

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH ROLE IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE
EXPANSION OF ITS PROSELYTIZING ROLE TO THAILAND

Miss Narobon Kamnoy

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in Russian Studies
(Interdisciplinary Programs)

Graduate School

Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2012

Copyright of Chulalongkorn University

บทบาทของศาสนาคริสต์นิกายออร์ทอด็อกซ์ในสหพันธรัฐรัสเซียและการเผยแพร่สู่ประเทศไทย

นางสาวนโรบล คำน้อย

วิทยานิพนธ์นี้เป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตรปริญญาศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต

สาขาวิชารัสเซียศึกษา (สหสาขาวิชา)

บัณฑิตวิทยาลัย จุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

ปีการศึกษา 2555

ลิขสิทธิ์ของจุฬาลงกรณ์มหาวิทยาลัย

Thesis Title THE ORTHODOX CHURCH ROLE IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION
 AND THE EXPANSION OF ITS PROSELYTIZING ROLE TO
 THAILAND
By Miss Narobon Kamnoy
Field of Study Russian Studies
Thesis Advisor Kasem Phenpinan, Ph.D.

Accepted by the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Master's Degree

..... Dean of the Graduate School
(Associate Professor Amorn Petsom, Ph.D.)

THESIS COMMITTEE

..... Chairman
(Assistant Professor Dr. Theera Nuchpiam, Ph.D.)

..... Thesis Advisor
(Kasem Phenpinan, Ph.D.)

..... Examiner
(Rom Phiramontri, Ph.D.)

..... External Examiner
(Associate Professor Naruemit Sodsuk)

นโรบล คำน้อย: บทบาทของศาสนาคริสต์นิกายออร์ทอด็อกซ์ในสหพันธรัฐรัสเซียและการเผยแผ่สู่ประเทศไทย (THE ORTHODOX CHURCH ROLE IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE EXPANSION OF ITS PROSELYTIZING ROLE TO THAILAND)

อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: อ.ดร. เกษม เพ็ญภินันท์, 48 หน้า.

การวิจัยเชิงคุณภาพนี้มีวัตถุประสงค์เพื่อ 1) เพื่อศึกษาบทบาทของศาสนาคริสต์นิกายออร์ทอด็อกซ์ในด้านการเมืองรัสเซีย รวมทั้งนโยบายต่างประเทศ ซึ่งนำไปสู่การเผยแผ่ศาสนาคริสต์นิกายรัสเซียออร์ทอด็อกซ์ไปต่างประเทศในยุคโซเวียต 2) เพื่อวิเคราะห์นโยบายรัฐที่ช่วยฟื้นฟูศาสนาคริสต์ นิกายออร์ทอด็อกซ์ และขยายตัวภายในประเทศรัสเซียและในต่างประเทศ ช่วงหลังยุคสหภาพโซเวียต และ 3) เพื่อศึกษาถึงผู้อพยพชาวรัสเซียที่สนับสนุนศาสนาคริสต์นิกายรัสเซียออร์ทอด็อกซ์ เพื่อเผยแผ่บทบาทสู่ประเทศไทย

วิธีพรรณนาวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลนั้นมุ่งเน้นไปที่สถานะของศาสนาคริสต์นิกายรัสเซียออร์ทอด็อกซ์และการเผยแผ่บทบาททางศาสนาสู่ประเทศไทย โดยใช้วิธีการวิจัยเอกสารและการสัมภาษณ์ในเชิงลึก

การศึกษาวิจัยมองว่าศาสนาคริสต์ นิกายรัสเซียออร์ทอด็อกซ์มีบทบาทสำคัญในการเมืองรัสเซีย ซึ่งสามารถเห็นได้อย่างชัดเจนในเรื่องความสัมพันธ์ทางการเมืองปัจจุบันที่ศาสนาคริสต์ นิกายรัสเซียออร์ทอด็อกซ์ให้บริการแก่รัฐบาลด้านการดูแลผู้อพยพชาวรัสเซียในต่างประเทศ

สาขาวิชา รัสเซียศึกษา ลายมือชื่อนิติศ

สาขาวิชา 2555 ลายมือชื่อ อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก

5487643720: MAJOR RUSSIAN STUDIES

KEYWORD: HISTORY OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH/ USSR ANTI-RELIGIOUS/ POST-COMMUNISM/ THAI ORTHODOX CHURCH

NAROBON KAMNOY: THE ORTHODOX CHURCH ROLE IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND THE EXPANSION OF ITS PROSELYTIZING ROLE TO THAILAND.

ADVISOR: KASEM PHENPINAN, Ph.D., 48 pp.

This qualitative research contains three objectives: 1) to study the role of Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in Russian politics, including the foreign policies that entail the expansion of the ROC proselytizing role to abroad during the Soviet period. 2) To analyze the state policies that resurgence the ROC and expand it domestically and internationally during the post-Soviet era. 3) To study Russian immigrants who serve the ROC to proselytize role to Thailand.

The descriptive analysis focuses on the state of the ROC and the proselytizing role to Thailand by using the documentary research method and in-depth interview method.

The research views that the ROC has played a crucial role in Russian politics. This can be obviously found in the current political affair that the ROC serves the government to oversee the Russian migrants aboard.

Field of Study: RUSSIAN STUDIES Student's Signature

Academic Year: 2012 Advisor's Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere thank to my thesis advisor, Dr. Kasem Phenpinan, Ph.D. for his constant support, invaluable help and guidance throughout the course of my study. I would not have achieved this far. And the thesis would not have been completed without his support. In addition, I also thank the thesis committees for all help and support: Assistant Professor Dr. Theera Nuchpiam Ph.D., Associate Professor Naruemit Sodsuk and Dr. Rom Phiramontri, Ph.D. I particularly thank Father Danai (Daniel) Wanna, the first the Russian Orthodox Church priest in Thailand, for giving me invaluable interview in-depth of the Russian Orthodox Church's expansion in Thailand.

Finally, I gratefully acknowledge my parents and my friends for all their support throughout my graduate study period.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ABSTRACT (THAI).....	iv
ABSTRACT (ENGLISH).....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	vi
CONTENTS.....	vii
 CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 RATIONALE AND PROPOSE.....	1
1.2 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY.....	4
1.3 HYPOTHESIS.....	4
1.4 SCOPE OF STUDY.....	4
1.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	4
1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
1.7 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	10
1.8 SIGNIFICANT OF THE STUDY.....	11
 II. A HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.....	 12
2.1 THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.....	12
2.1.1 THE EMPIRE.....	12
2.1.2 THE PATH TO REVOLUTION.....	13
2.2 THE SOVIET ERA.....	14
2.2.1 THE ORTHODOX CHURCH UNDER COMMUNIST RULE.....	14
2.2.2 THE SEPARATION OF CHURCH.....	16
2.3 RESURGENCE THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.....	18
2.3.1 STALIN RELAXED RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGIOUS PRACTICE.....	18

	PAGE
CHAPTER	
2.3.2 GORBACHEV INDICATED THE GLASNOST POLICY.....	20
2.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ORTHODOX CHURCHS IN POST-SOVIET.....	21
2.4.1 IN RUSSIAN FEDERATION ITSELF.....	21
2.4.2 ABROAD.....	25
III. THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH PROSELYTIZING ROLE TO THAILAND.....	29
3.1 RUSSIAN-THAI’S RELATION BACKGROUND.....	29
3.2 THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH PROSELYTIZING ROLE TO THAILAND.....	30
3.2.1 FIRST TIME – SOVIET PERIOD.....	30
3.2.2 POST SOVIET – PRESENT.....	32
3.3 COOPERATION BETWEEN RUSSIAN – THAI	34
3.3.1 RUSSIAN SUPPORT.....	34
3.3.2 THAI SUPPORT.....	37
IV. CONCLUSSION.....	41
REFERENCE.....	45
BIOGRAPHY.....	48

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale and Purpose

Thailand and Russia have become close friends since the Empire era until now. Many Russians have come to visit and doing business in Thailand. They have taken the Russian Orthodox Church as a part of the way of Russian life to Thailand and an increasing number of Thai people have turned to Orthodox Christianity. This leads to study the expansion of Orthodox Church proselytizing¹ role which has influenced the steadily increasing stream recognition to the role of Buddhism and other religions in politic of Thailand. The Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) is the largest centralized religious organization in post-Soviet Russia. It is collectively recognized as administrative independent and self-governing (autocephalous churches²). 74 percent call themselves Orthodox believers (has dropped by 6 percent, from 80 percent in 2009). The number of atheists is 5 percent (affected from communist regime).³ The State used the church as an institutional political actor to achieve unity for national security. Even many non-believers support the church as a symbol of Russian culture and national pride. Throughout Russian history, from the time of the forced adoption of Christianity, religion had permeated society.

¹ “Proselytizing” is the act of attempting to convert people to another opinion and, particularly, another religion.

² An autocephalous church becomes the very basis of national and political independence, the status-symbol of a new ‘Christian nation’ by Alexander Schmemmann, “A Meaningful Storm,” Church, World, Mission, New York: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1979, p. 98-99.

³ “Number of Orthodox Church Members Shrinking in Russia, Islam on the Rise – Poll,” Interfax-religion, December 2012. [Online] From: <http://www.interfax-religion.com/?act=news&div=10160>

This thesis focuses on the role of the Orthodoxy. This is *de facto* a religious and is an essential part of the Russian Empire. The Orthodoxy was introduced to Kievan Rus⁴ in the ninth century by Greek missionaries from Byzantium. After Constantinople fell to the Turks, Russia continued to develop potential country as legitimate heirs to the Byzantine Empire. The hegemony in the world of Orthodox Christianity shifted to Muscovite Russia and Moscow and became the new city of Constantine (the Third Rome). The ROC played a leading role in unifying the lands of Moscow and expanded to control a political power of Empire (that is most potent centralized over all of Eastern Europe states). The Czar served as the leader of secular life; therefore, the patriarch as leader of ecclesiastical life, and the monarchy and the church were inextricably linked. Although the church held a major influence of Russian life in the nineteenth century, the October Revolution of 1917 was the major turning point for the history of the ROC.

Later, the thesis presents the role of ROC. The latter has been lobbying an increasingly responsive unitary government to ecclesiastical interests of various actors concerned with the Russian church–state relationship, including state actors, the patriarch and Christian Orthodox from within society. After revolution by the Bolsheviks Party under Lenin seized control of Russia, Communism is hostile to religion. Lenin spoke clearly alluded to Marx's earlier comments of religion in *Novaya Zhizn* (the first legal newspaper of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party) in 1905:

...Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man.⁵

As the Bolsheviks consolidated their power, they placed more and more restrictions on the church. The Bolsheviks wanted to achieve in seizing churches and monasteries but lacked a clear plan to deal with religion and unprepared for the incendiary reaction of parishioners that resulted they were arrested and prosecution. From this reason, the church had been evacuated from Russia and the expansion of its proselytizing role in abroad by established the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) to represent of the

⁴ “Kievan Rus” was a powerful East Slavic state that later became the state of Ukraine, Belarus and Russia.

⁵ Vladimir Lenin, “Socialism and Religion,” *Novaya Zhizn*, No. 28, December 3, 1905.

free part of the Russian Church that for Orthodox restore in homeland. The Orthodox Church was restored in Stalin era, because of WWII. Stalin tried to use the Church for control the Russian nationalism power to defense USSR from German. The relations between church and state improved much better. Especially Mikhail Gorbachev era, with new political and social freedoms of “Glasnost and Perestroika”^{6,7} the Orthodox Church returned to Russia and to be restored by local parishioners. After years of awful suffering in Russia, Communism collapsed. Russia had a tremendous change in the political and religious situation but the church showed an amazing power to survive and modernist tendencies grew stronger in political orientation, both in the religious aspects of ideology and practice.

The repercussions of the early Bolshevik religious legislation had a paradoxical effect. The Russia's transformation in the post-Soviet period, one of the most interesting for me is the emergence of a religious orientation after was formerly an officially atheistic society with the reform-oriented policies on the opportunities for religious freedom of glasnost' and perestroika that were initiated in the late 1980s. Today, more twenty years after the fall of the Soviet Union and Communism, the ROC is once again thriving, and registering an increasingly visible presence in civil society, and ongoing dedication and support help to keep the memories of old Russia alive. Especially, during Dmitry Medvedev's presidency the position of the ROC in the public sphere got stronger. Christians know that the survival of the church is owing to the power of considerable trust at work in common people. This study analyses the nature of the prominent public role of the Orthodox Church and the development of relation with the Russian State. The study concludes that the institutional framework of the Orthodox Church, formed within the political context of Russian Empire and with the enforcing role afford to secular political

⁶ Lewis Siegelbaum, “Perestroika and Glasnost,” Seventeen Moments in Soviet History, 14 May 2010.

⁷ “Perestroika” refers to the reconstruction of the political and economic system established by the Communist Party. The goal was to create a semi-free market system, reflecting capitalist practices. The term “Glasnost” means “openness” and was the name for the social and political reforms to bestow more rights and freedoms upon the Soviet people. Its goals were to include more people in the political process through freedom of expression.

authority by focusing on the development of political, social institutions in the country, as well its contributed to positive development of intercultural relations in a global world and surely in Thailand, where there are at least 5 churches nowadays!

1.2 Objectives

1. To study the role of Orthodox Church engaging in Russian politics, including the foreign policies that affect to the expansion of Russian Orthodox Church proselytizing role to abroad during the Soviet period.
2. To analyze factors of State policy supporting to resurgence the Orthodox Church by cooperate between Orthodox Church institutional of Russia and abroad in post-Soviet era.
3. To study the role from the expanding of Russian Immigrants to State policy supporting Russian Orthodox Church that affect to the expansion of its proselytizing role to Thailand.

1.3 Hypothesis

After Russia was transformed into a liberal democracy with religious freedom policy, the Russian Orthodox Church came back as a popular and influential faith in the liberal political structure of various Russian society to preserve their cultural and spiritual identities, including international relation of Russian politic by proselytizing role to other countries including Thailand.

1.4 Scope of study

This study focuses on the role of the Orthodox Church in the Russian Federation where its social and political influence has lasted from the Russian Empire's period, through the Soviet period to the transition to post-Soviet era. The study also covers its growing influence to the expanding of ROC proselytizing role to other countries including Thailand.

1.5 Conceptual framework

In order to understand in the role of religion in political and social life in Russia since Empire period up to the present time, I have decided to cover the main concepts and terms and their implications through documentary research, using descriptive analysis. Relevant theories will also be invoked to guide the analysis in order to capture the whole picture with understanding. The concepts include Nationalism and patriotism, State Mandate, Liberalism and Globalization.

The Orthodox Church was first brought to Russia by Greek missionaries across to Byzantine into Kievan Rus. It was one of the first terms used to define **Nationalism** and **patriotism**. Czars offered to use ROC to create national unity and form the basic premise of the doctrine of original sin because people were scared and did not dare to challenge the state. Russia used nationalism to control social life. At the end of the Russian empire, it was replaced by Marxism-Leninism, which has led to the exodus of human resources in Soviet era. But Russian nationalism has been a prominent feature of Russian polity and society again since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991. The first book, I would like to use, is “The Russian Orthodox Church and Nationalism After 1988” by John B. Dunlop. This paper focuses upon one pivotal aspect of that crisis: the relationship of the Russian Orthodox Church to the burgeoning nationalism of the Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia, and the Russian Republic. And one more book is “The Orthodox Nationalist” is a weekly program hosted by historian and writer Fr. Matthew Raphael Johnson. He discussed political theory and religious ideas, with a focus on the central role of Russian nationalism, and the Eastern Orthodox faith, in challenging the New World Order. Thus, I would like to use this theory to analyze the relationship between the Russian government and the Orthodox Church in post-Soviet period.

State Mandate refers to Russian empire’s or government’s power and influence that affect to change religious priorities in all aspects of public and political life, including the involvement of religion in the everyday life of the citizen. The Orthodoxy in Russia was strengthened by the infusion of ideas from the Byzantine, Greek and Romanian rulers to the foundation of the Kievan Rus dynasty. Thus was born the unified ROC that was recognized and provided legitimacy to the State and the State provided patronage to the ROC, although effectively autonomous, nominal autonomy in fact. Until the institution of bolshevism, religion was strictly limited before Russian Parliament passed a law

restricting the activities of religious organizations in 1997. Complete freedom is given to any religious organization officially recognized. But citizens do not yet feel to the real of religious liberty more enough and even existing religious liberties could disappear. This act has been sharply criticized as antithetical to the concept of freedom of religion and also engages in practices that have been accused of being discriminatory against other than Orthodox Christianity. The Constitution of the Russian Federation adopted on December 12, 1993, declares equality of all religious associations in Article 14 that all religious organizations shall be separate from the state. No other legal acts may contradict this fundamental principle. But many Russians know that religious liberty is still a problem in this country. They are still finding stability in the country's dominant Orthodox religion.

Liberalism and Globalization focus on relationship between the ROC and the international community since Soviet period to the present. The Liberal was once a forbidden word, and people would be very hesitant to use related notions like "open society" and "civil society" before they were introduced into the Soviet Union when Mikhail Gorbachev became the head of state after 1988. He launched programs glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) that contributed to the restoration of the Russian Orthodox Church as a signal of a political schisms with communism and a reflection of Old Russian nationalism. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, the new governments passed law that significantly restored religious freedom to allow for the Orthodox Church and others to come back to Russia. The ROC plays as intermediate institutions between increasingly powerful local, regional and global mechanisms of governance. Such a view of generally privileges an economic logic and, in its neoliberal variant, the emergence of a single global market and the principle of global competition as the harbingers of human progress that through the establishment of transnational networks of religions. This term will be used to analyze religious freedom during the late Soviet period which resulted in the transition to democracy.

The book that I used for understanding on relationship of the ROC to global is "Eastern Orthodoxy in a Global Age: Tradition Faces the Twenty-First Century" by Agadjanian and Rousselet. This essay is an excellent introduction to understanding the Russian Church's view of globalization and modernity, which sets the stage for the rest of the Orthodox world. This looks at the Orthodox Church's response to globalization and

modernity that focuses on some of the various ethnic groups that make up the church, especially when dealing with contemporary issues. It has outstanding credentials in both the study of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the nation/state in Orthodox countries.⁸ I would like to use globalization to analyze action on the part of the ecumenical movement: culture, physicality and solidarity of the ROC in the global arena.

1.6 Literature Reviews

In order to clarify role of the Orthodox Church in Russia, I have divided the research into three sections. I would like to classify the important sources to be used for the analysis in the following categories.

A History of the Russian Orthodox Church

First step of my research focuses on history of the Russian Orthodox Church from the beginning when the church came to Kievan Rus to the collapse of the Soviet Union period. The sources that I want to introduce are “Russia: A Country Study,” an article produced by Glenn E. Curtis. He wrote about all of Russia. But I just use some information on history of Russia that is relevant to the Orthodox Church since early history, Muscovy, Empire, revolutions, Soviet and post-Soviet era from this article. And “A History of the Russian Church,” written by Ángel F. Sánchez Escobar, I have used the part on their conversion to analyze the beginning of Orthodox Christianity in Russia in the ninth century, when Constantinople's greatest mission was sent to Kievan Rus by Greek missionaries from Byzantium; years of Tatar oppression in the fifteenth century; the time when the Russian Church was pivotal in the survival and life of the Russian state and its economic and spiritual expansion; the beginning of the seventeenth century that proved to be a hard time because Russia experienced the great schism and Peter the Great had to reform the church; and finally the period from the Russian revolution to the early 1960's till the mid-1980's.

⁸ Ellen Gvosdev, “Eastern Orthodoxy in a Global Age: Tradition Faces the Twenty-First Century,” *Journal of Church and State*, 48, 2 (2005): p. 290.

Then, my research focuses on the ROC in the Soviet period, when Russia was under communist rule. The majority of them were monographs focused on the Soviet case. The sources of my research are: “Survival: The Russian Orthodox Church,” written by John G Keegan. He discusses about Soviet State decreed the separation of the Church from the State and freed the educational system from all Church influence and laid down new rules for church administration at all levels after the Orthodox Church survived its near extinction from 1917 to 1945, and how the Church was assisted in its struggle for survival under the Bolsheviks. “Cooperation and Conflict between Church and State: The Russian Famine of 1921-1923,” an article produced by Richard Gribble. It describes the unprecedented and unrepeated international and interdenominational efforts made to relieve the severe and widespread famine in Russia. The Russian famine did however demonstrate that international cooperation between church and state was possible. Even when the political was so adverse, millions of people were saved from certain starvation. “History of the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad,” written by St. John (Maximovich) of Shanghai and San Francisco would be used next to give information about a history of the ROCA when the Soviet state was anti-religious. This is especially helpful for tracing the historical development of the Ecumenical movement. And “Communist Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church 1943-1962” is a book wrote by William B. Stroyen. This book is about the history of the Russian Orthodox Church during the Soviet regime that analyze of relations between Soviet State and Moscow patriarchate under the concept of “peace,” but with more subtlety than under Stalin. Here again the Church could be of use to Christian movement for peace of the State and the Russian Church fully supported it. The information I got from these articles and books is very useful for my chapter II that focuses on history of Orthodox Church in Russia.

The Orthodox Church in post-Soviet Russia

The most sources are articles, news and books. My research discusses the relationship between church and state, including to international (ROCA) in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods when the government relaxed restrictions on religious practice. The article “Russian Church and Stalin,” edited by Lev Regelson that explained how the government reduced anti-religious stringency after the outbreak of the Second World War in Stalin era. Because he needed more support for the war effort from Russian people, he had to use the church. I have information from “Russian Orthodox Christians and Their

Orientation toward Church and State,” written by Christopher Marsh about the orientations of members of Russian Orthodox Christians toward issues of church and state and about the new religious environment that was codified in the 1990 ‘Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Belief.’ This legislation introduced religious equality and the separation of church and state for the first time in Russian history.

My research continues about the relationship between church and state in Russian Federation and the activities of the ROC the effect on international relations of Orthodox countries from the post-Soviet period to the future prospect. Each of their volumes is dedicated to a specific legal issue discussed country by country, e.g. post-communist laws on religion, nationalism, and religious minorities. I rely on the essay, “Forced Miracles: The Russian Orthodox Church and Post-soviet International Relations,” written by Andrew Evans, which discusses international relations in age of globalization, when nation-states must deal with other actors in the arena of international politics and religion. The next article is “Religious Reestablishment in Post-Communist Polities,” produced by Ani Sarkissian. The essay first discusses current trends in the literature on religion–state relations to identify a theoretical model that can be used to examine the countries under consideration. It focuses on a set of arguments referred to as religious economy theory, and examines the motivations of religious and political actors as they negotiate the post-communist religious marketplace. In addition, “Putin and the Russian Orthodox Church,” written by John Anderson, properly analyzes nation and community tied in very closely to the rhetoric of the Putin administration, as did the skepticism about liberalism and democracy as ends in and of themselves. Further, there was an affinity between the president’s attitudes towards non-governmental organizations and the church’s view of its critics.

The thesis is also based on “The Orthodox Church and Russian Politics,” relies upon Irina Papkova. Her study case examines the ROC's influence on federal-level policy in the Russian Federation in-depth since the fall of communism to 2008. The analysis balances the church as an institutional political actor with the government's response to church demands based on interviews, close readings of documents including official state and ecclesiastical publications and survey work conducted by the author. This book is the source of most important information that has helped me get ideas on fundamental

relationship between the church and state and covers such important factors in Russian politics as the Communist and the Liberal Democratic parties.

The expansion of Russian Orthodox Church proselytizing role to Thailand

This in this chapter, I have information from the website of “Orthodox Christian Church in Thailand (Moscow Patriarchate),” originally designed by Andreas Viklund, and the web-hosting is provided by “Orthodox Russia.” From this site I knew brief history about non-officially bilateral relations between Russia and Siam, which is unique in many aspects. Personal friendship of outstanding monarchs Rama V (Chulalongkorn) and His Majesty Nicholas II (Romanov) grew into the friendship and collaboration of two great nations. I can also monitor the important situation and activities of the Orthodox Christians in Thailand from the website. “Russo-Siamese Relations: The Reign of Kings Rama Fifth and Sixth” written by Chalong Soontarawanit and “The Russo-Siamese Relations: The Reign of King Chulalongkorn” of Natanaree Posrithong are good history books that analyzes Russian-Thai relation from beginning during Colonial time.

Besides, I also got information about officially bilateral relations history between Russian-Thai during Soviet period and after collapse until present from website “Royal Thai Embassy in Moscow.” Although I did not get directly information about Russian Orthodox Church in Thailand, I got reduction causes of Russian-Thai relations, it is Russian Revolution and Cold War which occurred before the establishment of an officially Orthodox Church, these are probably major causes to the Orthodox Church is not widespread as much as other sects Christian in Thailand.

1.7 Research Methodology

My research focuses on the role of Orthodox Church in the Russian Federation and the expansion of its proselytizing role in Thailand. I use documentary research as a method to collect information concerning the Russian Orthodox Church since the Russian Empire, how it was driven exile abroad in the Soviet period, and then its restoration with the transition to the post-Soviet era to the present. My descriptive analysis focuses on the role of the church in relation to the government and society in Russia and the expansion of the church abroad.

I firstly began to review literature on the history of the Russian Orthodox and the Russian Orthodox abroad which I have found both in Russian and international resources, archival documents including books, reports, journals, news, and internet articles to supplement my study. My research is composed of primary and secondary sources.

1.8 Significance

1. Knowledge gained from the study the history of the Russian Orthodox Church and its role on Russian's society and politic both since the Russian Empire period to Soviet period and the transition to post-Soviet.
2. Knowledge gained from studying both the internal and external factors that affect the missionary of the Russian Orthodox on abroad including Thailand.
3. No officially research or document about the missionary of the Russian Orthodox Church which mentioned on the effect of its proselytizing role to Thailand.

CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

2.1 The Orthodox Church in the Russian Empire

2.1.1 Empire

Russia is a very unique land and the largest nation in amount of territory. This chapter deals with “Culture and State.” In my case, “culture” is mean to the Orthodox Church, which is main social group to support the political and social order during the Czarist rule in Russia. The Russian Orthodox Church was the most useful theology to the rulers. It could be equated with the Empire that ingrained in the Russian life for a long time. “State” is Kievan Rus, was first Russian Empire founded by the “Varangian Oleg.” The beginnings of Christianity among the Russian people are recorded in the Russian Primary Chronicle, an extensive historical document written in the late twelfth century.

Prior to the coming of Christianity, the Russian people practiced a pagan form of animism, worshiping various nature spirits from the group first met the Muslims along the Volga River. Next the group was the Catholics in both Germany and Rome. Apparently, among them they also found nothing that attracted them. However, when they visited the Orthodox Cathedral of St. Sophia in Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul), in 989, “Vladimir I,” great-grandson of Oleg, he was ruler of a kingdom. He decided to establish the Greek Orthodoxy of Christianity¹ to be the state’s religion. He committed his state to advancing education, improving the judicial system, and assisting the poor by established “Civilized and Christianized ancient Russia” as the first law code of Russia. This describes the State and ROC influenced to each other.

The Orthodox Church historical had a rapid growth of the nation's personality. It constitutes its own unique identity and expansion of its cultural horizons as popular elements that had exerted some influence on church operations and development in order

¹ “Greek Orthodoxy” is also known as Eastern Orthodoxy or Byzantine Christianity.

to lead the people along this path. Even when the Tartar Mongols controlled Russia and was forced to move territory and a shift of power from Kiev to Moscow in 1325, the church still prospered. When Ivan III, the first Czar of Russia, he firmly established his nation as part of the Eastern Orthodox Church. Moscow became a political power and the most potent centralized of Eastern Europe, the significance of the ROC also increased. And after Constantinople had fallen in 1453, the only Orthodox empire left in the world was the Russian. Then, Metropolitan in Moscow declared itself as the “Third Rome.” The Russian nation alone, therefore, henceforward became the true repository of the Orthodox faith. Then, Ivan IV separated the Russian Orthodox Church from Eastern Orthodoxy.

When Dmitri I became the first Czar of Romanov, the church was granted to create a patriarchate (a self-governing); the Czar and the patriarch both were working together. Russian emperors was conducted their own policy on the basis of “Orthodoxy as Russian emperors, Autocracy, Nationality.” Until 1721, Peter the Great modernized, expanded, and consolidated Muscovy into became known as the Russian Empire. Peter curtailed influence on secular of the Russian Orthodox Church to a minimum of the czarist regime by the patriarchate abolition and “the Holy Synod” establishment, to administer and completely control the church. He still gave the church financial help with expected the church to closely ally itself to the autocracy. We can see in this how czarist autocracy was primarily maintained by ideological indoctrination to the faith and loyalty of Orthodox believer to keep the ruling clique in power. Same with Catherine the Great ruled 1762–1796, she continued Peter the Great’s reform by increasing central control that mean the church was under her control. She also began a new ecclesiastic educational system, more priests and young generation being formally educated than before. And in 1786 Catherine excluded all religion studies programs to add the introduction of the teaching of religion into the secular school system seems she brought Russia into the modern era of westernization but demoted the morally aspects. As a result, the church’s moral authority declined in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries.

2.1.3 The Path to Revolution

As a state department the ROC lost its right and was dispossessed. Therefore, the church sought reform. Along with, 19th century, Russia had several factors led to the revolution:

- The appearance of a group of military intellectual's movements, since the reign of Nicholas I, attempted to force the adoption of a constitutional monarchy that became the conflict in Russian society. And they also turn the church and the pulpit into a place of political propaganda.

-The abolition of serfdom in 1861 by Tsar Alexander II did not relieve the level of poverty and social classes. The unrest of worker, peasant, and military mutinies of a mass political and social began to against the Czarist and to define the role of the different social classes to be equal. 1905, Nicolas resolved by instituted the Duma, but did not work because they still no real liberal to own property and reward unworthy. The unrest continued to 1914.

-A massacre of workers led by Orthodox priest George Gapon to the Winter Palace to deliver a petition to the czar on Sunday, when soldiers fired to them, it became known as "Bloody Sunday," to be one of the factors which led to the Revolution 1917.

- The unsuccessful and bloody Russo-Japanese war in the same year, which made the Great Depression. All of these reflected directly about the czar himself that so weak, then popularity dropped became reasons of the Russian revolution in 1917.

When the Bolsheviks won, the Soviet Union was formed with the merger of constitutionally socialist state that existed in Eurasia and the continued function of the ROC as a state department were precluded any effective church power in the Union. The power of ROC was slowly lowered, and by the end of the rule of Romanov, was the time of Troubles to Christian Orthodox and other religion. People had to completely hidden their faith.

2.2 The Soviet Era

2.2.1 The Orthodox Church under Communist rule

The event of the Bolshevik revolution, the nation's Orthodox leaders actually welcomed this revolution because they want to liberate themselves from the power of the

czar. Vladimir Lenin was the leader of the Communist Party, ruled the country and mobilized the state ideology and policies. In his era, the Soviet Union considered the conception of human rights theory Marxism that focused on the principles of guaranteed economic and social rights, whole society as a whole is the beneficiary.² And Soviet had high levels of ethnic conflict with regard to exit claims by former satellite states that no longer want to be part of the union. People who exit to claims often antagonize the state that made massive human rights violations have resulted because of misperceptions between the center and the periphery. To solve the problem, Vladimir Kuroedov³ maintained that all citizens enjoyed freedom of conscience:

Soviet legislation has established special legal norms, defending believers, religious associations and ministers of the cult [non-Orthodox religious denominations] from infringements of their legal rights. These norms make provision for accountability for obstructing the performance of religious rituals, inasmuch as they do not violate the social order and are not accompanied by infringements of citizens' rights. Any kind of discrimination against believers and any kind of violence to their consciences are categorically forbidden.⁴

In fact the opposite, regardless, the flagrant violations of constitutional, status of religious can be disregarded, and in 1925, Soviet launched an anti-religious propaganda campaign that responsibility for the League of the Militant Godless.⁵ They confiscated nationalized all church property including building, ridiculed religion, 28 Russian Orthodox bishops and 1,200 priests were executed⁶ and the establishments of any religion groups were shut down by the thousands, believers were harassed, arrested, sent to labor camps or mental

² Doriane Lambelet, "The Contradiction Between Soviet and American Human Rights Doctrine: Reconciliation Through Perestroika and Pragmatism," 7 Boston University International Law Journal, 1989. p. 61-62.

³ Vladimir Kuroedov, President of the Council for Religious Affairs (CRA), the official body governing religious life.

⁴ Anonymous, "Sovetskii zakonis voboda sovesti," Izvestiia, January 31, 1976.

⁵ Daniel Peris, "Commissars in Red Cassocks: Former Priests in the League of the Militant Godless," Slavic Review 54.2 (1995): 341.

⁶ Richard N. Ostling, "Cross meets Kremlin," Time magazine, Sunday 24 June 2001. [Online]. <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,150718,00.html>

hospitals,⁷ and places of worship were destroyed. Most schools and seminaries were closed, religious material publication was prohibited, and atheism was propagated. After that, Soviet officials heavily promoted “scientific atheism”⁸ to developing this religion.

From atheist propaganda produced an atheistic as “church” and in combination with the brutal repression of Soviet religious groups that similar to a state supported “religious monopoly” organization. Eventually, a dramatic drop of the people would show their religiosity as believers to the Soviet Union because they were trouble forced oppression and fear. But a majority of older Soviet citizens still retain their religious beliefs and a new generation of citizens too young to have suffering experienced of pre-Soviet times acquired religious beliefs. It is therefore not unnatural that the Communist doctrine is unsuccessful to antireligious belief.

2.2.2 The Separation of church

Under the Soviet anti-religious and the subsequent Civil War effort that was like the Communist Party established popularity of religious pluralism by destruction the ROC, which led to the separation of the various parts of the Russian Church existing within the homeland and the Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR) or Russian Orthodox Church Abroad (ROCA) since 1920, headed by Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow. This article, I analyze connection between the ROC and ROCOR.

At first, ROCOR formed to against the policy of Bolsheviks with respect to religion in the Soviet Union by own affairs management. The ruling bishops outside of Russia joined them from Finland, Latvia, Manchuria, China, Japan and North America. Patriarch Tikhon gave an instruction to the parts of ROC that were separated from Russia should be established church administrations under the hierarchs in that region. At that time church administrations had already been established in places:

⁷ Patricia Sullivan, “Anti-Communist Priest Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa,” The Washington Post, November 26, 2006, C09.

⁸ Scientific atheism was similar to religious faith, by the ultimate purpose of human existence as a moral of conduct, and created an atheistic ritual.

-The Russian Orthodox Church Outside of Russia (ROCOR) is an autonomous Eastern Orthodox Church that first time, the mission of Christianity to the pagan tribes of Asia which became in the course of time dioceses in China (the moment the hardly existent), Korea and Japan (not to mention the Autonomous) that was granted autonomy by the ROC in the mid-1950s and most recently in Thailand, led by Archbishop Evlogy. After the White Russian Army defeated and the Bolsheviks occupied Siberia, a mass of Russian refugees moved into Manchuria.

-The Orthodox Church in America (OCA) organized first came to America in 1794 with missionaries from old Russia who came to Alaska. It has grown because the arrival of immigrants from areas of Europe and the Middle East due to the anti-religion regime. The OCA became a self-governing Russian Orthodox (Greek Catholic) Church in America in 1924 under the leadership of Patriarch Platon. He wanted to rule the North American Diocese and to activists on the autocephaly of church properties but this action evoked discord and schism in North America. All Orthodox Churches condemned and dismissed Platon from heading the North American Diocese in 1933, transferring to Archbishop Apollinari.

Yet the Soviet authorities had taken their dispute and were prepared to use whatever necessary to bring the bishops under the control, caused True Orthodox Church eparchies⁹:

- The Russian True Orthodox Church (RTOC or the Russian Catacomb Church)¹⁰ separated from the ROC during the early years of Communist rule which was controlled by the Soviet. When the death of Patriarch Tikhon in 1925 led to unrest among believers of the church and they were arrested. The church forced to split administratively by political circumstances. Metropolitan Sergius was offered a temporary position. In 1927, Sergius had declared to all members of the church profess loyalty to Soviet government because he tried to look for ways of peaceful

⁹ Eparchy translates as “rule over something,” it has specific meanings both in politics, history and in the hierarchy of the Eastern Christian churches.

¹⁰ “True Orthodox Church,” [OrthodoxWiki](http://orthodoxwiki.org/Russian_True_Orthodox_Church), Retrieved April 23, 2012.
[http://orthodoxwiki.org/Russian_True_Orthodox_Church]

reconciliation with the government and to ask for assistance in restoring a hierarchy for what was to be named the Russian True Orthodox Church in the future.

Although the Russian faith was separated from the main body of the Orthodox Church, others escaped from the Soviet persecutions to Siberia and other hospitable lands. Together and seriously, they helped each other thoroughly and still survive after immoral time. They considered themselves as the free voice of the enslaved Mother Church; they had cooperation to the international for aid to the flock of the ROC in the Diaspora and also to preserve the Russian Orthodox rebirth in the homeland as the main duty.

2.3 Resurgence the Orthodox Church

2.3.1 Stalin relaxed restrictions on religious practice

During 1920 to 1940, the Soviet Union had an ideological objective the elimination of religion that result of state sponsored atheism was to transform the church into a persecuted and martyred. However Soviet officials encountered religious groups successfully circulating anti-Soviet political. And in time of the World War II, Joseph Stalin headed of party. He revived the ROC to intensify patriotic support for the war effort when Nazi Germany's invaded the Soviet Union.

Stalin's role in the fortunes of the Russian Orthodox Church is complex because have not come across any facts of Stalin's active personal participation in the anti-religious campaigns of 1918-19 and 1922-23, although he was a member of the Politburo which in March 1922 ordered to confiscate the matter of church valuables. And Stalin promoted himself as the "Father" of his people, applying the full force of the Soviet media to repeating the message that he could protect Soviet citizens from the evils of the world. After 1923 the church never again challenged the political supremacy of the communist regime.

Then USSR had a new phase of anti-religious was in 1928–1941. Stalin called for the "Five Year Plan of Atheism" on May 15th 1932–1937,¹¹ in order to completely eliminate all religious expression in the USSR. This time, the closing of churches, mass arrests of the clergy and religiously active laity, and persecution of people for attending church was high unprecedented. The Orthodox Church survived near extinction by resistance, but the church supported from the Soviet state when Hitler penetrated the Soviet Union, immediately before and during the World War II. The first after the revolution, the Church was assisted on a revival as a patriotic organization and a secret agent. Thousands of parishes were consented to the reopening again and to the election of a patriarch (the first since 1925). The new patriarch and his successors were loyal to the Communist government. And thus it was announced that the Byzantine-rite Catholics of Ukraine and Ruthenia had united with the Russian Orthodox.

The attitude of believers to evaluation of Stalin's motives which led to the restoration of, the Church during the World War II:

- The Allies demand to improve the "freedom of religion" in Soviet, at the end of 1941. The "Allied powers" want Soviet to stop atheistic propaganda, to publish some positive material about the Church in the press and to abolish a curfew during the celebration of Easter.
- The large-scale opening of churches on the occupied territories has been impressed by the Christianity as one of the local pagan cults, which were more tendencies for his future personal glorification.
- The danger of the Russian national movement emerges to against Bolshevism and Stalin which supported by the German was fear that became the main motive for a real change in Stalin's church policy.
- Stalin was compelled by force of circumstance; he knows which Soviet people want mental supporter, under the catastrophic failures and a sense helplessness of Stalin. The sincerity and power of the popular religious revival show that the

¹¹ Paul Dixon, "Religion in the Soviet Union," Workers International News, October 1945.

activity of the Holy Spirit could help peoples at the critical moment (during the Great Patriotic war with Germany).

However, between 1959 and 1964 the anti-religion campaign still occurred, while fewer than seven thousand churches still remained active. Until, the basic legislation on religious cults was revised in 1975, there has been a more consistent treatment of the legally permitted religious bodies. But the Russian Orthodox hierarchy and some activists were jailed or forced to leave the church then was taken by clergy who were infiltrated by KGB¹²agents. And the ROC was useful tool to the regime that espoused and expanded Soviet foreign policy.

2.3.2 Gorbachev indicated the glasnost policy

During the Stalinist repression of the 1930s the churches as institutions nearly completely collapsed. This is a violation of a fundamental, universal religious right and the current Soviet situation can obviously not be a real liberal. In Gorbachev era, he used new regime as tactics to protect Soviet from international blame. In the past, Soviet had high-ranking of human rights abuses. Glasnost is a complex and vital factor in both domestic and foreign policy that affect to Orthodoxy.

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev was leader of the Soviet Union. He tried to reform the Soviet Union with his policies of glasnost (openness) gave new freedoms to the people. He allowed the ROC and other religious groups to express themselves more freely and to appoint a new Patriarch, Alexy II (1990-2008)of Moscow and All Russia has heralded a rebirth of the Russian Orthodox Church without political supervision. Moreover, in 1988 Communist state made at last decided to substitute the totalitarian-atheist Law on Cults of a new "Law on Freedom of Consciousness and Religious Organizations" to religious, although there is no official acknowledgement about submitted by churches and activists. During the millennium year, there has been a slow

¹² The KGB (Комитет государственной безопасности or Komitet gosudarstvennoy bezopasnosti or Committee for State Security) was the national security agency of the Soviet Union from 1954 until 1991, and was the premier internal security, intelligence, and secret police organization during that time.

increase in the number of evangelical congregations receiving legal registration and the ROC was able to open 340 additional churches.

His attempts at reforming helped to end the Cold War, but unintentionally resulting in the dissolution of the Soviet Union on Christmas Day, December 25, 1991. The immediate cause of the Soviet collapse was economic factors that were linked to political and psychological factors of a profound alienation of the Soviet people that had grown up during year of the culture war. In the Communist time, not only was the economy devoted to the arms race, but information was controlled in the form of propaganda and dissident were sent to labor camps. People did not feel free to discuss, respect a religion, and most people did not participate in government.

2.4 Relationship between the Orthodox Church in post-Soviet

2.4.1 In Russian Federation itself

The election of the new Patriarch Alexy II by the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church played an important role in the formation of the new type of Church-state relations. It was the time when the perestroika was fully under way and decided to regulate a religious freedom law. Seemingly a liberal acts on the side of authority. Since then Russia has entered the transformation phase, the ROC has flourished than ever before. The churches have reopened and have the right for property. Theological schools and academies are functioning again and the presence of the church is becoming more prominent in the cultural life through Christian radio and TV stations and publications. Additionally, the establishment of a plethora of orthodox organizations with sociopolitical action and the increasing number of believers make the ROC's role in modern Russian politics significant, because it could mobilize the 65% (Pollack 2003:447) of the electorate that identifies itself as Orthodox. The decision to rebuild the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow was recognition of the importance of the ROC as a national symbol.¹³In this part, I will analyze the impact of religion and church on the political

¹³ Kathleen E. Smith, "An Old Cathedral for a new Russia: Symbolic Politics of the Reconstituted Church of Christ the Savior," *Religion, State and Society*, vol. 25(2), 1997, p. 165-175.

system within the church-state relations which played a key role in defining the new state ideology during that period.

Under President Boris Yeltsin, he has adjusted the relations between state and Orthodoxy. After that, the church has the power to mobilize a large part of the electorate. It plays a role in the democratization process by it influences believers to vote for the democratic parties, or push them toward authoritarian radical right formation that has grown rapidly since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The ROC was considerably strengthened by the revised version of Gorbachev's religious laws and then Yeltsin also signed in 1997 a new law on religion. In its preface the ROC is referred to as "first religion" in the country and as the integral element of "Russian national identity", because of its central importance for history and culture of Russia. The ROC competes to convert as many people as possible into Orthodox believers and tries to establish itself as the official because these will offer it specific privileges towards other competitive religious organizations and will guarantee the Russian influence in the ex-Soviet space continue long existence. To achieve, ROC uses an ambiguous strategy:

- To support the government parties because the government controls the majority of the parliament and can pass electoral laws in favor of ROC. And the ROC was a desired partner for politicians in order to acquire a positive image lead to win elections and cover up their unconstitutional action.

- To collaborate with the radical right party (neo-communist) which they constantly underscored devotion to Russian Orthodoxy to initiate the creation of a third force, a movement of statist and patriots fighting for the revival of a strong Russian state able to defend the rights, freedoms and dignity of the citizens of the country.

The ROC chooses political party allies and manages relation between them that depend on a mix of selective incentives and collective goods.

The ROC, just as the Catholic Church, has lobbied via political parties and other means, in order to retain its monopoly over education and to have the costs of it paid by governments, to impose its morals on society through legislation, to gain or retain preferential tax status and to keep some of its employees from being conscripted, while at the same time it seeks to provide its members with collective goods, club goods and selective incentives (Warner 2000:7).

Since 2000-2008 of President Vladimir Putin, he has declared himself a firm believer and guarantees that communism with religious persecution will not return. In his time, the ROC got a prominent position as a moral institution help to solve the social problems and to stabilize of Russia. Moreover Putin is a guarantee aspect of stability, prosperity and prestige to the other religious communities of the "Russian Federation". That is reason; the church leadership supports Putin as its safest survival strategy. And other state officials participate in media-effective Orthodox divine services. The four-year long effort by Putin, he equated "Russian Orthodox Church" to being "components that strengthen Russian statehood and create necessary preconditions for internal and external security of the country."

Although the ROC accepts that the state should not interfere the church by the prerogatives, such as law enforcement and governmental functions, except it is supposed to operate as a legal identity and obliged to enter into certain relations with the state, its legislation and governmental agencies. But in the first phase of post-communist policy, which characterized of free-market romanticism it has provoked a reaction to nationalist politicians and Orthodox Church leaders concerned about the "invasion of the sects" and claims that Russia was not ready for an unregulated religious market.¹⁴ Therefore in the second phase of this policy, which characterized by some as "managed pluralism"¹⁵ by the Orthodox Church started to campaign for a more restrictive law that would privilege traditional religious communities and make it harder for others to function in the new Russia. And Putin also re-ignited the Chechen War by controlled media to build up a Chechen as an enemy type, used the ROC doctrine as propaganda campaign and praised the struggle of the "Russian warriors" and their victories to stimulate Russian patriotism and heroism. It's seemed as ideology of autocracy, Orthodoxy, national traditions.

Dmitry Medvedev served as the third President of Russia, from 2008 to 2012. His supporters could point to the impressive changes of the church. After Alexy died in December 2008, Prime Minister Vladimir Putin present when Metropolitan Kirill was enthroned as the new patriarch of the ROC on February. The ROC has reestablished

¹⁴ Patriarch Alexy II, interviews in Nezavisimaya gazeta, April 13, 1996.

¹⁵ James W. Warhola, "Religion and politics under the Putin administration: accommodation and confrontation within 'managed pluralism,'" Journal of Church and State, vol.49, no.1, p.75-95.

hospitals, orphanages and nursing homes. It is negotiating with the state about providing religious education in the public schools and supplying military chaplains. It has privileged access to the mass media. On Saturday mornings Kirill is featured in a half hour TV program about Orthodox belief and practice.

Moreover, Medvedev backed a decision by the church to allow clergy to enter politics in certain cases and had made some exceptions allowing a priest can be elected to a legislative body if it helps him to more effectively promote the interests of Orthodoxy and protect the church from schism. Medvedev believed that both organizations should work together in order to strengthen social stability. Initially he was regarded as a symbol of political thaw of social abuses and discrimination by his promised to liberalization. Even though, the consolidation and dominance of the church is criticized by human rights campaigners who think this relationship between the church and the state had become “symbiotic,”¹⁶ it undermines Russia's constitution and leading to widespread discrimination against religious minorities.

But on February 21, before the Russian presidential election, the anti-Putin's women punk rock group, called themselves “Pussy Riot,” after it stormed into the Cathedral of Christ the Savior of Moscow and sang an inappropriate song that criticized the church leaders for supporting Putin rather than God. They refer to an evidence of cronyism¹⁷ between the church and Putin which Russian people seen it from the lifestyle of some ROC representatives has given rise an unprecedented luxury entirely inappropriate for a priest even though his attempt to deny he owned it and inept retouching. After official reports of election fraud across the country by RIA Novosti¹⁸ in 3 December 2011, anti-Russian forces for the ruling party, United Russia and Vladimir Putin. The protests began over alleged fraud in a December parliamentary election when Putin won 64 % of the vote to another six-year term as president in 2012. Patriarch Kirill

¹⁶ “Symbiotic” is a relationship between two entities which is mutually beneficial for the participants of the relationship.

¹⁷ “Cronyism” is favoritism shown to friends and associates (as by appointing them to positions without regard for their qualifications).

¹⁸ RIA Novosti (РИА Новости: Российское агентство между народных новостей) or Russian International News Agency is of the largest Russian news agencies. It is state-owned with its Headquarters in Moscow and about 80 bureaus abroad.

warmly welcomed him. The church's reaction became the subject of censure to the criticism directed at it led to a change in people's attitude that serious irritation. After women punk were arrested for hooliganism and sentenced unjustly, they have supported from Amnesty International and the European Court of Human Rights which argues that the protest was freedom of expression. On 4 December night in Moscow, the big protestation happened in Moscow. From this event might say that, young people have religious ideas that are more abstract and intellectual by affected of Western culture, since the 1990s had begun and over several months, the protests continued until now.

Although the ROC has shown disagreement with the actions of the authorities, its behavior has upset liberal groups, including some in the clergy, who see it as a violation of Russia's secular laws that contrary to the common view. But the church has lobbied with mixed success for religious education in schools, chaplains in the army and reforms of juvenile justice laws; such as limits on gay rights and abortions. So the religious leaders have carefully acted as a moral referee, albeit avoided responding to them in political terms and warned that leaders must listen to protests and respond people's concerns. He also warned that a crackdown on critics would mirror actions taken by the government during the Soviet era and revolution will affect to the country has suffered heavy losses. But the church leadership did not mean being dictated to by the West, nor did it represent an encroachment on the territorial integrity and sovereignty (political or religious) of Russia and other nations. The state itself, regards the church as a guarantor of cohesion within society. The majority of the population trusts the church and regards it as an institution that promulgates values and can reinforce the intrinsic unity of the country. While a majority of Russian citizens believes the church should abstain from involvement in political issues and problems, only a minority of respondents believes that the ROC's engagement in Russian political affairs is excessive.

2.4.2 Abroad

Since the end of the Soviet Union, the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR) maintained its independence from the ROC of the Moscow Patriarchate (MP). The ROCOR's presence is growing and retaining administrative independence over their ROC even as they recognize the Moscow Patriarch as their Head. But they assimilate and integrate into the local environment, forgetting about the great heritage of their Homeland.

In their complicated foreign conditions, I assume, they fall away from reunite the ROC, since rejection of one's ancestry to renouncing one's life in the faith.

-The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia (ROCOR or Russian Orthodox Church Abroad, ROCA) took under its care the principal monastery of The Holy Orthodox Church in North America (HOCNA) who joined the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia in 1960s. They became affiliated with the True Orthodox Church of Greece. Both the MP and the ROCOR, was formally signed in Moscow in 2007 bringing the ROCOR into the MP. Today, ROCOR has in 32 countries throughout the world. The distribution of parishes is as follows: 152 parishes and 8 monasteries in the United States; 42 parishes in Germany; 31 parishes and 4 monasteries in Australia; 21 parishes and 3 monasteries in Canada; 22 parishes in Indonesia; and a handful of institutions in France, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, South America, and New Zealand.¹⁹

-The Orthodox Church in America (OCA) is an autocephalous church with parishes currently consists of 14 dioceses on the territory of Canada, the United States, and Mexico with 623 parishes, missions, and institutions (456 of which are parishes). The OCA's All-American Council and Holy Synod elected auxiliary bishop Jonah (Paffhausen) as its new metropolitan. The autocephaly of the OCA was subsequently recognized, however, by the Orthodox churches of Bulgaria, Georgia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

-The Orthodox Church in the Far East: The church being introduced to Asia between sixth and seventh centuries. The Orthodox Church in the Far East began because after the 1917 Russian revolution, Russian emigrant increased the Orthodox population in Asia especially in China. But official missionary begun at the end of the nineteenth century and granted autonomous status in 1956. At present, there are only two communities in Mainland China with regular weekly services and The Church of Japan began in 1861 and established an official mission to Japan in 1871. The Japanese church granted an autonomous Orthodox church in 1970, whose primate is confirmed by the Church of Russia. In 1996

¹⁹ Official ROCOR parish directory, 2002. [<http://www.synod.com/>]

metropolitanate of Ecumenical Patriarchate established the in Hong Kong with jurisdiction over all of China as well as India, the Philippines, Singapore and Indonesia.

-The Russian True Orthodox Church (RTOC or the Russian Catacomb Church) is one of several jurisdictions to emerge out of ROCOR. After the war, news of Catacomb bishops and communities has lost contact with anyone there might still be inside Russia. Some even began to doubt that the Catacomb Church existed any longer. Moreover, the significance of the Catacomb Church began to be lost, between the struggle of “red church” inside Russia and the “white church” outside Russia. ROCOR had comeback in order to replace her, or to gather the remnants of the catacombs. In November 2001, the Russian Orthodox Church in Exile (ROCIE) set up own organization in Russia and France. ROCIE has recognized the spurious claims of Tikhon Pasechnik, which has no basis in fact neither historical antecedents, nor legal standing, nor canonical foundation, nor Grace to be called a Church.

Throughout the mutual history all of the ROCOR, especially since 1946, numerous communities have changed back and forth between the two bodies, usually following a dispute between the community and its bishop. The ROCOR recognized the authority of the MP as “temporary self-government” which eventually received canonical approval in 1970 from the church in Communist Russia for the establishment of an independent Autocephalous Church." With the reconciliation of the ROCOR with the Moscow Patriarchate in 2007, the ROCOR and the OCA have resumed full communion and clergy of both jurisdictions have concelebrated in multiple areas.

Conclusion

Relations between the state and religious associations can be built in accordance with various models within the framework of the denominational type of state, the more modern secular type, or the special, rarely encountered, atheist type. The ROC claims to play a unique messianic role for Russia, being extremely hostile to everything that comes from the West, including the ideas of liberalism and democracy, tolerance to other

religions, cosmopolitanism, Enlightenment, and etc. The Christians believers who have preserved their faith during the religious repression of the Soviet regime; at the same time they remained open to democratic changes.

In recent times after decades of state persecution, the reconciliation between the Moscow Patriarch and the head of the Russian Orthodox Church abroad had divided Russian Orthodox. The Russian migrated to Western Europe from the contemporary homelands of Orthodox Christianity. At the same time there has taken place the conversion of small numbers of Western Europeans to the Orthodox Christian Faith. Because Western Europe is more liberal, several Orthodox bishops, admittedly of different nationalities, on the same territory are no significance to stay. These aspirations for a new and brighter future have been expressed in the democratic reformation and the dethroning of the cult of the totalitarian regime introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev during Perestroika. Putin very clear announced the principles behind Russian foreign policy concept to asserts Russia's right that pursue its own path and not to bow to Western pressures, seeking to protect Russia from the negative consequences of globalization that could compromise its sovereignty (Surkov, 2006). When Putin first came into office, relations between Russia and West had deteriorated because Russia's policies appeared to be lacking a consistent concept with West.

Anywise, the liberalization has led to more open to religious pluralism, the rejection in some part of the notion of the Bible, a much more human-centered and secular movement. In 2012 there was a more recent event of a Putin protest in Moscow of the extremists 50,000 who are trying to destroy the thousand-year-old basis of the Russian Orthodox Church, provoking a schism. Pussy Riot reproaches Putin's anti- feminist policies and the Russian Orthodox Church's increasingly political role. They have accusations of corruption, complicity in electoral fraud, and inappropriate political involvement by the Russian Orthodox Church to the forefront of national discourse. This crisis in human rights that Russia reflects that government's increasingly biased authoritarian and the growing influence of violent extremist groups. In stressing that traditional Russian values are different from those of the West and Russia's path to democracy will be different from that of the West.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH PROSELYTIZING ROLE TO THAILAND

3.1 Russian-Thai's Relation Background

Thailand is a predominantly Theravada Buddhist nation (about 95% of the population), which influences in all aspect lives of Thai people. Thai constitutions have stipulated that Thai king must be Buddhists, but monarchs are invariably entitles "Upholder of All Religions."¹ Thailand is trying to be complete freedom country of worship by the law provides for freedom of religion after long century of legal reform commenced by King Chulalongkorn designed to create stable government. It rests on the rule of law, on human rights, and on the separation of powers that were needed to protect national sovereignty from accusation as inferior nation. Besides the constitution and other laws and policies protect religious freedom² along with states that unjust discrimination against a person on the grounds of the difference in origin, race, language, sex, age, physical or health condition, personal status, economic or social standing, religious belief, education or constitutionally political view, is not permitted.³

Thai approved various religions because we always aware the importance of international cultural as interchange terms to mutual benefits of the economic, social and political development. Thai government is officially secular, and the constitution guarantees religious freedom, a guarantee that is generally observed in practice. Other religions have to register with the Ministry of Interior that limited a quota to register by "the Religious Affairs Department."⁴ Although unregistered religious organizations are proselytized freely to operate, many foreign missionaries were able to live and work in the

¹ Constitution of the Kingdom of Thailand, 2007, Section 8-25.

² Ibid. Section 37.

³ Ibid. Section 30.

⁴ The Religious Affairs Department (RAD) is responsible for registering religious groups.

Under provisions of the Regulations on Religious Organizations implemented in 1969 and amended in 1982.

country without government interference. That sequel from the colonial era, the Western nations attempt to use religious ideology gradually dominated thinking. (If it's not work, next step they will force with military superiority.) Christianity is one of the major religions in Thailand (about 0.7%). The main sects of Christianity in Thailand are divided into: Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant⁵ that I would like to focus on Russian Orthodox Church by starting from relation between Thailand and Russia.

The relationship between Thailand and Russia increased because of Western nations building commercial empires up all over the inhabited world by introduction Christianity along with modern innovation and technology (as hidden agenda of Colonization) that contributed to build Western influence and to dominate stronger in South East Asia. Thailand needed to develop the potential of the nation by learning their knowledge to accepted and allowed many Christian churches proselytized in Thailand at that period (even though they did not much succeed). I analyze how Siam's King aimed to let Russian Orthodox proselytized in Thailand to strengthen relationship with Russia to the balance of powers and opened the proselytizing freely to prevent a feud with Western European.

3.2 The Russian Orthodox Church Proselytizing Role to Thailand

3.2.1 First time – Soviet period

The Orthodox Christian community life in Thailand dates back to the seventeenth century from the first relationship with Russia in 1891. While the Western Europeans were expanding Christianity influence everywhere, the Russian Church embarked on a wide-ranging project of establishing the Orthodox Christian faith among the peoples of Far East too. Also Russian Church produced a number of spiritual Christians whose grace-filled influence to reach far and wide. When Czarevitch, the Russian Crown Prince (the future Czar Nicholas II, 1894-1917), had shown his great appreciation from his previous visit to Siam during the reign of King Rama V (King Chulalongkorn of Siam, 1868-1910) and they both made reform and modernization programs for his nation by a

⁵ Christianity in Thailand: Religion Department, Thailand, 2011. Download from:
http://www.dra.go.th/module/attach_media/sheet5920110407042818.pdf

visiting to European countries (because Siam's King tried to compromise and seek to balance the power between France and Britain). Since then, the Siam King had Czar Nicholas II as genuine friend and Russia had no interests to colonize Siam,⁶ therefore, non-invasive and assistance. So Russo-Siamese Relations Officially established in 1897⁷ and in 1898, the first Russian Consul appointed in Bangkok to confirm diplomatic relationship between the two nations besides brotherhood (Chakri and Romanov dynasties) and great friendship.⁸ This part enhanced Thailand's status to the international community and also confirmed the status of the Siamese monarch as a sovereign equal to European kings. Even though, no officially of Orthodox Church was established because Russia revolution happened before start, the relations between Thai-Russia had developed smoothly and grow strongly. The Western political allocation thoroughly was a proof of Siam's natural state as an independent kingdom which rich of civilization and independency.

After Bolshevik had overthrown the regime of Czar Nicholas II and founded the Soviet Union which communist regime. Thailand a short pause in the bilateral relations with the Soviet then the diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Thailand were established in 1941. Thai rescued Russian fleeing Soviet discrimination arrived in Thailand from Harbin. This mass exodus, it's the benefit from establishing the Russian Orthodox Church in other parts of the world. During the Cold War the relations between the two countries developed ambivalently but no conflict or any substantial progress. In this period, Thailand was a war zones when Japan tried to occupy Thailand, so religious differences led to disharmony. Most of evangelists evacuated out. When the tension of the Cold War dropped in 1991 the Royal Thai Government recognized the Russian Federation as a sovereign state and reconfirmed its intention to develop friendly and mutually beneficial relations. It was the first substantial positive changes of Russian-Thai Bilateral Relations in updating the legal basis of bilateral cooperation in economic and

⁶ Chalong Soontarawanit, Russo-Siamese Relations: The Reign of Kings Rama Fifth and Sixth, Bangkok, 1973.

⁷ Natanaree Posrithong, "The Russo-Siamese Relations: The Reign of King Chulalongkorn," Silpakorn University International Journal, Vol.9-10 (2009-2010): p. 87-115.

⁸ Committee Historical Documents, 100 Years of RussoSiamese Relationship, Thammasat University, Bangkok, 1997, p. 64-65.

humanitarian spheres, including those aimed at further promoting trade and tourism under influence of the international arena that has a positive effect on the established Russian Orthodox Church in Thailand in latter.

3.2.2 Post Soviet - Present

The ROC in Thailand was initiated after the meeting on December 28, 1999. The Holy Synod of ROC (Moscow Patriarchate) opened the first officially Orthodox Church “St. Nicholas' parish” in Bangkok. But the legislation does not specify that the Russian Orthodox as a sect of Christianity because it is not well known in Thailand yet. So in 2001, Orthodoxy in Thailand is presented by Kirill, the Metropolitan of Smolensk and Kaliningrad; the Chairman of Department for External Church Relationships of Moscow Patriarchate, including the Representative Office of Russian Orthodox Church had the first official visit to arch-pastoral in Bangkok.

The contacts between Russia and Thailand became more and more frequent, for example:⁹

- Mr. Thaksin Shinawatra, the Prime Minister of Thailand, visited Russia in 2002,
- Mr. Vladimir Putin, the President of the Russian Federation visited Thailand and also signed the related Protocol on Cooperation between the Ministries of Culture of Russia and Thailand in 2003,
- And the return official visit of Thailand by Her Majesty Queen Sirikit in 2007 tied a new the historical chain of mutual sympathy of our nations as the case to support the ROC establishment in Thailand.

Moreover during that time, the Archimandrite Oleg Cherepanin was appointed as the rector of the parish. The fund of Russian Orthodox Church is chaired by the first Thai Orthodox priest, a graduate of St. Petersburg Theological Seminary, Father Daniel (Danai Vanna), who operates in Thailand. And Insistent works to promote and convert local citizens in Thailand, Department of the Interior would finally accept the ROC after 9 years.

In July, 2008, The ROC registered as a social organization, which it has accredited by the Department of Interior, and work together with proselytizing according to the regulations of the Foundation by under the operation of the Russian Orthodox Church in Thailand. Government

⁹ The Embassy of the Russian Federation in the Kingdom of Thailand, Russian-Thai Relations: Official Visits, Bangkok, 2009. See: <http://www.thailand.mid.ru>

supports only the activities of the charity. Not associated with politics. Currently, Russian Orthodox Christian in Thailand is about 200-300 people, Thai 20-30 people and still growing which is due to migration.¹⁰

The counting of members such as belief, baptism, confirmation as well as age criteria such as persons over age 12, 15, 18 or adulthood. The Orthodox mission in Thailand is headed and serves the arrival of a few refugee families from Soviet period, Russian tourists or citizens in Thailand and the existing community of faithful in Thailand. (Number of Russian tourists to Thailand in 2005 is 102,783 people and total number in 2007 is 271,433 people that increased 15-20% every year.¹¹) Including to Thai Buddhism convert to Orthodox Christianity are Inter-faith Marriage and conversion by free choice due to a change.

There are several Russian Orthodox communes:¹²

- 1) The main parish of Saint Nicholas' Chapel in Bangkok was created on 29th of December, 1999,
- 2) Parish in the name of Holy Life-Giving Trinity on Phuket Island was created in 2008,
- 3) Parish in the name of All Saints in Pattaya, Chonburi province was created in 2008,
- 4) Parish in the name of Holy Dormition of Mother of God, Rachatburi province was created on February the 17th, 2009,
- 5) The Holy Ascension parish in Samui Island, Surat-Thani province was began the construction in January 2011,
- 6) Construction site of the new St. Nicholas temple in Bangkok (Sukhumvit Soi 101/1, sub-soi 36) on December 19-20, 2012.

Establishing a new parish and construction a new churches in different parts of the country helped more locals to have an understanding of Christianity and that may covers a multitude of disagreements. The Orthodox Christianity in Thailand reception was the 10th

¹⁰ Danai Wanna, Thailand's first Russian Orthodox priest, Interview, August 22, 2012

¹¹ Royal Thai Embassy, Moscow, 2008.

¹² "Parishes information," Orthodox Church in Thailand (Moscow Patriarchate), 2008-2012.

anniversary on December 19, 2009,¹³ on behalf of the Russian Orthodox Church. The celebrations were led Archbishop Hilarion of Volokolamsk, chairman of the Moscow Patriarchate department for external church relation. Thai government awarded them an invaluable gift by allowing them to build another Orthodox cathedral on its territory.

Even though, the Russian-Thai relations have grown strongly until the 115th anniversary of the diplomatic relations between the two countries and the Orthodox Church in Thailand has been moving forward in a good way. The Orthodox mission in Thailand is still looking for the help from Moscow Patriarch to assist what is becoming a spiritual movement that has great potential to transform Thailand and beyond. The ROC is also the key to support cooperation between Russian businesses and the business Russians, who living abroad (especially in Thailand). Including it is instruments for creating a positive image of Moscow as an international financial, economic and cultural center.

3.3 Cooperation between Russian – Thai

The increasing number of Russian emigrants in Thailand has resulted to an increase in the number of church structures outside the canonical territory of the Moscow Patriarchate. The Russian Orthodox parishes in Thailand contribute to the development of friendly relations between the Kingdom of Thailand and the Russian Federation. It includes countries with Christian tradition in which Christianity is part of the national culture and identity and in the countries where Christianity comprises a minority. Russian-Thai relations based on mutual respect of national interests, confidence, sincerity and joint belief in good intentions of each other arising from cultural exchanges. Nowadays the bilateral cooperation underpinned by rich cultural heritage and potential of both countries, as well as by mutual interest towards each other of Russian and Thai peoples, which is on the continuous rise being an unique tool to promote mutual understanding.

3.3.1 Russian support

¹³ Ibid. Orthodox Church in Thailand, News: 2009.

For carrying out cooperate with and support to Believer expatriates living in the far-abroad countries are disunity from pressured of various problems and difficulties Russian Orthodox communities abroad of the Russian Diaspora. For example: Assimilation Community of expatriates is serious challenge that result to community become quite heterogeneous, has many faces and it is poly-ethnic. And a lot emigration of specialists and contract workers, students, political asylum because of different interests become serious problem, as result in Russia lacks of a serious resource for own country:

- Therefore the supreme authority of the Russian Orthodox Church has instructed the Department for External Church Relations to carry out cooperation with and support for Believer expatriates living in the far-abroad countries to guide and adjust the work of all the concerned church and state structures engaged in supporting expatriates.

First, for expatriates living in the far-abroad, a consolidated Diaspora helps to acquire quite “a different weight in the local environment and work has been carried out together with the Russkiy Mir Foundation.”¹⁴ Unfortunately, about problems and difficulties Russian Orthodox communities abroad are disunity.

- In 2006, Russia adopted a state program to encourage the voluntary return to Russia of nationals living abroad.¹⁵

A large proportion of citizens that return to Russia choose to reside in Central Federal District. Meanwhile, the economic forum of compatriots is arranged by the government of Moscow promotes mutually beneficial cooperation between Russian businesses and the businesses of citizens who live abroad, with a view to engage their potential and experience and further Russia's national economic interests in other countries by expected a variety groups of Russian nationals abroad could creating a positive image of Moscow as an international financial, economic and cultural center.

¹⁴ The phenomenon of the Russian world has come to the center of attention in both academic circles and the public arena that serious steps need to be taking to both preserve and promote Russian language and culture in today's world.

¹⁵ Russia beyond the headline speaks to Aleksandr Babakov, the special envoy of the Russian president about groups of Russian nationals abroad, Interview, October 1, 2012. See:

http://rbth.ru/articles/2012/10/01/russia_interested_in_the_russian_diaspora_living_abroad_18739.html

- The Law on Amendments to the Federal Law on the Policy of the State with Regard to Expatriates signed by President Medvedev in July 2010.

The important results of the joint efforts of the Church and state in supporting expatriates was the new state program offers more opportunities for compatriots to exercise their rights to return to Russia, which will help reduce the breakage problem.

The Russian new generation in abroad begins to refuse speaking in Russian, which ultimately leads to the loss of cultural identity:

- At the meeting in December 2009, Regarding Patriarch Kirill's report on the 3rd Assembly of the Russian World and signing a cooperation agreement between the ROC and the Russian World foundation for participation in agreed that the Assembly was important to take joint efforts for preserve their religious, linguistic and cultural identity and consolidate their relations with the Motherland and support of organizations abroad working to propagate the Russian language and culture in the world.

Frequently, Russian Orthodox communities abroad lost information from Motherland when the Soviet closed country and authorities withheld all authorizations to publish or distribute any document (1926-1956):

- There were talks with the leaders of the State Administration for Religious Affairs which a mutual understanding was reached concerning the development of Russian-Thai communication.

Now, the Russian Church abroad has websites giving prompt information about the latest events in the church life abroad, which are in Russian and also in the languages of the country in which a particular parish is located. At the same time, many of them have sought as much as they can to engage in information work, diocesan and parochial media that role in strengthening the ties of Russian Orthodox emigrant.

The cases of discrimination against Christians and attempts to oust the norms of Christian tradition from public life in some countries, and the violation cases of the Christian rights have become frequent vary from country to country:

- So His Holiness Patriarch Kirill knows that is very important to contact with international organizations to conference on Freedom of Faith: the Problem of Discrimination against Christians was held from November 30 - December 1,

2011, in Moscow to become effective mechanism of the protection of Christians and Christian communities.

- The meeting, titled “Preventing and Responding to Hate Incidents and Crimes against Christians,” was held September 15, 2011 in Rome. The ROC considers of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to discuss openly the violation and this is the best guarantee of Christian’s rights.

Russia can support the political and economic aid to countries which give the rights and freedoms of Orthodox Christians. Moreover, the program of cooperation with compatriots making their home abroad is expanded the network of Russian consulates and Russian science, international financial, economic and cultural center as instruments to creating a positive image of Moscow.

3.3.2 Thai Support

For responding to Orthodox Christians and local citizens in Thailand by church services, therefore Russian-Thai government and advocacy groups promote to involve activity as follows:

- Thailand's legislation provides for a certain procedure of land acquisition, which the construction necessity for religious purposes and maintaining the divine-serving life of the parish,¹⁶ which tore so many Diaspora parishes apart a generation ago,
- Translation: “The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom”¹⁷ and “The Law of God by archpriest Seraphim Slobodskoy”¹⁸ in Thai language.

¹⁶ “Chapter 7: Determination of Land Rights for Religious Purpose,” Thailand Land Code, B.E. 2497 (A.D. 1954).

¹⁷ The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom is the most celebrated Divine Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite. It reflects the work of the Cappadocian Fathers to both combat heresy and define Trinitarian theology for the Christian Church. It became the norm by the end of the reign of Justinian. Liturgica.com

¹⁸ Protopriest Seraphim Slobodskoy's, “The Law of God” was translated into the Thai language by Priest Danai (Daniel) Vanna, the first Thai Orthodox priest, a graduate of St Petersburg Theological Seminary; Mrs. Naparta Aphichataphong, former official translator of English for the Parliament of Thailand, now studying at SPTS; and Mr. Yingsak Samsen, a specialist in the Russian

These were done in view of the increasing number of Orthodox Thais, the need for their more active involvement in church services and including to the transmission of the Orthodox Tradition to Orthodox Christians and local citizens in Thailand.

For strengthening of religious and cultural understanding between religious leaders and for creating network relations with Christian and non-Christian of Thai's religious organizations with Russia and the world-wide:

-Since August 30-September 5, 2009, a delegation of the Sangha Supreme Council of Thailand has visited Russian Federation under the project to strengthen the relationship between Buddhism and the Russian Orthodox Church which has been successful and also met Protopriest Igor Vyzhanov, Secretary of the Department for external church relations, responsible and emphasized the importance of the *Russian Orthodox, Islam, Buddhism, and Judas Uist* in Russia that were officially accepted 4 religion of state.

This is only one from many project to strengthen of religious and cultural understanding between the Russian-Thai and creating a network between religious leaders for the relations with Christian and non-Christian religious organizations world-wide. In this way, the authentic Tradition can successfully be transmitted from the original immigrant group to the receiving group, as well as for graduate courses in psychology dealing with the relationship between psychological models and religious worldviews.

And the Russian-Thai governments have established the charity cooperation on financial assistance for emergency care to pauper and rescue disaster victims by the ROC as an intermediary:

- The donations for the religious education in Russia for disadvantaged students from local residents (Thailand, Laos, and Cambodia) to the service of the Holy Orthodox Church after successfully completed,¹⁹
- During the flood in Thailand, the Foundation Committee of the Orthodox Church in Thailand provided financial assistance to residents of Thailand affected by the floods and for the needs of the disadvantaged.²⁰

language. News from Православие.Ru, Moscow, January 30, 2012 [Online] Web:

<http://www.pravoslavie.ru/english/51312.htm> [03 September 2012]

¹⁹ Ibid.

These are some part the rewarded friendship to Thai people who being good friend to Russian people led to the principles of emergency care for people compatriots who get trouble in Thailand in field of charity cooperation that focus on financial assistance. After people get help, they may conversion to Russian Orthodox Christianity. And this connection with plans to build an Orthodox church in difference faith's local is possible to inter-religious conflict, thus Orthodox church must recognized by local citizen and then introduced to local citizen.

The religious interaction can affect to the political interaction at all coordination levels between the two countries, for diplomatic openings and logistical possibilities, as well as featured to promote transmission of the old tradition to next generation and local citizens who want to know the original of traditions activities. The Russian-Thai cooperation in Orthodox Church field can create new vision of information and situation known to society. The cooperation between church and state can develop religious communities, public organizations, academic and business communities as well as individuals in realizing joint projects because through this we can strengthen and promote Orthodox Christian values in the world.

Conclusion

Over a hundred years of the Russian-Thai diplomatic relations had begun during the colonialism, the most of Siam citizen is Buddhist but they was intervened and oppressed by severely Western civilization to accept Christianity, which regarded as representation of the modern world. Russia has always supported Thailand to protect its sovereignty. Since the nineteenth century, official visits and personal contacts including the exchange of correspondence between the Russian Imperial Family and the Siamese Royal Family became frequent and regular and played an important role in the development of relations between the two countries. Even though Russia did not resolve the Siamese problem due to its many limitations, its alliance was essential to the position

²⁰ “A special meeting of the Committee of the Orthodox Christian Church in Thailand Foundation,” Orthodox Church in Thailand (Moscow Patriarchate), News: 28 October 2010. See: http://orthodox.or.th/index.php?content=news&news_start=181&lang=en

of Siam in the international arena. Until the Russian Revolution of 1917, both Russian-Thai relation was stop, Thai tried to restore but was interrupted by World War II and Cold War. After Soviet Union collapse, Russian-Thai relations restored again in 1999 and then the Orthodox religion in Thailand just official appeared.

Incunabulum, the ROC had minimal influence in Thailand because it had recently received state registration in this country not so long. After Booming of Russians visit Thailand, the church of Orthodox Christian was more built up to serve all believers in Thailand. It is rare in predominantly Thai Buddhist the Russian-Thai bilateral interactions have been developing steadily with a mutual respect being the dominant in relations. Cultural interaction between Russia and Thailand is on the continuous rise being a unique tool to promote mutual understanding. Cultural exchanges between Russia and Thailand are the bilateral cooperation nowadays, which supported by rich cultural heritage and potential of both countries, as well as by mutual interest towards each other of Russian and Thai peoples. The meetings between Russian and Thai Foreign Ministers also became a good tradition in our relations as well as the established practice of exchange of messages on key international and bilateral issues.

The cooperation of diplomatic activity established an effective interaction among regions of both countries in all spheres of a trade turnover, interaction in education, science and technology, energy, infrastructure development. Due to the increasing number of Russian citizens in Thailand, the Russian Foreign Ministry continued to work through the inter-religions establishment and designed to become the main tool for monitoring the safety of complex Russians abroad as well as coordinate the interaction of Russian foreign and agencies in such situations. There seems possibility or legitimate justification for ROC that has any parishes in Thailand, is able to use its political connections and its network of embassies to support its parishes and monasteries, and also ROC is able to use its rootedness in certain parts of Thailand as its the basic projects to deepen cooperation between all parties concerned and to implement together with governmental, public structures and also access to the public education system and the military.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The Russian Orthodox Church is the main and semi-official religion of the Russian Federation, largest religion, and deemed part of Russia's "historical heritage" constitutionally. The tradition of cooperation between Russia's diplomatic service and the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) goes back centuries. The Orthodox Church helps to impart a feeling of national identification and connection with traditions, providing a haven from an often cruel existence and offering consolation in the face of sickness and death. The ROC has developed into providing both legitimacy and identity for political power. The ROC becomes more relevant in Russian society as the main supporter of Russian state and it will have a greater chance of successfully promoting its doctrine, even though it tries to take a cautious line on the political stage and avoid appearing as a political organization.

The Russian-Thai historical backgrounds were good friend by opening the country to be free for expansion of the Western religion proselytizing that obviously wanted to establish permanent diplomatic relations with each other from a hundred years ago but the chaos interrupted. After the Russian Revolution, the Orthodox Church was taken out of Russia and became the main sacred object of "the Russian Orthodox Church Abroad (ROCA)" and "the Russian Orthodox Church in Thailand" followed in the post-Soviet era. National or cultural circumstances led to the administrative disunity of the ROC, a state of Russian affairs.

A rising of the Orthodox faith became recognizing in Russia again in the late 1980s. The reason is the Russian state did not have an effective way to revive relations with foreign countries, who had ended up relation with Soviet such as the ROC. The Church was the main link to the custodian of spiritual and cultural values with Russian compatriots in abroad since communist era. The "Glasnost" policy gave people more social and media freedoms. Furthermore, the disappointing results of the economic reforms, atmosphere of social crisis, political instability and absence to efficiently functioning parliament of Russia. All these factors resulted in many Church had been restored; the status of the Orthodox Church gets stronger development and social

advantage as symbol of hope and motivation of the major part in Russian life in the current.

While the Orthodox Church has increasing power on economics, international relations, and the Russian elections (but it fails to fill a post-Soviet ideological) it become the target of severely criticized especially from young people, who generally know nothing about religion and saw the church as something far away after 70 years of atheist Communism. The dominance of the ROC; such a blatant into the political field by electoral support of Putin in 2012, it is criticized by human rights campaigners who say, its power is encroaching on Russian government and may palpably distort the formally secular character of the state. A course of "Orthodox Culture" is offered in the schools but no other religion is the subject of such a course. Orthodoxy, through the agency of thousands of selfless and dedicated local priests, gives to masses of people a sense of social defense and solidarity. The ROC has grown rich under Putin's government, and has been given vast tracts of valuable land and property. So, the relationship between the two organizations has become closer and closer exceeds friendship as the mutual benefit, which demonstrates the collusion between Putin and the ROC. This is one of the reasons for the anti-Church feelings just like Pussy Riot's protest.

The "Pussy Riot" case as a part of against so much the political role of the ROC, the lengthy anti-regime protests in Russia and read political motivations behind the actions taken by the authority (Putin) who gets support by the ROC. They was arrested and declared to be political prisoners. It could be a sign that the links between the government and the Russian Orthodox Church are getting stronger as the same tradition that influenced of communist doctrine and manifests itself in relations among the state. That is what we see in contemporary Russia. One might say that Russians' attitude toward political between cases the social-democratic opposition and the communist-patriotic, let compare with faith as their basis; it can be divided into believers and nonbelievers. Supporters of political and economic liberalism are, moreover, more readily found among those who consider themselves Orthodox but are minimally involved in religious life. This contradicts the dualistic logic of other religions have an unbroken focus on higher things that are the lives of its members must be defended no matter how much brutal rather than a belief system or set of values. It is damage to the image of government, and a crisis for the institution of the Russian state more and more.

The ROC wants the reunification with the ROCA. At the same time, the Russian state has interests in common between international recognition of Russia as a Democratic state by relies on the ROC contribution to help with Russian Diasporas abroad to preserve their spiritual and cultural ties with their Motherland. These are strengthening the international positions of the state and its leaders. At present a lot of countries have limited possibilities on religious subjects and the role of religion in world politics and intensive international activities that mean religion disputes may arise. The ROC purported that may result in a suspension of economic reforms and war in countries. In order to maintain the religious and social peace, if religious dialogue could considered into this program for maintaining distance to all religious that would be a very good for expanding the forms of world cooperation.

There are two views from Russian people: either the Church should be absolutely independent from the state, or the state should more actively participate in religious life with the Church considered (to some extent) an instrument of state policy. But The Russian government need to use the future role of the Church as a political instrument for both domestic and international affairs and the ROC has been actively participating in shaping and executing Russian policy. And the Russian government also shows consistency in its approach to church-state issues in education. The current situation with religious colleges and universities is even more diverse than the situation with private secondary and elementary institutions. The churches are being built on state university campuses, and built its own educational network with international contacts to integrate on higher-education standards into the international system. In addition to encroachment on domestic state policy, the ROC has been actively participating in shaping and executing Russia's foreign policy in the European continent and beyond. This issue show that the ROC used political skills to achieve political agenda advancement and its likely to continue to use this skills for the foreseeable future to increasing effect in Russian political life. Even though, these relationships generate deleterious implications to the content of international human rights law and situation in Russia and any countries that under the influence of ROC and religious antagonism inside their countries, it stimulated integrate the national idea and had become an example of civil society.

While the ROC's functioning in its traditional role as a promoter of the diplomatic community covering global, clearly the position of the ROC, both at Motherland and

abroad, is insecure and changing, which must find a suitable role for itself in multi-ethnic and international society. From the study I could understand that the ROC has a role in the growth of relation development between Russian-Thai, which may increase to trade and investment. During the Pussy Riot's protest just had little impact of convenient aspects to commercial contacts but it has no apparent connection to Thai's political. Currently, the Orthodox Church's expanding in Thailand has a sufficiently numerous Orthodox community despite Thailand is a Buddhist country, it is not a barrier much to expand the ROC. I analyze that because the main purpose of the ROC expansion to Thailand for serving Russian migrant and Thai member is only outgrowth; numbering several thousand and constantly increasing. Moreover the ROC still has the purchase of land and new contracts with a construction company in Thailand to build more Orthodox churches in soon. Therefore, it is high possibility that the ROC's proselytizing in Thailand will expand influence more in the future.

REFERENCE

- Billington, J. H. *Russia in Search of Itself*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press Series. 2004.
- Bakunin, M. Statism and Anarchy, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 1873.
- Committee Historical Documents, 100 Years of RussoSiamese Relationship, Thammasat University, Bangkok, 1997, p. 64-65.
- Curanović, A. "The Religious Diplomacy of the Russian Federation," Russia's Religious Diplomacy, IFRI RUSSIE NEI Documents, No. 12. June 2012. Download from: <http://www.ifri.org/downloads/ifrirnr12curanovicreligiousdiplomacyjune2012.pdf>
- Curtis, G.C., ed. Russia: A Country Study, Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1998.
- Ćwiek-Karpowicz, J. "Role of the Orthodox Church in Russian Foreign Policy," Bulletin, Polish Institute of International Affairs (PISM): Poland, no. 109 (185). August 9, 2010.
- Daniel, W.L. The Orthodox Church and Civil Society in Russia, Texas A&M University Press. 2006.
- Dickinson, A. "Quantifying Religious Oppression: Russian Orthodox Church Closures and Repression of Priests, 1917–41." Religion, State & Society, 28,4 (2000): p. 327-335.
- Dunlop, J.B. "The Russian Orthodox Church and nationalism after 1988," Religion, State & Society, 18, 4(1900).
- Evans, A. "Forced Miracles: The Russian Orthodox Church and Post-soviet International Relations," Religion, State & Society, 30, 1(2003): p. 292-306.
- Gvosdev, E. Eastern Orthodoxy in a Global Age: Tradition Faces the Twenty-First Century. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing Group, Inc., 2005.
- Keegan, J. G. Survival: The Russian Orthodox, December 2007. [Online]

Website: <http://jgkeegan.com/pdf/roc.pdf>

- Lenin, V.I. "Sozialismus und Religion," Lenin Collected Works, Moscow, 10 (1985): p. 83-87.
- Lenin, V.I. "The Attitude of the Workers' Party Towards Religion," Lenin Collected Works, 15(1987): p. 371-372. Translated by Andrew Rothstein and Bernard Issacs.
- Mankoff, J. Russian Foreign Policy: the Return of Great Power Politics. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.
- Marsh, C. "Russian Orthodox Christians and Their Orientation toward Church and State," Journal of Church and State, 47, 3 (2005): p. 545.
- Marx, K., "A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," Deutsch - Französische Jahrbücher, 1844. English translation by Joseph O'Malley, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Maximovich, St. J. "The Russian Orthodox Church Abroad: A Short History," The Orthodox Word, 7, 2 (1972): p. 37.
- Mitrokhin, N. "The Russian Orthodox Church in Contemporary Russia: Structural Problems and Contradictory Relations with the Government, 2000-2008," Social Research, 76, 1(2009): p. 289-320.
- Papkova, I. The Russian Orthodox Church and Russian Politics, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Posrithong, N. "The Russo-Siamese Relations: The Reign of King Chulalongkorn," Silpakorn University International Journal, Vol.9-10 (2009-2010): 87-115.
- Richard, G. "Cooperation and Conflict between Church and State: The Russian Famine of 1921-1923," Journal of Church and State, 51, 4 (2009): p. 634-662.
- Sánchez Escobar Á.F. A History of the Russian Church (IX-XX Centuries), the St. Stephen Harding College Publishing House: NC, 2009.

- Sarkissian, A. "Religious Reestablishment in Post-Communist Polities," Journal of Church and State: 51, 3 (2010).
- Soontarawanit, C. Russo-Siamese Relations: The Reign of Kings Rama Fifth and Sixth, Bangkok, 1973.
- Stroyen, W. Communist Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church 1943-1962, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1969.
- Viklund, A. Orthodox Christian Church in Thailand (Moscow Patriarchate), Thailand, 2008-2011. [Online] Website: www.orthodox.or.th [2011, October 09]
- Walters, P. A Survey of Soviet Religious Policy: Religious Policy in the Soviet Union, Sabrina Ramet, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

BIOGRAPHY

Miss Narobon Kamnoy was born on 25th July 1987 in Phetchaburi Thailand. She received a B.A. in Russian Studies from the Faculty of Liberal Arts, Thammasat University in 2010. After that, she furthered her studies for an M.A. in Russian Studies (Interdisciplinary Program) at the Graduate School, Chulalongkorn University.