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World Russian National Council as a religious and political institution

A specific feature of the Russian civilization is a multi-dimensional connections between the spheres of religion and politics¹. After the collapse of the Soviet Union took place the revival of religion, which also takes a political dimension. The Russian Orthodox Church is actively involved in shaping the internal and external policies of the Russian Federation. An example of this connection is functioning since 1993, the World Russian National Council (WRNC).

Analysis of functioning of the Council has as an aim to answer the questions: What is the basic objective of the operation for this institution? What are its functions? What values are promoted and which are negated by the Council? What political environments favor its actions? What is the real impact of the Council on the activities of the Russian state? In order to answer to above questions have been used the histories sources concern to relationships to Russian Orthodox Church and Russian State; philosophical, which concern the understanding of ideas and values; official texts concerning to the activities of the council, journalistic materials devoted to it, official state documents and statements leading by Russian politicians.

Sobornost' (En. Community/Universality) is a specific term functioning in the Russian civilization. In practice, it manifested in two ways: from the institutional and world – view side. The first dimension means that councils were the basis for the functioning of the Orthodox Church. The truths of faith identified in the seven Ecumenical Councils (from 325 to 787 A.D.) have equivalent meaning to Holy Scripture, so they are the absolute authority. Inside the East Church, took place a number of local councils. They determined the specificity of the Orthodox Church, the primacy of the council (the whole) over the individual (the pope) and hierarchy, which dominates in Catholicism². Counseling is

¹ See. N. Berdyaev, *Russian idea Idea*, Warsaw 1999.

² See. S. Kiryłowicz, *Prawosławie*, in: *Zarys dziejów religii*, J. Keller, W. Kotanski, W. Tylach, B. Kupis (eds.), Warsaw 1986, p. 693-694.

one from the four attributes of the East Church adopted at the Second Ecumenical Council, ingoing as a part of the Nicene's Symbol of Creed³.

From the world – view side sobornost' has its sources in the teachings of the Orthodox Church⁴, but it must be placed in the broader context of Russian culture. Raised by Slavophiles is an opposition to the individualistic doctrines of the West. At its source, however, it shares the view with Western romanticism in its anti individualistic trends. Sobornost' rejects the eighteenth century concept of counterculture social system based on the principle of both individual autonomy and voluntarism. It is critical to the Cartesian sources which underlying in idea of the social contract and natural law based on rationalism and voluntarism. It also negates the thesis propounded by St. Augustine, who inspired Descartes, especially in its metaphysical concepts and the role of authority. The St. Augustine's concept of self volunteer is an important part of Western faith and religion. Russia through Eastern Christianity derived from other patterns. In the East, was appreciated Gregory of Nyssa, who criticized the valorization of individual and emphasizing the importance of contemplative self. The Eastern Christian source makes the integrity of religion and knowledge as matrix for Russian philosophy⁵.

The idea of sobornost' was developed by Alexander Chomiakov. According to him, "sobornost' is a voluntary union of attitudes of church in the act of a common understanding of truth and finding a common way to salvation"⁶. Its example is *obshchina* – Russian rural community, which has taken unanimous decisions; valorized traditional justice and morals, consist on the conscience and inside truth. Ideological basis is the recognition that the Russians are able to give the community such rhythm of life, in which people can move as a whole and every individual can feel united with others, spontaneous and free. Russian and Orthodox comprehension is qualitative, because it corresponds to the meaning of Aristotle, for who *tó kath' ólon* means, that what is in common, what

³ I. Jesaułow, A. de Lazari, *Sobornost' (Community/Universality)*, in: *Ideas in Russia. The lexicon russian-polish-english*, A. de Lazari (ed.), vol. 1, Warsaw 1999, p. 369-381.

⁴ *A large bibliography consecrated to the sobornost' (Community/Universality)*, in: *Russian's ecclesiology contains*, G. Cioffari, *La sobornost' nella teologia russa*, Bari 1978, in: T. Śpidlik, *Mysł rosyjska. Inna wizja człowieka*, J. Dembska (trans.), Warsaw 2000, p. 149, footnote no. 95.

⁵ This allows to distinguish religious sources from Western civilization. West, introducing the principle of delimitation of the knowledge and belief within Catholicism, interrupts the experience of integrity. Therefore, the principle of community is limited to the religious structure. The Collective Truth is limited to religious truth. This division was strengthen in Thomas Aquinas era and was reinforced by the Reformation. Protestantism did not share the delimitation of knowledge and belief, but brought it distribution. Confirmation of the disintegration is philosophy of Descartes, which treats about the dualism of mind and body (knowable of spirit only by faith, and body only in scientific manner). The prevailing Cartesian paradigm of science was later reinforced by Newton, which laid at the basis of the construction of the western civilization. Duality of knowledge and religion, facts and values, found their confirmation in social theory. In modern times, it can be seen in the co-existence of the ideology of individualism as the basis of secular life and Christian values in the spiritual life. This duality is not acceptable in sobornost' thoughts. Based on the holistic vision, comprehensive, recognizes the interpenetration of overlapping spheres of faith and knowledge. Denying the possibility of separation of facts and values it is the social principle of "All-Unity". (W. Solovyov).

⁶ N. O. Lossky, *History of Russian Philosophy*, H. Paprocki (trans.), Kęty 2000, p. 35.

is in the individual manifestations. Sobornost' is therefore not an idea existing over the objects or before it, such as Plato understood this, but in objects, as its matrix and true. Specifically religious understanding of sobornost' means, that the Church live life based on truth. The truth here is manifested in the unity of the whole, the unity in diversity and the All-Unity (S. Bulgakov). Sobornost' is the unity of life unfettered by any legal and intellectual barriers, but obedient to the Holy Spirit, and thus enabling unity in total freedom⁷. In this way, this unity is not based on the structure of social organization, division of labour, but the common consciousness. Each member of the community has pre-individual freedom, not individual freedom of individuality, but collective. Therefore thinker opposed the principle of sobornost' to the democratic and liberal concepts developed by Protestant individualism⁸.

In Russian history can be seen the attempts of realization this idea in social practice. Bogumil Jasinowski noticed that is needed in "class consciousness of Russian Communists to recognize the continuation of already known principle as *sobornoje naczalo* and to recognize in The Third (Communist) International messianism a mission of the old idea of Moscow as the Third Rome, and finally the ideology of the Bolshevik state did not acknowledge the differences between »community« and »statehood« – seen as modern forms glorified by the Slavophiles rules of overstateness and stateless of Russian people"⁹. Arnold Toybnee believed that the Russian Orthodox Church, the Russian Slavophile and Russian Marxist are logical stages of development of the Russian spirit, which is the axiological foundation of Holy Russia¹⁰. Andrew Andrusiewicz concludes that the so-called Scientific Socialism can be considered as a new myth witch legitimacy state, and real socialism was essentially a variation of Slavophilism¹¹. Sobornost' is an important thing in shaping the idea of Russian self-awareness. Noticed rooting of the idea of sobornost' is necessary to analyze the functioning of the new institution, which refers to it in its name¹².

⁷ See A. Walicki, *W kregu konserwatywnej utopii, struktura i przemiany rosyjskiego słowianofilstwa*, Warsaw 2002, p. 158-159.

⁸ Limiting sobornost' to the instrumental ideology of power in Russia arise from reliance to Napoleon meaning of ideology as a pragmatic completion of argument, which masking the sole purpose for which is endeavor, the power. Before us still stands the problem how to explore other civilizations not subjecting them to treatment of our own specific patterns of concepts and thought.

⁹ B. Jasinowski, *Wschodnie chrześcijaństwo a Rosja*, Cracow 2002, p. 135.

¹⁰ See. A. Toybnee, *Civilization on Trial*, W. Madej (trans.), Warsaw 1991, p. 119.

¹¹ See. A. Andrusiewicz, *Mit Rosji. Studia z dziejów i filozofii rosyjskich elit*, vol. 2, Rzeszow 1994, p. 237.

¹² Institution (Lat. instituere – establish, arrange, build) – deliberately established series of measures, related material to carrying out a specific social idea. The term "institution" is used in different senses. Often pointed to four basic categories: 1) name of the institution can refer to a group of people called to arrange momentous affairs for collective life for community life. In this sense as an institution are called a group of people who performing a public function, 2) it may mean some form of organizational activities performed by some members of the group in behalf of all group 3) this term is also referred to material and equipment of work allowing the exercise of public functions; 4) as a institutions are defined also some social roles, especially important for the group. Political institutions are institutions, which corresponding to the prevailing political views (outlook to the nature, purpose and organization of political power) and serving to it realization. Institutions are closely related to the political power; their task is organization the struggle for power or securing existing duration of protection, and power relations

In accordance to the official foundation, the World Russian National Council (WRNC) is an international non-governmental organization and a forum, which goal is to draw public attention to the most pressing issues in our times. It works since 1993 and becoming an area of public debate and a meeting place for people who regardless of its political views, share one goal: to care for present and the future of Russia. At board meetings attended representatives of the government and the traditional religions higher clergies of Russia, military commanders and soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation, as well as representatives of other law enforcement agencies in Russia, leaders of civil society organizations, academics and artists, representatives of the youth¹³.

According to the Statute, the head is the Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. All meetings are held under his blessing and guidance. Since inception of WRNC on 5th of December 2008, the head of that organization was Alexei II. After his death, Kirill replaced him on 1st of February 2009. In Bureau and in the Council sits the Russian politicians and public figures, representatives of science, culture and education, military leaders, citizens of Russia and Russians living abroad. World Russian National Council on 21st of July in 2005 received a special consultative status in the United Nations¹⁴.

From 1993 to 2011 was 15 session of the Council, while from 2001 began to meet more often. Intensification can be read as a sign of increasing the role and importance of the forum in the implementation of its socio-political goals. Each meeting (for some time, not since the beginning) have a leading topic that sets the boundaries of intellectual conducted debates, speeches and seminars. Changing of the participants, topics, and also the size, shows the process of growth and reflects the importance of the political and social background, which is the source of the reflection.

First council was dedicated to the memory of Sergey Radonezensky, in it participated opposed to President of Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin's, parliamentary bloc "Russian National Unity" and the Front National Rebirth. In resolution Council called for fight and territorial integrity of Russia against threaten its separatism; were criticized the discredit of army and its traditions. Alexy II in an open letter to the Minister of Science and the Media, Mikhail Fedotov criticized the media for propaganda of violence and hatred directed against the Christian and universal human values. While working in the sections, were developed the resolutions on agriculture, health, education, language, culture, demographics, characteristics and conditions for the strengthening of the nation state.

shaped the organization of its implementation and the ability to carry out". J. Och, *Instytucja*, in: *Encyklopedia polityki*, vol. 1: *Teoria polityki*, W. Sokół, M. Żmigrodzki (eds.), Zakamycze 1999, p. 135-136.

¹³ See www.vms.ru/about/index.php?PHPSESSID=eb761fcbad73d18cb4d7f2718e02a045

¹⁴ In 35 presidium sits on: Patriarch Kirill, S. A. Avdeev (Minister of Culture), W. Gancijew (Russian Writers Alliance), W. D. Zorkin (Russian Constitutional Court), A. Karpov (former chess champion), S. Lavrov (Minister of Foreign Affairs), S. Mironov (Chairman of the Federation Council, the upper house of the Russian parliament), N. Mikhalkov (well known director), J. Osipov (President of the Russian Academy of Sciences), W. Sadowniczyj (rector of the Lomonosov University). In the 165 member Council appears i.a. J. Primakov (former Minister of Foreign Affairs), A. Dugin (International Eurasian Movement), L. Iwaszow (former head of the General Staff of the Russian Federation), as well as many representatives of the Orthodox Church from different countries. See *ibidem*.

In a statement "About the meaning of the national interests of Russia and the Russian people" was rejected the Western European model of development, which is contrary to the ethical-moral Russian model, which may lead the Russians and other peoples living in the Russian Federation to the weakening of the state. Was noticed the need of strengthen the Russian superpower, the territory of former Soviet Union as the sphere of strategic interests of Russia and its responsibility. Was advocated the geopolitical mission of Russia in the stabilization of the world, peace between civilizations and maintaining their own interests by various countries¹⁵. The first Church council showed commitment on the side of the forces fighting against the dominant occidental current; whose leader was Yeltsin.

The second council took place in February 1995. The situation in the country was stabilizing, and pro-Western politicians maintained their power. Russia survived a constitutional crisis (September–October 1993), which ended with the armed subordination of parliament to President Yeltsin. It is important, however, that at the council was his main opponent, Alexander Ruckoy, who led the MPs defending the White House in 1993¹⁶. He pointed at the growing hostility between the so-called democratic and patriotic camp and called for a national agreement, which will be the basis for Orthodoxy. In declaration emphasized the threat from NATO and dangerous trends in the UN and the OSCE, which threaten Russia's security. Attention was paid also to the aspirations of U.S. as world arbitrator play role at the expense of the sovereignty of others. The Russia's economic reforms were criticized by implementing the structural support from international financial organizations and Western powers. Also appealed for help to Russians, who are in territory of foreign countries, mostly newly created after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Postulated for reconstruction of the Church of Christ the Saviour, as a symbol of Orthodox Church¹⁷.

Another council was held 10 months later. From the third council could be seen the intensity of political speeches. There was Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Chairman of State Duma, I. Rybkin, Chairman of the Federation Council, W. F. Shumeyko, mayor of Moscow J. Luzhkov. At the Council appeared the representatives of parliamentary competing blocks. The leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation Zyuganov (who pointed out that the party has deviated from atheism in its program)¹⁸, the Liberal

¹⁵ *Obraszczeniye I Wsemirnowo Russkowo Sobora „O ponimanii nacionalnykh interesow Rossiji”*, www.vms.ru/syezd/detail.php?nid=805&binn_rubrik_pl_news=338&binn_rubrik_pl_news=439 [access: 10 VIII 2011].

¹⁶ The Patriarch of Russian Orthodox Church Alexy II took on mediation between President Yeltsin and the Supreme Council, when they blocked the building of parliament to protest against the unlawful termination of it by the president. The authority of the patriarch allowed to negotiations, which, however, ended in failure. See P. J. Sieradzan, *Czerwono-brunatni, Sojusz radykalizmu lewicy i prawicy w Rosji współczesnej*, Warsaw 2010, p. 135.

¹⁷ See www.vms.ru/syezd/detail.php?nid=807&binn_rubrik_pl_news=336&binn_rubrik_pl_news=440

¹⁸ G. Zyuganov notes a common axiological space as the basis for an agreement with the Orthodox Church: "The Communist Party of Soviet Union in the ordinary sense of the words wasn't a party. It was a kind of council, to which the various classes and groups have delegated their representatives, and usually the best representatives. This councilor structure managed the country and guiding with the traditional principle of patriotism, great power and reliability. At present is raising a qualitatively new party. It takes a lot from the past: human brotherhood, social justice and great spirituality. A. de Lazari, *Polskie i rosyjskie problemy z rosyjskością*, Łódź 2009, p. 64.

Democratic Party of Russia V. Zhirinovsky, J. Gaidar from the "Democratic Choice of Russia – United Democrats", M. I. Lapszyn from the Agrarian Party of Russia, Bieliajew from the movement "Our Home-Russia", N. Ryzhkov from block "Power-Nation", D. Rogozin from the "Congress of Russian Communities" and several others. Was also attended the well-known director N. Mikhalkov, who is a member of the presidium of the Council. Agreement of so different forces under the leadership of the Orthodox Church indicated that the situation in the country has changed. Near to the communist leader performed the author of neoliberal economic reforms, Mr Gaidar. It was pointed out that the main task is to create a strong power of the government.

The fourth council was held, in 1997, under the slogan "Health of the nation". In it attended smaller number of politicians. The government was represented by the head of the State Duma G. Sielezniow and numerous representatives associated with health care. There was also a visitor from abroad, deputy form the Supreme Council of Ukraine, I. A. Simonienko. An important element was the adoption of resolution supporting the unification of Russia and Belarus into a single state union¹⁹.

The next meeting took place in December 1999, and its theme established: "Russia on the eve of the 2000th anniversary of Christianity. Faith. Nation. Authority". In addition to speeches of Zyuganov, Luzhkov, Zhirinovsky, Chernomyrdin, appeared Minister of Foreign Affairs Igor Ivanov and Minister from Department of Interior Affairs, W. B. Rusalo. It is noteworthy the speech of representative of the liberal party "Yabloko" M. A. Property. (peals of laughter evoked at the courtroom contention that his party chief G. Jawlinskij is deeply religious Orthodox), who in the spirit of Western Europe encouraged to the separation church from the state. Also was present, the chairman of the Central Religious Administration of Russian Muslims and RF countries, Mufti Talgat Tajuddin. As a first time, the greetings were send to the Congress by president Yeltsin and then-Prime Minister Putin. The last one replaced the first one, as a head of state, at the end of the month.

An important moment was the speech of the Patriarch Alexy II, who presented the balance of 90's, describing it as Time of Troubles²⁰. He emphasized that there was a social disorganization, extreme poverty, rampant crime and corruption, the collapse of public morality. He criticized the concentration of power and wealth in the hands of a small group of people, who opted out the responsibility before God, history and people. He called for a unity of power and people in the act of overcoming these phenomena²¹. At the

¹⁹ *IV Wsiemirnyj Russkij Narodnyj Sobor, „Zdarowie Nacij”, 5-7 V 1997*, www.vms.ru/syezd/detail.php?nid=153&binn_rubrik_pl_news=332&binn_rubrik_pl_news=333 [access: 3 VIII 2011].

²⁰ The Time of Troubles is a term which came from the period of cross of Moscow statehood at the beginning of XVII century, where facing with the collapse of the state and foreign interference social and political life. Sometimes it is pointed out, that the periods of troubles is a cyclical phenomenon in the history of Russia. See: S. Mazurek, *Smuta*, in: *Idee w Rosji. Leksykon rosyjsko-polsko-angielski*, A. De Lazari (ed.), vol. 2, Łódź 1999, p. 306-308. Com. A. Skrzypek, *Druaga smuta. Zarys dziejów Rosji 1985-2004*, Warsaw 2004.

²¹ *Sobornoje Slowo V Wsemirnowo Russkowo Narodnowo Sobora*, www.vms.ru/syezd/detail.php?nid=251&binn_rubrik_pl_news=330&binn_rubrik_pl_news=330 [access: 22 VIII 2011].

Council adopted a resolution calling on the presidents of Russia and Belarus to further unite in one country, and supported the rights of Orthodox Serbs to Kosovo.

As a breakthrough, can be seen the Sixth council: "Russia: faith and civilization. The dialogue of Epochs", which took place in December 2001. At first time performed the President of Russia, and it was, the newly elected Vladimir Putin. He pointed out that RWNC is an expression of civil society and the basis for the formulation of ideals and values, which according to Russian tradition, which become the horizon for the functioning of the country. Referring to the events of 11 IX 2001 in the U.S. found that, the responsibility for the construction of a democratic system must be based on opposition to terrorism and stopping the clash of civilizations spirituality and faith. Russia is a country where different religions exist peacefully (so-called traditional: Orthodoxy, Judaism, Buddhism, Islam) maintaining the cultural differences²². In this way, increased the rank of the organization as a foundation to formulate and implement political ideas. At the meeting were attended leaders representing a wide range of ideological point of view, communist leader Zyuganov, the leader of the democrats from "Yabloko" G. Jawilinski and nationalist D. Rogozin, president of the Russian Culture Fund, N. Mikhalkov, former chief of General Staff Gen. L. Iwaszow and President of Eurasia Movement A. Dugin.

An important element of the meeting was condemning terrorism as a reaction to the events in the U.S. and attempt to formulate the idea of a dialogue of civilizations as an alternative to confrontation of Russian civilization emphasizing subsistence tendencies towards globalization, convergence, indicating the possibility of peaceful coexistence between religions (including Islam) on the example of Russia, emphasis on strengthening the role of state with the participation of the Orthodox Church. The multiplicity of represented ideologies and movements created a mosaic of diverse views on the contemporary world and the role of Russia. The uniqueness of this council was the emergence as a first time in history the social doctrine of Russian Orthodox Church²³. This fact, from the one

²² *Wystuplenie Prezidenta Rossijskoj Fiedieracji W. W. Putina na otkrytii VI Wsemirnogo Russkowo Narodnowo Sobora*, www.vrns.ru/syezd/detail.php?nid=148&binn_rubrik_pl_news=324&binn_rubrik_pl_news=327

²³ Social doctrine have about 100 pages. Among many issues notes the criticism of principle of freedom of conscience and the ability to disobey the state (the patriarchy may invite people to the mechanism of power of the people to change the laws or revising the decision of government, turn to the international institutions for a world public opinion, turn with appeal to their children for a peaceful, civil disobedience). An ambivalent relation to problem of ownership, emphasizing that the Orthodox Church "(...) does not define people's rights to property (VII, 1) and that the state of possession of a human cannot be considered as evidence that God needed it or not. Orthodox Church, emphasizes the relativity of ownership, emphasize that material goods does not give a man luck, and that the pursuit for wealth has a pernicious effect on the spiritual condition of man, and can lead to complete degradation of the personality" (VII, 2). To the ownership should be accompanied by the public use, property is for a man "a gift of God, given for the benefit to himself and his neighbor" (ibidem). Orthodox Church also recognizes many forms of property – state, social, corporate, private and intermediate at this same time. "does not give priority to any of them" (VII, 3), so in this respect is radically different from Catholic position, which always preferred private property. See. W. Mysłek, *Społeczna myśl rosyjskiego prawosławia wobec współczesności*, "Przegląd religioznawczy", 2001, no. 1 (199), p. 26-29. For a whole doctrine: *Osnovy Socjalnoj koncepcji Russkoj Prawoslawnoj Cerkwi*, www.mospat.ru/ru/documents/social-concepts/ [access: 3 VIII 2011].

hand can be considered as a will of empower the doctrines of state²⁴, on the other hand as a sign denoting the possibility of significant change in the socio-political views under the influence of the Church²⁵; can also be noted that the development of the orthodox doctrine of the Russian state allowed to participate in a geopolitical game which have a bi-directional way: opening of the West and using the liberal rhetoric in the external relations, and emphasizing the specificity of civilization in domestic politics. Using the philosophical terms, it was a kind of synthesis of Slavophile and occidental motifs.

Another meeting was held under the theme: "Faith and work: spiritual and cultural traditions and economic future of Russia". Apart from Zhirinovskiy, Zyuganov, Glazjewa, representatives of the State Duma and the ministries, it is worth noting that as first time the guest was a Chief of Rabbi of Russia, A. S. Szajewicz. Was also present the chairman of the Central Spiritual Association of Muslims of Russia, T. Tadżuddin. The proceedings took place around the construction of spiritual values as the basis for forming the corresponding economic development opportunities and threats arising from economic globalization. Metropolitan Kirill warned that the current atmosphere in the country is similar to that, which preceded the riots and revolutionary turmoil. Without changes to the current system – in his opinion – it is not possible to develop a fair and efficient economy.

In 2004, the main topic of RWNC was "Russia and the Orthodox world". Among all of guests should be distinguished the lecture of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Igor Ivanov, who emphasized that for the first time in nearly 200 years of history, the Foreign Ministry has been blessed by the Patriarch. He pointed out the opportunities and threats for the Orthodox civilization against the process of globalization. He considered, that the proper definition of national interests and geopolitical position is possible only by taking into account the cultural and spiritual traditions. He emphasized the value of cooperation of Russian diplomacy and the Orthodox Church abroad: in the territory of both Americas, Balkans and the Holy Land. He referred to the concept of the Orthodox World (rus. *mir*) in the development of relations with Greece, Romania and Bulgaria, and the importance

²⁴ M. Lawreszuk recognizes that pro state activities referring to promotion of values of Russian people is contrary to the social doctrine of the Orthodox Church and the and assumptions at all. See. M. Ławreszuk, *Pravosławie wobec tendencji nacjonalistycznych i etnofiletystycznych (studium teologiczno-kanoniczne)*, Warsaw, p. 249.

²⁵ To the economy Orthodox Church refers with fear, because "people who are at the forefront of international economic and financial organizations possess enormous power, which is not controlled either by the nations or by the government and does not recognize any ethnic or cultural boundaries, and the necessity of economic and demographic stability (XVI, 3). However in the cultural contrast attempts to establish authority of the rich elite over the rest of people and some cultures over others leads (...) to provide the only possible universally heartless worship, based on the fundamental principle of freedom of fallen man, which in any way is not limited, it is a measure of the absolute value of all the rights and truth" (XVI, 3). Although Orthodox Church consequently acknowledges, that processes of globalization are natural and inevitable, but at the same time warns about its dangers". At first, these include that "globalization together with the change of the traditional ways of manufacturing processes began to change traditional ways of organizing society and government. Second, many of the positive effects of globalization are felt only in countries with minority of humanity, but possessing similar economic and political systems. Other nations, into which is include about five-sixths of the population is our planet, turns out to be thrown out from the bracket of world civilization" (XVI, 3). W. Mysłek, *Spoleczna myśl...*, op. cit., p. 34.

of Kosovo for Orthodox Serbs. He also considered religious factor as serving to close between nations, but not as a confrontation²⁶.

The ninth council was dedicated to the merits of the Soviet people in the struggle against fascism. Its main theme was "Cooperation of nations. The unity of the people as the basis for the victory of war against fascisms and terrorism". In his inaugural speech, Patriarch Alexy II spoke about "misrepresenting, belittle or ignoring the heroic attitude of the Soviet people" and of "placing on the same level aggressors and those who fought with them". The guest of Council was Minister of Foreign Affairs Lavrov, who objected to attempts to falsify history of Second World War. One of the panels, "Orthodox. The Army, the Nation" was held at the Academy of the General Staff of the Russian armed forces.

Jubilee, the tenth council in 2006, was held with the theme: "Faith. Person. Earth. Mission of Russia in the twenty-first century". Visible is, therefore, an indication to missionary of Russia and so appealing to the idea of Moscow – the Third Rome. According to the participants this mission is to provide a variety of models corresponding to the diversity of social life of the world civilization. It was stressed that the idea of human rights and democracy must correspond to the traditions and values of different civilizations, such as faith, morality and homeland²⁷. Was questioned using the rhetoric of human rights and democracy as particularize raised to the rank of universalism of some Western countries.

The next meeting in March 2007 was dedicated to the problem of "Wealth and Poverty: historical challenges of Russia". It gathered 1700 people. At the discussions emphasized that wealth should serve to the public. In the frames of section "Orthodox – the core of the community of nations in Russia and Eastern Slavs", debated on ways to strengthen the Orthodox (Slavic) civilization. Emphasized the importance of organized youth four year camps for students from Slavic countries – "Slavic friendship". As part of these meetings, in June 2008, was held a forum in Sochi "1020-anniversary of Baptism of Russia: the foundation of the unity of the Slavic peoples". The Prime Minister of Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich, addressed his manifesto to the participants, where he called for strengthening the fraternal between Ukrainian and Russian nations. In deliberations participated the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Nikolai Azarov, who pointed out the flaws of economic indicators in determining the social development. In 2003-2004, Ukraine had the highest GDP growth in Europe (12.3% of GDP), but it did not translated to way out from poverty.

Twelve council gathered 5,000 participants. It was a council consecrated to children and young people under the slogan "Future generations – Russia's national wealth". Were discussed the issues of youth education, social problems and values as guideposts for the younger generation²⁸. An important emphasis was condemnation of the political

²⁶ See www.vms.ru/syezd/detail.php?nid=132&binn_rubrik_pl_news=318&binn_rubrik_pl_news=318

²⁷ See www.vms.ru/syezd/detail.php?nid=780&binn_rubrik_pl_news=306&binn_rubrik_pl_news=306

²⁸ The controversy aroused about advertising from magazine „Gold” distributed among the congress materials.

disintegration of Serbia by separation it from Kosovo and Metohija. Reproach using the double standards to countries, which supported the separation and noticed the impotence of the United Nations and stressed that acceptance of the new state as a turning point in international relations. The problems of young people were debated at the next council: "Ecology of the soul and youth. Moral and spiritual reasons and ways of resolve them" in 2009²⁹. It is worth noting, that greeting were send by newly elected President Medvedev, who pointed out, that his business is to strengthen civil society in Russia. In a similar vein was held a council in 2010: "National Education: the creation of whole man and responsible society". In its deliberations took part Svetlana Medvedev, wife of the President of Russia, who was a chairman of the program: "The spiritual and moral culture of the young generation in Russia"³⁰.

An important elements about the vision of functioning of society and the state, were formulated, at 15th Council in 2011: "Values-key basis for the unity of the nations". As a fundamental value was recognized a patriotism, to which was devoted a single session. The value of patriotism was emphasized by the Prime Minister Putin³¹.

At the meeting was also a session devoted to Eastern European civilization and its specifics. Very important was reconstruction of the conservative values as base for Russia's national development: nation, home, family and the military. Was stressed the need to consider them from the perspective of the recognition factor of spiritual domination over the material, which is characteristic for the East Slavic civilization. Simultaneously it must be distinguished from the similar values presented by the conservatives of Western civilization. It is worth noting that apart from the greetings from President, Prime Minister and a number of ministers for the first time they were sent by the President of Belarus, A. Lukashenko, who define himself as an Orthodox atheist. This term can be a good metaphor for all activities of RWNC. World Russian National Council is an example of official cooperation between the state and the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). In the meaning of the Russian the *sobornost'* means unity of consciousness, i.e. diversity of the community to releasing its vision, but rejecting it ontological resist. At the meeting were attend the representatives of various political forces, from the party "United Russia" with the social-conservative orientation³², the Communist Party of the Russian Federation,

²⁹ In it frames debated III Orthodox Forum of Students „Faith and action”.

³⁰ First Lady of Russia engaged in campaigns which goal is to improve the demographic situation. She chaired the foundation which organizing action "Give me life" directed against the practice of abortion. Svetlana Medvedev thinks that this issue should be analyzed and solved systematically, taking into account the whole situation of family. Religious values can be the foundation of everyone's life therefore she supports introduction a religious education to schools. In her opinion, personal faith reminds man a responsibility towards others and creates goodness and love.

³¹ See www.premier.gov.ru/events/news/15277/ [access: 5 IX 2011].

³² „United Russia" positions itself as a conservative party, acting in defense of the principles of traditional European social democracy, which sometimes reminiscent the Christian idea of democracy. It opting for a market economy, regulated by the state, and in the sphere of foreign policy for Russia treated as a separate center of the modern world and one of the poles in a multipolar system.

the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, the liberal "Yabloko" and monarchist organizations to representatives of neo- Eurasianism. Among the so-called representatives of traditional religions took part the Orthodox, Jews and Muslims. In the sphere of foreign policy, as participants were representatives from Ukraine, Belarus, and Orthodox Church from abroad. This is consistent with the religious dimension of the area, but not with the political activity of the state.

Orthodox Church supported the politicians who opposed to occidentalism dominated the politics of Russia in Yeltsin era. Despite the wide range of views presented, the leading topics and speeches were focused towards political issues relevant to internal and external policies of the state, so for example, support for the fight against terrorism, the condemnation of Kosovo's secession from Serbia, strengthening the army, emphasizing state sovereignty against the pressure of globalization, pointing to canonical territory as a vital zone of influence of Russia, which coincides with the so-called neighbors, indicated by the state³³.

The importance of RWNC was increased with the beginning of the presidency of Vladimir Putin³⁴, who was the guest of congress after he took administrative function. According to him, Moscow Patriarchate should perform a number of functions compatible with interests of the Russian state: social function, upbringing and educational, constructive dialogue with other religions, traditional and maintain ties with Russian Diaspora with their homeland³⁵. That is, Putin has played a major role in the dialogue with the Vatican and the ROC and process of restoration of canonical unity between the ROC and ROC outside the borders on 17th of May 2007. The successor Yeltsin said that the unity of the Orthodox Church revival is the basis of the unity of the "Russian mir" (the world of Russian culture) what allows to strengthen the agreement between religions and citizens³⁶.

Elected as president, in 2008, Dmitry Medvedev, also recognizes that Orthodoxy is the core of Russian culture. Shaped at the basis of the synthesis of Eastern and Western elements (Christianity and Islam) can play a leading role in Russia for the dialogue of civilizations³⁷. Active participation of ministers, referring to the Orthodox civilization,

³³ It is the area of the former Soviet countries except the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia). See. A. Bryc, *Cele polityki zagranicznej Federacji Rosyjskiej*, Torun 2004, p. 42-65.

³³ It is the area of the former Soviet states with the exception of the Baltic states (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia). See. *ibidem*, p. 42-65.

³⁴ His biography is placed as an example of the Orthodox metanoia (divinization). Brought up in an atheistic ideas, was baptized without the knowledge of their parents by his grandmother. After one of the visits to Jerusalem, Putin began to wear a cross purchased in Holy Land. Putin has a "spiritual guide", which is archimandrite Tikhon (Szewkunowa) from Seretensky monastery in Moscow. Twice after being sworn in as president, Putin took part in the solemn masses, but unlike its predecessor he did not accept public patriarchal blessing. After: A. Curanovic, *Czynnik religijny w polityce zagranicznej Federacji Rosyjskiej*, Warsaw 2010, p. 132.

³⁵ See www.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2006/09/110561.shtml [access: 8 VII 2011].

³⁶ See www.religare.ru/2_55700_1_21.html [access: 20 VIII 2011]. 17th May 2007, URL: www.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2007/05/129226_sr-l, [access: 8 VIII 2011].

³⁷ *Wystupienie w chramie Christa Spasiciela w swjazji z naczalom prazdnowania 1020 letija kreszczenia Rusi*, www.kremlin.ru/text/appears/2008/06/203259.shtml [access: 15 VIII 2011].

especially of Foreign Affairs Sergey Lavrov and Defense Minister Igor Ivanov at many meetings shows growing, so-called, symphony of power between the state and the Russian Orthodox Church³⁸.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia was a shining light reflected from the western centers of globalization. One flare was also turning to the religion. In Western civilization it manifested in recourse to the Judeo-Christian values and the activation of fundamentalism among American Protestant churches. It characterizing the crisis of the Enlightenment ideas but also can legitimize political action, which those did not accept³⁹. The specific understanding of the values makes that the Orthodox religion begin to function differently from Western trends⁴⁰. Sobornost' don't means Christian imperialism⁴¹, while sometimes it is instrumentalised to justify the axiological reconstruction of superpower⁴². This phenomenon can be seen in the promotion of the so-called "Russian Doctrine" supported by the Church, which became the subject of the meeting of RWNC in 2005 and 2007 and at the youth council in 2008⁴³.

³⁸ Other example of RWNC influences on state is a positive reaction on demands expressed in publications of "Orthodox Entrepreneurs Found" members concerned the elongation of presidency form four to six years, parliament from four to five and assign special secure rights for Russian diaspora.

³⁹ See. G. Corm, *Religia i polityka w XXI wieku*, Warsaw 2007, p. 37.

⁴⁰ A. Karpiński points out the problem of instrumentalisation of religion in the context of globalization: "money – the thing – works reasonably only with the transcendent, religious complement, what creating a seemingly utopian reality of financial capital. Meanwhile, the communist – the Enlightenment utopias, as a secular recognize, that complement is unnecessary, it does not need to entitles the unity in generalizing social existence. This explains the ongoing religious renaissance of contemporary societies. The winning financial capital needs a religious generalization. Hence, together with its development becoming increasingly important the religious signs which complete its existing hegemony. This function of religion as a good complement of capitalism reveals the words of Bishop H. Camary – Archbishop of Recife and Olinda from Brazil: "When I give the poor bread, they call me a saint. When I ask why the poor have no bread, they call me a communist". The church may, at most, take up philanthropic activities. It cannot organize the faithful to act against the private property. Therefore, in the Catholic Church were condemned the theologies: of revolution and liberation. See. A. Karpiński, *Prywatna własność środków produkcji. Od ojcobójstwa do syna marnotrawnego*, Gdańsk 2010, p. 46-47. The specificity of Russia's civilization is a result i.a. limited experience of the Enlightenment. Orthodox Church cooperating with the state upholds this specify. In the social doctrine advocate for equality of state ownership, cooperative and private and criticize globalization as only recognized the final form.

⁴¹ Com. M. Ławreszuk, M. Ławreszuk, *Prawosławie wobec tendencji nacjonalistycznych i etnofiletycznych (studium teologiczno-kanoniczne)*, op. cit., p. 152.

⁴² It seems that the interregnum situation (Zygmunt Bauman) in international relations associated with dusk of unipolar order causes difficulties in the classification of modern political entities. This applies to Russia, European Union and PRC. See. *Rosja między imperium a mocarstwem nowoczesnym*, Toruń 2010; S. Bieler, *Postimperializm – neoimperializm – transimperializm: próba oceny rosyjskiej polityki zagranicznej*, in: *Rosja – refleksje o transformacji*, S. Bieler, A. Skrzypek (eds.), Warsaw 2010, p. 235-266.

⁴³ Due to support given by RWNC to "Russian doctrine" it is worth to bring its main objectives. Its substructure is so-called dynamic conservatism and nationalism rejecting the Western liberal conservatism. It allows to formulate a "Russian global project", that is a vision of the world corresponds to Russia's vision of the world as capable to competing with 5-6 other centers of civilization projects in the world after the collapse of the Anglo-Saxon as a universal. Russia's mission is to be the acquisition of a balance between the different geo-political poles, rather than be the center of the world. The project emphasizes the continuity of Russian statehood from 1480 years

Therefore function of RWNC is to create a social space in which are formulated ideas aimed to strengthen the Russia as a distinct civilization (named as a: Russian, Orthodox or East Slavic civilization). It clearly corresponds with preaching ideas of the Russian state governance and promotion of multipolar competition of different models of implementing human values by different civilizations. RWNC write down itself as a part of so-called Medvedev doctrine, which is the main principle of Russian foreign policy. Its includes enhancing role of the Russian Federation as a great power leading global policy based on its own national interests. Among the foreign policy priorities were to ensure the security and sovereignty of the state, the modernization based on a market economy and democracy, striving to build justice democratic international order of the primacy of international law and the United Nations, the development of good neighborly relations, defending the rights and interests of Russian citizens abroad, the development of Russia as a democratic state with socially oriented market economy leading sovereign foreign policy, as well as the popularization of the Russian language and culture of the peoples of the Russian Federation as a unique partnership potential of serving ideas of civilization⁴⁴.

as a sovereign. Therefore, it refers to the idea of Moscow as a Third Rome, as the basis of the primacy of the ideals and spirituality in shaping the empire as opposed to pragmatism and maximize financial gain. The only institution that has kept these ideals is the Orthodox Church, therefore, under its spiritual leadership must happen the Counter-Reformation and leaving the universal values of the Enlightenment as devoid of content. As a result should be replacing the confessional state by secular one (like Israel, Jordan, Mauritania). Russia have to develop a new way of thinking through reorientation from the West to the East. The quintessence of it is constituting a synthesis of Orthodox-Confucian economics, officer – samurai honor and valor, Christian-Islamic eschatology Russian – Indian humanitarian awareness. It is necessary to reinterpret the idea of democracy. Reject its quasi-religious character as a political ritual and return to the understanding it as a decision-making procedure. It also necessary to give the political system its axiological where a priorities will be the spiritual sovereignty (super power, built through self-discipline individuals) and social right (meaning the responsibility of each individual and class for the whole of society, but not the social democratic ideal of fighting workers with employers for its material conditions). These values have to realize in the political system combining features of democracy (system boards, plebiscite, institutes of defenders of the nation, Earth Council), aristocracy (senate, corporate and estate councils, authorities designing laws and regulations, network leaders of smisloration) and monarchy (head of state). In the international sphere, "Russian doctrine" refers to the need to oppose the mission of the United States, which trying to dominate the world, based on the so-called American values. To do this, is necessary to build a geopolitical bloc China (PRC)-India-Iran-Russia, which corresponds to the common values of these civilizations. Russia's mission is to promotion the new forms and content of globalization and integration. Present Russian's government, as a bureaucracy messianism, need to be replaced by Russian's Imperialism. It is also necessary to move away from neo-liberalism, post industrial society and from economy based on raw materials to economic of development and rational protectionism. Specnaz of history, will be a new elite responsible for future changes. It will be emerged from the old elite and the business oriented, not at bounds to repatriate the capital abroad, but at internal development. The strategic objective is to create a multi-vector globalization based in a different directory as a base for universal values for civilization of justice. These values are: human health, ability to work and longevity, the ability and the desire to have children and the opportunity to continue the family, related to the level of natural reproduction of the population, the joy of life, satisfaction with living conditions and situation in the country determined by polls of public opinion, the level of pathologies occurred in society: murder, theft, divorce, abandoned children and awareness of the dignity and honor, both personal and national, satisfaction with the position of its nation and culture, including believers and faith, awareness justice in society and the world. See www.rusdoctrina.ru/page95509.html [access: 30 VIII 2011].

⁴⁴ See www.kremlin.ru/acts/785 [access: 12 XII 2011].

ROC promotes ideas that allows to develop a policy of "Russkiy mir" (Russian world) constitutes a new soft power. It shows the Russian as an alternative to U.S., Chinese and Islamic values. Orthodox hierarchs indicate that Orthodox civilization has the right to participate in the shaping of Europe, but as an alternative model to protestant civilization, which is the driving force behind contemporary globalization and dominates the European Union⁴⁵. The concept corresponds to two trends which began in the era of Putin's power: the positive connections of Russia's elements from the past and emphasizing its cultural and civilization specificities. *Russkiy mir* is not restricted or unrestricted in time or in space. This allows to "join" to its ethnic Russians and other peoples of Russia and the Russian-speaking population, including citizens from the former Soviet Union. During 2007 presidential decree was created *Russkij Mir* Foundation where was specified that *russkiy mir* is not only ethnic Russians (*Russkie*), Russians (Russian citizens), or even fellow countrymen (*sootécestvenniki*) in countries of far and near abroad, migrants and refugees from Russia, but also foreigners who speak Russian or learn the language, all who sincerely interested in Russia and its future. *Russkiy Mir* is thus a broader concept than *rossijsky mir*. Its core should be ethnic Russians and other nations, which will be in orbit of influence of their culture and statehood. The base for the Russian world are: Russian language and Russian or Soviet culture, historical memory; ties with Russia, in terms of loyalty and commitment, interest in the homeland based on the principle of "do not ask, what Russia can do for you, but what you can do for Russia". The concept of *russki mir* have to serve to avoid politicization of "Russian problem" in Russian Federation countries and help to put in one category the descendants of immigrants from the nineteenth century and after the revolution, and present emigrants to Western Europe, North America and Israel. It also has a favor to develop a sustainable relations of "inside" Russia, which including Russians and other peoples from Russia and the other Russian "outside" nations, including Russians and Russian-speaking population outside Russia⁴⁶. The concept of "Russkij mir" is the space where are combined activities of foreign policy and so-called, confessional diplomacy implemented by the Russian Orthodox Church.

⁴⁵ See H. Kowalska-Stus, *Miejsce prawosławia w transformacji ustrojowej, kulturowej i światopoglądowej współczesnej Rosji*, in: *Rosja. Między imperium a mocarstwem nowoczesnym*, Torun 2010, p. 289-293.

⁴⁶ A. Wierzbicki, *Rosja. Etniczność i polityka*, vol. 5, Warsaw 2011, p. 219-232.