PROTESTANT MISSIONARIES IN THE FORMER
SOVIET UNION

Mark Elliott and Anita Deynkea

I. A MODERN MISSION CRUSADE

Because Russian Orthodoxy was the established faith of
tsarist Russia, it was for centuries a violation of law for a
person baptized into the Orthodox faith to convert to Pro-
estantism. This changed after the Edict of Toleration of
1905; still, for all but the last few years of imperial Russia,
traditional Protestant evangelistic outreach and foreign
missionaries were almost always legally proscribed. Never-
theless, Evangelicals grew to number several hundred
thousand by 1917. This was primarily because of the
translation of the Bible into the Russian vernacular, pietis-
tic movements in Russia's German colonies which spread
among neighboring Slavic peasants, and the emergence of
an Evangelical community among St. Petersburg aristoc-
crats that quickly spread to other classes and other regions
of the country.

Although the efforts of a few Evangelical missionaries,
such as, for example, Dr. Frederick Badecker and Lord
Granville Radstock, promoted the growth of Protestantism
in the nineteenth century, comparatively few foreign Evan-
gelical missionaries engaged in ministries to Russia until
the late 1980s. In 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution set Rus-
sia on a course of official atheism that quickly led to a ban
on foreign missionaries and, by the late 1930s, so repressed

---

1 The present study is based on an unpublished paper by Anita Deynkea, Evangelical Foreign Missionaries in Russia, and an expanded and revised version of Mark Elliott, East European Missions, Perestroika, and Orthodox-Evangelical Tensions, 33 J. ECUMEN. STUD. 9 (1996), including updated statistics and demographic data, expanded discussion of cooperative and independent-minded ministries, and extensive rethinking of the relationship between missions from abroad and indigenous Protes-
tants and Orthodox. The authors wish thank John M. Ferguson, Janine V. McFall,
Woodruff A. Polk, Jeri Nazary Sute, and Gordon S. Young of the Emory University
School of Law for their editorial assistance.
Soviet citizens of all religious convictions that all faiths were on the verge of institutional extinction.

However, even during the most severe periods of religious persecution, foreign Protestants attempted to support their co-believers behind the Iron Curtain, entering the USSR clandestinely with Christian literature and providing other assistance from the outside, such as short-wave Christian broadcasting. These foreign missionaries were revered by Soviet believers for this assistance. At the same time they were reviled by the Soviet government.

By 1989, with the presidency of Mikhail Gorbachev and his policies of perestroika (restructuring) and glasnost (openness), Protestant missionaries began to enter the Soviet Union openly. In October 1990, a new law on religion not only provided unprecedented freedom for Soviet religious believers but also opened the doors of the USSR to foreign missionaries. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 swung open the doors to Russia even wider.

The change was startling. Some Western Protestants, unable to obtain visas under communism, now found themselves invited to meet with political leaders. For example, in November 1991, nineteen American Evangelical leaders met with Mikhail Gorbachev, then president of the USSR, and also with General Nikolai Stolyarov, an air force general and KGB vice chairman, who told them that “political questions cannot be decided until there is sincere repentance, a return to faith by the people... I have been a member of the Party for twenty years. In our study of scientific atheism, we were taught that religion divides people. Now we see the opposite: love for God can only unite.”

Warmly welcomed by Soviet citizens from all strata of society, the trickle of Protestant missionaries that had entered the USSR before the late 1980s soon swelled to a stream, with evangelists arriving from the United States,

---

Canada, Korea, Germany, Sweden, Finland, and other countries. Already by 1993, anti-Westernism was on the rise in Russia, and the tide of national sentiment had started to turn against Western missionaries. In September 1997, the Russian Duma passed national legislation restricting religious liberty and foreign missionaries. Increased provincial legislation and administrative practice already had been curbing “non-traditional” faiths for several years and contributed to the air of urgency to both foreign and indigenous Evangelical efforts.

The political upheaval that spelled an end to communist rule in East Central Europe, and which led to the dismantling of the Soviet Union itself, has also transformed the region’s churches and East European ministry. Regarding Protestant missionary activity in post-Soviet lands, the seismic changes of this past decade have contributed to a number of major developments, including mission restructuring, mission expansion, unprecedented cooperative efforts alongside an unprecedented proliferation of mission mavericks, and mission specialization.

A. Restructuring

Gorbachev’s stress in the late 1980s upon glasnost and perestroika triggered a major restructuring in East European ministry as well. Proceeding as usual made less and less sense for Evangelical agencies as the Soviet Union relaxed religious discrimination and restrictions on foreign contacts. Debates became intense in a number of ministries regarding the extent of operations and the number of personnel which should remain abroad and the extent to which personnel should relocate within the country. Also, with the demise of communist governments, missions that
stressed anti-communism had difficulty adjusting to the new politics and suffered financial downturns.³

B. Expansion

The unanticipated removal of political barriers in East Central Europe and the Soviet Union in the latter half of the 1980s led to a sharp increase in the number of foreign ministries working in the region: from 150 in 1982, to 311 in 1989, to 691 in 1993, to nearly 1,000 in 1997. Some 561 groups were active in the former Soviet Union in 1997.⁴ Quickest to take advantage of new opportunities were parachurch ministries (more flexible than church bureaucracies), ministries headed by Slavic immigrants from the region (whose leaders understood the region’s languages and cultures firsthand), and ministries with worldwide programs (which could rapidly redeploy substantial resources and personnel to former Soviet Bloc states).

While no precise statistics exist for the current size of the foreign missionary force in post-Soviet territories in 1997, informed estimates are available. In 1993, British author Patrick Johnstone published an admittedly conservative estimate of 1,113 foreign missionaries in the former Soviet Union and 864 in East Central Europe, for a total of 1,977.⁵

⁵ Since 1993, the Institute for East-West Christian Studies has identified some 296 Western agencies not included among the 691 groups listed in Linzey’s Directory, thus giving a total of 997 for 1997. The figure of 561 ministries from abroad working in the former Soviet Union is based on the following: 377 of the 691 groups in the 1993 Directory work there, plus 148 (approximately half of the 296 groups identified since 1993), plus 36 South Korean groups (9 church and 27 parachurch).
⁵ Patrick Johnstone, Operation World 646-47 (1993). For a statistical table by country based on Operation World, see Non-Indigenous Protestant Missionar-
In 1995, survey work conducted by the *East-West Church and Ministry Report* determined that the twenty-five largest sending agencies, by themselves, had 3,190 nonindigenous missionaries in the former Soviet Union. Among the hundreds of smaller ministries, several hundred, engaged in such support services as publishing, broadcasting, and relief work, have either no missionaries or no career missionaries stationed in the country. At the same time, hundreds of other smaller agencies appeared to be sponsoring an average of four missionaries each in the mid-1990s. Given these considerations, a total Western missionary community in the former Soviet Union of approximately 4,390 would appear plausible for 1995. In late 1996, an *East-West Church and Ministry Report* survey indicated a thirty-one percent one-year increase in the number of Western denominational missionaries in the former Soviet Union, as opposed to parachurch groups. Since it appears that denominational momentum was just reaching a crescendo in 1996-1997, in comparison with parachurch groups which mobilized more quickly and may have peaked earlier, a more likely overall estimate for a 1995-96 increase in the Western missionary force in the former Soviet Union might be fifteen percent, which would yield a total of 5,049. Adding 557 South Korean missionaries gives a total foreign missionary force of 5,606 in the former Soviet Union in 1997. Finally, if the career-to-short-term ratio of 35/65,
which was the case for the twenty-five largest sending agencies, can be applied to all groups, then approximately 1,962 career missionaries from abroad served in the former Soviet Union in 1997. On one hand, this represents a striking increase over the handful of undeclared missionaries in the Soviet Union in 1986. On the other hand, given its population of approximately 287 million people, the former Soviet Union does not command a disproportionate share of the worldwide Protestant missionary effort.\footnote{Union. The source for the number of Korean missionaries is an e-mail from David Lee of the GM Torch Center sent to Sharyl Corrado on December 3, 1996. If the fifteen republics of the former Soviet Union still constituted one nation, the 5,605 Protestant missionaries working there in 1997 would constitute the largest Protestant mission contingent in a single nation worldwide. (No up-to-date breakdown by republic is available.) On the other hand, given a population of approximately 287 million, the Protestant missionary presence in the former Soviet Union in 1997, per capita, was less than that in the five countries with the largest Protestant missionary contingents:

- Brazil (3,397 in a population of 146,200,000);
- Japan (3,015 in a population of 124,760,000);
- Philippines (2,958 in a population of 65,650,000);
- Kenya (2,322 in a population of 29,300,000); and
- Papua New Guinea (2,278 in a population of 3,850,000).

\cite{JOHNSTONE} note 5, at 644-49; \textit{Statesman's Yearbook}, (Brian Hunter ed., MacMillan 132d ed., 1996). (Both the \textit{East-West Church and Ministry Report} survey and Johnstone's statistics used in the above comparison include short-term missionaries. However, the figures are not completely comparable because the total for the former Soviet Union includes short-termers serving 3 to 24 months, whereas Johnstone includes short-termers serving 12 months or more.)}
(Lutherans in the Baltics, Methodists in Estonia, Hungarian Reformed in Western Ukraine), by 1997 the former Soviet Union counted thirty-five Protestant denominations.\textsuperscript{12}

The past decade has also witnessed an explosion of independent grassroots mission enterprises, distinct from existing church structures. Hundreds of such indigenous initiatives now engage in evangelism; Christian publishing and distribution; compassion ministries in hospitals, orphanages, prisons, and soup kitchens; and professional associations for Christian lawyers, doctors, artists, and entrepreneurs.\textsuperscript{13} Three such groups founded in 1988-89, \textit{Svet Evangeliiia} (Light of the Gospel) in Rovno, Latvian Christian Mission in Riga, and \textit{Vozmozhnost} (Possibility) Mission in Donetsk, alone support 540 full and part-time workers.\textsuperscript{14}

Indigenous ministries and Western agencies such as Campus Crusade, Navigators, InterVarsity, and CoMission are spawning Bible studies and new autonomous congregations that frequently have no affiliation with the formerly all-encompassing Union of Evangelical Christians-Baptists. These newly forming churches appeal especially to new converts who, on one hand, distrust many Orthodox hierarchs and priests who collaborated with the old regime, and yet, on the other hand, find it difficult to conform to Baptist and Pentecostal legalism and cultural isolation. Ultimately, distinct new Protestant denominations are likely to emerge from these parachurch efforts as has happened in the past with such ministry-sponsored churches as Nigeria’s SIM-related Evangelical Church of West Africa and the OMS-related Korean Holiness Church.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{12} Mark Elliott & Robert Richardson, \textit{Growing Protestant Diversity in the Former Soviet Union}, in \textit{RUSSIAN PLURALISM: NOW IRREVERSIBLE?} 189, 204 (Uri Ra’anan et al. eds., 1992) (citing 21 denominations, but additional churches now work there).
\textit{See Table 3, infra at 412.}


\textsuperscript{14} \textit{See Elliott & Richardson, supra note 12, at 198.}

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{See id. at 198-200.}
C. Greater Support for Cooperation and Greater Independent Activity

Paradoxically, in former Soviet Bloc states, unprecedented mission cooperation coexists with an unprecedented number of solo, go-it-alone mission mavericks. On the positive side, 1987 to 1989 alone saw Bible delivery partnerships involving some twenty-eight denominations, missions, and Bible societies. Other ongoing, collaborative efforts include eight new Evangelical alliances and twenty-three new Bible societies in former East bloc states; the CoMission's efforts involving eighty-five agencies in a program of Christian ethics and outreach in post-Soviet public schools; the sixty-five-member Albanian Encouragement Project; and the multi-ministry Alliance for Saturation Church Planting. Peter Deyneka Russian Ministries, founded in 1991 specifically to serve as a consultant and catalyst for Slavic ministry partnerships, has advised and assisted over 270 church and parachurch missions now working in the former Soviet Union.

Other collaborative projects are notable. Wycliffe Bible Translators and five denominations (The Alaska Moravian Church, The Presbytery of Yukon-Presbyterian, The United Methodist Church in Alaska, The Evangelical Covenant Church of Alaska, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Alaska) have organized the Chukotka Native Christian Ministries. The American Bible Society is assisting the

---

Russian Bible Society in translating Scriptures for seven of the seventy-five languages and dialect groups in Russia. Since 1987 in the former Soviet Union, these Bible societies have published 4,462,576 Bibles, 1,997,259 New Testaments, 1,226,579 Bible tracts, and 4,073,337 Scripture portions, including children's Bibles. To strengthen the estimated 120 Protestant theological training institutions that now exist in the former Soviet Union, the Overseas Council for Theological Education, the Maclellan Foundation, and Russian Ministries joined together to stock an Evangelical theological research library containing approximately 5,000 different titles in Russian. From titles selected from this library and elsewhere, 300,000 copies of eighty different theological textbooks, used by approximately 3,000 students in residential schools and extension courses and hundreds of churches, have been published or reprinted.

Unfortunately, hundreds of other, more independently-minded new players claim to know what has worked in Christian outreach in the West and boldly step forward with a bewildering array of “proven programs” that they are confident will provide answers in the East. Too often, a free-spirited, “lone ranger approach” to ministry ends in what might be called “hit-and-run evangelism,” producing neglect of discipline for new believers and inattention to respectful partnerships with existing churches. Gross cultural insensitivity on the part of many missionaries stems, in part, from an arrogant attitude which assumes that “the West knows best.” Even when Western and Korean ministries are unconscious of their overweening, unbiblical sense of self-importance, Christians in the East readily detect it. The latter have to deal with far too many newcomers more intent on promoting pre-packaged strategies than listening to Slavic believers sharing their needs and dreams.

---

21 Jack Graves, Russian Protestant Theological Textbook Project, EAST-WEST CHURCH & MINISTRY REP., Fall 1996, at 1-2.
Often, mission miscues result from a lack of appreciation for, and even ignorance of, the culture in question. It may be that the greatest flaw today in missionary orientation for post-Soviet lands is not its brevity, although that frequently is a serious shortcoming. The greatest flaw may be inadequate or nonexistent country-specific and culture-specific preparation (i.e., woefully insufficient study of pertinent languages, literature, and history). Ministry training too often focuses on what might be called generic preparation—the cultivation of skills and outlooks applicable to any cross-cultural experience, be it in Botswana or Belarus—to the neglect of an adequate entree to the specific destination. What are we to make of a mission board, presently preparing missionaries for service in diverse parts of the world, that is sending them together to southern California for a ten-week internship with an Hispanic cross-cultural ministry? If a pre-field, cross-cultural immersion experience is prescribed, why not, rather, send the candidates bound for Russia to Sacramento, to one of its many Slavic immigrant churches to experience more of Russian culture firsthand? And why not send those bound for Nigeria to a ministry internship among African immigrants in Chicago, New York, or London? Greater attention to culture-specific orientation and training would require more staff work and greater decentralization, but it would reap ample dividends in terms of less traumatic culture shock and greater longevity for personnel in the field. Missionaries to Russia, for example, who arrive ignorant of icons and Orthodoxy, Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, Stanislavsky and Chekhov, and Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninov are not taken seriously.

D. Specialization

Recognizing the miscues of post-communist missions and recalling the region’s longstanding tradition of state churches identified with particular nationalities, one can more readily explain the genesis of various legislative
measures to curb Western missionary activity. But ill-advised and ill-informed Christian witness represents only part of the explanation for the hostile reception, communists, nationalists, and the hierarchs of former state churches also oppose Evangelical missionaries because they are just as often warm, winsome, and loving as they are brash, brazen, and culturally clueless. Opposition, then, is as much a function of what Evangelicals are doing right as it is of what they are doing wrong. It may be argued that so many ministries are having such a beneficial effect in so many places and in so many ways that Evangelical detractors cannot tolerate it. As a result, they seek to restrict freedom of conscience by erecting political barriers which discriminate against arbitrarily defined "non-traditional" faiths.

In the meantime, large numbers of Western ministries are making perhaps their greatest impact for good in former Soviet Bloc states through all manner of specialized assistance, including the following: (i) facilitating in-country radio broadcasting, publishing, and film and video production; (ii) partnering with indigenous churches to help provide Sunday school-to-seminary level training; (iii) sharing expertise in marriage, family, youth, prison, alcohol, and drug counseling; and (iv) introducing sports, camping, and drama ministries, to name just a sampling of the burgeoning kaleidoscope of Western Evangelical endeavors.

Concrete examples of Evangelical efforts requiring uncommon expertise and unique resources abound. The Children of Russia Project is providing Christian literature to more than 200,000 orphans by delivering mini-libraries of Christian literature to the 1,000 orphanages under the direction of the Russia Ministry of Education. Brochure of Children of Russia Project, available in Institute for East-West Christian Studies Files, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.
Russians involved in media and the performing arts.\textsuperscript{23} Transport for Christ International is ministering to truck drivers within a 3,500 kilometer radius of Moscow.\textsuperscript{24} Deaf Opportunity OutReach has organized Bible studies for deaf people and has facilitated the use of Christian ethics and morals curriculum in schools for the deaf.\textsuperscript{25} The Salvation Army has proclaimed the gospel on the streets, in theaters, and in prisons, is involved in the rehabilitation of alcoholics, and has distributed tons of food and clothing in Russia and other republics of the former Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{26}

Christian Bridge, Christian Broadcasting Network, The Evangelical Covenant Church, The Evangelical Mennonite Conference Missions Auxiliary, Far East Broadcasting Company, International Russian Radio/TV, The Missouri Church Lutheran Synod, Russian Christian Radio, Trans World Radio, World Radio Missionary Fellowship, and other Western agencies have helped national churches establish radio studios and stations and produce radio and television programs.\textsuperscript{27} Christian Booksellers Association of America (CBA), Gospel Light Publications, Russian Ministries (also known as Assotsiatsiya Dukhovnoye Vozrozhdenie), and other organizations have assisted in establishing distribution networks for Christian literature in the former Soviet Union.\textsuperscript{28} The Christian Medical and Dental Association, Dorcas Aid, Fellowship of Association of Medical Evangelism, Samaritan’s Purse, World Vision, and other organizations have helped to establish Christian


\textsuperscript{24} Newsletter of Transport for Christ, Nov. 1996, available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.


\textsuperscript{26} Reprint from SALVATION ARMY YEAR BOOK 183-84, available in Institute for East-West Christian Studies Files, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.

\textsuperscript{27} See generally Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.

\textsuperscript{28} Russian Ministries e-mail, Sept. 12, 1996, available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
medical clinics and other medically-related outreaches. Relating faith, business, and economic development, the Mennonite Economic Development Association has promoted a program to provide business training and institutions to help Christians develop micro-enterprises. In addition to training 411 counselors, Kingdom Ventures organized 114 Christian camps in eight former Soviet republics for 23,000 young people in 1996.

II. THE NEED TO RETHINK THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST EUROPEAN MISSIONS AND INDIGENOUS PROTESTANTS AND ORTHODOX

East European ministries have much to learn from both the successes and failures of two centuries of Western Protestant missions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. At the same time, even long-established ministries, highly respected for their effectiveness elsewhere, need to approach service in post-Soviet lands with a healthy dose of humility and with many more questions than answers. The disastrous consequences of seventy-two years of communism in the Soviet Union not only on the political process and the economy, but on the psyche of longsuffering citizens, cannot be overestimated. Missions from abroad must remember that ministry among people long conditioned by authoritarian Marxist rule presents circumstances unique in the history of world missions.

29 See generally Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
31 Newsletters of Kingdom Ventures, available in Institute for East-West Christian Studies Files, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill.
It is appropriate for mission agencies to note, of course, that with regard to hardship and deprivation, Botswana and Belarus have suffered alike. At the same time, a discerning Evangelical outreach in post-Soviet Belarus must take into account the wrenching peculiarities of its twentieth century ordeal: terror, death, and devastation inflicted by Stalin, Hitler, and Chernobyl. Foreign missions to Belarus also need to be aware that, unlike in the case of Botswana, Western missionaries did not constitute the first expression of Christianity in this troubled land. Orthodox and Catholics have been on hand for a millennium, and even indigenous Protestants have had a presence here for more than a century. More than once in public forums has Father Leonid Kishkovsky, ecumenical officer of the Orthodox Church in America, rightly decried a 1991 ministry advertisement in Christianity Today that, under a reproduction of an icon, appealed for help in its campaign to take the real Christ to Russia.\textsuperscript{34} The implication that, without this initiative, the real Christ would remain absent from Russia is clearly offensive to Orthodox Christians. But Slavic Evangelicals as well, who managed to survive over 100 years of tsarist and Soviet attacks on their existence, might take offense. Guidelines for ministry in the East published by the British Evangelical Missionary Alliance agree with Father Kishkovsky: "Mission teams which say 'We are taking Jesus to Russia' show they don't understand the situation at all. Nobody is taking Jesus to Russia. He has been there all the time! His Holy Spirit was moving behind the Iron Curtain before Christians from the West could go there." "Remember that many Christians you meet have

\textsuperscript{34} The advertisement appeared in 35 Christianity Today 61 (Sept. 16, 1991); Leonid Kishkovsky, The Mission of the Russian Orthodox Church After communism, EAST-WEST CHURCH & MINISTRY REP., Summer 1993, at 1, 2; Miroslav Volf, Fishing in the Neighbor's Pond: Mission and Proselytism in Eastern Europe, 20 INT'L BULL. MISSIONARY RES. 26, 28 (1996).
lived under persecution, whilst you have lived with religious freedom.\textsuperscript{35}

East European missions should first recognize the existence of indigenous Evangelical and Orthodox Christians, and second, should pay them due respect for having outlasted communism.

III. RETHINKING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST EUROPEAN MISSIONS AND INDIGENOUS PROTESTANTS

In order to evaluate the relationship between East European missions and indigenous Protestants, a brief overview of Evangelicals in the Soviet Union as of 1990, on the eve of the large influx of Western missionaries, is in order. Protestants included a membership of 1.2 million, with a total community (including children and adherents) of three million. Lutherans, at 1.1 million, were mostly non-Slavic (Estonian, Latvian, or German) and outside the Russian heartland (concentrated in the Baltic states or scattered in German enclaves in Central Asia and Siberia). Evangelical Christians-Baptists (746,000 members) could be found in all Soviet republics and included faithful of many nationalities. Geographically, its greatest strength was in European Russia and Ukraine. Pentecostals (700,000 members) in 1990 were just coming into an independent legal existence for the first time. They also drew faithful from various nationalities, but with a predominance of Slavic membership and a stronger than average presence in Ukraine and Siberia. Remaining Protestant groups included Seventh-day Adventists (160,000 members) and two groups confined by law to Western borderlands: Hungarian Reformed in Western Ukraine (200,000 members) and Methodists in Estonia (2,500 members). German Mennonites (7,000 members) by 1990 were already just a shadow of their former presence.

\textsuperscript{35} EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY ALLIANCE, WORKING IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: GUIDELINES FOR CHRISTIANS 3 (1994).
thanks to large scale immigration abroad.\textsuperscript{36} In contrast to this short list of recognized denominations as of 1990, some thirty-three Protestant denominations existed by 1997.

Two contrasting perspectives prevail regarding the relationship of ministries from abroad with indigenous Protestants. The first emphasizes that Evangelicals have survived a lengthy and vicious atheist assault on their existence; they have been tested by the refiner’s fire firsthand; they are to be commended for their faithfulness. As a result, it is perceived that they should receive the lion’s share of support from their co-believers abroad. The second ministry perspective stresses the legalism of many former Soviet Bloc Evangelicals, their cultural isolation from the mainstream of society, their authoritarian leadership style, their lack of financial accountability by Western standards, and their frequent inability to absorb new converts who sometimes find the traditional Evangelical subculture cold, constraining, and judgmental. Accordingly, it is argued, the major focus should be on new wineskins, that is, on new churches where those coming to Christ in the wake of communism will find ready acceptance and love. Actually, each conclusion can be debated, but every point in both perspectives can be readily documented. That being the case, both partnership with existing denominations and the establishment of new churches would appear to be legitimate strategies for Evangelical ministries. At the same time, it would be more edifying if proponents of the two approaches did not verbally cast those with whom they differ into outer darkness. As a practical matter, foreign ministries, even those committed to new wineskins, should not begin work in any region or city without extending the common courtesy of informing local churches of their plans, asking for advice, and, where possible, offering material assistance.

Although relations between Russian Orthodox and Western Evangelical missionaries have often been antagonistic,

\textsuperscript{36} See Elliott & Richardson, supra note 12, at 205.
Russian Evangelicals initially welcomed their Western counterparts with open arms, rapidly requesting assistance from foreign Christians and reiterating how grateful they were for such help. Such a reception was not surprising, considering the long and deep relationship between Western and Russian Evangelicals, even during the most repressive years of communism.

Many nationals, including religious leaders such as Grigori Komendant, former president of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists, expressed appreciation and gratitude along the following lines:

But, praise God, there are those who came to us, sought out our churches and our brothers and sisters, and stayed to labor together with us as partners in the work of spreading the gospel message. To some degree, they cannot become "as one of us" yet their lack of language ability or knowledge of our culture, history, and traditions have been beautifully overcome by their willingness to "subject self to the Lord, His work, and to our Russian and Ukrainian fellowships. They labor not to plant American-style churches, but churches in the spirit and tradition of our fellowships and our people. Observing their committed experience and humble dedication, our national workers were challenged and encouraged. As a result, many of our lay preachers were willing to trust the Lord, leave their secular jobs, and commit themselves to full-time Christian service. When they saw that American missionaries were willing to leave a comfortable life to win souls for Christ in Russia, many of our young people were deeply touched and responded to God's call with courage and faith. 37

Alexander Sorokin, editor of a Christian quarterly published in St. Petersburg, noted the blessings which the foreign mission movement brought:

Thousands of missionaries have now come to Russia to help its spiritual revival, and I deeply appreciate their time and deeds. May God bless them! I saw people whose lives were completely changed by the Lord Jesus Christ through those missionaries. Before their conversion, people had anxious looks, but then their faces became clear and smiling. It means that God's peace has come to their hearts. I saw kids' eyes at a summer camp when they received God's love through missionaries. Many children were from broken families and had lack of care. But now they will always link Christian faith with missionary kindness. I saw prisoners who, with the help of missionaries, received hope and strength to endure their terrible circumstances. Praise the Lord for those missionaries who have brought light to Russia.\footnote{Alexander Sorokin, A Russian Perspective on the Missionary Movement, EAST-WEST CHURCH & MINISTRY REP., Winter 1996, at 16.}

In a letter reflective of thousands of responses received by Western missionaries who provided Christian broadcasts, Bibles, and other materials, one Russian woman described what the broadcasts had meant to her:

I thank my Lord for you. Thank you for your sermons, thank you for the Good News of salvation. Thank you for showing me the way to God—and for what He means in my life! I wait each week for your programs on Saturday and Sunday.... Some of the people I work with have begun to listen to your programs, as well as some of my neighbors with whom I have been able to share the joy of knowing Him. I read the booklets you send me and pass them on to others.\footnote{Letter from A.P. Kuznetsova of Tula, cited in Newsletter of Russian Christian Radio, Aug. 1996, at 1, available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.}

However, even though the contact of Evangelical missionaries with many national Protestants has continued to be close and strong, some Russian Evangelicals have also
grown increasingly critical of their co-believers and have become increasingly discerning as they decide with which foreign missionaries they will work. In a 1993 Open Letter of the Missionary Coordinating Council to all Western Missionary Organizations, national Christians from ten former Soviet republics thanked Western missions for their efforts "during decades when Christ's Church in our country had been an object of persecution." Although appreciative, these nationals criticized Westerners who in 1993 were overwhelming the indigenous church:

In Moscow alone, over one hundred Western organizations were registered. And each one wants to accomplish its program by using the existing church infrastructure, which is still so weak that it cannot resist this pressure, neither organizationally nor spiritually.... [I]ndigenous missionary organizations cannot compete with strong western missions and the best people prefer to work for Western organizations and, naturally, for better payment.... Finally, instead of assistance and support from Western missionaries, local missions have to defend their own vision of missionary service. Evangelization campaigns, which had been formed under the influence of Western show, produce feelings of protest against Protestantism as a Western way of thinking and culture which is alien to them.41

40 Otonas Balchunas (Shaulai, Lithuania), Semen Borodin (Krasnodar, Russia), Andrei Bondarenko (Elgava, Latvia), Anatoly Bogatov (Saransk, Mordova), Vassily Davidyuk (Kiev, Ukraine), Piotr Lunichkin (Vladikavkaz, Ossetia), Pavel Pogodin (Nalchik, Kavkaz), Franz Tissen (Saran, Kazakstan), Henri Pot (Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan), Victor Shiva (Almaty, Kazakstan), Open Letter of the Missionary Coordinating Council to All Western Missionary Organizations Interested in Spreading the Gospel in the Former Soviet Union (Mar. 23, 1993) available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill. 41 Id.
Even national Christian leaders, such as Grigori Komendant, who has praised American missionaries, have also criticized them:

Foreign missionaries, who also have waited for this moment, came rushing to us, it must be said, with many different agendas. It is necessary to report here that there have been negative as well as positive results. Unfortunately, in coming to us, many foreign workers have not considered identifying with us and becoming “one of us.” There are those who may look very much like us outwardly, even to the point of learning our language, but they have not been able to “subject” themselves... for Christ’s sake. They seem to have more success in “enslaving” others: some they entice with dollars, some they buy with humanitarian aid, and some they seduce with free-wheeling church services or a loose lifestyle.42

IV. RETHINKING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EAST EUROPEAN MISSIONS AND EASTERN ORTHODOX

Turning to the relationship of foreign ministries with Eastern Orthodox, some preliminary theological reflections are in order. Orthodox and Evangelical Christians both hold a similar, if not identical, high regard for Scripture. Both also believe in the Trinity, Christ as wholly human and wholly divine, and Christ’s death and resurrection as the means of mankind’s salvation from sin and death. These and many other historic Christian teachings held in common are enumerated in the Nicene Creed, which both traditions affirm. Given these major, mutually cherished convictions, it would appear that Evangelicals and Ortho-

42 Komendant, supra note 37, at 2.
dox have much more in common theologically than either has in common with modern mainline Protestantism.\textsuperscript{43}

Don Fairbairn, a Cambridge University doctoral student who formerly taught at Donetsk Christian University, notes that the “theological differences separating Eastern Orthodoxy and Evangelicalism are more than cultural.”\textsuperscript{44} The fundamental distinction for Fairbairn involves contrasting Evangelical and Orthodox understandings of salvation: Evangelical justification by faith \textit{at the outset} of a Christian life, versus Orthodox \textit{theosis} (deification), the “process of becoming acceptable to God—as I practice love, mercy, and justice,” \textit{ending} in God’s ultimate confirmation of eternal communion with Him.\textsuperscript{45}

In his unpublished “Partakers of the Divine Nature,” Fairbairn contends that a fundamental distinction between Orthodoxy and Evangelicalism may stem from an Orthodox telescoping or combining of biblical passages concerning salvation and sanctification. It is interesting that a key verse for an Orthodox reading of salvation (2 Peter 1:4; “His divine power has granted to us . . . [to] become partakers of the divine nature.”) has historically been a key verse for both Wesleyan and Calvinist readings of sanctification. While better relations between the confessions should earnestly be sought, Evangelicals still need to keep in mind that their faith also appears to part company with Orthodoxy over the related question of mediation between God and man. For Evangelicals, Christ alone stands as mediator between human sinfulness and God’s holiness. However, it would appear, from a Reformation perspective, that


\textsuperscript{44} Don Fairbairn, \textit{Eastern Orthodoxy: Five Protestant Perspectives}, EAST-WEST CHURCH & MINISTRY REP., Spring 1995, at 6-7.

\textsuperscript{45} Id.
Orthodoxy includes additional mediators between the two: the church, the priest, the Divine Liturgy, icons, and prayers of supplication to saints. As East European theologian Peter Kuzmic has argued, from an Evangelical perspective, Orthodoxy appears to detract from Christ "by addition." 46

In Eastern Europe, popularly perceived differences between Orthodox and Evangelical Christians, as opposed to carefully drawn theological distinctions, shed little light but certainly inflame passions. "When we say 'the Church' we always mean the Orthodox Church and no other," reported one respondent in a mid-1980s poll conducted in the Soviet Union. 47 "It has been established by Christ, and has had no deviations, neither left nor right. All the rest are false churches or sects that went astray." 48 In the same survey Russian Evangelicals typically voiced opinions just as intolerant, dismissing Orthodoxy as "a dead Church" with "drunkards" for priests. "They know how to cross themselves, and nothing else. . . . Worshipping those icons, lighting the candles, praying for the dead, it's all idolatry." 49 In the Russian Empire and in the Soviet era, most grassroots Protestants and Orthodox rarely moved beyond such negative stereotypical images of each other. And today it is arguably worse, as more and more Protestant ministries work in East Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. These days, the mutual tolerance and respect among Western Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox, built up painfully over centuries, frequently evaporates in a flash in the cauldron of ethnic and confessional strife now raging from the Balkans to the Baltics.

48 Id.
49 Id.
The common ground between Orthodox and Evangelicals counts for very little as Evangelicals make their way into territory Orthodox consider to be their exclusive domain. Here the key question is whether, east of the old Iron Curtain, Evangelicals are interlopers. Many Orthodox Christians, for example, believe that Protestants have no place in Russia. In particular, they view recent Evangelical activity from abroad as an unwelcome and offensive intrusion into a spiritual landscape nourished by a thousand years of Byzantine Christianity.

Soon after communism collapsed, Russian Orthodox Patriarch Alexei condemned the activities of foreign evangelists:

When the territories of central eastern Europe were opened for the public missionary endeavor and evangelism, the peoples rooted in millennial Orthodox traditions became objects of proselytism for numerous zealots calling themselves missionaries and preachers who came from outside to the new markets.... Of course our people will also survive this invasion, as it survived even worse times of persecution and attacks from the atheist propaganda.50

In 1993, Patriarch Alexei II requested restraint of foreign missionaries entering Russia and also called for restrictions on Western religious broadcasters on Russian television. In an interview with the Russian newspaper Nezavisimaya Gazeta published just before Easter 1996, the patriarch said that “Russians, especially the young, continue to be caught in the net of exotic preachers.”51

Arguing for increased control of foreign missionaries, Archpriest Viktor Petluchenko, deputy chairman of the de-

50 Volf, supra note 34, at 26.
partment for external church relations of the Moscow Patriarchate, stated: "I'm not among those who say that only the Russian Orthodox Church should be in Russia. But missionaries must be limited . . . . [O]ur people are a very easy target and can be bought easily by foreign missionaries. They see Americans as coming with a box of food in one hand and a cross in the other."\footnote{52}

Orthodox opposition to Western missionaries on occasion became more overt. On February 3, 1997, two Russian Orthodox priests supervised the burning of approximately 200 illustrated children's Bibles that had been supplied by Josh McDowell Ministries, an American organization which has provided Christian books and approximately $310 million worth of humanitarian aid since 1991. When volunteers from the organization arrived at School No. 23 in the village of Semkhoz, about fifty miles north of Moscow, two priests and approximately twenty-four militant Orthodox blocked their path. One of the priests, Father Vladimir, stated that "[c]hanging your faith is treachery. If Americans want to help Russia after years of atheism, let them restore our churches and monasteries or print our own literature. Under the guise of presents, they are trying to propagate a different faith."\footnote{53} Similarly, at a February 26, 1997 board meeting of the All Russian Union of Christian Organizations in Moscow, members asserted that "[t]here are ten Baptist Churches in Moscow who have been refused by Mayor Yuri Luzhkov rights to land for church buildings. There is a clear conspiracy between the mayor and the patriarchy to limit growth of Protestants by denying land rights."\footnote{54}

\footnote{52} Frank Brown, The Next Crusade, MOSCOW TIMES, Nov. 19, 1994, at 3.
\footnote{53} Alan Philips, Bible-burning Cloud Over Russian Freedom, ELECTRONIC TELEGRAPH (Mar. 3, 1997) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk:80/et?ac=000688472912049 &tmo=wji5e5kbatmo=wji5e5k6&pg=/home.html>.
\footnote{54} Russian Ministries e-mail, Feb. 26, 1997, available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
Western missionaries working in countries with long-standing Orthodox traditions need to apply themselves to a study of history and culture to understand the heritage which has prompted Russian Orthodox to such antagonism to Evangelicals. However, even as Evangelicals come to appreciate Orthodoxy, the exceptional achievements of Russian culture, and the remarkable perseverance of a long-suffering people, they should not feel that they need to apologize for sharing the good news in a Russia absent Marx.

One major reason for this is demographics. Evangelical ministries are motivated by a desire to support a movement of some three million indigenous Protestants. Also, Evangelicals from abroad and indigenous Evangelicals are both motivated by Russia’s huge nonbelieving population. Data from a June 1996 pre-election survey suggest that as many as 67% of Russian men and 38% of Russian women do not identify themselves as religious believers. While a recent poll indicates a substantive increase in the percentage of Russians claiming affiliation with the Orthodox Church (from 30% in 1991 to 50% in 1996), the percentage of these respondents who have taken Orthodoxy to heart and who practice their faith is another matter. The June 1996 Russian pre-election survey indicated that believers (50% of respondents) were far more often nonobservant (37.3%) than observant (12.7%). And even among self-described observant believers, corporate worship proved to be strikingly er-

---

55 Elliott & Richardson, supra note 12, at 205.
56 Susan Goodrich Lehmann, Religious Revival in Russia: Significant or Superficial?, presented at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies, Washington, D.C., Oct. 21, 1996, Figure 6. An earlier 1992 survey found a comparable 69% of Russian men and 46% of Russian women who did not identify themselves as believers. Mark Rhodes, Religious Believers in Russia, RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY RESEARCH REPORT, Apr. 3, 1992, at 60, 61. In contrast, in the post-World War II era, perhaps as few as 10% to 15% of the population was religious. WILLIAM C. FLETCHER, SOVIET BELIEVERS: THE RELIGIOUS SECTOR OF THE POPULATION 67 (1981).
57 Dramatic Increase in Russians Claiming Religion, RELIGION WATCH, Jan. 3, 1997, based on a poll by the All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center.
ratic. When asked how often they had attended church in the past twelve months, only 10% of believers who considered themselves to be observant answered once a week, 13% answered once a month, while 55% answered that they attend on religious holidays and on family occasions. Just as revealing as the low levels of participation in Orthodox worship is the conclusion of one poll analyst, based on an All-Russia Public Opinion Research Center survey, which suggested "no correlation between religiousness and the expression of a personal moral code."

Evangelicals believe they have an obligation to witness to nominal believers as well as to nonbelievers. But nominalism aside, the current poll figures for Russian nonbelievers are such that indigenous Evangelicals and Evangelical ministries from abroad have ample opportunity to minister to many millions who are spiritually adrift in the former Soviet Union, without ever engaging in proselytizing; that is, without specifically targeting adherents of one church in an attempt to lure them into another.

The Russian Orthodox leadership is aware of the daunting challenge it faces in reenculcating spiritual and moral values in its flock and in society at large. Because of Russia's present economic and political travails, and because of Marxism's harvest of moral and spiritual devastation, it would appear that reestablishing Christian moorings and life-changing faith across the land would more than challenge all the resources and efforts of Orthodox, Protestants, and Catholics combined. Proselytism under these circumstances is uncharitable, divisive, and counterproductive, and, by diverting energies into futile interconfessional strife, it diminishes the prospects of reaching the tens of millions of Russian nonbelievers.

---

58 Lehmann, Religious Revival (Fig. 1, Tab. 4). Among the 50% of respondents who identified themselves as believers, 83% considered themselves to be Orthodox. Id., Figure 4.
59 Mark Rhodes, Russians' Spiritual Values, EAST-WEST CHURCH & MINISTRY REP., Fall 1993, at 13.
Be that as it may, in Russia, Orthodox and Evangelicals' difficulty in agreeing on a single definition for proselytism stems in good measure from conflicting understandings of what constitutes a believer. Evangelicals assume a personal, conscious commitment to Christ alone as Saviour, lived out in worship and life. In contrast, if a Russian has been baptized as an infant, even if faith is dormant or non-existent, Orthodox consider an Evangelical witness to that person to be proselytizing. Actually, many Orthodox envision an even more expansive prerogative in the East. Since Russia—and Romania, Bulgaria, and Serbia—historically and traditionally have been predominately Orthodox, church leaders in these countries would like to assume a territorial, spiritual protectorate over at least their Slavic populations. Thus, some Orthodox will interpret Evangelical witness even to self-described Russian nonbelievers as proselytism. Oddly enough, such an understanding seems to be underscored by findings which indicate that some respondents who identify themselves as Orthodox, meaning "I am Russian," have little or no acquaintance with Christian teachings and rarely, if ever, attend worship. For example, one poll revealed that "[f]ewer Russian Orthodox than the general population believe that Jesus is the Son of God."

Of course, differentiating proselytism and legitimate proclamation of the gospel can be contentious in the West as well as in the East. Consider a volume of essays edited by Martin Marty and Frederick Greenspahn, entitled Pushing the Faith: Proselytism and Civility in a Pluralistic

---

World. In his closing remarks, after a stream of chapters awash with broad condemnations not only of proselytism, but of practically every conception of evangelism, Marty concluded that if the arguments of his contributors were taken to their logical conclusion, it would be a rare occasion when it was ever proper to share any personal spiritual reflection outside church walls. Today, the politically correct Western Christian seems determined to make an idol of tolerance, defined today in such a way as to equate almost every profession of conviction as an affront and an offense. If everybody really left everybody else alone, says Marty, "[i]t would be a more comfortable but probably comatose world."

Despite the Soviet Union's concerted, anti-religious assault of this century, Orthodoxy is, and probably will remain, the preeminent cultural and religious reality in Russia. Though some will not accept the fact, dissenting Protestants nevertheless have much to offer Russia—even Orthodoxy itself. To begin with, Evangelicalism presently appears to be the only route to faith for some Russians who will never trust an Orthodox hierarchy they see as compromised by its past ties to the Soviet state. Likewise, some better-educated Russians appear to be attracted to Evangelical, rather than Orthodox, Christianity because Reformation churches tend to be more accepting of knowledge and intellectual inquiry as complementary to faith. Finally, Evangelicals can render Orthodoxy a service in the same way that the Reformation stimulated genuine reform within Roman Catholicism. Evangelical activity in a given region can and often does serve as a catalyst, re-energizing Orthodox out of a complacency born of tradition and nomi-

62 Id.
63 Id.
nal predominance. As Martin Marty has noted, challengers of the status quo can provide "great stimulus for communities to define themselves" and "to revitalize stagnant cultures." Today the question must be posed: Does the majority faith in Russia—Orthodoxy—have sufficient confidence in itself to tolerate religious dissent? Or will it repeat history and retreat to dependence upon the state to provide it with a legislative advantage, if not a monopoly? Based on Europe's sad experience with state churches, it would appear that nothing could be more deadening to Orthodox spiritual vitality than artificial, secular supports propping up a privileged church.

V. EVANGELICAL ASSISTANCE TO ORTHODOX

In summary, Evangelical ministries working in the East should require their missionaries to study language, culture, and history. Those bound for Russia should prayerfully determine to their own satisfaction what are the common theological understandings and non-negotiable differences between Eastern Orthodox and Evangelical Christianity. That settled, the question of practical, day-to-day relationships still looms large. Conclusions will differ. Nevertheless, Western ministries should, at the very least, encourage reform-minded elements within the Russian Orthodox Church, many of which receive their inspiration from the example of Father Alexander Men, the winsome and open-hearted Orthodox priest who was murdered by an unknown assailant in 1990. It can be argued that "no single Christian confession alone can reach all of Russia for Christ.... Because Russian culture owes an enormous debt to Orthodoxy... many Russians likely will remain

---


65 Marty, supra note 61, at 158.
spiritually lost if a reinvigorated Orthodox Church does not reach them.\textsuperscript{66}

Prior to glasnost, YMCA work among Russian post-1917 emigrés stood out as perhaps the most strategic and successful instance ever of concerted Protestant assistance to Orthodoxy. Under the able and discerning direction of Episcopalian Paul Anderson, the Russian YMCA Press in Paris played a pivotal role in preserving and undergirding Russian Orthodox cultural life at a time when the Soviet anti-religious onslaught and Western indifference might otherwise have extinguished it.\textsuperscript{67} This exceptional case history deserves widespread study today as a model for effective, but noninvasive, nonpatronizing interconfessional assistance.

Better understanding among Christian traditions is a primary concern of a number of ongoing initiatives. One is the Society for the Study of Eastern Orthodoxy and Evangelicalism, headed by Dr. Bradley Nassif, an Orthodox scholar with a well-informed understanding of both confessions.\textsuperscript{68} Annual meetings have been held at the Billy Graham Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, Illinois, since 1991. Also, Anglican Jane Ellis, who has written extensively on contemporary Russian Orthodoxy, has organized three dialogues to date (1994-1996) in Moscow directly addressing Orthodox-Evangelical tensions. A third body that hopefully will have success as an agent of improved interconfessional relations, the Christian Inter-Confessional Consultative Committee, emerged from a meeting of 132 representatives of twenty-one church bodies, held in Minsk, Belarus, October 1-3, 1996. Participants from various republics of the former Soviet Union both affirmed “full respect for the spiritual choice of a person” and condemned

\textsuperscript{66} Hill & Elliott, supra note 64, at 3.


conversions from one church to another "through ways and means contradicting the spirit of Christian love and violating the freedom of a human person."  

Since glasnost, direct Protestant assistance to the Russian Orthodox Church has not been overwhelming, but it has been more extensive than is commonly realized. National Council of Churches work teams and mainline Protestant sister church programs have provided some assistance. In addition, Danish Lutherans, the Episcopal Church, and the United Methodist Committee on Relief have funneled substantial humanitarian aid through the Moscow Patriarchate. On the whole, however, ecumenical and mainline Protestant ties with Russian Orthodoxy have become more precarious in recent years due to growing grassroots Orthodox distrust of the West, in general, and wariness of mainline Protestant theology, in particular.

Russian Orthodox are of two minds regarding the Keston Institute, well-known as a champion of Soviet-Bloc religious rights for nearly three decades. The hierarchy does not appreciate the work of this interdenominational advocacy group headed by Anglican priest Michael Bourdeaux because Keston, in the past, consistently supported Orthodox dissidents out of favor with Soviet and church authorities, and, at present, Keston News Service reporter Lawrence Uzzell tenaciously documents and decries the Patriarchate's maneuverings for preferential state treatment. In contrast, the Orthodox, who were persecuted for their faith by communists, hold Keston in the highest regard for being their voice through the decades of oppression.

---


70 Based on comments at a meeting of Christians Associated for Relationships with Eastern Europe, (Nov. 17-18, 1994) Chicago, Ill, and Mojzes, supra note 60, at 4-5. For a survey of Orthodox-mainline Protestant contacts see Mark Elliott, How the Churches Have Seen Their Roles in the USSR, 22 PULSE, Jan. 9, 1987, at 2.

71 See generally JENNY ROBERTSON, BE OUR VOICE: THE STORY OF MICHAEL BOURDEAUX AND KESTON COLLEGE (1984). Aid to the Russian Church, a Christian humanitarian agency headed by former Keston staffer Jane Ellis, has focused on as-
Western Evangelicals might be thought to have less substantive relationships with Russian Orthodox than mainline Protestants, since the latter have had longstanding and visible links with the Moscow Patriarchate through the ecumenical movement since 1961. That has become somewhat less the case since glasnost. In 1988-1989, Open Doors with Brother Andrew provided the Russian Orthodox Church with one million New Testaments; Taize, with strong French Calvinist support, provided the Patriarchate with another one million New Testaments; and the Swedish Institute for Bible Translation donated 75,000 Russian Orthodox study Bibles.72

The American Bible Society (ABS) and the United Bible Societies (UBS), with Evangelical as well as mainline Protestant contributors, have provided major funding and technical support for the revived Russian Bible Society. Effective Orthodox, Baptist, and Pentecostal working relationships in this organization for several years now have made this indigenous Orthodox-Evangelical collaboration perhaps the most significant interconfessional initiative in the former Soviet Union to date. The ABS, the UBS, and the Russian Bible Society were responsible for the publication of 6,459,835 Bibles and New Testaments in the Soviet and post-Soviet Union during 1987-1996.73

Gospel Light, a California-based Evangelical publisher, is collaborating with the Russian Orthodox Ministry of Education in a potentially unprecedented venture. Gospel Light and the Moscow Patriarchate are jointly producing large quantities of graded Sunday school literature for use in Orthodox parishes. The intention is to produce materials acceptable to both Orthodox and Evangelicals.74

74 Letter and supporting documents from William T. Greig, Jr., Chairman, Glint,
Campus Crusade for Christ has made extensive, if not always successful, efforts to engage the Orthodox in the former Soviet Union. In 1992, Mission Volga, an evangelistic outreach projected as a joint Campus Crusade-Orthodox effort, highlighted the possibilities and the pitfalls of working together. The Moscow Patriarch considered endorsing the venture, but declined to do so at the last minute. Some Orthodox priests nevertheless participated in the boat ministry, while other Orthodox protested the outreach at several ports of call.\textsuperscript{75}

Navigators, InterVarsity, and its affiliate, International Fellowship of Evangelical Students, have made concerted efforts to study Orthodoxy, to develop meaningful relationships with Orthodox believers, and to sponsor interconfessional theological dialogues. Dansk Europamission, Norwegian Mission to the East, and Peter Deyneka Russian Ministries have sponsored rebroadcasts of radio sermons by Father Alexander Men, the Russian Orthodox priest who was martyred in 1990. Russian Ministries also helped underwrite a 1994 Orthodox/Protestant conference on cults in Russia and funded a publication on the cults written by Orthodox writer Andrei Kuraev.\textsuperscript{76}

Today in Russia, Orthodox-Evangelical relations are strained, with cordial relationships the exception, rather than the rule. But the exceptions can encourage us to hope and work for more fruitful cooperation. One Western ministry new to Russia has quickly established a remarkably productive relationship with a Russian Orthodox diocese. This cooperative effort is perhaps more successful than the


Moscow Patriarch would prefer, hence the anonymity of the
ministry in question. In this instance, respectful concern
for Orthodox sensitivities, and the resulting cordial interac-
tion, as described below, deserves to be commended and
widely copied:

The Lord has helped us to develop good relations with
Russian Orthodox Church authorities. We have had
repeated consultations with members of the arch-
bishop’s cabinet, meetings held with the archbishop’s
blessing. These have resulted in good mutual under-
standing and offers of cooperation at some levels. For
example, we provide flannelgraph materials and
training of Orthodox priests to engage in child evan-
ellism. The archbishop has provided Orthodox priests
as trainers to help orient our career and short-term
missionaries in understanding what the Russian Or-
thodox Church stands for and is doing in Russia. Or-
thodox have also participated in a limited way in our
summer youth camping programs, and have offered us
some of their air time on the government radio station.

How has our small Evangelical ministry developed a
good relationship with the Orthodox Church and the
government? In a number of ways. Perhaps most im-
portantly, we have always taken the initiative to meet
with the Orthodox to show respect and appreciation for
the good things they are doing and to express our in-
terest in learning from them and being cooperative.
Some, perhaps many, leaders of the Russian Orthodox
Church are skeptical and hostile toward foreign, Protes-
tant groups because of their fear of what we may be
doing. That fear is sometimes validated by the insen-
sitive activities of some groups, and the presence of cults
which leads people away from biblical truth. Our phi-
losophy has been that what we are actually doing
would be reassuring to the Orthodox, compared to
what they fear we might do if they had no direct
knowledge of our activities. Therefore, we meet with
them and communicate with them in person and in
writing about our history, our doctrines, our current activities, and our proposed activities. We show them respect as our elder brothers in Russia by asking them for advice about Bible translations, cultural issues, and how to avoid activities which would be needlessly offensive. And we avoid proselytizing Russian Orthodox Christians, directing our ministries instead toward the vast majority of practical atheists. We do our best to stress our common ground, without compromising biblical imperatives. Secondly, we made a matter of high priority the full legal registration of our church, both at the federal level with the Ministry of Justice in Moscow, and at the local levels as needed.

This full legal compliance for our ministries has opened many doors for us, such as property ownership, visas, and partnerships with government agencies, including youth departments and education departments.

VI. GUIDELINES FOR FOREIGN EVANGELICAL MISSIONARIES

The role of foreign Evangelical missionaries in Russia is controversial. Appreciated and applauded by many, they are also criticized and condemned by others. Such critics can be found among members of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Russian government, the Russian Protestant Church, and even among certain Western missionaries. Some Russians plead for more missionaries to come to their country. From the perspective of other nationals, the ideal foreign evangelist would not enter Russia at all. Anatoli Pchelintsev, director of The Institute of Religion and Law, an organization with extensive contacts with both national and foreign Christians of all confessions, asserts that

77 Letter to Mark Elliott (Jan. 7, 1997).
“Russia still needs Western missionaries, but we need the right kind of help.”

Is there a profile of the ideal foreign missionary in Russia? Is such a paradigm possible to create? Does the nature of the evangelistic enterprise always engender controversy? Perhaps the most successful Evangelical missionaries are, by the criteria of their own definition of evangelism, more likely to be opposed by those who regard their actions as proselytism.

Ultimately, the only entirely trustworthy evaluation of past and future Evangelical missionary endeavors in Russia is divine. While this is not discernible with certainty by fallible followers of Christ, consensus from all sides does reveal certain attitudes and actions to be more desirable than others. Neither comprehensive nor infallible, the following suggestions, gleaned from many sources, are a step toward guidelines for foreign missionaries in Russia.

A. Know and Appreciate Russian Culture

Paul Semenchuk, an American of Russian heritage who has served thirty-five years as a missionary to Russians with Trans World Radio, urges Western ministers in Russia to honor the country’s culture:

We triumphantly invade Russia without any preparation, not having read one Russian book, not even one book about Russia. We need to read their classical writers and poets if we want to understand Russians... because of its peculiar past, the Russian personality is exceptionally complex. We will never reach the soul of the Slav if we don’t familiarize ourselves with their history, literature, art..... Knowing and

---

78 Interview by Anita Deyneka with Anatoli Pchelintsev (July 1993), available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
somewhat understanding Russian history is one thing; knowing and understanding Russian current events is no less essential .... But there is no quick fix .... Cultural assimilation takes time. I need on-site, hands-on experience. I have to grow into it. It has to grow on me .... I get it by caring, curiosity, observation, scrutiny, questioning, association, by unrestricted, unreserved involvement (total immersion) in the society. 79

Acknowledging the necessity of Western missionaries learning the Russian language, or at least using competent translators when they do not know the language, Semenchuk adds, "knowing the cultural language is more important than knowing the spoken language. Yet many well-meaning Westerners find themselves in the CIS culturally isolated. No amount of language study can make up for this handicap." 80

B. Avoid Westernization of the Gospel

Grigori Komendant, president of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists of Ukraine, states that "[t]he West needs to be more realistic in recognizing that Russia is not a third-world country. The church has been here a long time and we are not interested in the Americanization of our church." 81

Russia is not a savage, unexplored territory—ready for our adventurous, enterprising invasion, conquest, domination and exploitation. Russians—believers or not—will never accept a Western mode of Christianity .... When our Western values are projected on the

80 Id. at 3-4.
81 Interview by Peter Deynega with Grigori Komendant (Oct. 1996) available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
Russian scene, they generate all kinds of tension, offense, negative thoughts and feelings, unhealthy attitudes.\textsuperscript{82}

At a February 1993 consultation on furthering theological education in the CIS\textsuperscript{83} sponsored by the Overseas Council on Theological Education, The Institute for East-West Christian Studies, and Russian ministries, comments by nationals indicated the desire for partnership with the West while at the same time avoiding Westernization:

- We want to know what is going on . . . what is available.
- How can we become part of the loop?
- We are hungry and thirsty for information and fellowship.
- We are strong enough to work it out on our own.
- We do not want everything to be given to us, but we must know what is available.
- We do not want ready-made Western Christianity to be dumped on us.
- We would love to have the tools, and then we will work it out for ourselves.\textsuperscript{84}

C. Respect the Rights of All Religions and Cooperate With Other Christians Whenever Possible

Foreign missionaries, increasingly objects of intolerance, must show respect for all religions even when their own le-

\textsuperscript{82} Semenchuk, \textit{supra} note 79, at 2.

\textsuperscript{83} The Consultation was sponsored by the Overseas Council on Theological Education, The Institute for East-West Christian Studies, and Russian Ministries. Manfred Kohl, \textit{Filling the Leadership Void in the Post communist Church}, 23 CONTACT 4, 4-5 (1994).

\textsuperscript{84} \textit{Id.}
gal and religious rights are violated. If national and foreign Evangelicals are to experience true religious liberty, so must all other religious groups whose activities are law-abiding. However, such toleration does not preclude a defense of one's freedoms when they are violated.

Without denying differences or compromising essential beliefs, Russian Orthodox priest Alexander Men advocated not only tolerance, but even an appreciation for the diversity of Christianity:

I hope you may feel that the variety within the church, and still more the contradictions between the denominations—Protestant, Catholic, Orthodox—are not signs of decay and break but rather manifestations of parts of the whole, the united whole which we have to reach at greater depth.... It is as if, knowing people's tendency to intolerance, God divided them so that each person in their place... the garden... would bring forth fruit.\textsuperscript{85}

D. \textit{Proclaim the Gospel in Word and Deed}

Humanitarian aid as a part of the Christian mission should be given without coercion to convert to any religious confession. John Bernbaum, president of the Russian-American Christian University, observes that "[m]ost Russians think Protestants are just worried about finding adherents to their strange theological beliefs; we have to demonstrate that our goals are more significant and beneficial than that."\textsuperscript{86}

Paul Semenchuk urges missionaries to cultivate compassion.

\textsuperscript{85} Letter from Krister Sairsingh to Anita Deyneka (Jan. 16, 1997).
\textsuperscript{86} E-mail from John Bernbaum (July 13, 1996), available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
If we want to minister in the CIS, our responsibility may be broader than we initially intended or expected. The former Soviet Union is in such severe economic circumstances that it seems "sinful" to go and work there without providing some sort of practical assistance. If we move among them, how can we let them go hungry? There is a multitude to feed. If anyone in this world is expected to care and share, it is the Christian.  

E. Serve the National Church

Guidelines for Christians Working in Central and Eastern Europe, prepared by the British-based Evangelical Missionary Alliance, exhorts missionairies to maintain an attitude of servancy:

Go as a servant to those you will meet. Be willing to accept and respect the Christians you meet as brothers and sisters in the Lord and to serve their needs with compassion and love.... Sad to say, some Westerners have shown a superior attitude to Eastern Europeans, many of whom are well educated and resent the paternalistic or imperialistic attitudes they see in some foreign visitors. Share what you have to offer with sensitivity.... Look out for things you can learn from the people you visit.... If you are going to meet real needs, you need to ask some important questions: Is what you have to offer, in ministry or in aid, really needed? Have you the resources to back up your offer of help? Will you be able to finish the job?  

In recommendations resulting from a 1991 consultation convened by the Lausanne Committee, national and Western Christians urge missionairies to "[e]nable the churches

---

87 Semenchuk, supra note 79, at 4.
88 EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY ALLIANCE, supra note 35, at 3-4.
and mission organizations in these countries to undertake the work of evangelizing their own people.\textsuperscript{89}

Commenting in a 1992 article on finances—one of the most sensitive areas of foreign-national relations—Peter Sautov, director of the Russian Center for Evangelism, noted that it costs twenty times as much to support an American missionary as a Russian worker who knows the culture and language. “It is the Russian believers who should work for Russia,” commented Sautov. “I don’t want to raise a generation of lazy Russian believers. We need help. But help means teaching us, training us, showing us. Let us be the ones to do it.”\textsuperscript{90} Sergei Sannikov, president of the Odessa Theological Seminary, declares, “Western missionaries should avoid two extremes: coming and doing everything themselves [and] giving money with no control.”\textsuperscript{91}

Alexei Melnichuk, administrative director of Donetsk Bible College in the Ukraine, advises Western missionaries on how they can best serve the national church:

We need Western missionaries in our country. However, we need a very small number who are experienced and well-educated and who can help us prepare our own missionaries. We have many people ready to be missionaries but they don’t have the support. I think Western Christians are ready to spend much money for trips to the former Soviet Union. This is not bad, but if we want to spread Jesus Christ throughout the world, we need a better way—not going by our own way, opinions, and visions. American people need to understand the time it takes to impact the culture. They need to understand that they don’t understand

\textsuperscript{89} Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, Recommendations to Those Working in Eastern Europe and the USSR (1991).

\textsuperscript{90} Randy Frame, Churches Need Coworkers, Not Tourists, Christianity Today, July 20, 1992, at 56.

\textsuperscript{91} Sergei Sannikov, Most Pressing Needs of the CIS Church, East-West Church & Ministry Rep., Summer 1995, at 2.
the culture. This is very important. I have met many angry Russian Christians, who say that Western missionaries are causing them problems. The missionaries come and say they will help: Then, after several months, they move on to their own projects, taking the money and many of the best Russian Christian workers with them.\(^92\)

F. The Rule Above All Rules

Ever since the modern missions crusade to Russia began, foreign missionaries have evidenced considerable concern and care to establish guidelines for their ministries. Numerous Evangelical organizations and institutions have held conferences, consultations and symposiums in the West to consider how missionaries can best conduct themselves in Russia and the former Soviet Union.\(^93\) Furthermore, the Institute of East-West Christian Studies in the United States publishes a quarterly journal, *East-West Church and Ministry Report*, primarily devoted to this subject.

Foreign missionaries living in Russia also have attempted to establish guidelines through a variety of forums, including The Gathering, a quarterly meeting of foreign missionaries in Moscow. An electronic conference entitled "Gathering" was set up in November 1996 to promote communication among expatriate missionaries working in Russia and to provide a medium to discuss ministry issues.

At a Gathering meeting in May 1996, an all-Russian panel with representatives from both Orthodox and Protestant confessions spoke to foreign missionaries on the topics:

---

\(^{92}\) Alexei Melnichuk, *We asked . . .*, PULSE, Sept. 23, 1994, at 3.

\(^{93}\) These organizations and institutions include The CoMission, the Evangelical Fellowship of Mission Agencies, the Interdenominational Foreign Mission Association, the Lausanne Committee for World Evangelization, the Overseas Ministries Study Center, and the World Evangelical Fellowship.
"What is Evangelism?" and "What is the Role of the Culture in Evangelism?" To promote greater understanding, expatriate and national Christians met during a 1995 Gathering and both sides openly voiced their concerns. The Western group challenged themselves to consider some of the following issues:

- What do our Russian brothers consider to be the proper role of the missionary in Russia?
- What about Western funding? Some day it will end; how can this be solved?
- What are the cultural mistakes we make and how can we correct them?
- Why is it necessary to work through the existing national churches?
- How can we build mutual trust in spite of differences?
- Why do national church leaders fear new church paradigms for emerging segments of society?
- Are Western definitions and models threatening to the national church?

Even when missionaries conscientiously examine their attitudes and activities, specific guidelines are difficult to develop. Many issues are complex and debatable. For example, is it possible for foreigners to be of Christian service in Russia if they do not know the language and culture? Is long-term mission service by foreigners always preferable to short-term? How can nationals and foreigners work most effectively together in missions to Russia? Should foreigners always be subservient to nationals? Should foreign Christians provide financial assistance to national Christians, and, if so, under what circumstances of accountabil-

---

54 Gathering, minutes (May 17, 1996) available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
55 Id.
ity? Is the greater denominational diversification engendered by foreign missions desirable or does it inevitably promote competition? How should missionaries relate to divisions within national denominations such as the registered and unregistered schisms in the Evangelical-Christian Baptist movement? With the existence of national evangelists, church-planters, and musicians, how much of a role exists for Westerners to fulfill these ministries in Russia? How can foreigners learn from the Russians as well as teach and assist them? To what extent should Evangelicals work with confessions and denominations other than their own? When does evangelism become proselytism?

Even the most conscientious missionaries will not find such convoluted considerations readily resolved. In addition, both those missionaries who care deeply, and those that appear indifferent to the consequences of their mission, will make mistakes. Nevertheless, the accomplishments of missionaries in Russia in the last five years are remarkable. Thousands have left comfort and security to travel to remote regions of Russia, often with families and sometimes intending to remain indefinitely. They have attempted to bring spiritual help and healing to a society scarred by seventy years of Marxist atheism and now suffering political, economic, and social turmoil. During the past six years, missionaries have worked with national Christians to establish as many as 6,000 new Protestant fellowships and churches and to expand existing ones. Foreign missionaries also have helped organize an estimated 1,000 to 1,500 indigenous parachurch organizations across the former Soviet Union, ministering to even the most neglected sectors of society.⁹⁶

Russian Val Komissarov has analyzed this phenomenon as follows:

⁹⁶ Interview by Anita Deyneka with Peter Deyneka and George Law (Feb. 5, 1997), available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
Missionary churches dedicated to proclaiming the Gospel all over the world are not a rare thing in the West. Such churches send their members to various parts of the world, support their missionary training and preparation, and regularly pray for their protection, success in ministry, as well as for the salvation of souls in other parts of the world. It seems to me this is the most difficult thing to understand for my compatriots, when they ask, "why do they come here?" The answer is they come to proclaim the Gospel just as they do in their own countries trying to wake people up from the lethargy of primitive atheism and materialism. Perhaps among missionaries coming to Russia there are some who are interested only in their own benefits. In fact such people cannot be called missionaries—they are businessmen of religion. Does it mean that because of such people, we should demand that all missionary activities in Russia should be stopped and all those who want to come and preach the Gospel should be denied permission to do so? I don't think so.... Who can say that thousands and thousands of Western Christians lack love when they continue to collect resources for humanitarian aid, medications, treatments for the terminally ill, and help for education institutions. We believe in one Christ, read one Bible, and pray to one God.  

At a February 1995 consultation of Russian and Western Christian workers, when asked what guidelines they would recommend to Westerners wishing to promote church growth in Russia, the nationals urged missionaries to "acculturate, understand, love, accept... and be one body with Russian believers, making changes as the Holy Spirit directs." Russian immigrant evangelist Johannes Reimer has urged Western missionaries to be "incarnational rather

97 Val Komissarov, Missionaries: In and Out of Fashion, EAST-WEST CHURCH & MINISTRY REP., Fall 1996, at 6-7.
98 E-mail from George J. Law, Summary of Afternoon Gathering Sessions (Feb. 15, 1995), available in Russian Ministries Files, Wheaton, Ill.
than organizational" if they wish their mission to succeed; "[b]ecome one of us and we will listen to you." 99

Such recommendations appear remarkably similar to the Golden Rule. Although not a detailed description of how missions in Russia should be conducted, Christ's admonition in Matthew 7:12 is the most dependable guide to an enterprise characterized by much uncertainty and controversy: "In everything, do to others what you would have them do to you, for this sums up the Law and the Prophets." 100

In every circumstance, foreign missionaries might be most effective if they were to imagine themselves in the place of the Russian people—if the situation were reversed and Russian Christians were arriving en masse to evangelize in America or Great Britain. Such a scenario is not unimaginable. In the 1980s, a Czechoslovakian physicist was assigned to work at a research institute in the Soviet Union where he also organized clandestine Bible studies among his colleagues. In his own country, he suffered restrictions and repressions but, nevertheless, helped build and lead a church there. In 1984, he remarked, "communism with the suffering it has brought to believers has swept away corrupt and lukewarm Christianity in our country. It has created a vacuum in millions of people... which can be truly filled only with vital Christianity. And that is what is happening—Christianity, purified and revitalized, is spreading throughout our country. Perhaps the day will come when our suffering church will be sending missionaries to your country." 101

---

100 Matthew 7:12.
VII. CONCLUSION

A Russian Orthodox theologian once wrote:

Russian society, exhausted by previous exertions and failures, finds itself in some sort of torpid state, apathy, spiritual stupor, despondency. The Russian state has yet to demonstrate signs of rejuvenation and strengthening which are so vital for it. . . . Russian citizenry, blinded by multiple mortal punishments and the extraordinary rise in crime and the general decline in manners, has steadily regressed. Russian literature has been overwhelmed by a powerful wave of pornography and sensation-mongering. 102

So wrote Sergei Bulgakov in 1909. That his words ring as true at the end of the twentieth century as at its beginning not only underscores the long-suffering of the Russian population, but also the urgent need for a fresh approach to the country’s multiple crises—political, economic, but above all, moral and spiritual. In Russia, all Christians of good will, Orthodox and non-Orthodox, native and foreign, must focus not on each other but on the true foe—the evil of corrosive, destructive egoism that divides not along any East-West fault line, but as Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn has said, through every human heart. 103 In 1909, in his famous Vekhi (Signposts) essay, theologian Sergei Bulgakov wrote, “The root of evil lies in the egotism of every individual.” Consequently, “[o]nly those renewed from within can implement the required political, economic, cultural and religious renewals in Russia.” 104

102 Peter Sawczak, Reconstruction, Deconstruction and the Restoration of Literature in Russia, in RUSSIA IN SEARCH OF ITS FUTURE 178, 185 (Amin Saikal & William Maley eds., 1995).
Just as in 1909, Russia's gravest troubles today are fundamentally moral and spiritual. No society can endure without the rule of law. But, today in Russia few feel any moral compunction to obey the law, which is contradictory and in flux in any case. Nor can a society endure amidst pervasive economic crime and a mafia stranglehold on the material lifeblood of the nation. General Nikolai Stolyarov, a former Gorbachev confidante who tried but failed to reform the KGB, declared in 1992 that Russia had rejected the Ten Commandments and as a result, the entire nation was reaping the dreadful consequences.¹⁰⁵ In 1989, writer Yuri Barabash made the same argument in defending Nikolai Gogol’s long-suppressed religious thought:

It seems that, finally, bit by bit, and with a near fatal time-lag, we are beginning to grasp the point: culture and religion, morality and christianity, creation and faith are so indissolubly interconnected that the desecration of sacred things, the violation of the Ten Commandments, and the cynical ridicule thereof, once impressed upon us as normal, in fact bear witness to a terrible, yawning emptiness.¹⁰⁶

Russia’s Orthodox and Evangelicals certainly can agree that the cause of the nation’s political and economic crises is moral, and in turn, that the solution to the moral crisis is spiritual. At the same time, what a tragedy it will be if Orthodox and Evangelicals do not make common cause by making amends, as both confessions need to, for vilifying each other. To this end, both sects must concentrate on the present moral collapse and its spiritual cure. Orthodox, for their part, should recognize that religious pluralism is unavoidable in a free society and that a renewal of state-enforced Orthodox privilege would only sap its spiritual vi-

---

¹⁰⁵ General Nikolai Stolyarov, Presentation at Wheaton College (Oct. 2, 1992). See also YANCEY, supra note 2, at 33.
¹⁰⁶ VAN DEN BERCKEN, supra note 104, at 127.
tality.\textsuperscript{107} Evangelical ministries, for their part, ought to pay a great deal more attention to legitimate Russian sensibilities through substantially improved missionary orientation and through a sober appreciation of their own cultural limitations. There is much constructive work to be done in Russia by all charitably inclined Christians. There should be no time for debilitating "mutual demonization," as Paul Mojzes calls it.\textsuperscript{108} The solution is Christian charity, deference, and humility.

\textsuperscript{107} Elliott & Richardson, supra note 12, at 189-214. Growing religious diversity in Russia would appear to be a function of the collapse of rigid Soviet ideological controls, the resulting dramatic increase in Christian and cult activity from abroad, and a resurgence of indigenous pagan, pseudoreligious, and occult influences. In Russia today one finds an inextricable mixture of native and foreign influences in the surge of interest in "the supernatural, the fantastic, the mystical and the esoteric." Valentina G. Broughter, The Occult in Russian Literature of the 1990s, 56 Russian Rev. 110, 124 (Jan. 1997).

\textsuperscript{108} Mojzes, supra note 60, at 8; see also Berman, supra note 60, at 304.
Table 1
Western Missionaries in the Former Soviet Union
From the 25 Largest Sending Agencies (1995)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Missionaries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assemblies of God¹</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biblical Education by Extension²</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvary Chapel of Costa Mesa¹</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campus Crusade for Christ²</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Evangelism Fellowship¹</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian and Missionary Alliance¹</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Christ**¹</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of the Nazarene¹</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Resource Ministries</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Free Church Mission²</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontiers²</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater Europe Mission²</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Teams</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institute in Basic Life Principles⁴</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>InterVarsity Christian Fellowship²</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navigators</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OMS International</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operation Mobilization</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army¹</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh-day Adventists</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Baptist Convention²</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United World Mission¹</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan World Mission</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth With a Mission</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total for 25 Agencies 3,190

¹ all career; ² majority career; ³ all short term (3 to 24 months); ⁴ 20 career, 300 short term; * To avoid double counting of many of the 862 one-year CoMission missionaries, this cooperative effort involving 12 sending agencies is not listed separately. ** Church of Christ totals do not include 200-300 mission-trip participants (1-6 weeks) because this short term of service falls below the 3- to 24-month designation for short-term missionaries.

Table 2

Western Missionaries in the Former Soviet Union
From the 12 Largest Denominational Sending Agencies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denomination</th>
<th>1995</th>
<th>1996</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assemblies of God</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvary Chapel of Costa Mesa¹</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian and Missionary Alliance</td>
<td>39¹</td>
<td>57²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Christ¹</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>c104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of the Nazarene</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Free Church</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>87³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran Church Missouri Synod</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh-day Adventist</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>69⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Baptist Convention</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>108¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Methodist Church</td>
<td>c15</td>
<td>15¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wesleyan Church</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>473</strong></td>
<td><strong>680</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹ all career
² 40 career; 17 short term
³ career; 62 short term
⁴ 29 career; 40 short term
⁵ 10 career; 31 short term

Compiled by Sharyl Corrado, Mark Elliott, and Pamela Meadows.
Table 3  
Protestant Denominations in the Former Soviet Union

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Churches Present Since 1917</th>
<th>New Churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Regardless of Official Status)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican</td>
<td>Calvary Chapel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical Christian-Baptist</td>
<td>Christian and Missionary Alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutheran</td>
<td>Christian Life Centers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mennonite</td>
<td>Christian Reformed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pentecostal</td>
<td>Church of God, Anderson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh-day Adventist</td>
<td>Church of God, Cleveland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Church of the Nazarene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Estonian Christian Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Evangelical Covenant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Churches in Lands Annexed | Evangelical Free                                   |
| In World War II                 | Evangelical Presbyterian                           |
| Hungarian Reformed           | Friends                                            |
| (Transcarpathia)             |                                                   |
| Methodist                   | Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod                   |
| (now active outside Estonia) | New Apostolic                                      |
|                            | Pentecostal Holiness                              |
|                            | Presbyterian Church of America                    |
|                            | University Bible Fellowship (Korean)              |

| Reemerging Churches         | Vineyard Christian Fellowship                     |
|                            | Wesleyan                                           |
| Armenian Evangelical and   | Word of Life                                       |
| Baptist                    |                                                   |
| Brethren                   |                                                   |
| Church of Christ           |                                                   |
| Evangelical Christian      |                                                   |
| Molokane                   |                                                   |
| Salvation Army             |                                                   |
| United Pentecostal         |                                                   |

Unaffiliated Churches  
(Founded by Western and Indigenous Parachurch Missions)

Compiled by Mark Elliott, Robert Richardson, and Sharyl Corrado.