other hand, they were much easier to be controlled by the authorities this way.

Individual contacts between church members (1980-1990ies)

The study titled “Friendship congregations of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church. Emergence and development of friendly ties in the 20th century.” Communication between Christian congregations dates back to early Christianity. Today, in the European context, this communication can be viewed as one of the facets of spiritual integration. It is natural that closer friendship ties evolved between congregations of culturally similar neighbouring countries. For instance, congregations of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church have the largest number of friends in Finland, but also in Sweden and Germany, among many other countries.

It should be noted that activities of friendship congregations develop mostly on the basis of the network of personal acquaintances and contacts of church figures. This is how such ties originated in the beginning of the 20th century, later on becoming official friendship relations. Thus, the individual level was of vital importance here. At the close of the 20th century, Estonia attached considerable importance to the material aid side of these relations, resulting in the economic survival of many congregations and directions of church work. Currently the issue of material aid is losing its importance and friendship relations are set to be continued on more equal foundations than before.

The spiritual side of friendship relations has been vital as well. Many church workers have received training and gained valuable experience abroad to apply at home. Estonians have appreciated mutual visits that helped simple members of congregations to understand that it is normal to be a Christian and society accepts this in Western Europe, unlike in Estonia where quite strong prejudices against religion and religious people still exist today.

What can Estonians offer their friends? Not material aid, but instead the church traditions that have remained unchanged and pure for the last century, that old-time aura that has mostly disappeared in Western Europe but can still be sensed in Estonian churches.

The study titled “Organisation of Taizé pilgrimages in Estonia.” Activities of the Taizé brotherhood that strives to conciliate different Christian denominations and revive the life of congregations via the annual Taizé conventions of youth members of such congregations can definitely be viewed as an undertaking that unites Christians and is aimed primarily at simple

members of congregations. Information about the Taizé brotherhood reached Estonia via Finland during the Soviet period. In the 1970s and 1980s, the spirit of Taizé connected and helped many Estonian, Russian, Latvian, and Lithuanian youth to become friends as they kept in touch with Taizé enthusiasts in the West. Separate individuals continued spreading information about Taizé and in the late 1980s, as society was undergoing profound changes; Estonians finally were able to participate in international Taizé conventions.

In the first half of the 1990s, pilgrimages to Taizé and annual conventions became very popular for several reasons. First of all, we should take into account the religious boom of that time. What had been forbidden for many years now attracted considerable unchallenged interest that included Taizé events. The inexpensive travel opportunity was also an attraction in itself that many people rushed to make use of as trips to countries in Western Europe had been extremely restricted in the Soviet time. That is why many people came along who were not motivated by faith. The pilgrimage influenced such people in two different ways. The religious aspect either left them indifferent or surprisingly shook them, destroying negatives stereotypes associated with religion. In the latter case, their Taizé pilgrimage endowed them with a sense of mission and introduced Christianity to them.

Interviews conducted among religiously motivated pilgrims showed that Christians in most cases received confirmation of their faith and religious notions. The pilgrimage offered them new experiences and a broader understanding of faith. Those seeking answers to questions of faith were able to understand themselves and their aspirations and witness one possibility of being a Christian.

European Union and churches (Christians) in Eastern Europe (1990-present day)

The study titled “European integration – challenge for religious education in post-socialist context“ dealt with the problems of developing religious education (RE) in post-socialist context. Estonia as one of the most secularised countries among new members of the European Union serves here as a good example for analysis.

RE has been one of the most debated topics in education during the last decade in Estonia. 50 years of the Soviet rule were shaped by strong and wide atheistic ideology, experienced by two generations of Estonians. Teaching of RE became possible again after collapse of the

Soviet Union when Estonia restored its independence in August 1991. According to the Estonian legislation non-confessional RE is an optional subject – this model is applied in Europe also in Slovenia. In European context the non-confessional RE is still quite a novel approach. European models of RE have also been introduced to the Estonian public in media. Concerning RE, year 2003 brought several important news into development of the subject – a new concept of RE, based on the contextual theology and socio-constructivist theory of learning was presented and a new syllabus with teaching-learning materials was worked out. These events, when introduced by media, awaked a new wave of debates.

Several Internet portals offer possibilities for debates on different issues, religious topics among the others. Anonymous comments with the negative attitude towards religion and RE prevail strongly in internet. The outcomes of some empirical studies, where respondents (pupils in secondary schools, their teachers and university students) have been asked about their attitudes regarding religion give another picture. In comparison with the critical debates in internet, one can see that the wider chart of attitudes regarding religion is more positive, colourful and balanced than this in the Internet. If comparing the attitudes towards religion and RE of university students before and after the studies in Christianity, in many cases it was possible to point on the positive influence of RE upon one's attitudes regarding religion. There seems to be a certain degree of agreement about necessity of RE in school curricula: 75% of university students and 78% of teachers agreed on it.

Developing RE in contemporary pluralistic European society is an interesting and demanding challenge. Contextual concept of RE worked out for Estonian schools could be one of the examples how this 'little subject with great aims' can contribute its part for educating young generation of Europeans who know the bridges between the Church and society. As well this approach can serve as a tool in re-thinking RE in contemporary context.

The study titled "On religious aspects of the European referendum" attempted to determine the attitude of Christians concerning joining the European Union immediately prior to the referendum held on September 14th, 2003. The arguments aired for and against joining the EU and their underlying value judgements were analysed.

The study was based on two debates, one of which took place on the pages of the "Estonian Church" newspaper, the mouthpiece of the Lutheran Church, and the other – on the Internet,

in the public mailing list run by Baptists. Lutherans are the largest religious denomination in Estonia and Baptists – the third largest. Both debates reflected opinions of congregation ministers and rank members. Leaders of the Lutheran Church called upon its members to vote for joining the European Union while the Council of Elders of the Union of Evangelical Christian and Baptist Churches announced that this was a matter left to the individual's own discretion.

Supporters of the idea of joining the European Union primarily focused on the cultural argument. The necessity of joining was justified with the claim that Estonia belongs to the cultural space of Western Christianity. This belonging requires reinforcing – it is the guarantee of our, Estonian, identity and independence, we need Christian friends. Mostly rational arguments were used, with the mostly stressed aspects being that Estonia would receive economic and financial aid. It was stated that Estonia would benefit from joining the European Union.

Arguments of those opposing the country's entry into the European Union were mostly of a religious nature. Immediately noticeable was the demonisation of the European Union, spreading in Estonia from foreign free Christian congregations: the building of the European Parliament was compared to the Tower of Babel, the European Union itself – to the Roman Empire, Sodom and the Beast. Symbols of the European Union were alleged to be Satanic and Heathenish. The whole European Union was actually a conspiracy orchestrated by freemasons. It was also alleged that the European Union is morally questionable as it allows marriages between individuals of the same gender. The European Union was also accused of not recognising God and Christianity as the basis of European culture in its founding documents. Religious arguments were supported by prophetic visions and dreams that foretold the destruction of Estonia should it join the European Union – or the country's unprecedented prosperity should it stay away.

Supporters of the European Union ridiculed religious assertions and visions of these negationists, stressing that this was not a spiritual decision. That is why they themselves were extremely reserved with announcing their own religious arguments and visions, concentrating instead on stressing in their arguments such basic values as social and economic development, welfare, happiness, safety, brotherhood, democracy, etc. Negationists, in their turn, admonished the European Union supporters to relinquish their strivings for pelf and

threatened them with the wrath of God, while stating these basic values: obedience to God, Christian virtues, faith, God, etc.

But the value that was towering above all others in arguments submitted by both sides was that of Estonian independence. Supporters were of the opinion that the European Union is the guarantor of independence while negationists believed that by joining the European Union we would once again lose our independence.

At the referendum, 66% of those people in Estonia who attended it voted for joining the European Union and 33% - against. We do not know how the votes of Christians were distributed but the above described study allows us to comprehend what was occupying the thoughts of Christian supporters of the European Union and its negationists.

8. SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRISTIANS IN POLITICAL CHANGES IN EASTERN EUROPE. EASTERN AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN CHURCHES IN THE TRANSITIONS FROM THE 1980S TO 2005. CASE CZECHOSLOVAKIA / CZECH REPUBLIC

Christians and the Church played important but diverse roles during the political changes of the late eighties and early nineties in Eastern Europe as well as during the socio-political transition period since the nineties: Some of them supported oppositional groups and took part in the democratically movements, while others were reserved and less enthusiastic about the new political order and cautious about the new governments. Starting from that point the study has made an attempt to provide an overview about the different developments and attitudes in the Church (and among the different denominations) with regard to the ongoing integration processes in Eastern Europe. Key issues have been the following: dealing with the new political systems (i.e. democracy, rule of law, pluralism, and human rights), role in the civil society, religious and spiritual significance (in the context of secularism, education, values, minority/majority position, theological thinking), reflections about their own past in the communist era, questions of national identity and attitudes on Europe and the European integration.

The work in the work package 8 started the first of January 2003 and was finished in the end of September 2003. The study is based on a case study of Christians and Churches in the transitions in the former socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia from 1977-1989 till the period of the new democratic Czech Republic from 1990-2003. Both Christians (Catholics and Protestants) and the Church played important but diverse roles during the political changes of the late eighties and nineties in the Czech Republic. Some of them supported oppositional groups like the well-known Charta 77 and participated in different democratic movements of the civil society, while others were more reserved and less enthusiastic about the new political order and cautious about new forms of pluralism, economy and secularism after 1989. As the case study shows the social and political impact of Christians was in some parts independent from the concrete political system. Therefore the study began with the Christians' engagement in the communist era, when in 1977 the democratic civil rights movement Charta 77 was established. After that the study analyzes how these socio-political attitudes developed in the time of the Czech Republic after 1990.

The study used an historical approach and was based on an argumentative analysis. Resources are archive files, documents and published papers as well as a series of interviews in Prague and Berlin (2002/2003) with a) clerics and ministers who took an active part in the changes and the transitions and b) members of the new generation (20-30 years old) who grew up during the transitions and still reflect their attitudes to the church and theology in a changing society.

Focus of the Study

About 15 years after the end of communism in Central Europe there is still a lively and ongoing scientific debate about the political, economical and social transitions of the former socialist countries. A huge number of very detailed national studies do also exist as well as broad international cooperation and trans-national comparisons. In the scientific community “transition” – or “transformation” or “post socialism” – is seen as a stage between the fall of an old regime and the stabilization of a new political order. That process requires a mixture of liberalisation and democratization, has to go outside the closed political sphere and implement also non-democratic arrangements in private and semi-public institutions – while the developments are still going on.

Looking at these different political and sociological publications about the last decade's changes in Central Europe there is something quite striking: In most studies the role of the Christian churches is not a worthwhile issue to describe or analyze. Only two big international researches done by sociologists of religious studies deal with the influence and the inner changes of religion in the former Communist countries: the one is edited by Detlef Pollack, Irena Borowik and Wolfgang Jagodzinski in 1998 (“Religiöser Wandel in den postkommunistischen Ländern Mittel- und Osteuropas”), the other by Miklós Tomka and Paul Zulehner in 1999ff (“Gott nach dem Kommunismus. Religion in den Reformländern Ost (Mittel) Europas“). Both use sociologist methods to explore the question why the religious roots and the meaning of churches in the society became less and less important from year to year. The thesis of both studies is that the rule of Communism is responsible for that and both research teams strengthen a present picture of the religious landscape of Central Europe. But there are also some limitations in this approach.

Therefore the study in the CEI-Project presents an explicit historical approach. It is well known that both Christians and the Church played important but diverse roles during the

political changes of the late eighties and early nineties in Eastern and Central Europe as well as during the socio-political transition period since the nineties: Some of them supported oppositional groups and participated in democratic movements, while others were more reserved and less enthusiastic about the new political order and cautious about the new governments. To explore the “mental maps” of this religious engagement for democracy, freedom and human rights and the input for the civil society, there have been some case studies about the social and spiritual role of the churches in the two most secularized countries, the churches in the Czech Republic and in East Germany. They were compared with other Christian democratic movements in Central Europe to give some perspectives for further ongoing historical researches.

Key issues of this analysis were: what was the role of churches in the Communist era and in the time of 1989/90? How did they reflect their own attitudes in present times? Did they focus it open and critical? How they were dealing with the new political systems (i.e. democracy, rule of law, pluralism, restitution, human rights) and thinking about their own role in the civil society? Is it possible to describe the religious and spiritual significance in the context of secularization, the values of education, and a democratic way to deal with the special issue of being a minority or majority position? Is it possible to find a special theological thinking? Furthermore, also questions regarding national identity and the role in the process of nation building as well as opinions and attitudes about Europe and the European integration were looked at. Some results of the case study of churches and Christians in the Czech Republic are presented below. They will also be compared with some other post socialist developments.

Key results

Case study: Republic of Czechoslovakia. Role of Church in the communist era and in the “Velvet Revolution” (1977 - 1989)

Overall, so the general opinion of the well-known Czech Protestant Theologian Jakub Trojan, a former Charta 77-dissident, it is the sad reality that Christians did not demonstrate greater spiritual resistance in the communist era. They allowed themselves be divided in different groups and movements, allowing the State to take away their social dimension of Christian witness, which resulted in their daily religious lives to be limited to liturgy and worship once

more. Clearly, this was also a result of the religious policy of a totalitarian state. But the internal structures of the congregations and personal mentalities made it even easier for the system to develop and sustain the climate of submission.

One exception of the above, were the 242 signatories of the Human Rights Movement Charta 77, which tried to support and strengthen civil, political and cultural rights in the Czech Republic. In Charta 77 the number of Protestant (7% of the total 250 ministers signed the Charta 77) and Catholic lay persons was considerable. The official Churches did not support Charta 77's effort for radical renewal. Instead of willingness to support those who took up the risk connected with their non-conformist policy, the voices heard from Church officials regarding Charta 77 were, at best, a kind of bewilderment and, at worst, definite disassociation. Quite often therefore Chartists were isolated in their own countries as well as in the ecumenical movement and received only support from individuals and Human Rights Organisations.

Since the 1950s, an underground Church with a strong laity secretly consecrated priests and bishops grew within the Catholic Church. In an attempt to discourage this and also as a policy to divide the church from within, the State supported the loyal peace movement of Catholic clergy called "Pacem in Terris". The Vatican has never recognized "Pacem in Terris".

In a similar way, the Czech Secret Service also tried to divide Protestants: The Church secretaries of the State tried to recruit "agents of influence" whose primary aim was to weaken the Church's stand on the "New Orientation", a critical movement which influenced several members of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren. The "New Orientation" paid special attention to social issues and human rights and its members were seeking a present responsible theology and a new inspiring way of believing; most of the later Protestant Charta 77 signatories came from this "New Orientation".

The 1989 November revolution caught the Church in an ambivalent situation: a smaller part of its members - lay and clergy - came from more dissident groups, but the majority of the Church and her members tried to avoid conflicts with state powers. The State pressure and interference in Church-related matters had continued until the very end of the regime.

After the first few weeks of euphoria, the Church faced several problems. The whole political, social and economic situation changed rapidly, so there was a need to adapt to this new environment quickly. The walls of the ghetto in which the church had withdrawn itself, crumbled as a result of those Christians who rushed into political activities within the newly emerged parties. Other pastors became representatives in the Parliament; mayors, aldermen or active members of various political parties.

Case Study: Czech Republic. The role of church in the period of the transition of the new democratic state (1990 - 2003)

Since the last nationwide census of 2001, the two largest religious Christian communities suffered large losses in their respective memberships. The Roman-Catholic lost 1 Million members (currently 2,7 Million) which is a minus of 47%. The largest Protestant Church, the Bohemian Brethren, lost since 1991 around 74 % of its members, which leads to the current number of members of 117 540. The last 15 years changed almost everything. The Churches tried to adapt by means of services, prayer and pastoral care as well as in more intellectual reflecting in speeches, articles and publication. If you look at the most discussed issues in the Churches since 1989 in the Czech Republic, you get an impression of the dramatic and complicated depth of the transition process.

There were e.g. wide discussions about personal and official attitudes and values in the Communist era, problems and accusations about the ecumenical organisations, specially the protestant ecumenical bodies of the World Council of Churches and the Conference of European Churches: they did not support enough Christian life in Communist era. Inside the churches there were also some prominent cases of collaboration with the secret service (STB) and some ambiguous statements by official protestant church leaders to the Velvet Revolution of 1989. This leads to some Christian statements about questions of morality and consciousness according to the Communist era.

Another important issue for the churches were reflections about what it means to be a church in the transition. They discuss the role and strengths of the local parishes, ecumenical contacts and relationships with foreign Christians and churches, protestant-catholic ecumenism, new aspects of the Jewish Christian relationship as well as questions about the relationship to the Islam. After 1989 Pope John Paul made three visits to the Czech Republic and gave so a high official sign of support for a minority church in a secularized country. Two other major topics

of the public discussion were the role of women in the Church; reflections about the position of family, feminist theology but also questions regarding the role women could play in the Czech Catholic Church today. Last but not least there is still an ongoing process to find a suitable status of the theological faculties and the clerical education.

The last field in which the churches brought own ideas and input into the public discussion could be described as the area of state and civil society. As in every post socialist country there were also in the Czech Republic a lot of discussions about the new relationship between church and state and restitution and property-issues. The new pluralistic and democratic structures in the Czech Republic create possibilities in the third sector to build up diaconal and social institutions as well as non-governmental organisations. It is striking that a lot of the Christians, who signed the Charta 77, are still active in the field of human rights, e.g. they nowadays support the Christian opposition in Cuba.

One impressive result of the last 14 year's continuing discussion process about the economical, social and political changes and the role of the church is to be found in a publication called "Peace and Good", which was edited and written by the Secretariat of the Czech Bishops Conference Prague 2001 and thought as a letter on social issues in the Czech Republic for public discussion. As an ecumenical statement it stresses the common need for Christian solidarity in a time of confusion and growing social inequality and is – compared with publications from other churches in the former communist countries – one of the clearest voices in Christian ethics in the transition period.

Striking issues in comparison with other post socialist countries

From a historical point of view and therefore not based on categories or clusters it is difficult to make some general observations about the role and situation of Christians and churches in the post socialist countries as there are many national differences which have to be studied carefully. Further studies should look much more closely at the Christians who developed civic competence in the era of Communism. The engagement of Christians in the oppositional movements before and after 1989 is quite important. The study shows that these Christians, who were active in peace- or democratic movements in the communist era belong also after 1989 to the supporters of the new democratic order and engaged in the civil society. The Czech Protestants and Catholics who signed the Charta 77 together with other Christian

groups were quite clear and political in their thinking – like e.g. Catholics from the Polish opposition *solidarnosc*. Quite different from these European value orientated engagement were e.g. East German Christian members of the opposition. They based their engagement on much more idealistic approaches which has links with traditions of the religious socialists in the 1920s as well as on problematic insights of the theologian Karl Barth. Also quite differing were the Christian involvement in the democratic movements in the Baltic States, which could be described more as nationally orientated and as a strong spiritual force.

9. CONCLUSIONS

The research project "Churches and European Integration" (CEI) was a joint venture of five European Universities in five different Northern European countries, Germany, United Kingdom, Sweden, Estonia and Finland. The religious situation in these countries had many similarities, especially a strong predominance of Protestantism and the historical heritage of national churches (folk churches), whereas significant differences were to be faced in their geopolitical position during the post-World War II era.

The focus of the CEI project was on recent European history, studied from the viewpoint of churches. The project clarified the role of a number of European churches in the post-World War II era, especially concerning the sphere of international politics and cooperation.

The special character of each country and church as well as the current status of research determined the focus of each work package. All of the countries involved are situated in Northern Europe, which obviously had an effect on both the research questions and the research results. The findings of the project concern therefore principally developments in the Protestant sphere and only to a lesser extent the Roman Catholic Church. If one considers the division of the Cold War period, the regional focus of the project was on the Western side of the Iron Curtain. The project included, however, one country from the other side of the Iron Curtain, Estonia.

The project produced new information about the *intensity* of the churches' political actions; about the *main topics* they were interested in, and about the *main actors and opinion makers* in the field of international affairs within the churches. In addition to that the project discerned *different courses of action* in specific countries in the post-war era, as well as the *consequences* of these activities. New information was also gained about the *motivation and justification* of the political and international activity of the churches.

One important general finding of the project was how far the churches in Western Europe sympathized with and followed the political atmosphere of the time and the goals of their countries to a considerable degree. Thus it can be said that the political reality had a notable influence on the churches' political role on both sides of the Iron Curtain, not only in the Eastern block, as it often has been claimed.

Another important finding is the great interest that the churches actually showed for international and European political development. Notwithstanding the specific task of the churches to further their own message, they felt responsible – at least to some extent – for the contemporary political development as well. It can thus be said that the churches on the Western side of the Iron Curtain clearly wanted to be involved in the development of the European nations and give their own constructive input to it.

In the current political situation the interest of churches on contemporary political developments is visible in the study on European churches and globalisation. In their contemporary social teaching the churches try to seek ways to understand rapid change and the interconnectedness of people and issues while remaining truthful to their ethical tradition. In doing so the churches reflect national and confessional priorities in the entry points for the debate – be it the defense for a welfare state or the integrity of national identity.

The main topics of interest which were discussed within the churches had to do with basic issues of welfare and security. The research revealed, confirming the results of earlier research, that the churches on both sides of the Iron Curtain stressed in their statements especially the issues of world peace, the security of Europe, the need for international solidarity and mutual aid, as well as the general living conditions of people. In addition to that they tried to pay attention to some actual problems of the divided post-war Europe, for example in questions of human rights and religious freedom.

The churches felt that their own typical way of carrying out their duties was to try to influence the attitudes of the people. In their social and political statements the churches stressed the fact that they were striving for a policy that was based on a Christian world view and each church's own social-ethical tradition. The research highlights the fact that churches wanted to influence politics indirectly, through their individual members. It was not emphasized that the churches should have a direct duty to act as institutions in the field of politics. On the other hand, at least in Britain and Finland church leaders tried to use their influence directly and uphold their personal relations to leading politicians.

When comparing the different case studies within the project, it became obvious how thoroughly the location, size and position in foreign and security policy of the countries

concerned determined the churches' activity in international questions. Nevertheless, an emphasis on responsibility, concern for the world situation and aspirations to promote peace and alleviating the political and denominational prejudices and tensions could be found in all the case studies, both on national and international level. The study on European churches and globalisation showed also that contemporary churches, though well networked have very different focal points as their primary audience. It seems more custom to the Catholic church to address global levels of decision making, while for the other churches studied – namely Protestant and Orthodox – the national actors are of the pivotal importance.

Even if many common features could thus be discerned in all five cases, it cannot be denied that the existence of the Iron Curtain deeply influenced the life of each church during the Cold War. The Estonian case study shed light on the situation in the Lutheran Church of Estonia (EELC). The preconditions for the political activity of the EELC were limited when compared to the other churches under examination. Under these circumstances the official contacts with Western churches starting from 1950s were of great importance both to ecclesiastical life and to the political consciousness of the parishioners throughout the Soviet period. Still it must be kept in mind that the western contacts were never created and controlled entirely by EELC. The choice of contacts was made by the Council of Religious Affairs in Moscow, and the character of these contacts was influenced by the political interest of Soviet state. The public speeches of church leaders were heavily censored and contained half-truths about the situation at home. Nevertheless, the research revealed that in private conversations a bit more free communication was from time to time possible.

The western contacts of the EELC can be seen as one type of bridge-building policy of the European churches during the Cold War era. The project also analyzed some other ways in which the churches or individual Christians tried to cross the Iron Curtain in order to bring closer together Christians living on both sides of it, and to create a sense of fundamental unity of all Christians.

The German work package re-interprets the meetings between the German and Soviet churches, drawing on interviews with each of the parties to these encounters, as well as on archive material. In this case study the two bilateral theological dialogues between the German Protestant Churches, both in the Eastern and Western Germany, and the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), which lasted from the late 1950es to 1990, were thoroughly

analysed. In these discussions systematic-theological issues as well as the issue of peace were discussed. An important new finding of this study is the theological depth of the discussions around the peace issue. It is clear that the communist state tried and sometimes managed to observe and control even the theological dialogues. However the peace issue was present in these discussions not only because of the pressure from the Soviet state respectively Eastern German state. The discussions added to the theological understanding between the churches on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

The Finnish case study discusses the presence of the Iron Curtain and the efforts of Christians to cross it from another viewpoint. The deep mistrust towards Soviet policies and Communist anti-Christian ideology resulted in activities of highly political nature. In Christian literature published in Finland the topic was constantly and clearly critically discussed. Even if the Lutheran Church leaders avoided strong controversial expressions especially in the 1970s, some Lutheran groups organized transportation of Bibles and Christian literature over the Iron Curtain in cooperation with active Christian groupings from other Western countries. The research carried out in the Finnish work package provides new nuances to the understanding of the political role of the Lutheran Church of Finland during the Cold war. It shows that the geopolitical position of Finland as a neighbor of the Soviet Union did not prohibit open criticism and even anti-Soviet activity within the Church.

The attempts at bridge-building were a main issue also in the Swedish work package, although in this case faced on national level. It highlighted the bridge-building between different groups of citizens and denominations, and analyzed in which ways certain tensions were alleviated in the field of religion and national identity, which in the Swedish case were strongly defined by the Lutheran heritage. Interesting results were gained, especially concerning the integration of a small Roman Catholic minority church in the quite secular but by general appearance Lutheran Swedish society.

A very important task of the CEI project was to pay attention to the direct involvement of the churches in the political discussions of the day about peace, security policy, and European integration, was stressed specifically in two work packages. One of the examined countries was the United Kingdom, one of the winners of WWII and in the European context of one the leading countries. The actions of its churches were clearly influenced by the knowledge of its important role in the power politics. The case study concentrated on statements of the

different churches in Britain in relation to post- World War II European enterprises, for example to the “Western Union” proposals, which were the subject of lively discussion in the period immediately following World War II. In Britain the political profile of the churches was defined most of all by the church leaders, who were in direct contact with the political leadership of the nation.

The British work package discerned convincingly a previously rather unknown chapter in the history of European political integration. It showed how despite the great potential for Britain to play a leadership role in the new Europe which emerged in the decades following the Second World War, both government and people turned away from European integration. The cultural roots of European patriotism in Britain were too weak to encourage participation in integrated political and economic structures, whilst the identification of Britishness with a global community and world power was still too alluring. Given their frequent references to the cultural tradition of European Christendom, and the claim that Christians’ religious identity as members of a universal Church and human ‘brotherhood’ put them above the parochial claims of national identity, we might have anticipated that the Churches should have been the exception to the general British response. In the event, they followed the government’s retreat from European integration. The British work package analysed also the ways in which, beneath the growing unity of the Churches in the ecumenical movement, denominational conflicts remained sharp.

The relationship to the politics of the day was evident also in the Finnish work package. It clearly showed how the position of a small country, which had been on the defeated side in World War II and politically threatened for a long time, influenced also the atmosphere in the Lutheran majority church as well as its statements and actions. As the church of a small country, it was conscious of the fact that Finland – unlike for example Britain –did not have a major influence in international politics. The church did not therefore see it as its duty to discuss larger pan-European political endeavours. The research highlighted that the main interest in the Lutheran Church of Finland was directed to Finland’s national security and independence. The threat caused by the Cold War to world peace was viewed mainly from the Finnish perspective.

The research showed that the Church of Finland was outwardly quite careful and avoided statements that could have damaged Finland’s international standing. In spite of this the

church quite obviously carried a long Finnish tradition of suspiciousness of Communism and the Soviet Union. Within the church it was not believed that religious freedom and human rights were respected in the Eastern Bloc countries. The most open about these themes were certain fringe elements, whereas the bishops maintained a moderate and peaceable profile.

Although the viewpoint in the Church of Finland was very strongly defined by matters of national interests, it was not aggressive or warlike during the period under examination. The welfare of other nations and countries was also discussed on a general level in the church, as well as the ethical norms and ideals, which the international situation required. The ideologically most important goal of international politics from the viewpoint of the Church of Finland was that peace and security would prevail in Europe. There was also some degree of willingness to help Christians and churches that were in difficult position. However, the main line of the Church of Finland was politically careful, cautious, and supportive of the status quo.

Although most of the work relates to the Cold War era, some of the work packages offer valuable insights into the contemporary situation, the work on post-Communist Estonia and the view of European churches on globalisation being particularly interesting in this respect. The influence of Western culture on the Estonian mentality through contacts with Western Church members became increasingly possible already at the end of 1980s. The aid provided by friendship churches and Christian organisations and the influence on Estonian youth of the Taizé movement have positively influenced the public opinion about Christian churches and values in general.

Still Estonia is one of the most secularized countries among the new members of the European Union. Religious education has been one of the most debated topics in education during the last decade in Estonia. Since 1991 it became possible again to teach religion in public schools. According to the Estonian legislation non-confessional religious education is an optional subject – this model is applied in Europe also in Slovenia. As the schools are not eager to organize the study and also some parents are rather rejective, only less than 2% of schoolchildren are actually attending the classes. The plans of making the religious education as a compulsory subject have caused the heated debates, especially in 2003.

It can be noticed that due to the historical backgrounds of Estonia there is a lack of a common ideology and paradigm that can be combined with the Christian ideology. This affects the churches attitudes towards the recent process of European integration and membership of Estonia in the EU. The project shows that within the churches there was a certain amount of confusion when the question of Estonia's membership in the European Union was actual. It was often stated that there was within the European Union a lack of a common ideology and paradigm that could be combined with the Christian ideology. The fact that EU has no clear-cut positive connections with Christianity was often pointed out. As a result, the religious arguments put forward by Christian supporters of joining the European Union were rather inadequate. Moreover, Estonians in general, including practicing Christians, feel that the European Union is just another historical inevitability that befalls Estonia. It is rather difficult to Estonians to comprehend that they have a chance to participate in the shaping of Europe.

The transition from Communism in Eastern Europe was also discussed in the small case study on Czechoslovakia/Czech republic. It showed that Christians and Churches played important but diverse roles during the political changes of the late eighties and early nineties in Eastern Europe as well as during the socio-political transition period since the nineties. Many Christians expected that the end of Cold War would lead into renaissance of churches in Eastern Europe. Results of the new democracy were, however, very diverse. Both in Estonia and Czech Republic secularism simply continued after the collapse of communism.

One of the work packages analyzed the social-ethical programs of the churches. These documents were chosen from the 1990s, very close to the present day. Thus, the post-Cold War themes are emphasized in the documents, especially the challenges of globalization. However, the research deals at the same time with the general and traditional way of the churches to issue social-ethical statements and comment on matters of international responsibility and politics. According to the research the churches find themselves increasingly interacting in a global, interdependent environment where it is considered that many issues are out church's hands and even out of the hands of national governments. Many churches are therefore on defense of what they cherish as they see the global and local environment intertwined and polarisation within and between societies increasing. It seems to be, in addition, difficult for them to find a holistic perspective on globalisation. It is viewed greatly from the view point of economics as the driving force. While globalisation seems to have social, political and even cultural consequences churches do not discuss these issues as

much as their economic concerns: concerns of the future of work and welfare, ethics of the markets and the roles of multinational corporations. In the future it will be a challenge for the churches to seek "policy coherence" in the theology and social teaching when it comes to integrating the national concerns to the global responsibility.

As a whole the project probed deeply into the recent European history from the viewpoint of the churches. The results show that the Northern European churches under examination were notable political opinion-makers and actors during the whole post-war period, also in questions of international politics. The project also highlighted their great dependency on their countries' politics and foreign and security policy status. The churches influenced the values and attitudes of people by stressing the importance of peace, human rights, religious freedom and general social responsibility of Christians. This was the most important way they influenced European unity. Direct political statements were, however, not common. In the post Cold war era the interest of the Northern churches was more explicitly focused on European integration. Although there were some suspicions about the concrete steps when building the European unity, a general observation of this project is that the churches did more to assist than to hinder the processes of European integration.

10. MANAGEMENT AND COORDINATION ASPECTS IN THE FINAL YEAR

Workshops, stakeholders and communication

During the third project year the common workshops of the Churches and European Integration project have played important role in offering space to discuss jointly the common theoretical and practical framework for the Project. During the second year two workshops have taken place. In September 2002 the Project held its meeting in Glasgow, United Kingdom and in March 2004 a public workshop took place in the heart of European decision making, in Brussels, Belgium.

During the workshops the researchers from all work packages presented papers on core elements of their study for discussion and evaluation. Often in these discussions the researchers and the members of the Program Coordination Committee (PCC) and the Advisory Board were discussing methodological questions and issues which helped the project to find its theoretical and practical ground. The PCC met both in September 2003 – jointly with Advisory Board - as well as in March 2004 and in these meetings the theoretical elements were also debated. The final joint meeting of the PCC and Advisory Board took place in the end of the project period in August 2004 in Estonia. In this meeting the PCC and Advisory Board jointly evaluated the scientific success of the enterprise but also discussed the organisational aspects and the follow up for the activities carried out including the plan for dissemination of the results.

The final conference of the CEI was organised with the help of the University of Tartu, in cooperation with the Annual Symposium of the Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte in August 2004. In this conference fifteen papers were presented in four sessions: Integration and Globalisation (moderated by Professor Jarlert and Professor Saarinen as commentator), Britain and Scandinavia: Integrated Europeans (moderated by Torleiv Austad from Norwegian Lutheran School of Theology and Dr. Andrew Chandler from the George Bell Institute in Birmingham as commentator), Communication between Eastern and Western Europe during the Cold War (professor Aila Lauha as moderator and Professor Gerhard Besier from Hannah-Arendt-Institut in Dresden as commentator) and Eastern Europe: From Isolation to Integration (Professor Thomas Bremer as moderator and professor Peter Morée from University of Prague as commentator). The papers from the conference will be published by the KZG. In

addition to this publication a book on the basis of the research carried out will be written by professor Hugh McLeod – member of the Advisory Board of CEI - and Professor Risto Saarinen including a foreword written by the leader of the Project, Professor Aila Lauha.

The PCC and AB carried out an evaluation of the CEI Project as was mentioned earlier. On the basis of the internal evaluation, where each WP – leader and the researchers – answered to the set of questions varying from the planning to the implementation and from the coordination to the scientific results – some conclusions on the support of the scientific framework can be drawn. (The questionnaire used can be found as an annex to the report.)

The University of Glasgow (Dr. Hope and Dr. Coupland) took major responsibility in preparing for the Glasgow workshop, University of Tartu (Dr. Riho Altnurme) for the final conference and the coordinator (University of Helsinki) for the public workshop in Brussels, the Programme Coordination Committee and Advisory Board meetings, joint reporting and content and funding for the final conference.

In Glasgow 10 papers were delivered by the researchers. In Brussels workshop the members of the Project were able to engage with various stakeholders, including European ecumenical organisations, European parliament, European commission and civil society organisations interested in the topics of the study. The public workshop gathered some 50 participants and allowed the audience to evaluate the interim results of the project. The feedback given and the contacts created will be useful for the possible future plans of the network created during the Project.

The key issues debated in the common gatherings during the third project year has been the common framework and terminology used by the Project. Additionally discussions have started to gear towards dissemination of results (in preparation of the Brussels workshop) as well as towards possible continuation of the work and widening of the network of cooperation even after the end of the CEI Project.

These issues have been further clarified and focused in the two meetings of the Program Coordination Committee and in the constant flow of information between the members of the PCC. Also the Advisory Board has encouraged the Project to seek for common elements of the research carried out in the various WPs of the Project.

The coordinator, professor Lauha and the project secretary Ms. Arola has been the focal point for communication between the project partners also during the third project year. It has become the custom in the Churches and European Integration that all project partners are consulted – often via email and telephone – regarding various questions, details and practicalities around the project. The Commission has been informed about the workshops and PCC and AB meetings and their content.

The churches and international ecumenical organisations have showed continued interest to the work and the forthcoming results of the work of the project. Various people of the project have therefore accepted invitations to different church-related events and activities. The discussions have often moved around the questions concerning of the European Union and the political role of churches in the process of integration and intensification of European cooperation. .

During the third year the Project has updated its website to contain more detailed information on the Churches and European Integration Project and the research carried out by various work packages. In Helsinki the Coordinator, Prof. Lauha and project secretaries Ms. Arola and Mr. Aappo Laitinen have hold often biweekly meetings to brainstorming and prepare various issues around the Project and to discuss budgetary issues. During the programme period also this final report of the CEI Project was finalised.

Evaluation

An internal evaluation of the CEI Project was carried out in the end of the programme period. In this evaluation planning, coordination and management aspects were evaluated. In the evaluation the following elements were outlined (assembled by the Coordinator):

Regarding the Planning of the Project

- project can be seen as pioneering activity, creative imagination was necessary
- justification of the work in the growing relevance of religion in the political processes
- good communication in the planning phase, effective and systematic planning
- necessity for funding for a pre-project meeting in order to enhance planning and coherence of the application and project plan

- combination of freedom of individual work packages and common goals: specificity in the latter necessary
- planning phase was useful for learning purposes (acquiring funding, designing and managing of a project)
- coordinator kept the planning together by being active and supportive

Regarding the Implementation and Coordination of the Work

- partnerships created for the work were appropriate and diverse backgrounds supported the work, working environment allowed dialogue
- formal and informal contacts enhanced conflict resolution in the PCC and among those involved in the work, open communication
- work of the coordinator was evaluated positively, it added value
- more resources for coordinating would have been necessary: a full time coordinator for the entire duration of the project
- general objectives of the project were realistic
- work in the PCC and with the AB added value: to be considered how to utilize better support structures (such as AB) in the future
- even more sharing among the researchers in between of meetings encouraged
- positive support from the EU scientific officer
- differences in support of the EU administrations of partner universities, some gave a lot of positive support, other little support
- differences in division of resources in various work packages: some chose to have one researcher, other several – also differences in working with more experienced researchers or those in researcher training
- three years too short time for humanities to carry out results

Regarding the Scientific Method

- scientific framework inspired and served as a guiding tool
- diversity of the studies in work packages a challenge for the scientific framework
- comparability difficult, very specific research questions
- challenge in integrating and synthesising the results: project seen as an overall coverage of the era researched

On the Results

- to be evaluated through a process of reception and scientific discussion
- the importance of religion and churches in the political history of the Cold War highlighted
- cooperation and gatherings (including the workshops) widened participants know how and perspectives
- important results in researcher training (by bringing in not only resources but also international context and communication)
- research results give valuable answers to the role of churches in the process of European integration
- important result: building up a network and creating deeper contacts

Regarding the Benefits of the Project

- Increased the international cooperation within the faculties
- Developed common elements in working together and crossed some borders: theological boundaries, East-West, working in ecumenical space
- Challenge in stakeholder involvement and in articulating the benefits of these kinds of studies
- Important contribution to the researcher training: dissertations, thesis, publications, workshops etc.
- Allowed feedback for individual researchers
- Plans for follow up and continuation

In general the project was considered a positive experience, both by the Programme Coordination Committee (representatives of partner Universities) and the Advisory Board (bringing in external expertise). One of the key aims of the Project was to ease the cold war still ongoing to some extent among the church historians. The final conference of CEI could contribute into constructive dialogue between the researchers who had expressed very contradictory views on the recent past. This creates positive ground for future activities and research.

Continuation of the work

One sign of the success of the CEI Project is the fact that the network created during the project has decided to continue its work and is planning for a new meeting in spring of 2005. In addition to this report, the project partners are also envisaging a more popular book in English to be produced on the results of the work. In addition to this several other publications and books will follow resulting from the work carried out by the individual work packages. Useful information has been given by the Academy of Finland (Ms. Eili Ervelä-Myréen) on the future of European research funding. This facilitates the work of the network in the future.

11. DELIVERABLES AND ACTIVITIES 1.9.2003 – 31.8.2004

Work package 1

Churches Social and Political Role in Europe after the Second World War

New materials to the website <http://www.helsinki.fi/teol/khl/cej>

CEI Workshop in Glasgow and joint meeting of PCC and AB 5.-7.9.2003.

Europakonsultation "Die Ausbildung zum ordinierten Amt" and presentation "Neue Perspektiven zur theologischen Ausbildung an der Universität Helsinki", Berlin, Germany, 20.9.-23.9.2003, Aila Lauha

Commentator in a radio discussion programme about the EU's constitution and values by the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE, Helsinki, Finland, 13.10.2003, Aila Lauha

Meeting of the editorial board of Studia Theologica, information about the CEI project, Turku, Finland, 15.11.2003, Aila Lauha

Final Seminar of "Svenskt i Finland - Finskt i Sverige" - research programme, Sweden, 27.11.-30.11.2003, Aila Lauha

Interview by the Radio of the parishes of Helsinki, Finland, 25.2.2004, Aila Lauha

Public workshop and discussion panel of the Churches and European Integration project and meeting of the PCC, Brussels, Belgium, 2.3. - 3.3.2004

Meeting with MEP Ms. Ulpu Iivari, scientific officer Ms. Angela Liberatore, and Mr. Noel Treanor from COMECE 2.3.2004 in Brussels, Belgium. Aila Lauha and Pauliina Arola.

Meetings concerning the planning of the Final Conference, Helsinki, Finland, 24.1., 2.2., 17.2., 2.4., 16.4., 18.4., 6.5., 17.5., 24.5., 14.6., 8.7.2004, Pauliina Arola, Aappo Laitinen, Aila Lauha, Matti Peiponen

Final conference of CEI Project together with KZG and the joint meeting of the PCC and AB 20.-22.8.2004, Pühajarve, Estonia.

Work package 2

The Peace Issue in Ecumenical Dialogues During the Cold War and its Implications on the Life of the Churches

Prof Bremer, Mrs Kunter and Mr Overmeyer join the CEI-meeting in Glasgow. 5.-7.9.2003

Prof Bremer and Mr Overmeyer join a workshop of postgraduate students from Hamburg, Münster and St Petersburg in St Petersburg. Mr Overmeyer gives a presentation about his WP. 12.-17.9.2003

Prof Bremer and Mr Overmeyer visit Moscow to speak with Prof Borovoj and Prof Buevskij, former members of the office for foreign relations of the Russian Orthodox Church and involved in different ecumenical boards and meetings during the Cold War time. 20.-23.9.2003

Mr Overmeyer visits the archive of the Eastern German Secret Service in Berlin. 23.-26.9.2003

Prof Bremer participates in a Berlin conference about religions in Eastern Europe. 6.-8.11.2003

Mr Overmeyer visits and speaks with Prof Karl-Christian Felmy, who was participant of the Arnoldshain Dialogue. 7.11.2003

Prof Bremer and Mr Overmeyer join a workshop of students and postgraduate students from Croatia, Serbia and Germany, which was organised by the chair of Prof Bremer. Mr Overmeyer gives a presentation about his WP. 28.-30.11.2003

Prof Bremer is member in a dissertation-jury at the Central European University in Budapest about the Russian Orthodox Church during the Cold War. 7.1.2004

Prof Bremer gives a lecture about State and Church in Russia in Münster. 17.2.2004

Prof Bremer and Mr Overmeyer join the CEI-meeting and workshop in Brussels. 3.3.2004

Prof Bremer and Mr Overmeyer join a workshop of students and postgraduate students from Croatia, Serbia and Germany, which was organised by the chair of Prof Bremer. Mr Overmeyer gives a presentation about his WP. 30.4-2.5.2004

Prof Bremer attends a meeting in Maribor / Slovenia as adviser for a project about Churches and human rights. 11.6.2004

In Heidelberg, Prof Bremer gives a lecture on Churches in former Yugoslavia. 16.6.2004

Prof Bremer takes part in the Paderborn Meeting of the Working group of Orthodox and Catholic theologians in order to promote the ecumenical dialogue. 24.-27.6.2004

In Riga / Latvia, Prof Bremer functions as a lecturer on Churches in Eastern Europe after the Cold War. 13.-16.8. 2004

Prof Bremer takes part in the CEI Workshop in Tartu / Estonia. 20.-22.8.2004

Work package 3

Churches in the context of recent political and economic changes in Europe

Risto Saarinen: After Rescher: Pluralism as Preferentialism. - Viggo Mortensen (ed.), Theology and the Religions: A Dialogue. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans 2003, 409-413.- (& Bernd Jochen Hilberath)

Risto Saarinen: Bekehrung, Rechtfertigung und die Bewahrung der eigenen Identität. - Bekehrung und Identität, Beiheft zur Ökumenischen Rundschau 73, 2003, 21-41.

Participation in the CEI workshop and PCC 5.-7.9.2003 in Glasgow, United Kingdom.

Participation in the CEI public workshop and PCC 3.3.2004 in Brussels, Belgium. Ms. Arola participates the panel discussion in the workshop.

Meeting with MEP Ulpu Iivari, scientific officer Angela Liberatore and Mr. Noel Treanor from COMECE 2.3.2004 in Brussels, Belgium. Pauliina Arola.

Participation in the CEI final conference 20.-22.8.2004 in Pühajarve, Estonia.

Pauliina Arola: paper in the CEI final conference on Towards the Common Good - Social responsibility, globalisation and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland

Work package 4

Political commitments of Western Christianity

Jalovaara, Ville: Suomen kirkon yöpakkaset ['Nightfrosts' of the Finnish Church]. Historiallinen aikakauskirja 1/2004.

Lauha, Aila: Kutsumuksena Salla. - Lappi. Maa, kansat, kulttuurit. 2003. SKST. Helsinki, pp. 88 - 89.

Lauha, Aila: Kansankirkko maallistuvassa yhteiskunnassa. - Suomen kulttuurihistoria 4. Tammi (Forthcoming 2004).

Ville Jalovaara, Mikko Ketola, Piia Latvala, Aila Lauha (+ WP5 Arola, Saarinen), Churches and European Integration -workshop and meeting of the PCC, University of Glasgow, United Kingdom, 5.9. - 7.9.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Presentation at the CEI workshop: "Do you bring peace? - The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the period of crisis in Finnish foreign policy from 1958 to 1962", University of Glasgow, United Kingdom, 5.9. - 7.9.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Participation in the symposium organised by the Finnish Graduate School of Theology, University Helsinki, Finland, 11.9. - 12.9.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Participation in to a church historical day - The Church and the Middle Ages, Hämeenlinna, Finland, 26.9.2003

Ville Jalovaara, A term paper in the professor Seppo Hentilä's political history seminar, University of Helsinki, Finland, 30.9.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Presentation "The church and foreign policy crisis" in the group of international relations at the Department of Social Science History, University of Helsinki, Finland, 13.10.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Tutor meeting with professor of Political History Seppo Hentilä, University of Helsinki, Finland, 21.10.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Jenni Krapu, Piia Latvala, Leading of essay groups at the Department of Church History, University of Helsinki, Finland, 27.10. - 31.10.2004

Ville Jalovaara, Participation and presenting a workpaper in the national researchers' seminar of the general history. Topic: The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the period of crisis in Finnish foreign policy from 1958 to 1962, Jyväskylä, Finland, 7.11 - 8.11.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Participation to the publication of the Finnish Church Historical Society's yearbook, Helsinki, Finland, 10.11.2003

Aila Lauha, Meeting concerning the publishing of the book "Nordic churches" Sweden, 29.11.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Participation in the Finnish Church Historical Society's monthly meeting (Riho Saard's presentation), Helsinki, Finland, 1.12.2003

Ville Jalovaara, Archival research in the Public Record Office and Lambeth Palace Library, London, United Kingdom, 4.1. - 10.1.2004

Suvi Kyrö, Visit to the Provincial Archives of Oulu, Finland, 12.1. - 13.1.2004

Ville Jalovaara, Interview with Minister Max Jakobson, Helsinki, Finland, 25.2.2004

Suvi Kyrö, Visit to the Lambeth Palace Library, London, United Kingdom, 1.3. - 2.3.2004

Ville Jalovaara, Participation in a seminar Politics and history organised by the Department of Social Science History, University of Helsinki, Finland, 11.3.2004

Ville Jalovaara, Participation in a seminar: Researcher Mobility and Internationalisation of Research Training in Helsinki organised by the Finnish Ministry of Education as a representative of the Finnish Graduate School of Theology, Finland, 19.3.2004

Ville Jalovaara, Jenni Krapu, Suvi Kyrö, Aappo Laitinen, Leading of essay groups at the Department of Church History, University of Helsinki, Finland, 23.3. - 1.4.2004

Ville Jalovaara, A visit to a book publisher Kirjapaja with other staff members of the Department of the Church History, Helsinki, Finland, 20.4.2004

Ville Jalovaara, Tutor meeting with professor of Aila Lauha, University of Helsinki, Finland, 20.4.2004

Aila Lauha, Lecture “The social and political role of the Lutheran church in Finland in the 20th Century” and leading a three-day seminar “The Finnish church in the Cold War” based on the research from the CEI project, University of Tartu, Estonia, 21.4. - 23.4.2004

Aila Lauha, Interview for Eesti Kirik newspaper, Tartu, Estonia, 21.4.2004

Ville Jalovaara, An interview with MTh. Teuvo Aaltio, Helsinki, Finland, 7.5.2004

Ville Jalovaara, Jenni Krapu, Suvi Kyrö, Aappo Laitinen, Aila Lauha, Piia Latvala, Matti Peiponen, Research seminar led by professor Aila Lauha, University of Helsinki, Finland, 3.10.2003, 17.10.2003, 5.12.2003, 6.2.2004, 5.3.2004, 7.5.2004

Piia Latvala National research seminar for contemporary history 7.-8.11.2004, presentation of a paper

Piia Latvala visited archives in Oslo 28.9-4.10.2003 and in Helsinki 4.11.2003, 24.11.2003, 18.-19.12.2003 and made interviews 30.10.2003 (Esko Rintala).

Work package 5

The churches in the context of the Cold War and European integration: the British perspective

Organisation and participation in CEI Workshop and PCC, Glasgow, 5-7 9.2003

Dr. Hope, Seminar Paper, 'Travels around my Father: Clergy and the Third Reich', Joint Graduate Seminar Modern History and War Studies Glasgow University, and History Department Strathclyde University, 4.2.2004.

Dr Coupland, Seminar Paper 'The Churches' Peace Aims and the Anglo-American Alliance in World War Two', University of Glasgow, 12.2.2004.

Participation in the CEI public workshop and PCC, Brussels, 3.3.2004.

Participation in CEI final conference and presentation by Dr Coupland of paper 'British Christians, the Iron Curtain and the Division of Europe', Puhajarve, 19-22.8.2004

Nicholas M. Hope, 'The George Bell Papers (Lambeth Palace Library) and the Nathaniel Micklem Collection (Bodleian Library) on the German Church Conflict 1933-1939' in, Wolfgang Elz and Sonke Neitzel (edd.), *Internationale Beziehungen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Festschrift für Winfried Baumgart zum 65. Geburtstag* (Schöningh: Paderborn, Munich, Vienna, Zurich 2003), 329-40.

Nicholas M. Hope, 'German Christianity' in: Leslie Houlden (ed.) *Jesus in History, Thought, and Culture, An Encyclopedia* 2 vols. (ABC-CLIO: Santa Barbara, Denver, Oxford, 2003), vol 1, 309-16.

Nicholas M. Hope, 'Confession - Opposition - Resistance; Considerations on various Patterns of Church identity in Twentieth Century Europe' in Peter Maser and Jens Holger Schjorring (edd.) *Wie die Traumenden? Protestantische Kirchen in der Phase des*

Zusammenbruchs der kommunistischen Herrschaft im ostlichen Europa (Luther Verlag: Erlangen 2003), 21-35.

Philip Coupland, 'Western Union, 'Spiritual Union', and European Integration, 1948-51', *Journal of British Studies* (July 2004).

Work package 6

The cultural and social impact of the Nordic churches on European integration

The Lund University work-package members have arranged seminars on European Integration in Lund Sep. 17, Dec. 2, March 11, and May 13, all conducted by Anders Jarlert.

Project members Bergman, Jarlert, Sidenvall, and Werner took part in the CEI project workshop in Glasgow, Sep. 5-7.

Dr. Jarlert also took part in the project presentation and PCC-meeting in Brussels, March 3.

All the participants in the Lund University work-package took part in the final conference in Pyhijärvi, Estonia, in September, 2004, where the project members Bergman, Sidenvall and Werner presented papers, and Dr. Jarlert chaired one of the sessions.

Anders Jarlert has done research within the project at libraries, he has published an article, "Kyrka och nationalsocialism" in *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 2003, and has had the following engagements in connection with the project: Aug. 21-24 Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte. Conference in Dresden/Prague (chairing one session), Sep. 25-26 The Impact of Fascist and National Socialist Occupation in Europe during the Second World War, ESF-conference at Jachranka, Poland (presenting paper on the Scandinavian countries), Oct. 24 Conference on Law and Religion at the Faculty of Law, Uppsala (lecture), Jan. 09-10 Conference on Church and Law in Tönder, Denmark (lecture), Jun. 14-15 Lectures in Dresden on Roman Catholicism in Scandinavia.

Martin Bergman has been working in libraries and archives in Stockholm and Luleå, concerning the international connections of dioceses within the Church of Sweden. He has also – during another research visit – studied literature on integration in Berlin.

Erik Sidenvall has been doing research, mostly at the Lund University Library, and at local archives in Jönköping. He has also made several interviews there. He has published the article "Svenska kyrkan har fortfarande en särställning" in the leading Swedish daily Svenska Dagbladet, Feb. 4.

Yvonne Maria Werner: "Gunnar Rosendal i kyrkopolitiken – europeiska perspektiv på kyrklig förnyelse", in Gunnar Rosendal. En banbrytare för kyrklig förnyelse, Ed. Vivi-Ann Grönqvist. Skelleftå 2003

Yvonne Maria Werner: "I den katolska kyrkans tjänst – biskop Hubertus ser tillbaka", in Signum 2003:7; Nordisk katolicism. Katolsk mission och konversion i Danmark i ett nordiskt perspektiv. Göteborg 2004.

Daniel Alvunger: studying as a stipendiary at the University of Birmingham.

Thomas Björkman: two papers at the Church History seminary in Lund.

Work package 7

The political commitments of East European Christianity since the Cold War: The Estonian Case

Lea Altnurme, "Letters to the Medium, or Looking to New Age for Answers" - Die Bedeutung der Religion für Gesellschaften in der Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte (FARG) Band 36, Ugarit-Verlag Münster, 2003, S. 1-13.

Lea Altnurme, Ahti Lyra, „Tervendamine – misjoneeriv klientkultus“ [Healing – the Missionary Client Cult]– Mitut usku Eesti. Valik usundiloolisi uurimusi.[Multireligious Estonia. A selection of articles about the history of religion]. Lea Altnurme (ed.), Tartu, Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus [Tartu University Press], 2004, pp. 117-139.

Mitut usku Eesti. Valik usundiloolisi uurimusi.[Multireligious Estonia. A selection of articles about the history of religion]. Lea Altnurme (ed.), Tartu, Tartu Ülikooli Kirjastus [Tartu University Press], 2004 [139 p.]

Riho Altnurme, “Die Phase des Zusammenbruchs der kommunistischen Herrschaft in Estland, Lettland und Litauen”. - Wie die Träumenden? Protestantische Kirchen in der Phase des Zusammenbruchs der kommunistischen Herrschaft im östlichen Europa. Peter Maser, Jens Holger Schjørring (Hg.), Erlangen, Martin-Luther-Verlag, 2003, S. 63-75.

Riho Altnurme, “The Church in Soviet Estonia: Overt Collaboration and Covert Resistance”- Die Bedeutung der Religion für Gesellschaften in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte (FARG), Bd. 36. Hg. von Manfred Dietrich u. Tarmo Kulmar. Ugarit-Verlag, Münster 2003, S. 15-24.

Riho Altnurme, “Soviet Religious Policy towards the Lutheran church in Estonia (1944-1959) and its Consequences”. - The Soviet Occupation Regime in the Baltic States 1944-1959: Policies and their Consequences. Symposium of the Commission of the Historians of Latvia, Vol. 9. Institute of the History of Latvia, Riga 2003, pp. 269-277.

Riho Altnurme, “The Sovietization of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church”. - Olaf Mertelsmann (ed.). The Sovietization of the Baltic States, 1940-1956, Tartu, Kleio 2003, pp. 187-195.

Pille Valk, Tõnu Lehtsaar. Developments of Practical Theology in Today's Estonia. - International Journal of Practical Theology, vol 7, 2003, issue 1, 101 - 130.

Pille Valk, Religious Education Through the Eyes of Pupils, Teachers and Headmasters. - M. Dietrich, T. Kulmar (Hrsg), Die Bedeutung der Religion für Gesellschaften in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionswissenschaft (FARG), Band 36. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003, 239 - 252.

Pille Valk, Religiooniõpetus – anakronism või alahinnatud võimalus? / Uskonnonopetus – anakronismi tai aliarvioitu mahdollisuus? - Kristilisen kasvatuksen yhteiskunnalliset

ulottuvuudet / Kristliku kasvatus ühiskondlikud aspektid. Seurakuntaopiston ja diakonia-ammattikorkeakoulun Järvenpään yksikön julkaisu 6 /2003; EELK Usuteaduse Instituudi Toimetised XII, 32 – 41.

Lea Altnurme, “Base texts in Religious Life Stories” in the collection of articles Die Bedeutung von Grundtexten für die religiöse Identität (Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte (FARG)). (Accepted to be published)

Ain Riistan, Lea Altnurme “Aspects of Identity-Related Bible Reading: Estonian Free Churches in the Wake of Referendum About Estonia Joining EU” in the collection of articles Die Bedeutung von Grundtexten für die religiöse Identität (Forschungen zur Anthropologie und Religionsgeschichte (FARG)). (Accepted to be published)

Riho Altnurme, “Erzbischof Jaan Kiivit (1906-1971)” – accepted to: Beiträge zur ostdeutschen Kirchengeschichte. (Accepted to be published)

Riho Altnurme, „The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Soviet Union after the Second World War“ – accepted to: Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift. (accepted to be published)

Riho Altnurme read a paper “Erzbischof Jaan Kiivit (1906-1971)” in the conference *Kirchengeschichte in Lebensbildern*. Organizers: Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands (EKD) workgroup of church history and Ostkirchen-Institut of the University of Münster 3-7.09.2003, Svätý Jur (close to Bratislava, Slovakia) (participation in first two days). 3.-4.9.2003

Riho Altnurme read a paper “Attitudes of Estonian churches towards the European Union, August 2003” and Pille Valk “Developments in Religious Education in Contemporary Estonia” in the CEI workshop in Glasgow. 5.-7.9.2003

Lea Altnurme read a paper “The Main Attitudes of Believers toward Soviet Rule” in the sixth conference of the European Sociological Association “Ageing Societies, New Sociology” in Murcia, Spain. 23.-26.9.2003

Lea Altnurme read a paper “Base Texts in the Religious Life Stories” and Riho Altnurme reads a paper “Biblical Grounds for the Relations Between the Church and State in the Official Texts of Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Soviet Period” in the sixth common symposium of the Faculty of Theology, University of Tartu; German Society of the History of Religions; Estonian Academic Theological Society and Estonian Academic Society for Oriental Studies *Die Bedeutung von Grundtexten für die religiöse Identität* in Tartu. 3.-4.10.2003

Pille Valk read a paper „Problems of Developing Religious Education in Post-Socialist Context – Estonian Case“ in the conference *Europe of Regions. Regionalism as a Means for Promoting Democracy, Development and International Stability – the Case of Russian Federation*, organized by European Council and Russian Academy of Sciences in St Petersburg. 8.-12.10.2003

Pille Valk read a paper „Religious Education Teacher Training Model in the University of Tartu“ in the conference *Teacher Training for Religious Education – Models and Good Practice* organized by FBI (*Finnish-Baltic Initiative in Developing Religious Education*) in the University of Tartu. 23.-26.10.2003

Riho Altnurme read a paper “Transition in ideology: effects for the churches in Estonia” in the conference *Four Empires and an Enlargement. States, Societies and Individuals: Transfiguring Perspectives and Images of Central and Eastern Europe* at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London. 6.-8.11.2003

Pille Valk read a paper „Problems of Developing Religious Education in Post-Socialist Context“ in the round table consultative conference *Rossiiskoje zakonodatelstvo i religioznoje orazovanijeb svetskoi škole*, organized by Konrad Adenauer Foundation Moscow representation in Moscow. 20.-21.11.2003

Riho Altnurme visited Swedish State Archive (Riksarkivet) collecting materials about the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church in exile and its relations with the home church. 26.-27.4.2004

Riho Altnurme introduced his work and project in the conference *The Baltic Churches in the 20th Century in Socio-Political, National and Cultural Changes* (27th –28th April) and reads a paper „The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Soviet Union after the Second World War“ on *the Yearly Day of the Swedish Society of Church History* on 29th April in Uppsala University,(Sweden).27.-29.4.2004

Preparations for the final conference in Pühajärve, Estonia. May-July

The Final Conference of CEI combined with the Annual Symposium of the Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte. 19-22.8.2004

Work package 8

The significance of the Churches for political changes in Eastern Europe and its theological and social background

Das verlorene Paradies. Kubas Christen und die Menschenrechte, in: *Zeitzeichen* 5 (2004), 8-9.

The Bells of Hope ring behind the Iron Curtain. Die Ökumene, das Jahr 1953 und die Wahrnehmung des deutschen Protestantismus, in: Martin Greschat/Jochen-Christoph Kaiser (Hg.), *Die Kirchen im Umfeld des 17.6.1953*, Stuttgart 2003, 265-276.

Wegweiser aus Amerika. Mit den Freiheitsrechten des Einzelnen taten sich Deutschlands Protestanten lange Zeit schwer, in: *Zeitzeichen* 4 (2003), 28-30.

Ein Stück Westen im Osten: Ökumenische Begegnungen zwischen niederländischen und ostdeutschen Christen in den 70er und 80er Jahren, in: *Jahrbuch des Instituts für Niederlandestudien* 13/2002, Münster 2003, 67-83.

Das, was man denkt und was einen bewegt, offen sagen zu dürfen'. Protestanten in der DDR und die Endphase der kommunistischen Herrschaft 1987-1990, in: *Wie die Träumenden? Protestantische Kirchen in der Phase des Zusammenbruchs der kommunistischen Herrschaft im östlichen Europa*, hg. von Peter Maser und Jens Holger Schjörning, Erlangen 2003, 107-116.

Ökumene im Kalten Krieg. Vortrag am 18.7.2004 bei: *Ökumene und Widerstand. Internationales Kolloquium zu Ehren Willem Visser't Hooft*, Tagung der Adam-von-Trott-Stiftung in Imshausen (16.-18.7.2004).

Christen und Kirchen im Kalten Krieg 1975-1990. 30 min Vortrag und 30 min Diskussion im Rahmen des Bewerbungsverfahrens der Professur für Kirchengeschichte an der Universität Oldenburg, am 29.6.2004.

Zusammenleben im Zeitalter des Nationalismus. Das Konzept der Internationalen Gesellschaft im böhmischen Vormärz“, Vortrag und 60 Minuten Diskussion am 26.5.2004 im Rahmen des Habilitationsverfahrens an der Universität Karlsruhe; Abschluss mit der Venia Legendi als Privatdozentin fuer Neuere und Neueste Geschichte.

Deutsche und Tschechen gemeinsam auf der Suche nach dem Sinn: Die Wiederentdeckung des Religiösen in säkularisierten Welten, Vortrag und Diskussion am 11.9.2003 bei: „Auge in Auge statt Zahn um Zahn. Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen Deutschen und Tschechen in Sprache, Wirtschaft, Religion und Politik“, Tagung des Centrums für angewandte Politikforschung (C·A·P), München im Goetheinstitut Prag/Tschechische Republik.

17.1.2004: Commission of Church History of Central- and Eastern Europe (Evangelical Church of Germany, EKD, Hannover).

22.5.2004: Commission of Contemporary Church History (Evangelical Church of Germany, EKD, Hannover)

Participation in the CEI Final conference and presentation of a research paper in Tartu, Estonia 19.-22.8.2004

Annexes

Annex 1 - Cost statements from each partner of the Churches and European Integration Project (sent separately)

Annex 2 – Abstracts of the papers in the final conference of CEI 20.-22.8.2004 in Pühajarve, Estonia

Annex 3 – Evaluation form used in the internal evaluation of the CEI Project

ANNEX 2

ABSTRACTS OF THE PAPERS IN THE FINAL CONFERENCE OF CEI 20.-22.8.2004

“Towards the Common Good” – Social Responsibility, Globalisation and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland

by Pauliina Arola

“Towards the Common Good – Statement on the Future of the Welfare Society by the Bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland” was released in March 1999. The Bishops insisted on a greater responsibility of the individual, communities and the state in serving the Common Good. The Bishops based their argumentation on the Ethics of the Golden Rule and finished by arguing for a strong state and for public structures of welfare as practical applications of Lutheran social ethics. The statement was highly debated in post-recession Finland, applauded by some and sharply criticised by others. The paper will overview Finnish Lutheran Social Teaching and examine in detail the statement, “Towards the Common Good”. It discusses how the Bishops see the current social values, the roles of various players in the national and global economy, the morals of markets and the direction Finnish society should take in the era of globalisation. According to the Bishops, globalisation presents a challenge to nation states. Welfare should be built through the application of positive rights and by all actors – including enterprises – to serve the Common Good.

Pauliina Arola works as Programme Director for the Globalisation and Global Governance Programme of the Crisis Management Initiative in Helsinki. Additionally she heads the Secretariat of the Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy, a high-level multi-stakeholder dialogue sponsored by the Finnish and Tanzanian governments. She has worked

previously in several civil society organisations and educational institutions and is working on her dissertation on “European Churches and Globalisation” at the University of Helsinki.

French Protestantism facing social and political issues

by Frédéric Hartweg

Even though the French Protestants form less than two percent of the French population they have had a considerable impact on French public discourse. The French Protestants have made their presence felt through the proclamations of the Protestant Federation of France, through the weekly *Réforme*, and in various newspapers through the media and political presence of noted Protestants, such as Paul Ricoeur.

The discussions, within which the Protestants have participated, have included the reconciliation of France and Germany after 1945, the rebuilding of Europe, the decolonialization of Algeria, pacifism and the nuclear disarmament, the trade of weapons, the relationship between the church and the state, and the sexual ethics.

*Frédéric Hartweg is born in 1941. He has Studied in Nancy, Paris (Sorbonne, Ecole Normale Supérieure de Saint Cloud), and Hamburg with aggregation in 1967 and Doctorat d’Etat (Habilitation) in 1982. Professor at the University of Paris-Nanterre until 1994 and from 1994 onward at University Marc Bloch Strasbourg. Visiting Professor in Ottawa, Middlebury, Kassel, and Potsdam. A member of the Historical Commission at Berlin. Contributor to *Revue d’Allemagne*, *Grenzgänge*, *Documents*, *Recherches Germaniques*, *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte (KZG)*. Main research interests include: Early Modern High German, Elsassian languages, the Huguenot refuge to Berlin, Franco-German migration, and the State, the Church, and the Society in Germany and France.*

Swedishness, Catholicism and European Integration

by Yvonne Maria Werner

The position of the Catholic Church in Sweden has radically changed in the last forty years. At the beginning of the 1960s, Catholicism was commonly regarded as a threat to the Swedish cultural identity, especially among members of the ruling Social-Democratic Party. Today, the Catholic Church is an accepted part of Swedish society.

In the article, Werner discusses the process of change and its impact on Swedish attitudes towards European integration from 1945 up to the present time. Special attention will be paid to ecumenical relations, the Swedish Catholic Church's engagement in European Catholic co-operation, and its relationship with the Swedish State. A hypothesis is that the integration of the local Catholic Church into Swedish society can be seen as an important precondition for the development of a more positive Swedish attitude towards European integration.

Dr. Yvonne Maria Werner is an Associate Professor at the Department of History at Lund University. In her research, she has mainly concentrated on religion, culture and identity in the Nordic countries in the modern period. Some examples that can be mentioned are studies on the history of the Catholic Church in modern Sweden, on Catholic Mission and conversion in Scandinavia, and on Catholic sisters and their work in Nordic countries.

British Christians, the Iron Curtain, and the Division of Europe

by Philip Coupland

Winston Churchill defended the wartime Anglo-Soviet pact by saying that, had Hitler invaded Hell, he would have sought an alliance with the Devil. The typically British elites' embrace of 'Uncle Joe' garlanded pragmatism with a rhetoric of 'friendship'. For the British Churches this was a matter of greater delicacy. Their traditionally close relationship with the state had been emphasised by their leading role in the war of words against Germany. However, if pagan Nazism was damned for its totalitarianism and terrorism, so was atheistic Communism.

This paper will explore this tension between political expediency and the less elastic dictates of Christian teaching. In particular, it will note that the westward advance of the Red Army not only threatened the Church in those countries, but also Christian hopes for the future of Europe. Church leaders sought a continent whose socio-economic and political integration was built on a Christian moral and cultural foundation. The hegemony of atheistic Stalinism over Eastern Europe shattered this vision of a reborn Christendom. The descent of the iron curtain also led to dubious alliances connecting the Churches to émigré politics and covert intelligence operations. Hence, church leaders were among the earliest 'cold warriors', speaking in terms which would not become dominant in political discourse until later.

The paper will examine the argument that – in times which would permit nothing more than a fragile and compromised *modus vivendi* between West and East – the Churches helped to close the space in which such a delicate plant might have grown. If so, they contributed to creating the political culture that dominated European and world politics up to the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Philip Coupland completed his Ph.D. in the Department of History at the University of Warwick in 2000. From 2001 to 2004 he worked as a researcher for the European Commission funded project 'The Churches and European Integration' in the Department of History at the University of Glasgow. Dr. Coupland has published articles on modern British political history in The Journal of Contemporary History, Twentieth Century British History, The Journal of British Studies and elsewhere. Currently he is writing a monograph for Palgrave Macmillan about British Christians, national identity and European integration.

Strangers Becoming Family: “Low-level” International Integration and Examples of its Impact on the Church of Sweden

by Martin Bergman

This article is focused on “low-level” integration, that is, societal and attitudinal integration emanating from and influencing individuals or organisations, and studies this influence on the Church of Sweden. Contacts with churches in other countries, often being part of other theological traditions, have been a significant factor in the changes taking place in the Church of Sweden during the last century.

Most of these contacts are taking place on a parish, group or individual level. Influences from Anglican, Catholic and Orthodox traditions can be noted. Some examples of this development, mainly theological motives and liturgical objects and art, are presented.

Martin Bergman was born in Skellefteå, Sweden in 1959 and has primarily been academically active at the University of Lund where he became a Bachelor of Divinity in 1986 and a Doctor of Theology in ecclesiastical history in 1996. From 1997-2000 and since 2001 he has been a post-doctoral fellow at the Faculty of Theology.

Local Churches and European Integration: Jonkoping, 1965-1985

by Erik Sidenvall

This paper will give a local perspective on the contribution of churches to the process of European integration. By studying how a number of churches active in Jonkoping in southern Sweden created international networks in both Eastern and Western Europe, it will evaluate the extent to which ecumenism can be said to have motivated these connections.

Dr Erik Sidenvall is a post-doctoral researcher in Church History at the Centre of Theology and Religious Studies at Lund University. He has published on aspects of modern British and Swedish church history.

The Issue of Peace in the Ecumenical Dialogues during the Cold War and its Implications on the Lives of the Churches

by Heiko Overmeyer

In the two bilateral theological dialogues between the German Protestant Churches and the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), which lasted from the late 1950s to 1990, systematic-theological issues as well as the issue of peace were discussed. In spite of this, the latest investigations only analyse the systematic-theological discussions. Of course, it must be kept in mind that communist politics tried and sometimes managed to observe and to control those contacts – especially those between two churches from socialist countries. On the other hand, different documents, archive-files and interviews of participants show that the issue of peace was more than a compulsory topic for the participants of the dialogue. The Protestant participants were sure that it was not only the reason why members of the ROC were allowed to participate in these contacts. In addition, this issue opened a window to have a look at the church under the Soviet regime, showing that this issue was a real theological matter for the ROC. Moreover the different materials that were analysed show that lively discussions about this topic were possible.

Heiko Overmeyer studied history and Catholic theology at the University of Münster from 1995 to 2001. In his thesis he analysed the topic of the relationship between the Eastern German State and the Catholic Church in the diocese of Erfurt between 1949 and 1963. Since

September 2001 he has been working as a researcher for the CEI-project at the Catholic Institute for Ecumenical Theology at the University of Münster.

Dialogue between the Russian Orthodox and the Finnish Lutheran Churches 1970-80

by Riho Saard

The international relations of the Finnish Church intensified considerably in the 1960s. The geopolitical position of Finland helped the church to build good relationships with Eastern European churches. The World Council of Churches also supported stronger relationships between the Church of Finland and the Russian Orthodox Church, which had become a member of the WCC in 1961.

Both churches were interested in creating a dialogue: Archbishop Martti Simojoki from the Church of Finland and Metropolitan Bishop Nikodim from the Russian Orthodox Church presented their respective propositions in 1967. The Church of Finland aimed to help the Lutheran churches in the Soviet Union (Ingrians, Estonians, Latvians) maintain their Lutheran identities. It would have been impossible to keep up such relations without the benevolent help of the church in Russia. Another aim was to learn about Russian Orthodox theology and liturgy, and to introduce Western theology and its methodology to Russian theologians. It is difficult to speak very precisely of the aims of the Russian church. In any case, it fit well with the USSR foreign policy concept of the co-existence of different ideologies and socio-economic societies, while Western churches would still be supporting the Soviet politics of peace.

According to the representatives of the Russian church, the purpose of the dialogue was to overcome the post-war distrust and hatred. The purpose of the dialogue was not to proceed from formulating the final statements to drawing up a mutually binding final document. The dialogue started in 1970 in Turku, Finland. It focused on two topics: the Eucharist and soteriology as systematic theology and the efforts for peace as a social-ethical topic.

Dr. Riho Saard (b. 1961) works as a professor at the Estonian Institute of Humanities and as a docent-researcher at the Faculty of Theology, the University of Helsinki. He has published studies related to the problems of religion, society and national identity. His main interest lies in the church history of Estonia. Dr. Saard has previously worked as a researcher at the

Finnish Academy and as a consultant-researcher to the Estonian State Commission on the Examination of the Policies of Repression. Besides his current activities at different theological institutes, he is a member of the Estonian Society of Church History and the Estonian Academic Theological Society and the Finnish Society of Church History.

Foreign Relations of Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church as means of Keeping Contact with the Western World

by Riho Altnurme

The official contacts between the churches in the East and West have helped to keep up contact with the Western world throughout the Soviet period. The example of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church (EELC) is observed, starting from 1950s, when official contacts with Western Churches were re-established. The church received literature and also mediated personal contact to some extent. The parish members had a chance to hear guests from the West.

Still, it must be kept in mind that the choice of contact was made by the Council of Religious Affairs in Moscow, and the character of these contacts was heavily influenced by the political interest of the Soviet state. The public speeches of church leaders were heavily censored and contained half-truths about the situation at home. In private conversations they could express themselves only a bit more freely.

Riho Altnurme (born 1969) has studied general history and theology at the Universities of Tartu, Leuven, and Helsinki. He became a Doctor of Theology in Tartu (2000) with the dissertation "Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church and Soviet state 1944-1949". He has been a Senior Research Fellow of Church History at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Tartu, Estonia since 2001 and a Dean of the Faculty of Theology since 2003.

Communism in Christian Literature Published in Finland 1961-1972

by Suvi Kyrö

Suvi Kyrö's article focuses on analysing different stances towards Communism on the basis of Christian literature published in Finland. Communism seems to have been an issue that has inspired a large number of writers. From 1961 to 1972 there were 67 books which dealt with

Communism and the books vary from novels to scientific books. The idea of this article is to discover the ways in which the political reality of the Cold War period is represented in these books. Additionally, this article addresses the kind of information distributed about Christians living in Communist countries and what their attitudes towards Leftist parties were.

Suvi Kyrö is a researcher and a doctoral student of church history at the University of Helsinki in Finland. She will be a member of the Finnish Graduate School of Theology until July 2004.

“Do you bring peace?” Relations of the Archbishop Ilmari Salomies and President of the Republic Urho Kekkonen during the Period of Crisis in Finnish Foreign Policy from 1958 to 1962

by Ville Jalovaara

Ville Jalovaara's article deals with the attitudes of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland toward the foreign policy crisis in Finland from 1958 to 1962, as seen from the viewpoint of Archbishop Ilmari Salomies. The special aim of this article is to find out what kind of contacts and relations Salomies had with President Urho Kekkonen, who was in charge of Finnish foreign policy at the time. One of the questions addressed concerns the kind of support Salomies gave to Kekkonen during the crisis with the Soviet Union. It is in this particular period that some of the most important events in Finnish Cold War history, such as the “night frost crisis” of 1958 and the “note crisis” of 1961, occurred.

Ville Jalovaara, born in 1976, a doctoral student at the Department of Church History, the University of Helsinki, Finland, is at present working on his doctoral dissertation, “The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland and the Crisis in Finnish Foreign Relations from 1958 to 1962”. He will also be a member of the Finnish Graduate School of Theology during the term 2003-2006.

The Church as a Political and Social Factor within the Post-Socialistic Transformation of the Czech Republic

by Katharina Kunter

The paper will address the social impact of the Christian Church on the Czech society during the last years of the Communism and during the post-Socialistic transformation process of the country after 1990. Particular attention will be paid on the impact of the Christian worldview on the mental-historical continuity on the understandings of Human Rights, Democracy, and Pluralism.

The paper will also examine the way in which these notions shaped the understanding of the concept of Europe, a topic that is particularly relevant today as the Czech Republic joined the European Union in May 2004. The presentation is based on archival sources, ecclesiastical documents, and interviews.

Katharina Kunter, Ph.D., has studied law, history, and theology in Heidelberg and Gießen. She defended her doctoral dissertation entitled Die Kirchen im KSZE-Process 1968-1978 in 2000. In 2004 she got the Venia Legendi for modern and contemporary History ("Habilitation"). She has done research in connection with several research projects on the roles of the church after 1945. She is interested on human rights, Europe, ecumenism, and Christian opposition in the Central and Eastern Europe during Communism.

The Reestablishment of the Orthodox Church and the Russian Public Discourse

by Jutta Scherrer

The Russian Orthodox Church has played one of the key roles within the contemporary construction of the Russian national and cultural identity. In the paper, the author discusses in general terms how the state's and the church's joint commemoration and celebration of the Millennium of the Christianization of the Russia in 1988 opened a way to the post-Communitic and post-Soviet use of the past as a way to construct the Russian identity today.

Did the state return to the religious history of Russia in order to reconstruct a "useful past" or did the Orthodox Religion gain a new kind of social function with the Russian public life? In this paper, the author addresses the impact of the reestablishment of the Orthodox Church in

the transformation on Russia and the role that the church plays as the people reflect upon the uncertainties of the future.

Jutta Scherrer is Professor of Russian History at the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris and permanent research fellow at the Centre Marc Bloch in Berlin. Her research covers the intellectual and cultural history of Russia. She has worked in particular on the Russian intelligentsia and the impact of ideologies, religious transformations of Russian society, Russian emigration, dissidents, and lately on memory and history in post-Soviet Russia. She also works as journalist for Die Zeit, Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Merkur, DU and other periodicals.

The Influence of Individual Religious Contacts on the Estonians in the Process of European Integration

by Lea Altnurme

The influence of Western culture on the Estonian mentality through the contacts with Western church members became increasingly possible at the end of the 1980s. The friendship of churches and Christian organisations, including the Taizé monastery, have influenced the understanding of Estonians about Christianity and its place in European history and society. Estonian society remains in general very secularised.

As an influence of the social processes of contemporary history, negative stereotypes connected with religion are widespread. The best way to compete with those stereotypes is to have contact with Christians from other countries.

Lea Altnurme (born 1968) has studied general history and theology at the Universities of Tartu and Helsinki. She became a Master of Theology in Tartu (1997) with the thesis "Image of God of Estonian Adolescents". Her publications have covered the contemporary religious situation in Estonia. She has given lectures on religious studies. She has been a research fellow of church history at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Tartu since 2001.

Churches and European Integration – Challenge for Religious Education in Post-Socialist Context

by Pille Valk

Religious Education (RE) could be seen as one of the links between church and society. In examining developments in RE in Europe during recent decades, one can observe a great variety of different models of and approaches to the subject. Among this diversity some unity can be found by looking at one of the general aims of RE as a sphere in which dialogue and understanding may be developed between different worldviews, and in which fundamentalism, discrimination and intolerance may be resisted.

Developing RE in post-socialist countries after a long period of atheistic propaganda needs special attention and sensitivity. A contextual model of RE, founded on the analyses of the particular society in which RE must be taught, could serve here as one possible example.

Pille Valk is a docent of religious education in the Faculty of Theology, the University of Tartu since 2003. She is also a docent in religious education at the University of Helsinki, the Teacher & Training Department and a docent of church history and religious education at the Theological Institute of the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church. Her areas of interest include religious education in schools and in church, Estonian church history, Christian art and iconography.

ANNEX 3

Churches and European Integration Project

EVALUATION OF THE PROJECT AND IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESULTS

Churches and European Integration Project is evaluated internally and externally. Internal evaluation will be carried out by the WP leaders and all researchers that have taken part in the work in the WP's. The external evaluation will be carried out by the Advisory Board Members.

The answers from each work package and Advisory Board Members will be sent to the Coordinator by July 23rd 2004. The Coordinator assembles the evaluations for the final PCC in Tartu (August 2004).

PCC and researchers as well as the AB will answer to the same questions when applicable.

QUESTIONS FOR EVALUATION

PCC and researchers as well as the AB will answer to the same questions if applicable.

Planning of the Project

- Please describe how you were involved in the planning of the project. Were you satisfied to your input in the planning phase?
- Has planning been systematic and effective?
- How do you evaluate the work of the Coordinator during the planning phase?
- Has there been strong justification for the relevance of the project? Was the project necessary?
- Were the general project objectives realistic?
- Were the particular objectives in your work package realistic?
- How well did the common scientific framework support the studies carried out in the Project?

Partnerships and Cooperation

- Were the research partnerships chosen for this project appropriate?
- Did the dialogue in the PCC benefit the research carried out?
- How would you evaluate the performance of the coordinator (information circulation, contacts to WPs, workshops, reporting etc.)?
- Did the dialogue with the AB benefit the research carried out?

Implementation of the Research Work

- To what extent the goals of the project and your WP were met?
- To what extent the goals of the project and your WP were not met? Why?
- How well have we reacted to situations of changes within the project?
- Name three most successful elements and three least successful elements in the implementation phase of the project

End results

- What is the scientific quality of the research results obtained?
- Have there been any scientific breakthroughs?
- How well has the project succeeded in integrating and synthesising the results of various WP's?
- Has the project generated new cooperation among researchers?
- Has the project generated new cooperation between researchers and other actors (church organisations, decision makers, media etc.)?

Implementation of the End Results

- How can the end results of the project and your work package be implemented nationally and internationally?
- What role shall I and my University play in the implementation phase?
- How has the project been useful in research education at your unit (how many dissertations are completed or will be completed, has the project been influential to the Masters Degree education)?
- How will the stakeholders benefit from the outcome of the work of the work package?
- Which kinds of publications will be produced from the work package?

Future Work

- How the work of the CEI Project should be followed up? Should the work be continued? How (such as building networks, joint publications, seminars, seeking joint funding for research etc.)? Present your visions for the future collaboration.
- What kinds of recommendations would you know give to planning, implementing and working in this kind of project based on your experience?