

# **RUSSIA'S FOREIGN POLICY OF TRADITIONAL VALUES: THE INFLUENCE OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH IN SHAPING RUSSIA'S POLICIES ABROAD**

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# WHO „GUARDS“ WHO – WHAT – WHERE?

- Curanovic & Leustean „The Guardians of Traditional Values“ – the ROC as foreign policy instrument of the Russian government.
  - Traditional values: substantive definition „about religion, family and gender“ (Inglehart/Baker)
  - Quest for status in international politics
- My approach: „The ROC as moral norm entrepreneur“ – independent agency of / multivocality inside the ROC
  - Traditional values: a reaction to the egalitarian liberal expansion of human rights
  - Quest for status (a) in Christian (Russian) world OR (b) in international politics

# BRIEFLY: HISTORY

USSR: ROC as instrument of Soviet foreign policy

1943 Stalin: war effort

1950s-80s: Christian Peace Conference, World Council of Churches

KGB involvement of leading ROC officials



# NORM ENTREPRENEURSHIP

- Norms “do not appear out of thin air; they are actively built by agents having strong notions about appropriate or desirable behaviour in their community” (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 286).
- constructivist theory in IR. “rational choice” inasmuch as, once actors have made their choices, the strategies they use to pursue their goals are rational and “sophisticated in their means-ends calculations” (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 910).
- Norm entrepreneurs “create” norms by calling attention to issues that hitherto have not been “named, interpreted, and dramatized” (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998, 910) as norms.
- Progressive: the creation of the International Red Cross
- The ROC’s promotion of traditional values is conservative, not progressive, but the mechanism of norm entrepreneurship applies

# WHAT ARE TRADITIONAL VALUES?

- Constructivist approach
- „Traditional values“
  - must be understood in the context of the *international human rights regime*;
  - are a *reactive* category;
  - make a genealogical argument: the „discovery of article 29“
- “I am convinced that the concern for spiritual needs, based moreover on traditional morality, ought to return to the public realm. The upholding of moral standards must become a social cause. It is the mechanism of human rights that can actively enable this return. I am speaking of a return, for the norm of according human rights with traditional morality can be found in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948.”  
(Metropolitan Kirill 2006)

# CASE STUDIES

- UNHRC
  - Promoting human rights through traditional values
  - Protection of the Family
- European Court of Human Rights
  - Lautsi v. Italy
  - Eweida et al. v. UK
- Council of Europe
  - Yuvenal'naya yustitsia
- Transnational NGOs
  - World Congress of Families

# UNHRC

- **Promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms through a better understanding of traditional values of humankind (2009-2012)**
  - „It is about time that the ideological monopoly in the sphere of human rights is over.“ (representative of ROC)
  - “this position of the Russian Foreign Ministry has been developed in dialogue with the Russian Orthodox Church and other traditional Russian religions” (ROC press statement).
- **Protection of the Family: contribution of the family to the realization of the right to an adequate standard of living for its members, particularly through its role in poverty eradication and achieving sustainable development (since 2015)**

# TRANSNATIONAL NGOS

- World Congress of Families
  - Founded in 1997 BUT first congress only in Russia 2014
  - Tbilissi 2016
  - WCF „Uniting leaders worldwide in defense of family, faith and freedom“
- 2014 – Malofeev-Dugin-Komov leaks:
- „Evangelicalization“ of ROC family policy
- UN lobbying handbook

## Words which could be interpreted to include abortion:

- “reproductive health services”
- “sexual and reproductive health rights”
- “primary health care” (see Cairo +5, 57-d which states: “*in the context of primary health care, ensuring the availability of and access to reproductive health services*”)



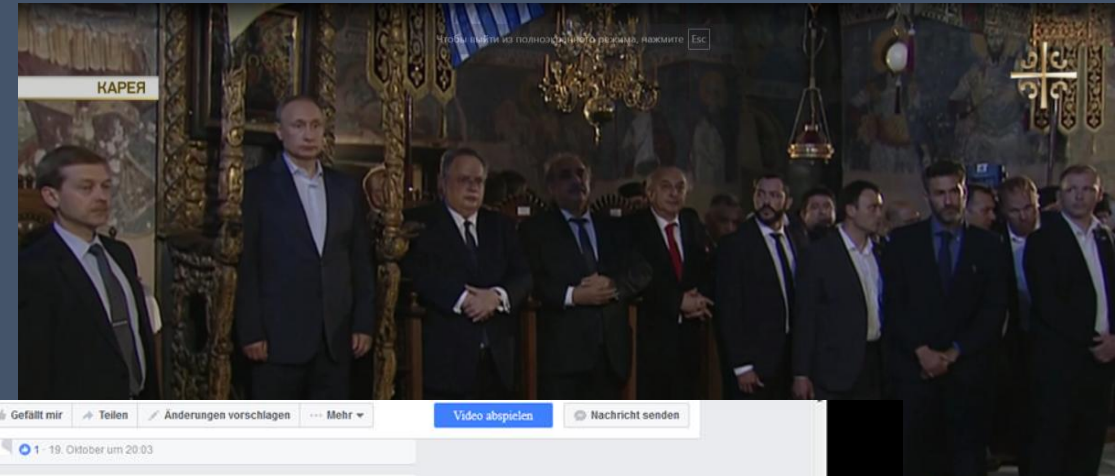
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- The ROC as moral norm entrepreneur“
  - Independent agency of / multivocality inside the ROC
  - Traditional values – „made“, a reaction to the egalitarian liberal expansion of human rights
  - Quest for status
    - ROC: in Christian (Russian) world
    - Russian government: in international politics

# CRACKS IN THE STATE-ROC ALLIANCE

Putin's visit to Mt. Athos v. ROC  
defecting Pan-Orthodox Council

World Christian Religious Freedom  
Summit v. ROC's right wing



**Franklin Graham** @FranklinGraham

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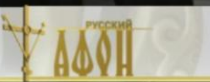

Earlier this year I announced that the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association would hold the World Summit in Defense of Persecuted Christians—the first event of its kind in Moscow.

We were looking forward to this significant event being held in Russia because no one knows modern Christian persecution better than the church that suffered under communist rule. However, just a few weeks ago Russia passed a law that severely limits Christians' freedoms.

It seems that every week we learn of another example from a part of the globe that shows how critically we need to have this World Summit in Defense of Persecuted Christians, which will now take place May 10-13, 2017 in Washington, D.C.

Hundreds of Christian leaders, advocates, and persecution victims from all around the world will come together to address the atrocities being done to those who profess the Name of Jesus Christ.

As our team continues to prepare for this historic event, please join me in praying for our brothers and sisters in the Lord who are being persecuted for their faith. Share your prayer and encouragement for them in the comments below.



# FURTHER READING

- Stoeckl, Kristina. 2016. The Russian Orthodox Church as moral norm entrepreneur. *Religion, State and Society* 44/2, 132-151.
- Curanović, Alicija, and Lucian N. Leustean. 2015. "The Guardians of Traditional Values. Russian and the Russian Orthodox Church in the quest for Status." *Transatlantic Academy Paper Series* no. 1.