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Item Type	Article
Authors	Wickeri, Philip L.
Publisher	Nordic Forum of Sino- Western Studies, Helsinki
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Download date	2026-11-15 15:42:34
Link to Item	http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12424/166748

Cold War Religion: The Influence of the Cold War on Religion in China and the United States[1]

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Abstract: The protracted conflict between East and West known as the Cold War (1945-1989) affected all aspects of international relationships. This paper examines the impact of the Cold War on religion in China and the United States. The Cold War politicized religious communities, especially Christianity; created a "binary" mindset in the relationship between religion and rival ideologies; shaped views on Christian mission; and undermined common religious values such as love and tolerance. Religion was manipulated by the politics of the Cold War in both the "Capitalist" West and the "Communist" East. The non-aligned movement provided space for alternative conceptions of religion, but only to an extent, and it remained an area of contestation in Cold War politics. The Cold War affected a variety of religious concerns including religious freedom, religious exchanges, theological construction, interreligious dialogue, religion and national policy, religion and economic development, etc. It is my thesis that there is a continuing legacy of what I call "Cold War Religion" that inhibits mutual understanding, interreligious dialogue, religious studies and the flourishing of religious communities. If religion is to become a factor in the creation of a more peaceful and harmonious world, then the legacy of the Cold War has to be addressed and overcome in religious communities and in the study of religion.

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Key words: Cold War, Christianity, Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, Communism, Capitalism

This paper is an initial attempt to call attention to the legacy of what I term Cold War Religion. It is a conference paper proposing further study in a neglected area of research.

The Cold War is generally understood as a period of political, economic, military, ideological and cultural conflict, competition and hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union, and their allies. This protracted conflict between East and West affected all aspects of national and international relationships between 1945 and 1991. The Yalta Conference in February 1945 may be said to mark the beginning of the Cold War, for this was when Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill met to plan the post-war world. The dissolution of the U. S. S. R. and the declarations of independence in Eastern Europe may be said to mark the end of the Cold War. Over the last two decades, this period has begun to be studied all over the world, and at least part of the purpose is to understand its continuing effect on society and politics today. Archives have been opened, conferences have been held, and books have been published, often co-operatively, by scholars and public figures in the East (the former Eastern Europe) and the West.[2]

Between the East and the West was the non-aligned movement, sometimes termed the "Third

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① This paper was first presented in Forum of Social Sciences (Religious), Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, 7-9 December 2011.

② For a review of some of the major studies, see the bibliography in John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 299ff.

World," and this was an important region for Cold War intervention, politically, militarily and culturally. ⑬ The "First World" encompassed the powerful capitalist nations led by the United States; the "Second World" referred to the socialist countries of the Soviet Bloc; the "Third World" encompassed the non-aligned "underdeveloped" and "developing countries" in the rest of the world, including China. The idea of a non-aligned movement was symbolized by the Bandung (Indonesia) Conference of April 1955, hosted by President Sukarno. This conference was attended by Prime Minister Nehru of India and Prime Minister Zhou Enlai of China among other leaders in Africa and Asia and was the precursor of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The Bandung conference affirmed the identity, role and cooperation of newly independent or liberated countries of Asia and Africa. The Conference made a major impact on life together of nations of Asia and Africa. The so-called "Bandung Spirit" had great influence in the region. But it was regarded with suspicion in the West, even in religious circles.

The major Cold War struggle was between the United States and the Soviet Union, but within third World, China was a central concern for each. China was in one sense part of the non-aligned movement, but because of its size and influence, it had a role of its own. The same could be said of India. China's involvement in the Cold War has been studied by scholars in the West, and by Chinese scholars based in China and in the West. The judgment of Andrew Nathan and Robert Ross on China in the Cold War is perceptive:

> During the Cold War, China was the only major country that stood at the intersection of the two superpower camps, a target of influence and enmity for each. ⑭

The Cold War clearly had an influence on culture. One of the earliest uses of the term "Cold War" was George Orwell's reference in a newspaper article published in 1945. He described a world living with the threat of nuclear war in a "peace that is no peace," and thus a permanent "Cold War." ⑮ From the very beginning, Cold War tensions were foreshadowed by this great British man of letters. Over the next decades, Cold War themes were reflected in all aspects of world culture; literature and film, television and the press, music and painting, religion and ideology. ⑯ Cold War cultural themes in the East, the West and the non-aligned world stressed ideological conflict; the threat of nuclear annihilation; "godless communism" versus liberal democracy; patriotism and intolerance of "the other." In short, there was a particular "Cold War Culture" with definable characteristics, colored by contrasting contexts, but reflecting similar themes.

Religion was naturally one of the areas of culture and society affected by the Cold War. This essay is an exploratory study of the impact of the Cold War on religion and the study of religion, focusing on China and the United States. As such, it is an initial attempt to introduce what I term "Cold War Religion," a subject requiring much more attention in religious circles and among scholars.

I begin with a brief consideration of religion and the Cold War in general terms, with particular respect to the Cold War in Asia. I identify three key themes and some of the subject areas for what

⑬ Odd Arne Westad, *The Global Cold War; Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⑭ quoted in Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 2.

⑮ George Orwell, "You and the Atomic Bomb," October 19, 1945, The Tribune, cited in Till Geiger, *Britain and the Economic Problem of the Cold War* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 7.

⑯ Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, 2nd edition (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996)

I term "Cold War Religion," themes I will then use in a brief survey of religion and the Cold War in the United States and China, focusing on the 1950s. As a case study of the impact of the Cold War on religion, I then take up the separation of the Hong Kong Sheng Kung Hui from the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (中华圣公会) in 1951. In a small way, the painfulness of this separation was to some extent lessened through the use of religion. In my conclusion, I speak briefly of the continuing legacy of Cold War interpretations of religion in China and the United States. Overcoming this legacy will take a concerted effort in addressing the questions that continue to obstruct religious tolerance and love.

Themes and Subjects in the Study of Cold War Religion, with particular respect to Asia

The Cold War emphasized a permanent state of conflict that existed between Capitalists (the United States and its allies, the "First World") and Communists (the USSR and the Soviet Bloc, the "Second World"). The former saw itself as the liberal and democratic option, the latter as the progressive and revolutionary option. For the United States, the Soviet Bloc was seen as dictatorial, violent and repressive, for the Soviets, the United States was seen as exploitative, greedy and counter-revolutionary. There is truth in both the self-characterizations and the characterizations of the other, but this does not imply the moral equivalency between the two. What it does suggest is a state of permanent and irreconcilable opposition, which set forth a certain "binarism" or black and white dichotomy in cultural terms.① With the rise of détente between the Soviet Bloc and the West beginning in the 1970s, overt hostilities were somewhat lessened, but binary opposition continued to shape religion, religious studies and views of religion in East and West

The importance of ideas and ideology in the perpetuation of the Cold War is now generally acknowledged. The Cold War was not only about oppositional interests, economic efficiency, military build-up and geopolitical rivalry; it was also about ideas, and I would argue beliefs, that moved people and shaped their societies. Religion, religious organizations, religious studies and religious ideas in this way become important windows on the Cold War. While the Cold War does not provide a comprehensive framework for studying religion or international religious relationships in the post-World War II period, it does provide one way of understanding and problematizing national and international religious developments, a perspective that has been neglected in the past.

I want to suggest that are at least three themes that should be included in the study of Cold War religion. These are, in effect, inter-related hypotheses that need to be tested, debated and refined. Each of these themes distorted religious "values" (a problematic term, to be sure), and undermined common religious beliefs such as love and tolerance that might in other circumstances have had a greater impact on promoting dialogue and understanding.

1. *The Cold War intensified the politicization of religion and religious studies.* There is a always a political dimension to religious beliefs, and religion has been fruitfully studied in its political aspects for hundred of years. However, during the Cold War, religion and religious organizations were politicized in ways they had not been before. This led to polarization and division in religious communities. Religion was manipulated by rival ideological claims. International religious organizations became subjects of government scrutiny; religious groups took stands on Cold War

① The term "binarism" has been popularized in post-colonial theory, but I am using the term as a convenient way of indicating the reduction of pluralism and nuance into polar opposite categories.

politics; theologies were examined or developed according to their political implications; institutes for religious studies and religious (or area) studies programs were set up in many countries, often with political interests in mind. The politicization of religion during the Cold War resulted in a distortion of religious belief and practice.

2. *Cold War "binarism" was reflected, intentionally and unintentionally, in religious attitudes and beliefs.* While there are many sources of binary as opposed to pluralistic attitudes in systems of religious belief, the Cold War exacerbated the opposition of differences. In so doing, complex religious ideas were simplified and put to uses that were contrary to their origins. Thus, for many in the United States, to be Christian was to be anti-Communist, and Communists in the Soviet Bloc were almost by definition anti-religious. In China, religious bodies had to demonstrate they were "patriotic," while many churches in the United States became increasingly nationalistic. The terms were different, but categories of understanding were polarized: the spiritual versus material, good versus evil, black or white, right versus wrong. These categories became hardened during the Cold War, divided religious communities and undermined tolerance and openness to others in faith and love.

3. *The Cold War decreased the space available for the open expression of religious ideas and practices.* By space, I mean both physical space and psychological "space" in the sense of places for reflection upon non-binary and depoliticized religious ideas. The non-aligned movement was such a physical space, but it too became an area of contestation in Cold War Religion. The public sphere, especially the academy, was another such area of contestation. The reduction of religious space sometimes led to a reduction to the private sphere or to certain times and places. Although Cold War Religion decreased available space, it did not eliminate it, and the in-between places suggest hopeful areas in need of further study.

Bearing these three general themes in mind, let me turn to some of the subjects that will be important for the study of Cold War Religion, especially in Asia.

For universities and centers of religious studies, as well as for churches and religious communities, international religious organizations, Western mission agencies, the Vatican, and the Orthodox World, the role of Christianity in the Cold War is part of a continuing history. My focus is on Christianity, for it is arguably the religion most immediately influenced by (as well as influencing) the Cold War. General themes include: Christian anti-Communism; pro-Communist Christianity; Christianity in the non-aligned movement; Vatican policies in socialist and former socialist countries; and the role of Orthodox churches in Asia. All of these have only recently begun to be studied, but attention has been mainly on Europe, and the major books in the field barely touch upon Asia. ⑧ the focus has mainly been on Europe and the West. The international ecumenical study project, "The Christian World Community and the Cold War" has until recently had a largely European focus, but this may be changing. ⑨

There is no part of the world where the Cold War had a greater impact on religion than Asia. The Chinese War of Liberation and its aftermath; the artificial separation of Taiwan from Mainland China; the Korean and Vietnam conflicts; the Bandung meeting of non-aligned nations are just the

⑧ Owen Chadwick, *The Christian Church in the Cold War* (London: Penguin Books, 1993) and Diane Kirby, ed. Religion and the Cold War (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003). The latter is part of the Cold War History Series, and of the nineteen edited volumes, not one of them deals with Asia.

⑨ The project is sponsored by the Lutheran World Federation, with support coming from the World Council of Churches and some member churches. There is a small secretariat in Finland. It has a history of five years, and there has held workshops in Sweden, the United States and, this past September, in Bratislava, Slovakia

most immediate events that come to mind. The Cold War affected Buddhism, Christianity, Hinduism and other religions of Asia, not only in relationship to these events, but in the ways in which the religions developed in Asian societies. But Christianity, the dominant religion in both the former Soviet Union and in the United States, was more central to what I am terming Cold War Religion.

What follows is a list of six subject areas that will have to be considered in any study of Cold War Religion:

1.1 *The Departure of Christian Missionaries from China.* The departure of all Protestant and Catholic Missionaries from China was a defining event for Christian Churches in the early Cold war period. ⑩ It affected church state relations in Asia and the West; it led to a redefinition of church mission policies all over the world; and it ultimately resulted in a decline of Western missionaries in Asia. Although much historical work has been done on this period, very little analysis has been done on the relationship between the departure of missionaries from China and the Cold War, including the influence of former missionaries in the United States and other countries; the effects on churches in the United States and China; and the impact on the foreign policies of those two countries.

1.2 *Vatican Relations with Churches of Asia During the Cold War.* Vatican perceptions of political developments in other parts of the world were shaped in the post war period by the changes in Eastern Europe. ⑪ This in turn had an impact on the rise of Communist governments in Asia (in Mongolia, China, Korea and Vietnam) and the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Bloc, with the Vatican strongly supporting US policies and perspectives. Vatican-China relationships were broken off in the 1950s, and there has been no normalization to this day. In addition, Roman Catholic politics has had an impact on Cross-Straits relationships for the past six decades.

1.3 *The Korean War.* The Korean War, like the Vietnam War, was in the eyes of Asian people an American War. Christianity in the US and in South Korea developed a strong anti-Communist perspective during the War, and Chinese and North Korean politics developed an Anti-Christian (or Anti-American Christian) perspective. The departure of American missionaries from North Korea, which had been the center of the missionary effort, should be compared to the departure of missionaries from China. The Cold War has not ended on the Korean peninsula, and this is reflected in religious understandings on all sides, especially in the Christian churches.

1.4 *The Non-Aligned Movement and the "Christian" Third Way.* An earlier generation of Third World Christian leadership pointed to Bandung as giving impetus to a new prophetic Christian leadership, especially in Asia. Chinese Christian leaders such as T. C. Chao and K. H. Ting were often included among these. However, Asian Christians outside of China generally sided with the West in the Cold War, although there were also prophetic Asian voices calling for re-

⑩ Returned missionaries in English-speaking countries, and especially the United States, wrote hundreds of books and articles on their departure from China. One book which revealed deep insight into the long term significance of the changes this heralded for China and the West was David M. Paton, *Christian Missions and the Judgment of God*, 2nd ed (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996). The book was first published in 1953.

⑪ As early as 1849, the Roman Catholic Church was describing Marxian Communism as the Anti-Christ, see the encyclical of Pope Pius IX *Nostis et Nobiscum* (December 8, 1849)

sistance against the West, and support for China. ⑫

1.5 *Christian-Marxist Dialogue in Asia.* The Christian-Marxist dialogue began in a divided Europe in the 1960s, but Asian Christians participated in the dialogue explicitly and implicitly. Christians from the Soviet Bloc helped to initiate the dialogue. Christians from the West were involved, some as militantly anti-Communist and others as outspoken supporters of the Chinese Revolution and movements of liberation in the 1960s and 70s. In Korea, India the Philippines and elsewhere, Asian Christians developed their own forms of Liberation Theology, which involved an internal Christian-Marxist dialogue, developing theologies that challenged the First World, even though they did not have the support of Asian Churches. These developments need to be re- evaluated, noting their contributions and limitations, in the effort to move beyond Cold War Religion.

1.6 *The World Council of Churches as a Forum for Cold War Debates.* From its inception in 1948, the WCC served as a forum for debates between East and West. ⑬ This is also true of some of the other Christian world communions, but to a lesser extent. Initially, the WCC seemed to side with the West, the key example being its endorsement of the United States (and United Nations) position at the time of the Korean War. By the late 1950s, the WCC was no longer taking consistently "pro-Western positions", although certain departments continued to be subject to outside political influence. In subsequent decades, the WCC increasingly played a mediating and dialogical role, calling for mutual understanding and tolerance.

This list is not intended to be exhaustive, but it includes most of the big subjects, especially those involving China. Here, I have briefly described each of these areas of interest, with the intent of encouraging further research on Cold War Religion, especially Christianity.

Cold War Religion in the United States and in China

In both the United States and China, the politics of the Cold War, and the intractable (binary) opposition between Communism and Liberal Democracy, politicized religion and reduced the space for the free expression of religious ideas and beliefs. In a recent paper, Swedish Bishop Jonas Jonson has written that the Chinese criticism of Christianity in the West during the Cold War period, should more accurately be characterized as criticism of American Christianity. I think he is correct. Arguably, Christianity became more polarized in the United States during the 1950s than in most parts of Western Europe. In this section, therefore, I limit my discussion to Cold War Christianity in the United States and China. My brief discussion is focused on the 1950s, and I am painting the picture in broad strokes to reflect the tenor of the times.

The Cold War was in some ways a religious war, according to historian William Inboden, especially in the United States. Presidents Truman and Eisenhower believed that human rights and freedom were endowed by God, that God had called them to uphold American values and that Communism, whether in the Soviet Bloc or in China, was evil because of its atheism and restriction of religion. Inboden presents an insightful account of how mainline Protestant theology not only pro-

⑫ Nimmi Kurian, "Churches and the Cold War: A Third World Perspective with Special Reference to Asia," conference paper, 2011, 13pp.

⑬ John C. Bennett and Paul Abrecht, "Cold War," in *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, ed. *Nicolas Lossky*, et. al. (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002), 212-214

vided the rhetoric but also helped shape the substance of American Cold War under both Truman and Eisenhower.

> The ostensibly secular Cold Warriors became unlikely theologians presenting a new kind of civil religion that was nothing less than a diplomatic theology of containment. This innovative faith arose not in the churches but in the White House itself... They formulated a spiritual theology that provided both a "cause" justifying the Cold War and an "instrument" for winning it. ⑭

In this way, the binary opposition in the United States pitted Communism not only against capitalism, but against Christianity. In this way, the United States, a "Christian country," became the self-professed defender and protector of Christianity and religious freedom around the world. Any challenge to the United States was seen as a challenge to Christianity itself. The Korean War exacerbated all of this, and for the majority of American Christians, it deepened their faith-based criticism of China, especially after the departure of the missionaries.

Many of the former missionaries on the China mainland went to Taiwan (and to Hong Kong and other parts of Asia), where they helped shore up opposition to the newly established people's Republic of China. ⑮ The activity of former China missionaries, in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Southeast Asia has barely been studied, but it is an important area for further understanding of Cold War Christianity during this period.

This challenge of Communism was cast in theological as well as political terms. And so, in September 1957, Billy Graham could write,

> My own theory about Communism is that it is masterminded by Satan... I think there is no other explanation for the tremendous gains of Communism in which they seem to outwit us at every turn, unless they have supernatural power and wisdom and intelligence given to them. ⑯

In the 1950s, with the sharp post-war rise in religious affiliation, mainline Protestantism reached its peak of influence. Anti-Communist "MuCarthyism" polarized American politics and contributed to the politicization of American Christianity. Many former China missionaries became involved in American politics and their helped shore up support for the Republic of China on Taiwan. The so-called "China Lobby," led by former Presbyterian missionary Water Judd, was an overt expression of the political and religious Anti-Communism. ⑰ The religious aspects of the "China Lobby" are especially in need of further study. China had become a focus of Cold War Religion in the United States.

Protestant Christianity became closely identified with American nationalism in the 1950s. In order to demonstrate that America was a "Christian country," the separation of Church and State notwithstanding, the phrase "one nation under God" was inserted into Pledge of Allegiance. The

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⑭ William Imboden, Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: *The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 102-3

⑮ Many former missionaries and Chinese Christians from the mainland went to Hong Kong and Taiwan after 1951. In Taiwan, Roman Catholics, Lutherans and Methodists united to support the Generalissimo.

⑯ Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, 81. To be fair to the Rev. Graham, he began to modify his ideas in the 1970s, and became increasingly less political in later years. Even though he changed his mind, it is certainly not the case that all his followers did.

⑰ Ross Y. Koen, *The China Lobby in American Politics* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974)

Congressional bill authorizing this change was signed into law on Flag Day, June 14, 1954.[08] This was to distinguish American nationalism from the nationalism of the Soviet Bloc. Two years later, Congress made "In God we Trust" the official motto of the United States, with similar intent.

There were significant dissenting voices in the United States, in the churches and among theologians, so the diminished space for prophetic religious expression was not completely eliminated. Also, by the 1960s, the politicization of American religion had begun to wane, and some churches began speaking out against the manipulation of Christianity by Cold War politics. Still, most American the churches had already been politicized in Cold War terms, and for many of the more conservative denominations, this politicization has continued.

The situation of Christianity in China in the early 1950s was very different, and Cold War politics were secondary to consolidating the new government. The reduction of space and the politicization of religious communities was also much more intense, especially after the outbreak of the Korean War. Chinese Christians had to demonstrate that they were patriotic, and a Cold War "binarism" of religious beliefs and attitudes emerged. Although the contexts were vastly different, the effects on Christianity were in some ways comparable.

I have written elsewhere about Chinese Christianity in the early 1950s, and there is no need to repeat what I have said there.[09] But by way of comparison with the United States, it is important to indicate some elements in the Chinese version of what I am calling Cold War Religion. In 1951, Y. T. Wu and others drafted the "Christian Manifesto" which expressed support for the new government and its effort "to build an independent, democratic, peaceable, unified, prosperous and powerful New China" in which Christians would be required to be independent and free from overseas support and control.[10] They then began a campaign for signatures in support of the "Manifesto" in the churches. The statement itself was published on the front page of people's Daily, showing government endorsement and encouraging Christians to support the ideas of the manifesto.

After the outbreak of the Korean War, the government intensified its criticism of the churches' dependence on foreign funds and personnel, but more direct action was called for. President Truman had frozen all Chinese assets in the United States in December, and the Chinese government responded in kind by cutting off overseas funding for the churches, universities, American companies and other Western assets in China. This decision was presented to the 151 church leaders at their meeting in Beijing in April, 1951. There would no longer be foreign interference in the work of the Chinese churches. By this time, most of the missionaries had already left China, and the churches were in the hands of Chinese Christian leaders themselves. The Chinese Christian Three-Self Patriotic Movement (TSPM) Preparatory Committee was organized at this same meeting, led by Y. T. Wu and twenty-five other Christian leaders. It was based in Shanghai and staffed by former YM and YWCA workers. This committee was the key structure for the political involvement of Chi-

08 Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*, 89.

09 Philip L. Wickeri, "Contested Legacy: The Formative Years of the Chinese Christian Three Self-Patriotic Movement of the Protestant Churches of China, 1950-1954," *Studies in Christianity in Chinese Society and Culture from the Fourth International Young Scholars Symposium*, ed. Lau Chingming and Wu Xiaoxin (Hong Kong: Centre for the Study of Religion and Chinese Society, the Chinese University of Kong Kong, 2010), 55-71.

10 For my earlier discussions of "The Christian Manifesto," see Philip L. Wickeri, *Seeking the Common Ground: Protestant Christianity, the Three Self-Movement and China's United Front* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1988), 127-133 and Philip L. Wickeri, *Reconstructing Christianity in China: K. H. Ting and the Chinese Church* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2007), 98, 103.

nese Protestants until the First National Christian Conference in 1954.

One of the first tasks of the TSPM was to oversee the "Denunciation Movement" that was launched to sever the connection between Christianity and imperialism beginning in the spring of 1951.[40] It is clear that the Party and the government urged the initiation of the movement.[41] Unlike other mass movements of the early 1950s, in the campaign to denounce missionaries, Chinese church leaders and other Christian institutions was conducted by Christians, although in many cities and towns beyond Shanghai, it was initiated or directed by government officials. The course of the movement was similar to other mass movements of the time. For fifteen months, denunciation meetings were held in churches and public places all across China.

The movements in the early years of the TSPM may be analyzed using the three characteristics I have indicated for Cold War Religion. While the situation was vastly different in the United States, the categories and at times the terminology used was similar. I am not suggesting that the Cold War explains everything about religion in this period, but it helps us understand the different ways in which a Cold War culture shaped both national and international religious relationships in the United States as well as China.

The Separation of "The Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau" from the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui

The Cold War had an influence on all aspects of world Christianity in the early 1950s, but this did not mean that everything was politicized and what I would call "binarized" all the time. There was a push back from the churches to play down the political, retain their religious identities and continue to function as ecclesial bodies. What follows is an example of this in the case of the relationship between the Anglican Church in Hong Kong and the mainland. The fact that the Church involved was primarily related to England in the Chinese territory of Hong Kong was a key factor in the way in which the situation was handled. (This is part of a much larger study I am working on dealing with the history of the Anglican-Episcopal tradition in China.) I focus here on the Sheng Kung Hui, but in fact all Protestant denominations in Hong Kong, not to mention the Roman Catholic Church, were shaped by the Cold War in Asia.

The separation of "The Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau" from the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui (中华圣公会 CHSKH) in 1951 was part of the more general change in the policy of the newly established government of the people's Republic of China vis-à-vis religion in general, and foreign religious bodies in particular. This policy was influenced by the outbreak of the Korea War and efforts to consolidate the new government, as noted above. This separation was naturally related to the politics of the Chinese Revolution, but it was also shaped by the Cold War

[40] On the "Denunciation Movement" for this and what follows see Seeking the Common Ground, 134-139, and supplemented by 邢福增 Xing Fuzeng, "打掉帝了-1951 年的基督教控诉运动" Dadao lingqi -1951 nian de jidujiao kongsu yundong" (Clean the house - The Christian Movement of Indictment in 1951), in 邢福增 Xing Fuzeng, 基督教在中国的失败? -中国共产党领导的基督教史论 *Jidujiao zai zhongguo de shibai - Zhongguo gongchan yundong yu Jidujiao shi lun* (The Fail of Christianity in China - A Review on the History of Communist Movement and Christianity) (香港 Xianggang: 道风书社 Daofeng shushe, 2008).

[41] See for example, "关於解放初期平1956 年国内宗教问题教示报告工作路线是非问题的资料 Guanyu jiefang chuqi zhi 1956 nian guonei lan minzu zongjiao gongzuo luxian shifei wenti de ziliao" (Materials on the Question of Right and Wrong in Religious Work among Han Chinese, from the early years of Liberation to 1956). Copy of handwritten manuscript, circa 1989. 21pp. Also, 盛雪式 Sun Guangxi 孙光, 新中国宗教工作大事概览 *Xin zhongguo zongjiao gongzuo dashi gailan*, 1949-1999 (*An Overview of Major Events in Religious Work in New China*, 1949 - 1999) (北京 Beijing: 中文出版社 Huawen chubanshe, 2001)

In December, 1950, seven months after the outbreak of the Korean War, the State Administrative Council (SAC) of the people's Republic of China issued a ten point document entitled: "Regulations Governing the Registration of All Cultural, Educational and Relief and Religious Organizations Receiving Foreign Financial Assistance and Managed with Foreign Funds."[29] The stipulations in these policies would of course apply to the CHSKH, which was dependent on foreign funding. In the then Diocese of South China, which included Hong Kong and Guangdong, all salaries and other subsidies were paid by funds under the authority of the Bishop of Victoria, R. O. Hall.

In April, 1951, the SAC invited 151 Protestant leaders to Beijing, and issued a new set of regulations, "Methods for Dealing with Christian Organizations Receiving Financial Assistance from America."[30] These went further than before, calling for an immediate severance of relationships between Chinese churches and overseas mission boards, but insofar as they were aimed at American-funded organizations, they would not be directly related to the work of the Diocese of South China. Nevertheless, a number of CHSKH bishops were at this meeting, and the new regulations would have an immediate affect on the CHSKH, its dioceses and organizations.

On May 13, 1951, Bishop Murong Xian (慕容贤) sent a letter to his friend, the Revd. Chung Laap Yan (钟立欣), Secretary of the Standing Committee of the Synod, informing him of the instructions he had received from a Mr. Law Wah, a government official.[31] This is an extremely important document, only recently rediscovered, and it spells out most clearly the reasons for and methods of the separation of Hong Kong from the CHSKH. Although it is informal, this is the letter that says most about the separation, and in hard copy, it has comments by Bishop Hall in the margins.

In the letter, Bishop Murong writes that "the church should in the shortest possible time break all relationship with Hong Kong," that "Bishop Hall should tender his resignation to the House of Bishops of the CHSKH in order to save trouble in the House of Bishops and in the Diocese of South China," and various other matters, mostly dealing with funds and finance. The various stipulations should be settled before July, 1951. Toward the end of the letter, Bishop Murong writes in a very moving way about his love for the church and Bishop Hall:

> I can separate from Hong Kong and the church work can be reorganized, but my spirit towards Bishop Hall could never be separated. This promise I repeat again before God that though the Government authority strongly urged me not to see Bishop Hall again, it is possible in the church organization, but it is impossible in personal spirit. Every morning I pray for Bishop Hall in my private devotion, for over ten years. No matter in whatever environment, I will continue to do so. And I also hope that Bishop Hall will also find sometime to pray for me daily, so in spirit we have intimate communion. I have a lot of things which I would like to talk to Bishop Hall, but in my troublous mind, I could not stop my tears and could therefore write no more. Though I could write our my opinions, but I could not send out my endless tears to Bishop Hall. I pray God

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[29] An English version of the text was promulgated by the New China News Agency, reprinted in *Documents of the Three-Self Movement* (New York: Far Eastern Office of the NCCCUSA, 1963), pp. 22-24. Also see 龚协武 Lun Guangwu 编著, 新中国宗教工作大事简编 *Xin zhongguo zongjiao gongzuo dashi jianbian*, 1949-1999 (*An Overview of Major Events in Religious Work in New China*, 1949 - 1999) (北京 Beijing: 宗文出版社 Huawen chubanshe, 2001).

[30] 天风 *Tianfeng* 262 – 263 (May 8th, 1951), 202.

[31] Memo and Letter from Bishop Mu Yang Ia to the Revd. Chung Yan Laap, May 13, 1951, Hong Kong Public Records Office, HKMS 96-1-29. 3pp. The translation of the letter is marked CONFIDENTIAL and there is a note to SKL (Shiu Kwong Lee, 李兆光) initialed ROH saying the letter should be preserved as an historical document. I have not been able to find the Chinese original of the letter and I do not know if it exists.

would bless you and our fellow-workers with health and happiness.

This account shows that not everything was reduced to politics, and that need not be binarized and that religious relationships could transcend the politics of the Cold War.

On July 6, a Joint Meeting of the Bishops of in Shanghai (which Bishop Hall did not attend) and the Standing Committee of the CHSKH agreed to the proposals put forth by Bishop Murong and the resultant decisions of the Synod that were made in Hong Kong. On July 7, Bishop Hall received a formal letter from the Standing Committee of the CHSKH, turning over all jurisdiction for the Church in Hong Kong to Bishop Hall.[89] Around the same time Ta Kung Pao, a pro China newspaper in Hong Kong carried a report on the separation of Hong Kong from the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, but this did not indicate anything about the ecclesial processes that were at work.[90]

On July 8, the Standing Committee of the newly established Synod announced the separation of Hong Kong and Macau from the Diocese of South China with immediate effect. It also called for a meeting of the 20th Diocesan Synod from August 6 - 9, 1951. I do not know if there was other communications between Bishop Hall and the CHSKH beyond this. It is not clear from the evidence we have whether Bishop Hall ever formally resigned from the House of Bishops, although we must assume that he did, de facto if not de jure.[91]

At the 20th Diocesan Synod, two resolutions were passed

> 1. That the Chinese name of the diocese shall be the Hongkong-Macao diocese of the Sheng Kung Hui;
>
> 2. That this Synod petitions His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Capacity as Chairman of the International Anglican Communion (Sheng Kung Hui) to supply the Metropolitical functions prescribed in the Constitution and Canons of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui acting as Trustee for the sameConstitution and Canons.

It should be noted that in the letter to Archbishop Geoffrey Fisher, the request to serve as Trustee was made to him in his capacity as Chairman of the worldwide Anglican Communion, not as Primate of All England. In his reply to Bishop Hall, the Archbishop consented to the request that he serve as trustee. He indicated that the new diocese was detached "for the time being" and that he would be guided in his Metropolitical functions by the Constitution and Canons of the Chung Hua Sheng Kung Hui, as he prayed for the Church in China.

And so, the Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau came into being. It was a political necessity, but done with a concern for proper Anglican order and religious sensibilities. It should also be noted that Bishop Hall indicated that the HKSKH would temporarily withdraw as part of the CHSKH, im-

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[89] 港九聖公會月刊 Gang'jiu shenggonghui yuekan,1:3(July 12th, 1951 年7),1。I have not been able to locate the letter mentioned here. More importantly, I have seen no record of the July 6 meeting in Shanghai mentioned here.

[90] 大公報 Dagongbao(Aug. 5th, 1951)。

[91] Bishop Hall was very sympathetic to New China, but this did not prevent his being criticized by the government in the early years of the PRC. One of the reasons for the criticism of Chinese Theologian T. C. Chao in the early 1950s was his relationship with Bishop Hall. According to Wu Zongen (son of TSPM Leader Y. T. Wu), "他(赵紫宸)的问题就于是和乔德聖公会会督何明華的關係,基督教立場和(用爱心让祖国灵)一点。" 讲的都就是何明華所接受,又陪住反動的世界基督教協進会的副主席,帝国主義代理人即由此而来。 参示素 Wu Zongsu,"落花有意,流水無情:我所知道的父親 Huahua youyi, liushui wuqing: Wo de fuqin Wu Yaozong" (The flower jumps to its romance while water does not echo the affection of drifting water: My father whom I knew), June 2010,27。

plying that in one way, it was still, in spirit, part of the one church in China. [29]

In summary, we may say the following:

In 1951, the Standing Committee of the CHSKH, acting on behalf of the General Synod, petitioned the House of Bishops to create a new diocese of "South China" within the jurisdiction of the people's Republic of China, and to allow a new "Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau" to become a detached diocese, faithful in its order and worship to the Canons and Constitutions of the CHSKH (another indication that in spirit the HKSKH and CHSKH were still one church). A Joint Meeting of the Bishops of in Shanghai and the Standing Committee of the CHSKH agreed to this proposal. The Standing Committee of the HKSKH Synod accepted the separation of Hong Kong and Macau from the Diocese of South China, and the 20th Synod created the new Diocese of Hong Kong and Macau.

I have gone into considerable detail in this case study, for it is part of a broader project I am working on. The separation of the HKSKH from mainland China was not the only example of a hopeful way of approaching the difficult issues brought on by the Cold War, but it shows that there were countervailing forces at work even at the height of the Cold War, and therefore hopeful signs for the renewal of religious love and tolerance in areas at opposite sides of the Cold War divide.

Conclusion: The Continuing Legacy of Cold War Religion

The Cold War is over, and only now are we beginning to understand its history and lingering effects. In the case of religion, and relationships between religious bodies in China and the United States, the effects of the Cold War are still with us.

Since the period of openness and reform, there has been a revival of religious life in China that has been widely written about. The policy of religious freedom was restored; religious organizations were re-established; religious people were rehabilitated, and all religions have experienced significant growth and renewal. To be sure, there are still problems in some areas with the full implementation of religious policy, as well as internal problems in some religious communities. But there has been a fundamental change in direction from the Cold War Years. Since the 1990s, there has also been a significant development of religious studies in China, and this conference is a testimony to that. Overall what I have been calling "Cold War Religion" is no longer a significant factor in China, although some of the rhetoric of the Cold War is sometimes evident in official statements.

In the United States, the situation of the churches has also changed in significant ways since the 1950s. There is no longer a Cold War aura with regard to Christianity and Communism, although this has not yet been fully overcome at either the official or the popular level. (Some have argued that Islam rather than Communism is the new subject of Cold War enmity in the United States.) The lingering effects of Cold War Religion with regard to religion in China are still evident in many churches, government bodies, the news media and other areas. Almost forty years after the establishment of US-China relations, there is still the common perception among American Christians that there is little or no religious freedom in China. I find this astonishing. In official and unofficial "dialogues," questions about religious freedom are pointedly raised by the American side, with little recognition of the progress that has been made since the period of openness and reform.

[29] "Correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury," *South China*, VIII:2 (October, 1951), 11-13.

This is quite different than the situation among Christians in Europe. American scholars, as well as some religious and social leaders, have countered such perceptions, but the legacy of Cold War religion continues.

If religion is to become more of a factor in the creation of mutual understanding and a more harmonious world, then the legacy of the Cold War has to be more directly addressed and overcome in religious communities and in the study of religion. This is important for both countries, and academic conferences have a role to play. More scholarly attention should be given to the Cold War in religious and academic circles. One concrete approach would be an international conference focusing on the Cold War and its impact on religion and religious studies, and this paper is intended, in part, as a contribution toward that end.

15 November 2011 Hong Kong
Revised 2 January 2012

中文题目：

冷战宗教：冷战对中美宗教的影响

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提要：东西方间持续的冲突即所谓的冷战（1945-1989）反映了国际关系的方方面面。这篇论文将考察冷战对中国与美国宗教方面的影响。冷战使宗教团体政治化，这在基督宗教教方面表现得尤为突出。同时，冷战在宗教与竞争意识形态关系方面创造了一个二元观念模式，塑造了某些教的使命观点，又削弱了像爱与宽容这样普遍的宗教价值。宗教在“资本主义”的西方及“共产主义”的东方同时被冷战的政治所操纵。不结盟运动为非正统的宗教概念提供了空间——但这仅仅是从某一程度而言，并且它为冷战政治保留了一块争鸣的领域。冷战反映出各种对宗教的关注，包括宗教信仰自由、宗教交流、神学建构、宗教间对话、宗教与国家政策，宗教与经济发展等等。本文将指出，一种本人所定义的“冷战宗教”所留下的持续遗产抑制了相互理解，宗教间对话，宗教研究及宗教团体的繁荣。如果宗教是创建和平以及和谐世界的重要因素，那么冷战所留下的遗产则应在宗教团体及宗教研究中被着重指出及克服。

关键词：冷战、基督教、中华圣公会、共产主义、资本主义