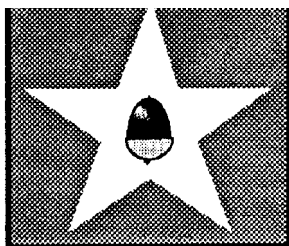


Conflict Studies Research Centre

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The Russian Orthodox Church

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The Russian Orthodox Church's socio-political role in Russia has increased significantly since 1991. The ROC is not a state church, but is close to being a quasi-state church. The Putin leadership is happy to promote the Church's role, seeing it as an important part of post-Soviet Russia's national identity.

The Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) was the state church in Tsarist Russia, and freedom of belief for non-Orthodox believers was severely restricted. The Russian Orthodox Church was moreover seen as an integral part of Imperial Russia's national identity: "Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality".¹ Although Church-State links were formally broken in Soviet times, the ROC was effectively a tool of the Soviet state.

In the post-Soviet era, the ROC has sought to redefine its identity; it has had to adapt to a new socio-political environment in which although it no longer faces the constraints imposed by an authoritarian atheistic state, it has to face the challenges of both western consumerism and proselytism from other churches and sects. Although the ROC is no longer a state church, it is clearly the most important church within Russian society, and does have a special relationship with the state. Orthodoxy, unlike Catholicism and Protestantism, does not have a dualistic conception of Church and State. In Russian Orthodoxy, church and state are seen as part of an organic religious and political community, united by blood and soil.² Orthodoxy has always been seen as a central part of the Russian national idea. This thinking still permeates the ROC leadership, and has therefore influenced its attitude towards the post-Soviet Russian state. In turn, Russia's post-1991 leaderships have seen the ROC as playing an important part in defining Russia's post-communist national identity. The decision to rebuild the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow was recognition of the importance of the ROC as a national symbol.³

Although not a believer himself, the then President Boris Yel'tsin acknowledged the importance of the ROC as key element of Russia's sense of nationhood. In his Christmas message in January 1998 he stated:

*For more than 1000 years the Russian Orthodox Church has fulfilled its sacred mission, affirming spiritual and moral values on Russian soil ... The Church is an inalienable part of the history of our country and our people. Its selfless activities have deservedly earned the state gratitude and respect.*⁴

President Vladimir Putin (who unlike Yel'tsin, is a believer and baptised member of the ROC) also clearly sees Orthodoxy in this light. In August 2001 when visiting the Solovki monastery, he spoke with journalists, and said:

... since time immemorial, our country has been called 'holy Russia' and these words have carried a great spiritual meaning, as they emphasized the special role assumed by Russia voluntarily, as the keeper of Christianity ... without Christianity Russia would have hardly become an accomplished state. It is therefore extremely important, useful and timely to get back to this source.

At Solovki, he went on to argue that “these simple, but very important truths [ie Russian Orthodox truths] lie, in my opinion, at the basis of the construction of the Russian state. This permitted the creation of a powerful, centralised and multinational state.” He suggested that “our spiritual mentors ... taught us to respect other peoples. This indeed enabled us to create a multinational state, and a unique form of Eurasian culture...These moral principles should lie today at the basis of Russia’s internal and foreign policy ... Relying on an Orthodox foundation, we will be in a situation to strengthen our country both now and in the future.⁵

This is an explicit statement in support of the ROC as part of state-building. Although now legally separated from the state, the ROC has become increasingly important and this process may well continue, especially given Putin’s own personal religious convictions.⁶

The ROC in Society

The ROC has taken significant steps towards defining its own role and position in post-Soviet society since Putin’s election as President in March 2000. The most important development to date has been the adoption of the ROC’s social doctrine in August 2000.⁷ The doctrine attempts to lay out the basic views of the ROC on church-state relations and major issues relevant to the ROC. It also reflects the official position of the Moscow Patriarchate on relations with the state and secular society.

The ROC accepts that the Russian state is secular and that the Church should not assume the prerogatives of the state, such as law enforcement and assumption of governmental functions that could require coercion. The doctrine states that the state should not interfere in the spiritual activities of the ROC, except for those aspects where the ROC is supposed to operate as a legal identity and obliged to enter into certain relations with the state, its legislation and governmental agencies. Although the ROC accepts the secular nature of the state, it argues that the Church should not be forced out of all spheres of public life, and it should not be debarred from decision making on social problems. It also argues that the Church has the right to evaluate the decisions of the authorities. The doctrine goes on to state that

The religio-ideological neutrality of the state does not contradict the Christian idea of the Church's calling in society. The Church, however, should point out to the state that it is inadmissible to propagate such convictions or actions which may result in total control over a person's life, convictions and relations with other people, as well as erosion in personal, family or public morality, insult of religious feelings, damage to the cultural and spiritual identity of the people and threats to the sacred gift of life. In implementing her social, charitable, educational and other socially significant projects, the Church may rely on the support and assistance of the state. She also has the right to expect that the state, in building its relations with religious bodies, will take into account the number of their

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followers and the place they occupy in forming the historical, cultural and spiritual image of the people and their civic stand.

The doctrine then outlines areas where it feels the church and the state can cooperate.

- a) peacemaking on international, inter-ethnic and civic levels and promoting mutual understanding and co-operation among people, nations and states;*
- b) concern for the preservation of morality in society;*
- c) spiritual, cultural, moral and patriotic education;*
- d) charity and the development of joint social programmes;*
- e) preservation, restoration and development of the historical and cultural heritage, including concern for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments;*
- f) dialogue with governmental bodies of all branches and levels on issues important for the Church and society, including the development of appropriate laws, by-laws, instructions and decisions;*
- g) care of the military and law-enforcement workers and their spiritual and moral education;*
- h) efforts to prevent crime, and care of prisoners;*
- i) science and research;*
- j) healthcare;*
- k) culture and arts;*
- l) work of ecclesiastical and secular mass media;*
- m) preservation of the environment;*
- n) economic activity for the benefit of the Church, state and society;*
- o) support for the institution of family, for motherhood and childhood;*
- p) opposition to the work of pseudo-religious structures presenting a threat to the individual and society.*

Church-state co-operation is also possible in some other areas if it contributes to the fulfilment of the tasks enumerated above. At the same time, there are areas in which the clergy and canonical church structures cannot support the state or cooperate with it. They are as follows:

- a) political struggle, election agitation, campaigns in support of particular political parties and public and political leaders;*
- b) waging civil war or aggressive external war;*
- c) direct participation in intelligence and any other activity that demands secrecy by law.*

The ending of state restriction of religious activity at the end of the Gorbachev period and beginning of the post-Soviet period has enabled the ROC to flourish. The ROC currently has 128 dioceses (for comparison, there were 67 dioceses in 1989), 19,000 parishes (6,893 in 1988), and nearly 480 monasteries (18 in 1980). The pastoral service is carried out by 150 bishops, 17,500 priests and 2,300 deacons. The network of Orthodox educational institutions is directed by the Education Committee. At present there are five theological academies (there were two in 1991), 26 seminaries (there were three in 1988), and 29 pre-seminaries, which did not exist at all until the 1990s. There are two Orthodox universities, a Theological Institute, a women's pre-seminary, and 28 icon-painting schools. The total number of theological students, including those of the correspondence departments, is about 6,000 people.

The ROC is in the curious position of not being a state church, but nevertheless being in many respects an important expression of Russia's national identity, and also the most important church within the Russian Federation, which means that it does in effect have a special relationship with the state, so in practice it becomes a quasi-state church. This became evident in the debates over the 1997 law on freedom of conscience.⁸ The law, whilst stating that the state was secular, nonetheless acknowledged that Orthodoxy had played a special role "in the history of Russia and in the establishment and development of its spirituality and culture". In October 1990, the Russian Republic Supreme Soviet had passed a law on freedom of conscience and religious organisations, which swept away Soviet era restrictions on religious activity. Although this allowed the ROC to flourish, it also enabled other religions to expand their presence in Russia, and this was seen by the ROC as a threat.

The ROC therefore began lobbying in the 1990s for severe restrictions on the freedom of "non-traditional" religious groups to proselytise within the country. The ROC was concerned that some foreign religious groups' missionary activities were detrimental to the moral and spiritual health of society. The draft of the law introduced in 1997 did not discriminate against what were regarded as traditional Russian religions, such as Orthodoxy, Islam, Judaism and Buddhism. It did impose restrictions that affected the freedom of the Roman Catholic Church and various Protestant churches and sects to operate within Russia. Both President Clinton and Pope John Paul II wrote to Yel'tsin expressing their concern over the draft law. The US Senate also approved an amendment to the draft US bill on foreign aid, under which the USA would discontinue aid to Russia if Yeltsin signed the law. Yel'tsin in fact vetoed the law, but denied that this was due to pressure from the Vatican and President Clinton, stating that the law required revision as many of its clauses violated the constitution. The ROC leadership was unhappy about the veto decision, but it was welcomed by the Catholic Church.

A modified version of the law was accepted by Yel'tsin in September 1997. The law still imposes some restrictions on foreign religious organisations. These organisations have the right to have representation on the territory of the Russian federation. However, the representation of the foreign religious organization may not engage in cultural and other religious activity nor does it have the status of a religious association established by the federal law. Furthermore the 1997 law states that the "persons eligible to be founders of a local religious organization are no fewer than ten Russian citizens who are united in a religious group, which has confirmation, provided of local administration, of its existence on the given territory for a period of no fewer than fifteen years, or confirmation of its membership in the structure of a centralized religious organization of the same religious confession, provided by the said organization." This also makes it more difficult for "non-Russian" confessions to become established within Russia. Even after the passing of this law, the ROC is still deeply concerned about maintaining its "spiritual security". In August 2000 at the Jubilee Bishops' Assembly Patriarch Aleksey II protested against "attempts by external forces to split the ROC and shatter its unity".⁹ The reference to external forces may well refer to the Russian Orthodox Church abroad, which was formed after the Bolshevik Revolution, and also to Catholic and Protestant proselytism, plus cult groups such as the Moonies and Aum Shinrikyo.

A further significant step in raising the profile of the ROC came in August 2000, when the Holy Synod of the ROC asked Vladimir Putin to help the claim for the restitution of all church property confiscated by the Bolsheviks in 1917 and to

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negotiate compensation for the property demolished or ruined in Soviet times.¹⁰ The government then considered returning only religious buildings, and not land. However, the ROC leadership desires the return of most of its land, which comprises three million hectares of agricultural land. In an article in *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* in July 2002, Dannil Shchipkov argued that in seeking to become a landowner, the Church was seeking to become financially independent. He speculated that the ROC will both lease and sell land in order to obtain capital, and warned that in such a case, one “can suppose that a category of people will emerge, who utilising the situation, will become “Orthodox”, enter church structures and begin to exploit, divide up and sell church land. Moreover, the ROC will inevitably enter large financial relationships, which could result in conflicts with business structures and the criminal world, which the Church will have to resolve by seeking support from the state.”¹¹

The ROC itself has no specific political orientation. It seems happy to cooperate with whichever leadership is in power. Significantly, Patriarch Aleksey II only sided with Yel'tsin in August 1991 after it was clear that the hardline putsch attempt had failed. There is wide speculation that many ROC priests are anti-semitic and deeply chauvinist, being on the extreme *derzhavnik* (statist) wing of the political spectrum. This is not true of Patriarch Aleksey II who has been broadly supportive of the Yeltsinite and Putinite conceptions of state-building. There is also a liberal tendency in the ROC, perhaps best exemplified by Gleb Yakunin, who was unfrocked by the ROC leadership in November 1993 for standing for election as a parliamentary deputy.¹² Aleksey II has himself strongly condemned anti-semitism.¹³ However, alongside these liberal tendencies, more reactionary ones do exist, perhaps best exemplified by the late Metropolitan Ioann of St.Petersburg and Ladoga, who died in 1995. Metropolitan Ioann was a hardline Russian nationalist, hostile to western influences in Russia, including Catholic and Protestant proselytism. He was also deeply anti-semitic, basing his views on the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.¹⁴ One of his speech writers, Konstantin Dushenov, has written speeches for secular politicians such as Gennady Zyuganov and Aleksandr Rutskoy. Putin's own spiritual confessor Archimandrite Tikhon of the Sretenskiy monastery in Moscow is reputedly part of the most reactionary, anti-Western, anti-semitic and anti-democratic tendency within the ROC.¹⁵ Xenophobic tendencies can even be found in some of the statements of Aleksey II, who in December 2000 accused elements in the West of conducting a “well-planned, bloodless war ... against our people, aimed at exterminating them”.¹⁶

Opinion polls consistently show the ROC to be one of the most trusted and respected institutions in post-Soviet Russian society, although only 6-7% of the population attend Church services more than once a month.¹⁷ The level of the Russian population's religiosity is not that high, although about 80 per cent regard themselves as Orthodox. Among regular church attenders, support for authoritarian and nationalist viewpoints is higher than average.¹⁸ As the Church is a trusted institution and is perceived by the population as an important national symbol, the state is happy to support it as it believes that by doing so, it may enhance its own prestige.

For this reason, the state has been happy to see the ROC playing a bigger role in the education sector.¹⁹ The Church has set up its own secondary schools and faculties in various educational institutions, and also runs courses on Orthodox culture in schools. In October 2002 a conference was held in Moscow on the interaction of the state and religious associations in the sphere of education. This was organised by several state bodies, including the Ministry of Education, where

the ROC's input into the national education system was welcomed by Georgy Poltavchenko and Sergey Kiriyeenko, the respective presidential representatives to the Central and Volga Federal Districts.²⁰ The Moscow Patriarchate has concluded agreements with the power structures and other ministries which give it a presence in the armed forces, militia and other state bodies.

The ROC also runs medical programmes through its Department for Church Charity and Social Service. The Moscow Patriarchate's Central Hospital of St Alexis the Metropolitan of Moscow is one of the few clinics in Moscow which provide free medical check-up and treatment.

This social role prompts the state towards supporting the church. The amount of money required for restoring and constructing church buildings can only be satisfied by the state, even though this contradicts the law. Such state financial support is being more openly given. In some places, such as Nizhniy Novgorod, Kemerovo and Sytyvkar, the church is being supported out of the local budget. In other places (such as Moscow and Tula), businesses have been pressurised by the authorities into financing the church.²¹

Although the level of Church attendance and religiosity remains low, the population is not hostile to the enhancement of the ROC's role in society, probably largely due to its perception of the ROC as an important national symbol. As the historian Nathaniel Davis writes:

*The historic faith of Russia is Orthodoxy and Orthodoxy is deeply embedded in the Russian soul. It defines a Russian's sense of nation, history and identity, even when the individual is not devout. I have heard many Russians say that they are not believers, but they do know which the true faith is.*²²

The ROC & The Former Soviet Union

The ROC has an interest in developing ties with the Orthodox Churches in other former Soviet states. This can be regarded as the "spiritual aspect" of CIS integration processes, which therefore supports Russian state policy towards the CIS, just as the ROC contributes towards the process of state-building and nation-building within the Russian Federation. The existence of churches of the Moscow Patriarchate in other former Soviet states gives the Russian state the potential for having another form of presence and influence in these states. The Moscow Patriarchate regards most of the former Soviet Union as its canonical territory. When ROC Patriarch Aleksey II visited Belarus in June 2001, the joint statement he issued with President Aleksandr Lukashenko emphasised the importance of developing Slavic unity.²³

The relationship with Ukrainian Orthodoxy has therefore been of particular interest, given the existence of rival Churches within Ukraine. Ukraine has three Orthodox Churches: Church of the Moscow Patriarchate; Church of the Kiev Patriarchate; and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. The Kiev Patriarchate was formed in 1992 as a breakaway from the Moscow Patriarchate. Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma has supported the unification of the various Orthodox Churches in Ukraine as a national Orthodox Church (ie one not subordinate to the Moscow Patriarchate), which was predictably opposed by the ROC. The head of the Kiev Patriarchate, Metropolitan Filaret, was excommunicated by the ROC for his actions

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in forming the Kiev Patriarchate.²⁴ In an interview with *Ukraina Moloda* in July 2002, Metropolitan Filaret stated:

*The church plays an important role in state development. That is why the Moscow and Kiev patriarchies are fighting each other to be the dominant church in our country. If the Moscow Patriarchate wins then it will mean that Ukrainian independence is temporary and sooner or later it will disappear. The strengthening of the Ukrainian church will mean that Ukraine will not become a part of the Russian or any other empire.*²⁵

Given Kiev's status as the birthplace of Christianity in Russia, and the fact that two thirds of the ROC churches that existed in the Soviet Union in the period 1946-1988 were located in Ukraine, it is obvious why the ROC is reluctant to accept the emergence of any rival Church in Ukraine. The ROC has also suffered the loss of some Orthodox churches in Moldova to the Romanian Orthodox Church.

The Moscow Patriarchate has been anxious to establish its presence in Estonia. In May 2002 the Moscow Patriarchate was registered by the Estonian authorities. Prior to this, only the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate was legally permitted to operate in Estonia. Registration allows the Patriarchate to petition for control of Church property in Estonia, including monastic land. Patriarch Aleksey II has sought the support of the Kremlin on this issue, which he is likely to receive.

The ROC & The Roman Catholic Church

Relations between the ROC and the Vatican and the Roman Catholic Church in the Russian Federation have been tense for some years, and worsened in 2002. The ROC leadership criticised Catholic communities in Russia in June 2001 for extending an invitation to the Pope to visit Russia. Patriarch Aleksey II has been extremely sensitive to what he sees as Catholic expansionism into the Slavic parts of the former Soviet Union. He commented in June 2001 that meeting Pope John Paul of Rome is impossible while "the Greek-Catholic war continues against Orthodox believers in Ukraine and until the Vatican stops its expansion into Russia, Belarus and Ukraine".²⁶ The ROC leadership was extremely critical of the Papal visit to Ukraine in 2001, seeing it as an example of intrusion into its canonical territory. The Moscow Patriarchy has ruled that a Papal visit to Russia is impossible whilst differences between the churches remain unresolved.

In 2002 relations deteriorated due to the Vatican's decision to create new four new dioceses in the Russian Federation.²⁷ The ROC was deeply hostile to this act, claiming that the Vatican had acted without consulting it. This complaint was repeated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Since then, the ministry has refused visas to several foreign Catholic priests who were attempting to visit Catholic communities within the Russian Federation, and in July the ROC announced that it was carrying out an investigation into Catholic activities within Russia. Patriarch Aleksey II accused the Vatican of attempting to create a state within a state in Russia.

The ROC is fearful of Catholic proselytism in Russia, a fact that has been echoed by several Russian politicians. The leader of the Narodny Deputat faction, Gennady Raykov, gathered a petition of 50,000 signatures to send to the Vatican protesting its decision to establish dioceses. The first deputy chairman of the Federation Council, Valery Goreglyad, sharply criticised Catholic activity in Russia in March

2002, expressing concern that Russia would become a province of the Papal throne.²⁸ In May 2002, the Regions of Russia deputy Viktor Alksnis drafted an appeal to the Russian president regarding the activity of the Roman Catholic church on the territory of the Russian federation. The appeal contained a request to the president “to instruct the Ministry of Justice to conduct an investigation of the activity of the apostolic administrations of the Roman Catholic church which are registered with the ministry and in the event violations of legislation are found to review the question of issuing written warnings to those religious organizations”. The appeal stated that the actions of the Roman Catholic church “represent a threat to the integrity of the Russian federation”. However, parliament did not adopt the appeal, as it needed the support of 226 deputies, but only 169 voted for it.²⁹

Despite this, the Catholic Church appears determined to develop links with its flock in Russia. In March 2002 parishioners at the Roman Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Moscow became participants in a TV link-up in the Vatican and the Russian capital, as well as Rome, Athens, Budapest, Strasbourg, Valencia and Vienna. This TV link was criticised by the ROC.

However, the ROC's current hostility to the Vatican currently runs counter to Putin's objective of developing closer ties with Europe. Putin visited the Pope in June 2000 when he visited Italy. Both men desire to develop European integration. In January 2002 Putin told the Polish media that he was willing to invite the Pope to Moscow.³⁰ However, the Pope is only prepared to visit Moscow when all problems with the ROC are resolved. It is possible that Putin may offer the ROC concessions on its role within Russian society in return for a more flexible attitude by the Moscow Patriarchate towards the Vatican.

The ROC leadership has developed closer ties with both the EU and NATO. The likely accession of the Baltic states to the EU over the next few years means that countries in which the ROC owns property will be EU members. The ROC sees this new situation as necessitating closer contacts between itself and the EU, where it will discuss not merely religious issues, but broader ones concerning all-European security, and social issues. A ROC document expresses the ROC's willingness to engage in a dialogue on these subjects with relevant EU organs.³¹

The Middle East

The presence in Israel of churches belonging to the Moscow Patriarchate gives the ROC an interest in the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. The ROC called in April 2002 for greater involvement by the international community in efforts to resolve the conflict, following the besieging by Israeli forces of churches in which Palestinian terrorists had taken refuge. The ROC also protested to Israel about damage done to ROC property in Bethlehem and sought material compensation. The ROC is ostensibly neutral in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, calling for both sides to renounce violence. In practice it may well incline towards supporting the Palestinian side, as the Palestinian authorities have recognised the Moscow Patriarchy as the legal successor to the pre-1917 Russian spiritual mission to the Holy Land.³²

Conclusion: The ROC's Perception Of Russia As An Orthodox Civilisation

The ROC sees Russia as an Orthodox power in the international arena. This is exemplified in the statement made by Patriarch Aleksey II at the Sixth World Russian Peoples' Council in Moscow in December 2001.

It is our profound conviction: our country, which has always been considered a centre of the Eastern Christian civilization, has something to say to the world ... Russia and the entire Orthodox civilization should become one of the decision-making centres in the world to make a favourable impact on its present and future. Let the words of Fyodor Dostoyevsky become prophetic. He wrote that our country "will say its new, healthy and still unheard-of word to the whole world, to the European humanity and civilization. It will be a beneficial word said verily now for bringing all humanity into a new brotherly universal union, the sources of which lie in the genius of the Slavs, mainly in the spirit of the great Russian people, who have suffered so long, who have been doomed to silence for so many centuries, but have always contained great energies for a future interpretation and resolution of many bitter and most fateful misunderstandings of the Western European civilization."

He also argued that "the age-old Orthodox heritage ... is what gives us strength to revive the country and to participate creatively in outlining the destiny of the world experiencing an ideological and moral crisis today. Russian Orthodoxy is profoundly national. But at the same time, it gives a universal dimension to the people's life."³³

It would be going too far to suggest that Putin fully shares this view. Russia is not a theocracy and Putin's foreign policy is not overtly dominated by the sort of outlook expressed above by Aleksey II. However, as can be seen from the comments he made in Solovki in August 2001, he does see Orthodoxy as an important part of post-Soviet Russia's national identity, and this aspect of his thinking may become more pronounced if the ROC's role in Russian society grows, which it seems likely to do. In 2000, Duma deputy Sergey Glaz'yev proposed a draft law that would give the ROC significant concessions and advantages such as having TV channels, and subsidies for its charity work.³⁴ The ROC is close to being a de facto state church, and Putin's comments on the possible restoration of the monarchy at some time in the future mean that important aspects of Russia's pre-1917 political culture are resurfacing, forming a complex synthesis with aspects of post-Soviet political culture (ie greater emphasis on democratisation and freedom of expression).³⁵ It seems likely that Orthodox values will become more influential, although the ROC will have to contend with challenges caused by the freer flow of ideas that has arisen as a result of democratisation, such as competition from secularism, Islam, Catholicism and various forms of Protestantism. The likely decline in the Russian population in the twenty-first century may spawn more aggressive forms of Russian nationalism as a reaction to the fear of being out-numbered by non-Slavic ethnic groupings, and such forms of nationalism are likely to see Orthodoxy (in a *derzhavnik* form) as an important component of their ideology.³⁶

ENDNOTES

- ¹ This formula was propounded by Count Serge Uvarov (1786-1855) in 1832. He was President of the Russian Academy of Sciences from 1818 until his death, and Minister of National Education from 1833-1849.
- ² See John Witte's introduction to John Witte Jr & Michael Bordeaux eds, Proselytism and Orthodoxy in Russia: The New War for Souls, Maryknoll NY, Orbis Books, 1999, pp24-26. For an official Tsarist view on Church-State relations, see Konstantin Pobedonostsev, Reflections of a Russian Statesman. Pobedonostsev (1827-1907) was Chief Procurator of The Holy Synod in Russia from 1885-1905. He was tutor to the last two Russian Emperors.
- ³ See Kathleen E Smith, 'An Old Cathedral for a new Russia: Symbolic Politics of the Reconstituted Church of Christ the Saviour', Religion, State and Society, Vol 25, No 2, 1997, pp165-175.
- ⁴ See Witte op cit, p25.
- ⁵ Putin visited Solovki monastery on 20 August 2001. For text of his comments, see: <http://president.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2001/08/10429.shtml>.
- ⁶ See 'Why does Putin go to Church?', Komsomolskaya Pravda, 15 December 2001.
- ⁷ See the website of the Russian Orthodox Church, <http://www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru>.
- ⁸ Derek H Davis, 'Editorial: Russia's New Law on Religion: Progress or Regress?', Journal of Church and State, Vol 39, Autumn 1997, pp645-655, for a discussion of this law.
- ⁹ Aleksey II made this comment on 13 August 2000. The citation is from the Russian Orthodox internet magazine Sobornost: <http://www.sobor.ru/english/>.
- ¹⁰ See Anna Zakatnova, 'The Church adds a headache to the government', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 24 August 2001; Daniil Shchipkov, 'The Federation Council proposes restitution', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 31 July 2002.
- ¹¹ Daniil Shchipkov, ibid.
- ¹² See Jane Ellis, The Russian Orthodox Church: Triumphalism and Defensiveness, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1996, pp108-110 for a discussion of Yakunin.
- ¹³ See Aleksey II, 'Your Prophets are our Prophets', in Niels C Nielsen Jr, ed, Christianity after communism: social political and cultural change in Russia, Boulder CO, Westview Press, 1994, pp103-106.
- ¹⁴ Metropolitan Ioann, 'The West wants chaos', in Nielsen op cit, pp107-112. A selection of Ioann's writings can be found at: http://www.ipmce.su/~cyril/orthodox/dvo/Mitr_Ioann/index.htm; <http://www.wco.ru/biblio/books/ioannsp2/Main.htm>. See also Wendy Slater, 'A Modern Day Saint: Metropolitan Ioann and the Post-Soviet Russian Orthodox Church', Religion State and Society, Vol 28, No 4, pp313-325; Jane Ellis, Russian Orthodox Church, pp106-108.
- ¹⁵ Yury Vasil'yev, 'The pastor from Lubyanka', Moskovskiy Novosti, No 35, 5-11 September 2000. Tikhon is part of the editorial collegium of Russkiy Dom. He edits a website www.pravoslavie.ru.
- ¹⁶ Interfax, 15 December 2000.
- ¹⁷ See Sergey Filatov, 'Posleslovie. Religiya v postsovetskoi Rossii', in Sergey Filatov, ed, Religiya i Obshchestvo: ocherki religioznoi zhizni sovremennoi Rosssii, izd-vo Letnyy Sad, St Petersburg, 2002, p472.
- ¹⁸ See the reference to the research of Dmitry Furman in Daniel Wallace, Religion State and Society, Vol 24, No4, 1996, 'Religion and the struggle for Russia's Future', p371.
- ¹⁹ See the section on the ROC website on the Church and religious education <http://www.rel.org.ru/>.
- ²⁰ See <http://www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru/nr210172.htm>.
- ²¹ See Sergey Filatov, op cit, p473.
- ²² Nathaniel Davis, A Long Walk to Church: A Contemporary History of Russian Orthodoxy, Boulder CO, Westview Press, 1995, p222-223.
- ²³ See ROC website, <http://www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru>.
- ²⁴ See the discussion of the split in Nathaniel Davis, A Long Walk to Church. Ukraina Moloda, 23 July 2002.
- ²⁵ Ukraina Moloda, 23 July 2002.
- ²⁶ ITAR-TASS, 4 June 2001.

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²⁷ See the discussions on ROC-Vatican relations in the Nezavisimaya Gazeta RELIGIYA supplements for 17 April 2002, 17 July 2002 and 21 August 2002.

²⁸ Valery Goreglyad, 'Russia - A Romish province?', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 19 March 2002.

²⁹ State Duma rejects draft of appeal to Russian President regarding activity of Catholic Church in Russia', Mir Religii, 16 May 2002 taken from <http://www.stetson.edu/~psteeves/relnews/0205c.html> translated by Peter Shreeves, Stetson University.

³⁰ Interfax, 15 January 2002.

³¹ See the article on the ROC's ties with the EU and NATO in Nezavisimaya Gazeta RELIGIYA supplement for 17 July 2002.

³² Aleksandr Stalman, 'The Holy Land - treasure of all of mankind', Nezavisimaya Gazeta RELIGIYA, 17 April 2002.

³³ See text of Alexey II's speech at <http://www.russian-orthodox-church.org.ru/ne112131.htm>.

³⁴ Mikhail Tul'skiy, 'Will the ROC become the state church of Russia?', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 27 December 2000. There were calls for an Orthodox TV channel in Rus' Derzhavnaya, No 6, 2002.

³⁵ See Aleksey Malashenko, 'Yet another plan for building Russia?', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 17 January 2001, for a discussion of the ROC becoming a de facto state church. See also his article 'Religion - not a private matter', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 16 March 2001.

³⁶ The geopolitical thinker and leader of the Eurasia movement Alexander Dugin sees Orthodoxy as an important part of his Eurasian geopolitical ideology. He believes it can form an alliance with Islam. See Grigory Nekhoroshev, 'Eurasia strengthened by Islam', Nezavisimaya Gazeta, 29 June 2001. For Dugin's thoughts on Orthodoxy as part of Eurasianism, see http://utenti.lycos.it/ArchivEurasia/islconf_dugin.html.

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