Faith, Freedom, and Foreign Policy

Challenges for the Transatlantic Community

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About the Transatlantic Academy

The Transatlantic Academy is a research institution devoted to creating common approaches to the long-term challenges facing Europe and North America. The Academy does this by each year bringing together scholars, policy experts, and authors from both sides of the Atlantic and from different disciplinary perspectives to research and analyze a distinct policy theme of transatlantic interest. The Academy was created in 2007 as a partnership between the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) and the ZEIT-Stiftung Ebelin und Gerd Bucerius. The Robert Bosch Stiftung and the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation joined as full partners beginning in 2008, and the Fritz Thyssen Stiftung joined as a full partner in 2011. The Joachim Herz Stiftung and the Volkswagen Stiftung joined in providing additional support in 2011.

Table of Contents

Executive Summary v

I. Introduction – Stephen F. Szabo 1

II. Religion and the Liberal International Order – Michael Barnett . . . 8
Box 1: Blasphemy Laws in the West – Logan Finucan. 30

III. Islam and the Liberal Order – Mustafa Akyol 36

IV. Islam and Turkey: From Muslim Democracy to Islamist Autocracy? – Nora Fisher Onar 53
Box 2: Tunisia: The Challenge of Democratic Politics – Sarah Wolff . . 76

V. The Islamic State and the West: The Politics of Purification – Janice Gross Stein 80

VI. Religious Activists and Foreign Policy in the West – Clifford Bob . .94
Box 3: The Decline of Christian Democracy – Jan-Werner Müller . . 112

VII. A Transatlantic Religious Divide? Religious Minorities in EU and U.S. Foreign Policy – Anne Jenichen 116
Box 4: Women's Rights, Gender Equality, and Religion – Nora Fisher Onar and Anne Jenichen 135

VIII. Religious Freedom in the European Union and Its Southern Neighborhood – Michael Leigh 138
Box 5: Religion and Foreign Policy: A Brussels Perspective – Merete Bilde 156
Box 6: Islam and German Foreign Policy – Heinrich Kreft 161
Box 7: Laïcité *and the Muslim Prison Chaplaincy in France – Eric Germain 164*

IX. Eastern Christianity and the Liberal International Order – Lucian N. Leustean 168

X. The Guardians of Traditional Values: Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church in the Quest for Status – Alicja Curanović 191

Acknowledgements 213

About the Authors 215

Executive Summary

This year's Transatlantic Academy fellows have taken a close look at the role of religion in the liberal order and in the transatlantic relationship for a number of ***reasons***:

- There is a perceived *gap across the Atlantic over religion*, which has been seen as a dividing factor between a largely secular Europe and a more religious United States, with Canada somewhere in the middle. The role of Christian right groups in the United States and the international implications of their influence are seen by some as a potential fault line in the transatlantic relationship.
- The degree of *secularization in Europe* sets it apart from many countries around the world and, together with the continent's colonial history, reduces Europe's appeal in parts of the non-Western world.
- State and non-state actors that commit *violent acts in the name of religion*, both within the countries of the transatlantic community and globally, represent a challenge to the liberal international order.

The fellows considered a number of ***key questions*** associated with the interrelations of religion, liberal order, and foreign policy in the transatlantic community and its wider neighborhood.

- How deep is the transatlantic gap on religion and what are the policy implications?

- How secular is Europe and how does secularism vary from country to country?
- How should liberal societies engage with religious actors?
- How can liberal societies respond to violent acts committed in the name of religion?
- What is the role of Islam in the evolving transatlantic community, where Muslim minorities are playing an increasing role in public life?
- How should policymakers deal with the phenomenon of citizens of Western countries drawn to violent extremism associated with radical Islam?
- What is the future of Turkey's geopolitical and cultural orientation, with what implications for its partnerships with Europe and the United States?
- What is the significance of the Russian government's alliance with the Russian Orthodox Church and Russia's support of illiberal and anti-EU political forces inside and outside of the EU?

The individually authored chapters of the report cover a wide range of topics and offer a number of ***suggestions and recommendations*** about understanding and managing the role of religion in politics and its relationship with the liberal order**.**

- *Disentangling Religion from Other Causal Factors:* One of the analytical challenges that the authors, like policymakers, faced was to distinguish between situations where religion played a role and where it was simply a justification for violence and power politics. Instead of attempting to decide whether a claim to religious motivation is authentic or appropriate, Western leaders should focus on how to support the principles of governance that are under threat and those who wish to sustain these principles.
- *Western "Legends" about Religion:* Michael Barnett argues that religion's role in world affairs is poorly understood by Western scholars and policymakers primarily for two reasons: confusion about the concepts of religion, secularism, and liberalism, and a lack of historical self-awareness and critical introspection. These distortions have produced several "legends" that contribute to suboptimal policy: that the liberal international order is secular and that "rational" states are secular states, forgetting the role of religion in the shaping of the liberal international

order and in the "secular" states of the West; that religion is a primary cause of violence, neglecting the violence done in the name of secular nationalism and other ideologies; and that secularism is an antidote to religion, forgetting that secularism is a political project aimed at limiting the role of religion in public life.

- *Islam, Islamism, and the Liberal Order:* Mustafa Akyol argues that Islam as a religion is not necessarily at odds with the liberal order. Certain Muslim nationalists have political rather than religious complaints about Western power and the unfairness of the international system to Muslims, but these are similar to complaints voiced by many non-Muslims. The real ideological struggle is between liberalism and Islamism, in both its political (non-violent) and violent forms.

- *Islam and Turkey:* Nora Fisher Onar examines whether Turkey is Islamicizing. She argues that it is, but this is neither new nor always a source of illiberal politics. However, today the Turkish leadership is pursuing a policy of polarization with Islamist overtones. This is part of a short-term strategy to win elections, a medium-term strategy to police dissent, and a long-term strategy of raising a presumptively compliant "devout generation." The danger of the approach is that by suppressing Turkey's intrinsic diversity it creates fertile ground for ethno-sectarian tensions.

- *The Islamic State*: Janice Gross Stein argues that the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) fits into a tradition of politico-religious movements in the Arab world claiming authenticity through purification, from Wahhabi Saudi Arabia to the Muslim Brotherhood to al Qaeda. She advocates a Western policy of containing IS at the periphery while supporting the efforts of regional players to recapture territory from the group.

- *Religiously Motivated Activism in the West:* Clifford Bob argues that although some fear that religiously motivated activism creates destabilizing culture wars or civilizational clashes, it is part of normal politics in liberal states and international organizations. In many policy areas, advocacy groups from different faiths and countries form bonds and cooperate for common aims. These ties cross-cut and weaken the confessional divides often viewed as likely to lead to dangerous cultural conflicts.

- *Secular Europe and Religious America?:* Anne Jenichen argues that differences in EU and U.S. foreign policies on religious issues do not result

from transatlantic differences in the social and political importance of religion but rather from differences in "secular" foreign policy objectives. In the case of religious minorities, the EU's focus on human rights makes it more receptive to this issue than the United States, which has a stronger emphasis on security. Efforts to strengthen religious freedom compete with European and U.S. security, trade, and energy policy goals and so are not pursued consistently by the United States or the EU institutions and member states.

- *The EU and its Southern Neighborhood:* Michael Leigh examines efforts by the EU to promote religious freedom, through enlargement, neighborhood policy, and other instruments of policy. He points out that local ownership is the essential condition for success in these efforts. The "religious freedom" agenda is widely regarded as a Western, and indeed, a Christian, preoccupation. Instability in the EU's southern neighborhood spills over to Europe itself, notably through the two-way movement of so-called jihadists, exacerbating anti-Semitism and Islamophobia.

- *Divisions within Christianity:* Lucian N. Leustean argues that the idea of a distinct Orthodox civilization built on traditional values challenges the political construction of a secular European Union. The 2016 pan-Orthodox Synod has the potential to lead to major transformations in the structure of Eastern Christian churches and church-state relations in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states. The diversity of Eastern Christianity should be taken into account as a key factor in the engagement between religious leaders and policymakers.

- *The Russian Civilizational Challenge:* Alicja Curanović argues that under President Vladimir Putin, Russia has developed an ideological framework for Russian politics invoking "traditional values," with the Russian Orthodox Church playing an important role. Both church and state describe Russia as a distinctive civilization defined in opposition to the West, standing up for these values in the face of decadent Western influences. Russian ambition to act as an independent normative power with moral obligations can be seen in the conflict in Ukraine as well as in the Middle East.

In conclusion, policymakers in the transatlantic community must factor the influence of religion into their decision making on numerous issues. This report suggests ways of doing so and of thinking about the interplay of faith, freedom, and foreign policy.

I. Introduction

Stephen F. Szabo

Religion and its role in the liberal order have been the topic of the 2014-15 fellowship year at the Transatlantic Academy. This collaborative report is the result of the work of the Academy fellows beginning in September 2014. It follows upon the two previous fellowship years, which examined challenges to the liberal order in North America and Europe and from emerging powers. The Academy believed a closer look at the role of religion was important for a number of reasons. Notably, there has been a perceived gap across the Atlantic over religion, which has been seen as a dividing factor between a largely secular Europe and a more religious United States, with Canada somewhere in the middle. This gap seemed widest during the George W. Bush presidency but remains, and the role of Christian right groups in the United States and the international implications of their influence continues to be seen as a fault line in the transatlantic relationship.

The degree of secularization in Europe also sets the continent apart from most of the rest of the world, with uncertain implications for the EU's soft power. The Transatlantic Academy fellows came to consider a number of key questions associated with this theme. How deep is this gap? What are the policy implications? How secular is Europe, and how does secularism vary from country to country? How should liberal societies engage with religious actors? How should liberal societies respond to violent acts committed in the name of religion?

As the fellows began their work, violence associated with religion again made headlines around the world. The self-proclaimed Islamic State seized territory in Iraq and Syria, declared a caliphate, murdered thousands, and threatened religious minorities with extinction. Boko Haram, an Islamic terror group whose name means "Western education is forbidden," carried out mass killings in Nigeria and its neighbors and kidnapped, raped, and murdered schoolgirls. Attacks were carried out in Paris on the journalists of the satirical newspaper *Charlie Hebdo* and on a kosher supermarket, and in Copenhagen at a free speech event and at a synagogue. Other attacks have taken place in Australia, Canada, Kenya, Tunisia, and other countries around the world.

The fellows were also faced with other evolving challenges in the EU's neighborhood. The government of Russian President Vladimir Putin has developed a civilizational/values component in its ramped-up conflict with the West allying with the Russian Orthodox Church and supporting political forces opposed to European integration across the continent. The future of Turkey's geopolitical orientation has come into question with a growing emphasis on civilizational rhetoric from President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the AKParty.

In keeping with the Transatlantic Academy's focus, rather than try to cover the full global scope of the topic, the fellows have consciously concentrated their work on religion's role in the transatlantic community, its foreign policies, and Europe's neighborhood. Every aspect of the theme cannot be examined within these pages, but the contributions these scholars and practitioners offer cover a number of key questions and cases.

Michael Barnett's survey of the role of religion in international relations opens the report, pointing out that statesmen have tried to contain and suppress religion as a factor in world politics since the Treaty of Westphalia. However, religion's salience in international politics has been on the rise in the last half-century, after some relatively quiet decades in which it took more of a back seat to secularism and secular "isms" like capitalism, fascism, and communism in the great power competitions and evolving international order of the 20th century.

Barnett offers a review of the possible relationship between religion and the liberal international order. He starts with something of a "religious education." One reason that religion's role in world affairs is so poorly understood is that we often do not know what we are talking about when we talk about the three foundational concepts of religion, secularism, and liberalism. Toward that end, he reviews some of the ways that scholars think about these concepts, and suggests that more critical self-reflection might caution our rush to judgment

and alert us to how religion is both much more and much less than meets the eye. He further demonstrates how Western scholars and policymakers often operate with hidden (and unwarranted) assumptions about the role of religion in world affairs. Specifically, Barnett identifies four legends of the West:

- that the liberal order is a secular order (it is not so secular and much more Christian than is usually acknowledged);
- that liberal states are guided by rationality, state interests, and universal values (religion often shapes the state's interests and defines the character of so-called universal values);
- that religion is a primary cause of violence in the modern world (not so according to the record, we just care more about violence committed in the name of religion); and
- that liberalism is the best antidote to religious violence (it helps but is hardly a magic bullet and can be a cause of violence in its own right).

Mustafa Aykol applies some of these themes to his discussion of Islam and the liberal order. He offers a useful typology of the varieties of contemporary Islam in the modern political world, ranging from secular Muslimhood all the way to violent Islamism. He argues that Islam as a religion is not necessarily at odds with the liberal order. Forms of Muslim nationalism have political rather than religious complaints about Western hegemony and the unfairness of the international system to Muslims, but these are similar to complaints voiced by non-Western nations that are not Islamic. The real ideological struggle, he contends, is between liberalism and Islamism, in both its political (non-violent) and violent forms.

Aykol regards Erdoğan's Turkey as a Muslim nationalist regime rather than one that tries to impose *sharia* law on the country. His chapter links to Nora Fisher Onar's, which examines the role of Islam in Turkey's politics and foreign policy. She provides a historical overview that demonstrates that Islamicization is neither new nor always a source of illiberal politics. She proceeds to show, however, that Islamicization today is unprecedented in scope, and accompanied by increasingly illiberal policies. How are these trends related? Is Islam the source of Turkey's illiberal turn or merely window dressing? And what are the implications for Turkey's regional role and commitment to the transatlantic alliance? Fisher Onar argues that in response to challenges from diverse quarters of society, Turkey's pragmatic leadership has pursued polarization using the symbolic resources of Islamism. This is part of a short-term strategy to win elections, a medium-term strategy to

police dissent, and a long-term strategy of raising a "devout generation" that might be more receptive to Islamist-inflected authoritarianism. The danger of the approach — which is not endorsed by all elements of the pro-Islamic leadership and constituency — is that by repressing rather than addressing social cleavages, it creates fertile ground for radicalization. The risks are considerable given the threat of spillover from ethnic and sectarian conflict, and Islamist extremism in the region.

Janice Gross Stein takes a look at the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) that emerged from Syria's civil war to capture and hold territory in that country and Iraq and to claim legal authority over the world's Muslims by announcing the return of the caliphate. Stein places IS in a longer history in the Arab world of individuals and organizations seeking authenticity through purification amidst a cacophony of voices that claim to speak for Islam — from the 18th century alliance between the House of Saud and a Wahhabi cleric to the *Mahdi* in 19th-century Sudan to the emergence of the Muslim Brotherhood in the early 20th century Egypt to al Qaeda in the late 20th century. While the Islamic State's call to purification in the context of a globalized world and its sophistication with the tools of the digital era elevates threat perceptions, Stein argues that as the IS loses territory, it loses legitimacy. The West should support containment of IS, but territory must be recaptured by fighters from the region, without damaging reprisals against populations.

Moving closer to the Western core of the transatlantic arena, Clifford Bob, Anne Jenichen, and Michael Leigh examine various aspects of the influence of religion in Europe and the United States. Bob argues that religiously motivated political activism has long been a common feature of foreign policymaking in liberal states, notwithstanding the fact that these societies are generally considered secular. He examines the reasons that religion offers a useful basis for political mobilization, the variety of institutional and non-institutional forms such mobilization has taken, and the effect of religiously based lobbying on all manner of high and low politics issues in international relations.

Although some observers fear that religiously motivated activism creates destabilizing culture wars or civilizational clashes, Bob argues that it is part of normal politics in liberal states and international organizations. More important, in many policy areas, advocacy groups from different faiths form bonds and cooperate for common aims. These ties cross-cut and weaken the confessional divides often viewed as likely to lead to dangerous cultural conflicts. In short, Bob argues that religious groups have long influenced foreign policy, just like other interest groups, and that the vast majority of them do not represent a unique or uniquely dire challenge to liberal

states. Those few believers who seek to intimidate or silence other voices or who use violence and terrorism represent fringe elements that can be handled using conventional social or criminal sanctions.

Anne Jenichen explores the role that the promotion of religious freedom plays in the European Union and the United States. She compares how Brussels and Washington respond to the persecution of religious minorities in Egypt, Pakistan, and Burma in order to test the presumption that religion figures more prominently in U.S. than in EU foreign policy. She examines differences in individual religiosity, religion-state relations, and the political importance of religion in Europe and the United States — factors that are often considered to be the basis of the much-proclaimed transatlantic religious divide. The subsequent empirical comparison, based on the analysis of official documents, reveals that religious minorities usually do not rank high on either agenda, and are subordinated to other political and economic interests. Her analysis, moreover, shows that the EU has been more active on the issue than the United States. This counter-intuitive finding suggests that differences in EU and U.S. foreign policies on religious issues do not result from differences in the social and political importance of religion in both regions but rather from differences in "secular" foreign policy objectives. In the case of religious minorities, the EU's focus on human rights makes it more receptive to this issue than the United States, which has a stronger emphasis on security.

Michael Leigh considers the efforts made by the European Union to promote religious freedom and the protection of religious minorities through its external initiatives. He finds that the EU has the most leverage with countries that have applied for membership, like Turkey or Serbia, and rather less with countries further afield. The EU has made a particular effort to influence countries in North Africa and the Levant to respect fundamental rights and freedoms through its close links of association with them, and through the EU's "neighborhood policy." While there has been limited success in individual cases, there is little receptivity to this kind of influence from the EU in the countries concerned. They face the challenges of political Islam and sectarianism and do not necessarily share the EU's priorities. Instability in the EU's southern neighborhood spills over to Europe itself, notably through the two-way movement of so-called jihadists, exacerbating both anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. This reinforces the importance of religious tolerance but does not create a propitious political climate for its promotion. The "religious freedom" agenda is widely regarded in the region as a Western, and indeed, a Christian, preoccupation.

As Jenichen and Leigh point out, the United States, the EU institutions and member states do not pursue efforts to strengthen religious freedom consistently as these compete with security, trade, and energy policy goals. The EU and the United States, whose 1998 International Religious Freedom Act inspired the EU's recent initiatives, face a choice between continuing extensive efforts to impose respect for human rights and a more selective approach providing assistance to distressed individuals and groups, raising awareness, and applying political pressure in particular cases.

Europe is not only divided by Islam but also by Christianity. Lucian N. Leustean examines the relationship between Eastern Christianity and the liberal international order. He argues that the Byzantine concept of *symphonia* and the legacy of communism remain potent factors in the dynamics of contemporary church-state relations in the Eastern Christian world. At the start of the new millennium, the political engagement of Eastern Christian churches with the liberal international order is visible in four main areas, namely the idea of a unique Orthodox civilization, the role of Eastern Orthodoxy in the European Union, the survival of Eastern Christian churches in the Middle East, and the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church planned for 2016. The idea of a distinct Orthodox civilization built on traditional values challenges the political construction of a secular European Union. At the same time, the holding of the 2016 Synod has the potential to lead to major transformations in the structure of Eastern Christian churches and church-state relations in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states. This diversity of Eastern Christianity should be taken into account as a key factor in the engagement between religious leaders and policymakers.

Alicja Curanović delves deeper into the case of Russia and the relationship between the Russian state and the Russian Orthodox Church. She describes a new ideological framework for Russian politics under Putin, centered on "traditional values" with the Russian Orthodox Church playing an important role. Both church and state describe Russia as a distinctive civilization defined in opposition to the West, standing up for these values in the face of decadent Western influences. Russian ambition to act as an independent normative power with moral obligations can be seen in the conflict in Ukraine as well as in the Middle East. It relates to the country's conception of its rightful status in the world as an essential component of its identity and a drive to be recognized as an equal partner by the West.

In addition to these longer analyses, the study offers a number of shorter pieces providing brief insights into related topics. Logan Finucan describes blasphemy laws in the West. Sarah Wolff looks at developments in Tunisia, the

relative bright spot amidst the post-Arab Spring turmoil in the Middle East and North Africa. Jan-Werner Müller adds his thoughts on the implications of the decline of Christian Democracy in Europe. Nora Fisher Onar and Anne Jenichen look at religion's relationship with women's rights and gender equality. And Merete Bilde, Eric Germain, and Heinrich Kreft, all European practitioners, discuss the role of the EU, France, and Germany respectively in dealing with aspects of religion in foreign policy.

In conclusion, policymakers in the transatlantic community must factor the influence of religion into their decision making on numerous issues. This report suggests ways of doing so and of thinking about the interplay of faith, freedom, and foreign policy.

II. Religion and the Liberal International Order

Michael Barnett

The past, present, and fate of the liberal international order is a constant source of fascination and speculation, as evidenced by the sheer number of commentaries it has generated over the last several years.[1] Yet the number that properly consider its relationship to religion is far and few between; one of the rationales of this project was an attempt to correct for this oversight. Although policymakers and scholars might exist in separate worlds, they share a basic neglect of religion.[2] Religion's absence from these considerations becomes both more conspicuous and inexplicable when it is recalled that many of the major events of our times have triggered an intense, albeit not very extensive, informed, or enduring, discussion of religion.

There are three possible reasons for the neglect of religion's role. The first is that religion is not a topic for polite conversation. Or maybe, scholars and policymakers are just trying to be polite, following that adage that if one cannot say something nice, it is better to not say anything at all. A second is

[1] A good place to start is last year's report from the Transatlantic Academy: T. Flockhart, C.A. Kupchan, C. Lin, B.E. Nowak, P.W. Quirk, and L. Xiang, *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World*, Transatlantic Academy (May 2014). http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/publications/liberal-order-in-a-post-western-world.

[2] For statements on the failure of the discipline of international relations to pay attention to religion, see A. Stepan, M. Toft, and T. Shah, eds., *Religion and World Affairs: Blurring the Boundaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); S. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Relations: The Struggle for the Soul of the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Palgrave, 2003); J. Snyder, ed., *Religion and International Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); D. Philpott, "Has The Study of Global Politics Found Religion?" *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12 (2009), pp. 183-202; M. Toft, D. Philpott, and T. Shah, *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics* (New York: Norton, 2011).

that discussions are stopped by "Islam" before they ever get to religion, *per se*. What are Western policymakers frequently talking about when they are talking about religion? Islam. The consequence is that religion's place in the liberal international order never gets a full treatment. A third, more satisfying, possibility is that religion is irrelevant or relatively insignificant; it pales in importance to the usual suspects of changing balances of power, rising and falling economies, and shifts in technology. In short, the material world trumps the spiritual world. Yet it is not as if religion has been considered and judged insignificant. It was never considered in most accounts.

The modest aim of this chapter is to review different ways in which we can think of religion and its relationship to the liberal international order. It is divided into two parts. The first represents a primer on different ways to think about the relationship between the three concepts that figure prominently in any such discussion — religion, secularism, and liberalism. How we think about this relationship depends greatly on what we mean by these concepts. Part of the reason why religion's role in world affairs is so poorly understood is because we often do not know what we are talking about when we are talking about religion, secularism, and liberalism. Although there is no final word on the meaning of these concepts — not in general and not among the members of the project — at the very least, we need to more fully appreciate some of the ways in which they are and can be used (and abused). More to the point, this "religious education" intends to demonstrate that religion is both much more and much less than meets the eye, to encourage those in the West to be a little more self-reflective and sophisticated about the complicated place of religion inside and outside the liberal international order.

The second part of the chapter attempts to complicate assumptions regarding the relationship between religion and the liberal international order by challenging four prevailing "legends." First, that the liberal order is a secular order (it is not so secular and much more Christian than is usually acknowledged). Second, that liberal states are guided by rationality, state interests, and universal values (religion often shapes the state's interests and defines the character of so-called universal values). Third, that religion is a primary cause of violence in the modern world (not so according to the record, we just care more about violence committed in the name of religion). And fourth, that liberalism is the best antidote to religious violence (it helps, but is hardly a magic bullet, and can be a cause of violence in its own right).

Religion, Secularism, and Liberalism

Sound reasoning begins with choosing concepts carefully and having a better appreciation of the history and meaning behind them. The first thing that

must be said about all three concepts under discussion, though, is that there is no concrete agreement on what they mean, neither in general nor among the authors of this report. The goal of this section is not to offer the final word but to inject some doubts into false convictions, provide a brief overview of aspects of the debate around these concepts, and give a sense of what is at stake in these debates.

Religion

While there is little agreement on how to define religion or identify its core characteristics, there are two major ways for identifying whether or not a religion exists.[3]

The first, quite common in the West, is to define religion by its attributes and then use them to determine whether a body of beliefs and community of believers merit the label of "religion" and "religious," respectively. Many of these lists begin with a belief in God, and then add on from there to include such elements as foundational texts that are assumed to have divine origins; conversion experiences; ceremonies, rituals, and spiritual disciplines; forms of theodicy that explain death, suffering, and eschatology; martyrdom; demonology; and a distinction between the sacred and profane.

Although lists of characteristics have the distinct advantage of simplifying an otherwise complex world, similar to all profiling efforts, they have several downsides. Several questions immediately surface in this exercise. First, which attributes are either necessary or most important?[4] For instance, many in the West insist that God is a necessary feature, but some of the world's "great" religions, including Buddhism, do not possess a God (at least not as understood by the Abrahamic faiths). Second, who decides whether a body of beliefs is reasonable and counts as a bona fide religion? The short answer is those with power or who are in the majority. Christianity counts, but the Church of Scientology is typically dismissed as a cult. But one person's cult can be another person's religion. After all, Imperial Rome considered Christianity to be a cult before it became the state religion. Religious beliefs are dependent, quite literally, on faith — believing without empirical evidence — and it is not obvious why one set of beliefs and practices are reasonable while others declared unreasonable. Third, do these lists encourage the reification of religion, that is, take something that is living and evolving or inert and fixed? Contemporary Christianity is quite different from medieval Christianity

[3] This draws from W. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 57-122.

[4] For an excellent stab, see J. Benthall, *Returning to Religion: Why a Secular Age is Haunted by Faith* (London: I.B. Taurus, 2008).

and even more so from ancient Christianity. Western Christianity is divided between Catholic and Protestant, and has produced a variety of off-shoots, including the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Contemporary non-Orthodox Judaism is quite different from medieval Judaism, which was itself quite different from the faith practiced when the Temple stood in Jerusalem. Islam has two basic branches, Shi'a and Sunni, along with lots of sects and off-shoots as well as reforming and fundamentalist traditions. It is not only one religious community that tends to reify another. It happens within the same religious community, particularly as one branch insists that its interpretation is correct and a competing interpretation is false. For some minority sects, this can be a death sentence. Lost in such reification is a fundamental feature of many religions: the foundational texts require interpretation, these interpretations are offered by individuals who are influenced by their historical times, there are rival interpretations, and which interpretations win often depends on which is most usable and best fits the times.

The second, alternative, approach is to begin not with what religion *is* but what it *does*. What function does it serve? Peter Berger defines religion as the "establishment, through human activity, of an all-embracing sacred order, that is, of a sacred cosmos that will be capable of maintaining itself in the ever-present face of chaos."[5] Religion, in his view, is a human creation that is intended to help humanity address the fundamental anxieties related to the search for meaning, especially when confronted with the existential uncertainties that accompany periods of severe human suffering. Such moments of dread and destruction reveal a desire to find solace in "something beyond or transcendent to their lives."[6] The famous U.S. philosopher John Dewey distinguished between religion and religious experience on the grounds that humans can develop a belief in the divine that does not depend on the existence of a God. Such thoughts often inspire synonyms for religion such as spirituality. The search for the transcendental might include God, but might not.

In order to feel less alone in the world and more connected to something bigger than themselves, humans need to create transcendental spaces on earth and integrate them into their lives. The concept of the sacred and the distinction between the sacred and the profane serves this function. The notion that religion is dependent on this distinction is closely associated with the eminent French sociologist, Emile Durkheim.[7] According to Durkheim, religion is "a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things,

[5] P. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: A Sociological Theory of Religion* (New York: Anchor Books, 1990), p. 51.

[6] C. Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[7] E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

that is to say, things set apart and surrounded by prohibitions — beliefs and practices that unite its adherents in a single moral community called a church."[8] In contrast to the profane that is the "everyday," the sacred is invested with transcendental reverence and is regarded as "superior in dignity and power to profane things." Humans can associate the sacred with natural or artificial objects, and to animals, men or women, or to objectifications of human culture. There are sacred rocks, sacred tools, and sacred cows. The Sabbath is sacred in the Abrahamic religions because it represents a day of the week unlike the other six, distinguished by its own liturgy, rituals, and practices.

The sacred helps produce and sustain the broader community. Writing against the emerging (and still quite dominant) view in the West that society is formed and maintained on the basis of self-interest, Durkheim argued that shared social ideas, beliefs, and practices form the basis of society. Humans can and do exist in two realms: one that is moral and collective, and the other that is self-regarding, utilitarian, and private. Even liberal, atomized, and market-driven societies that celebrate individualism are bound by common values and a shared culture. According to Durkheim, the sacred induces individuals to become more morally and community-minded than they otherwise might be, even in seemingly secular societies.

The idea that the sacred can be part of the secular is one of Durkheim's most radical and under-appreciated claims regarding religion. Western societies typically operate with the binary of the secular and the religious. However, if the sacred is a defining feature of religion, and it also exists in the secular, then the secular world has elements of the religious. Simply put, seemingly secular beliefs, practices, and institutions can have a sacred quality and function to produce and bind a moral community. Nationalism has strong elements of the sacred.[9] "God and country" is a familiar saying in many Western countries, and it is quite common to define nationalism as a "civil religion." The United States often presents itself in religious terms as a "city upon a hill" and treats the flag as a sacred object. The highest expression of nationalism is dying for one's country, national holidays are accorded the same status as religious holidays in many Western countries, and national memorials are treated with reverence. National constitutions are often treated as sacred texts.

Although once upon a time, the sacred was reserved for God or another transcendental deity, now the sacred also includes the human. As Durkheim noticed in his times, the human can become sacred, "the object of a sort of

[8] Durkheim, p. 49.

[9] For analyses to this effect, see W. Cavanaugh, *Migrations of the Holy: God, State, and the Political Meaning of the Church* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Erdmanns, 2011).

religion...a common faith."[10] The human rights community not only treats the human as sacred but also operates like a religious community. Human rights, critically, helps to encourage individuals to see themselves as part of a transnational, universalized community and to be more morally minded than they otherwise would be. Just as it is an article of faith for Christians that Jesus died for our sins, so is it an article of faith for many that all humans are created equal. Human rights activists often refer to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as their bible, will speak of a conversion experience, and even make pilgrimages to sites of killing such as Cambodia, Rwanda, and Auschwitz. The sacred can operate in the "secular" just as it does in the "religious." Does the liberal international order have elements of the sacred? If so, then it has elements of the religious, and there must be a corresponding sense of the "profane."

Although scholars of religion have tended to opt for the second over the first path, arguably the reverse is the case in the "real world." When legal systems set out to protect religious practice, they have to decide what is religious and what is not, and what rituals cross the line into the illegal. In the United States, the Supreme Court has had a difficult time figuring out whether Native American religions count as religions, especially when some insist on rituals, such as using hallucinogens in their ceremonies, that violate federal law. Apparently, though, sacramental wine does not raise similar concerns. In Germany, the Church of Scientology is legal but does not enjoy the same privileges and rights, such as tax breaks, that are accorded to state-recognized religions. When religion is regulated, governments often must make decisions about who will be recognized.[11] The point is that policies such as "freedom of religion" and "religious liberty" depend on a working definition of religion, and different societies and legal systems operate with very different definition of what counts as a religion, what gets reduced to a cult, what is regulated, and what is regulated out of existence.

Secularism

The West gave the world both a self-contained entity called "religion" and a concept for separating it from the rest of society — secularism. Secularism, in fact, has had many different meanings. In its first usage in medieval Europe,

[10] M. Cladis, "Introduction," in E. Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. xxviii.

[11] In 2011, Hungary introduced a Law on the Right to Freedom of Conscience and Religion, and on Churches, Religions and Religious Communities, which granted immediate legal recognition to only 14 of more than 300 different religious institutions and associations, requiring the others to go through a process of re-registration. Budapest received heat from the European press and eventually found itself taken to task by the European Court of Human Rights on the grounds of bias. But in many respects, it was doing what other governments have always done — just more aggressively.

it referred to the here and now, the present rather than the world to come (*escaton* — the end of days). Later it described the monk's exit from the monastery and return to the "world"; a "secularized" priest brought religion outside the church walls. Beginning with the Enlightenment, the secular took on broader meanings. It could refer to the ability of the individual to forge her worldviews unburdened by superstition. God, in fact, might no longer be needed to explain how the world works. To the extent that humans were now able to rid themselves of anachronistic and irrational beliefs, they could enjoy new heights of cultural achievement. Individuals might still have religious beliefs, but they keep it to themselves.[12]

These other meanings of the secular are bound up the process of secularization, the general reduction of religion and religious authority in public life.[13] The Enlightenment privileged reason over superstition. Science and its insistence on empirical evidence and naturalistic explanations were dislodging the acceptability of religion's reliance on God's laws to explain the workings of the world. Capitalism and modern notions of progress were leading people to find their just rewards in the here and now and not in the afterlife. In Marx and Engels's famous aphorism: "All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at least compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and relations with his kind."[14] The rise of liberalism and democracy was shifting authority toward people who recognized man-made laws and away from a clergy that revered heavenly decrees. Religion was on the run.

Religion was in retreat not only because the ground was receding but also because of assaults by political elites who wanted to reduce the power and privileges of religious authorities. In France and other modernizing countries, the state, under the banner of secularism, began to seize the church's assets on the grounds that it could put these resources to better public use that would hasten the development of a rational, harmonious, and progressive society. Then and now, secularism is an "ism" — an ideology. In other words, while secularists present themselves as offering a value-neutral view of the world, they are championing a political project. To be a secularist is to make a claim

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[12] For discussions of secularism, see M. Lilla, *The Stillborn God: Religion, Politics, and the Modern West* (New York: Knopf, 2007); E.S. Hurd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); C. Calhoun, M. Juergensmeyer, and J. Van Antwerpen, eds., *Rethinking Secularism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[13] For summaries of the secularization thesis, see P. Gorski and A. Altinordu, "After Secularization?" *Annual Review of Sociology* (2008), pp. 14, 55-85.

[14] C. Taylor, *A Secular Age*; and K. Marx and F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," in R.C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd edition (New York: W.W. Norton, 1978), p. 476.

not only about how one imagines the world as it exists but also proselytize for a world as it should exist.

In every secular country, there have been battles between secularists and those who saw themselves as defending religion, religious authority, and religious privileges. The consequence is that the secular lines that distinguished politics from religion were drawn differently in different countries. U.S. secularism is quite different than French *laïcité* secularism. In France, it is acceptable to defame a religious community's prophet, but it is not acceptable for that same religious community to wear visible markers of religious identity in schools. *Laïcité* has different meanings; the *laïcité* in France is not what it once was and it differs from the version adopted and evolving in Turkey, as Nora Fisher Onar notes in her chapter. Just as religion comes in different shapes and sizes, so too does secularism; it is more accurate to speak of secularism*s* and not secularism.

Secularism, as a process and political struggle, was supposed to lead to the natural and intentional decline of religion and religious authority. If judged by where the West began three centuries ago, secularization occurred. Whereas once religion inhabited all spheres of life and there was no distinguishing religion from the economy, politics, or culture, secularization placed religion in a private corner separated from everything else. Yet secularization was never so complete, certainly not outside the West and not even in the Western liberal order. In so-called secular societies, religion never went away, leading practitioners to acknowledge that religion was still alive and well and scholars to discard the secularization thesis.

In Europe, the recognition by intellectuals and politicians who once felt no need to consider religion has given way to "post-secularism."[15] Post-secularism, like many concepts that have the "post" prefix, is better defined by the negative than by the positive — that is, what it is not rather than what it is. Post-secularism is a concession to the simple fact that secularism never quite put a stranglehold on religion. But what that means is a matter of debate; just as secularism has many different meanings, so too does post-secularism. It can mean that religious communities and their beliefs must be accorded a place in debates that were once exclusively controlled by secular organizations. Or, that religious institutions are increasingly asked to help solve some of society's most difficult problems. Or, that statements of belief, as opposed to reason, should be accepted as legitimate in public debate. Or, that even seemingly secular beliefs have religious underpinnings. However defined, the very term

[15] P. Gorski, et al., eds., *The Post-Secular in Question* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

"post" is an acknowledgment by the secular-minded that religion was always here and always will be.

Not only has the West failed to live up to its secular self-image, but much of the rest of the world never quite accepted the ideal of the religion relegated to the private. For many outside (and some inside) the West, religion belongs everywhere. In many conceptions of Islam, it is totalizing, expected to regulate relations between genders, how individuals and firms conduct business, the kind of law that is associated with the state, and so on. In this view, it makes no sense to talk about "political" Islam, because Islam already incorporates politics. Such views should appeal to "fundamentalist" Jews and Christians, because they also believe that God's presence should be everywhere. For many Orthodox Jews, religious law, *halakha*, should be the law of the land. Israel is a "Jewish" state and as such religion plays a greater role in public and private life there than it does in secularized Western societies.

The theory and practice of secularization underscores three important points. The first is that the West operates with a much more restrictive understanding of religion and the role it should play in society than much of the rest of the world. This outcome, as we will soon see, was not simply a consequence of anonymous, structural forces, but also was the result of political and anti-clerical campaigns that were intended to shift political power from one faction of society to another. This leads to the second point: the outcome of these struggles between religious and secular authorities has been political contracts that parties attempt to rewrite from time to time. Secular authorities had the upper hand for most of the 19th and 20th centuries, and used their power to reduce the space accorded to religion. The so-called religious resurgence, in this respect, can be understood as an attempt by religious authorities to renegotiate the contract in terms that are in their favor.[16] Third, for many in the West, secularism has been central to the development and defense of democracy. Although anti-democratic forces can come in all shapes and sizes, democracy and the will of the people is seen as especially threatened by any sort of theocratic element that views authority as derived from God.

These reassertions of religion shook up domestic and international politics. Faith-based organizations routinely attempt to influence the foreign policy of their governments, as Clifford Bob notes in his chapter. An increasing percentage of humanitarian aid owes to religious motives — Christians, Jews, and Muslims are heavily involved in emergency aid as a way to fulfill their religious duties. Muslim and Catholic organizations are joining forces to defeat campaigns intended to further individual choice in the area of sexuality,

[16] For this analysis, see Philpott, Shah, and Taft, *God's Century*.

gender, and reproduction. Religious authorities have been a critical, but often neglected, actor in various peacemaking ventures, able to accomplish what secular organizations cannot. The United Nations has actively considered integrating religion into its halls.[17] Religious actors, Lucian N. Leustean notes in his chapter, have been wandering the halls of Brussels for a long time. According to some interpretations, Article 17 of the European Union's Lisbon Treaty, in force since 2009, gives unprecedented preferential treatment to religious organizations and the Vatican; it might or might not provide such ease of access. Sometimes the secular world is simply noticing that religion never disappeared from the public realm, and in other instances religion is truly becoming a more visible presence.

Liberalism and Liberal Order

As discussed in the 2014 report of the Transatlantic Academy, a liberal international order refers to both the identity of the members of the order and their collective values, practices, and institutions. Liberalism refers to a set of values that are expected to organize domestic society, including individualism, liberty, and political freedom, and to a set of institutions that are a reflection of these values and are intended to safeguard them, including democracy, markets, and the rule of law. Although liberalism is not the same thing as secularism, the presumption is that a liberal order is a secular order to the extent that religion is relegated to the private and the state remains separate from and, legally speaking, superior to religious authority in the realm of the public. Western states are viewed as having the qualifying characteristics of a liberal political order, and they have formed a distinctive liberal international order that is designed to represent their interests, defend their security, and expand their way of life. Not only are they democracies, but the regional institutions of the West, such as NATO, are run along quasi-democratic principles. Not only do they honor the rule of law, but they have created a quasi-legal transnational order that binds them together. And while they have different kinds of capitalisms, they remain nevertheless committed to market principles and have created various kinds of economic institutions intended to maintain its workings.[18]

The way policymakers and practitioners talk about the liberal international order, it sometimes sounds as if they are talking about a religious institution, certainly not a house of worship but containing elements of the sacred. Recalling Durkheim, the sacred includes a space of transcendence, invests

[17] L. Leustean, ed., *Representing Religion in the European Union: Does God Matter?* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

[18] See T. Flockhart, C.A. Kupchan, C. Lin, B.E. Nowak, P.W. Quirk, and L. Xiang, *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World*, for a more involved discussion of the liberal order.

an object, ideal, or thought with reverence that is distinct from the "profane." While the profane is generally associated with the "everyday," it also suggests the presence of impure elements that might otherwise contaminate the sacred. In some societies, in fact, the secular appears to have been elevated to the sacred. The French official response to the *Charlie Hebdo* attack stressed the importance of the sacred order of *laïcité* and free speech over that of religious diversity, emphasizing the need to protect this order from the polluting and destabilizing effects of religion. Although the idea that the liberal international order might have religious-like elements might seem far-fetched to some, for many outside the West, this is exactly as it appears. And, if we accept the possibility that the liberal international order is an outgrowth of Christendom, which is suggested below, then the idea that the liberal international order has a religious dimension becomes not just analogic but realistic.

Religion and the Legend of the Liberal International Order

Much of the contemporary understanding of the relationship between religion and the international order owes a significant debt to the founding myth of the birth of modern international politics.[19] The fable goes something like this: Before 1648 and the Treaty of Westphalia, the state and religion had a co-dependent relationship and overlapping spheres of authority. Rulers commanded over a territory and its population with a combination of material and symbolic resources; material resources they gained from raising armies and crushing the opposition, and symbolic resources associated with the divine they gained from their compact with the Church. Religious authorities might have commanded the heavens, but on earth they needed the king to maintain stability and be willing to use force to protect their privileges and perks, including their wealth, landholdings, and the right to collect taxes. In this arrangement, there was no clear distinction between the domestic and the international or the secular and the religious.

This arrangement began to break down in the late 16th century owing to several concomitant transformations: the first signs of the Enlightenment and the Reformation began to challenge the Catholic Church's authority; the growth of the market and long-distance trade began to create new classes that wanted new rights and opportunities; and advances in military technology, including new forms of weaponry, made traditional defense structures such as castles vulnerable. A dire consequence of these nested upheavals was the eruption of religious conflicts, climaxing in the Thirty Years War. Waged by various European rulers who often claimed to have God on their side and to be the protector of the religious brethren abroad, it became one of European

[19] D. Philpott, "The Religious Roots of Modern International Relations," *World Politics,* 52.2 (January 2000): pp. 206-45; W. Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence*, pp. 123-81.

history's bloodiest conflicts. In the German states, the male population was reduced by half, and in other regions the civilian population declined by 25 percent. In 1648, exhausted by a war that seemed to have no end, European rulers signed an agreement that reassembled stability by putting religion in its place. Religious authorities still had considerable political power in domestic life, but religion's influence would stop at the water's edge. The state was now sovereign, European states would recognize each other's sovereignty, and they would no longer recognize a higher authority. The Treaty of Westphalia was the beginning of the secularization of world politics.

This received interpretation of Westphalia has had a lingering effect on how scholars and policymakers tend to understand the relationship between religion and the liberal international order. This version of events has been challenged by scholars, especially for its treatment of religion, but the damage has been done. The fable informs four legends that have had the accumulated effect of sacralizing the liberal international order and demonizing religion: 1) the liberal international order is a secular order; 2) Western states have rid themselves of religious influences in favor of rationalism; 3) religion is a principal source of violence and instability; and, 4) liberalism can soothe the religious beast.

Legend #1: The Liberal International Order is a Secular Order

The first legend of the liberal international order is that it is as secular as the states that comprise it. Yet these states might not be as secular as they perceive themselves to be; nor is their order. Historically speaking, religious pluralism and tolerance did not become institutionalized until the late 19th century in many liberal states, there were always exceptions (just ask the Jewish communities), and even the crown prince of secular liberal states, the United States of America, demonstrated religious intolerance from time to time (just ask Catholics, Mormons, or indigenous Native Americans). Indeed, during this period there remained a fundamental contradiction between states' proclamations of religious freedom and their self-presentation as representatives of Christianity. Nineteenth century liberal powers such as Britain and France assumed that God was on their side, that their economic and military superiority had providential origins, and that they had a responsibility to civilize — that is, convert — the world. Sometimes the British imperial authorities found the zeal of the missionaries potentially dangerous because it might incite a backlash by the colonial populations, but the home government made constant reference to its Christian values.[20] The French had similar thoughts, expressed in the *mission civilatrice*. Christian discourse

[20] A. Porter, *Religion versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914* (Leicester, England: Apollos Press, 1990)

informed the standards of civilization that European states used to judge their superiority and justify colonial oppression and violence. Many of the great missionary meetings of the early 20th century were actively supported by U.S. and European heads-of-state because of the belief that Christianity was a great civilizer and aid to colonial control. U.S. officials took it for granted that they represented a "chosen country" that had God on its side as it spread across the North American continent and spread its influence around the world.[21]

International society underwent a step-wise secularization beginning with World War I, in part because this Christian club was beginning to include non-Christians (and then after World War II, the addition of the socialist countries made religion almost taboo). Yet at the time, many Western intellectuals, theologians, and diplomats worried that the declining influence of Christianity and growing secularization might undermine the West's moral order. In their view, just as domestic society's Christian values helped to make individuals more morally minded than they otherwise would be, the same was said of international society. The decline of Christian civilization, many predicted, would have deleterious effects on international stability, making it more likely that states would become more atavistic, cynical, and self-interested. Others, though, raised another possibility, one that would become the accepted wisdom: replacing Christianity with a secularized humanism would have a steadying and pacifying influence on international affairs.

Yet how secularized is the international liberal order? Although Western countries assume that their liberal order has no religious orientation, others continue to believe that it exists below the surface and makes its presence felt. Many political theorists have gone further than Durkheim's argument that the secular can have a religious element; they suggest that themes of the sacred and the holy have grafted onto secular institutions, with the consequence that secular institutions are laundering Christian values. As Carl Schmitt famously asserted, "all significant concepts of the modern theory of the state are secularized theological concepts."[22] Other observers of religion in modern Western society have similarly suggested that many seemingly secular global institutions have religious features. Consider the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).[23] Its founder, Henri Dunant, a devout Calvinist, saw the ICRC as a weapon in the war to save Christian morality in Europe. When the sultan of the Ottoman Empire wrote the newly established organization to inquire about membership, the initial reaction was to dismiss the possibility

[21] R. Neibuhr, *Christianity and Power Politics* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940); W.R. Mead., "God's Country," *Foreign Affairs* (September/October 2006).

[22] C. Schmitt, *Political Theology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

[23] See M. Barnett, *Empire of Humanity: A History of Humanitarianism* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).

that a Muslim country could know anything about civilized warfare. The ICRC today insists that its symbol never had any tie to Christianity, but historical records suggest otherwise. Although the ICRC has universalized considerably since then, especially evident by allowing alternative symbols to the cross such as the Red Crescent, it is still seen by many in the non-Christian world as a Christian organization. And it is not just the ICRC that is seen as having a religious content — Western institutions of all kinds are perceived to be deeply influenced by Christian values.

In the spirit of secular inquiry, it is probably worth entertaining the possibility that the Western liberal order is a Christian liberal order. One hundred years ago, such a statement would have been seen as stating the obvious. Have Western states emptied the Christian spirit from their order? Or have the religious elements simply become more opaque? Samuel Huntington's clash of civilizations thesis, though wrong about much, may have had a point that the Western Christian tradition and secularism makes the West far more unique than Westerners suggest.

Legend #2: Rationality Rules

It is not unusual to hear Western policymakers assert that whereas they are rational, those other states outside the West march to a different, irrational beat. It is never quite clear what the hidden metrics are that are being used to measure the degree of rationality of a foreign policy, but the presumption is that it is structured by the discourse of national interests. What defines national interests? It's a matter of debate, but includes some element of security and wealth, and, importantly, excludes all those values such as religion that might seemingly interfere with the former. From there, it is a small step to declaring that a rational foreign policy is one that is defined by *realpolitik*. Not only is a "rational" foreign policy good for the state, it also is good for international order. Rationality and *realpolitik*, at these moments, cease being descriptive theories and instead become normative theories — they become prescriptions of what rational states should do and what they should like. Where is religion? It is associated with the irrational and conflict. Any transnational principles, values, ethics, or ideology represent a potential threat to states. If states become carried away by ideology, religion, or any other universalizing ambitions, then they might harm their basic self-interests and undermine international stability. Backstopped by secularism, discourses of rationalism and *realpolitik* reinforce the belief that religion is best never seen or heard from.[24]

[24] See N. Guilhot, "Secularism, Realism, and International Relations," *The Immanent Frame*, Social Science Research Council (October 31, 2007), http://www.ssrc.org/blogs/immanent_frame/2007/10/31/secularism-realism-and-international-relations/.

Setting aside for the moment whether or not states should live by power alone and strip themselves of all values, how does this image of a "rational" and *realpolitik*-driven Western state stand up to the historical record? Arguably, not very well. Consider the following: A century ago Western, liberal states wore their religions on their shirtsleeves. These were not just Western powers, they were Christian powers, unapologetically so.[25] Moreover, many states, including the United States, point to the guiding role of (Judeo-)Christian values in shaping their interests and principles. From the beginnings of the Cold War to the beginnings of the War on Terror, religious values and commitments arguably had a subliminal but powerful effect on U.S. foreign policy.[26] Religious-inflected discourse of good vs. evil became a defining feature of the post-9/11 environment. Furthermore, even so-called *realpolitik* commitments can have a religious basis. A careful reading shows that Hans Morgenthau's *Politics Among Nations*, widely regarded as a touchstone of contemporary realism, in fact incorporates principles of justice that have a religious basis. One of the great U.S. theologians of the 20th century, Reinhold Neibuhr, created a Christian realism that has influenced various foreign policy officials.[27] U.S. President Barack Obama is rumored to have had a copy of Neibuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* at his side as he crafted his 2009 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech.[28] Relatedly, as astute realists have always known, it is nearly impossible to legitimate a foreign policy on self-interest. Although religion is not the only way to legitimate a foreign policy, its discursive centrality makes it highly effective, especially when fighting against "Godless communists" or Islamic extremists.

The continuing influence of religion on foreign policy can be seen in the agenda to promote religious freedom.[29] Over the last decade, as noted in the chapter by Michael Leigh, Western officials have promoted one version or

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[25] R. N. Leslie, Jr. "Christianity and the Evangelist for Sea Power: The Religion of A. T. Mahan," in J.B. Hattendorf, ed., *The Influence of History on Mahan: The Proceedings of a Conference Marking the Centenary of Alfred Thayer Mahan's 'The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783,'* (Newport, RI: Naval War College Press, 1991); and Neibuhr, *Christianity and Power Politics.*

[26] W. Inboden III, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[27] R. Lovin, "Christian Realism for the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Religious Ethics*, 37-4 (2009), p. 669-82; E. Patterson, ed., *Christianity and Power Politics Today: Christian Realism and Contemporary Political Dilemmas* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan Press, 2008).

[28] L. Julian, "Niebuhr and Obama," *Policy Review* (April/May 2009), p. 19-33; and D. Little, "Obama and Niebuhr: Religion and American Foreign Policy," in *Essays on Religion and Human Rights: Ground to Stand On* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[29] For sophisticated readings of the campaign for religious freedom, see P. Danchin, "The Tangled Law and Politics of Religious Freedom," *Santa Clara Journal of International Law*, 10:1 (2012); H. Greenfield, "International Law, Religious Limitations, and Cultural Sensitivity: The Park51 Mosque at Ground Zero," *Emory International Law Review*, 25 (2011); E.S. Hurd, "Religious Freedom, American Style," *Quaderni di diritto e politica ecclesiastica* (April 1, 2014), pp. 231-42.

another of religious freedom. Often they, and their activist champions, claim that religious rights are part of human rights; some would go even further and assert that religious rights and freedom of conscience are a precondition for other kinds of rights. There are two points worth bearing in mind. The first is that there is a long history here that must be acknowledged. Sometimes those in the West on the forefront of the campaign for religious freedom make it sound as if this is the first time that they have promoted "religious freedom." In fact, the West has been doing this for several centuries.[30] For much of this history, moreover, it was well understood that religious freedom was a mechanism for enabling proselytization and missionary work. Religious freedom, then, has an intimate relationship to colonialism and imperialism — and while those in the West might prefer to forget the past, those outside the West have longer memories.

The second point is that what counts as "religious freedom" in the religious freedom agenda is a Christian definition of religion in which religion is part of the private. But in many societies, religious freedom can only be practiced in ways that intrude on the "public." Orthodox Jews in Israel, for instance, have little tolerance for religious freedom; non-Orthodox branches of Judaism have a difficult time establishing themselves in Israel because of state restrictions. It is for this reason that Israel is closer to Chad on indexes of religious freedom than it is to the United States. In many Islamic societies, as well, religion and the state are intertwined. One person's promotion of religious freedom is another person's campaign against religion.

Legend #3: Religion is a Primary Cause of Violence

One of the legends of Westphalia is that religion is a primary cause of violence. Huntington's clash of civilizations thesis owes some of its popularity to this assumption. Since 9/11, foreign policy experts commonly refer to this "lesson" of history in their analyses of the dangers to global stability. The mere mention of religion injects the fear of God into the minds of many Western policymakers and scholars. It conjures up images of fanaticism, extremism, and violence: Islamists wearing suicide belts, kidnapping young girls, threatening death to infidels and heretics, and carrying out beheadings on camera. Fundamentalist Christians in the West using the vote to impose their views on the rest of society, and, when the vote is unavailable, resorting to intimidation and violence. Orthodox Jews in Israel, terrorizing Palestinians and roughing up secular Jews. Hindu nationalists in India, attacking Muslim communities. Even the purportedly peaceful Buddhists are not immune to

[30] C.R. Smit, *Individual Rights and the Making of the International System* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013); P. van der Veer, *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

religion's violent inspirations — in Burma, monks are using a democratic transition to rip into the Rohingya, a highly vulnerable Muslim minority. Where religion travels, violence seems to follow.

Why is religion today such a source of violence? Because it has gone "hot." The issue is not whether more people are praying, joining religious institutions, professing a belief in God, or observing religious rituals and traditions in their home. Such developments are all part of the private, from the standpoint of Western liberals, and have little if any effect on politics, international or domestic. The problem is when religious resurgence spills out of the private and into the public, when religious communities and authorities begin to insist that their way of life is dependent on the state and others following and favoring one religion over another. This is precisely what happens when religion goes "hot." In the name of God, religious leaders and communities are insisting that society's laws be rewritten to bring into being a politics that reflects their beliefs; placing a noose around the necks of religious minorities; trampling on religious liberty and freedom of conscience; demonizing non-believers; and attempting to spread their way of life, by persuasion if possible but by force if necessary. The result is depressingly predictable — violence. The Middle East provides an object lesson of what happens when religion goes wild. Even if members of the liberal international order are safe at the moment, it is impossible to be too careful. If peace is going to have a fighting chance, then religion needs to go back to where it belongs.

We live in a world in which religion appears to be climbing up the chart of the world's major health risks. Does this mean that religion might not have been a leading cause in the past, but now is?[31] According to Mark Juergensmeyer, if religious violence is on the rise, then secularism might be partly to blame.[32] For the last 100 years, the project of secular nationalism has gripped the world. Many of the great nationalist movements of the 20th century were products of secularizing ideologies that were bound up with the creation of the nation-state. In the name of progress, many nationalist elites disparaged the past, and stigmatized religion, treating it as an obstacle to modernity. This was not always the case, of course. As Lucian N. Leustean reminds us, in Eastern Europe, religion was often used in the service of ethnic nationalism and ethnic nationalism was used in the service of religion. Yet in many parts of the West and the rest of the post-colonial world, religion was seen as something of the enemy. This was noticeably true in the Middle East. Arab Christians such as George Antonious deserve considerable credit for developing

[31] K. Armstrong, *Fields of Blood: Religion and the History of Violence* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

[32] M. Juergensmeyer, "Rethinking the Secular and Religious Aspects of Violence," in C. Calhoun, M. Juergensmeyer, and J. Van Antwerpen, eds., *Rethinking Secularism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Arab nationalism, and if they were attracted to the secularized language of nationalism, it was because it was much more inclusive for Christians than the rival ideology of Islamism. After independence, modernizing leaders such as Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser appropriated the secularized language of Arab nationalism and, in the process, banished Islam from the public sphere and declared war on the opposing movement of the Muslim Brotherhood. And Nasser did not just use the "Voice of the Arabs" radio service to get his message across — he developed a state apparatus that used violence against the enemies of the state.

Yet secular nationalism failed in many places throughout the world, most noticeably in the Middle East. Individuals were expected to untether themselves from the past, turn their back on religion, and join the state and its promise of progress. However, the state often failed to live up to its pledges. The result was not just the de-legitimization of the secular state, but also a prevailing feeling of anomie among society. Globalization only seems to offer more of the same. In response, religious authorities got a second chance. Among their criticisms of the state was the fact that it had become enamored with the West and modernity and had turned its back on tradition and religion, the one and true path. Religious elites implored a growing audience to find fulfillment in traditional values instead of adopting the artificial values of alien cultures. Secular nationalism was not the answer but rather the source of problems. Religion becomes the voice of protest.

Unquestionably people kill in the name of religion. Yet they also kill in the name of lots of other things, including jealousy, ambition, socialism, liberalism, nationalism, economic justice, and anarchism. According to various historians of the Thirty Years War, the state was not the solution to religious violence but rather was a primary cause — as ruling elites attempted to appropriate religion in the service of political power. Religion did not cause World War I, World War II, the killing fields of Cambodia, or the genocide in Rwanda. According to most credible accounts, the Balkan wars had less to do with religion and much more to do with nationalism and politicians appropriating religious discourse in the pursuit of the profane. The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been a century-long conflict between two nations struggling for self-determination. When commentators attempt to identify the reasons for Islamic extremism, they tend to point the finger not at Islam *per se* but rather certain clerics that are able to prey on the despair of youths who are unemployed or imprisoned and struggling with questions of identity. Consequently, the remedy is not necessarily to shut down the airwaves, the minarets, or the websites, but rather to try and deliver on the fruits of modernity. Religion is not a leading cause of violence.

Assuming that the world has a lot more to worry about than religion, then why is religion treated as a primary source of violence and such a nemesis of world peace? It could be because of a misreading of history. It could be because of the secular bias of Western policymakers and scholars. But the actor that benefits from the close association of religion and violence is the secular state. As William Cavanaugh astutely argued:

> "in foreign policy, the myth of religious violence serves to cast nonsecular social orders, especially Muslim societies, in the role of villain. *They* have not yet learned to remove the dangerous influence of religion from political life. *Their* violence is therefore irrational and fanatical. *Our* violence, being secular, is rational, peace-making, and sometimes regrettably necessary to contain *their* violence."[33]

And, arguably, it gives a longer leash for "secular" leaders to oppress their religious rivals. Imagine if Mohamed Morsi had done to the Egyptian secularists what his successor Abdel Fattah el-Sisi has done to the Muslim Brotherhood. The lives of religious actors are cheap. Religious violence exists, and it is not a myth. But often religion is scapegoated, and the beneficiaries are those who have always benefited from the demonization of religion. The take-away here is that when we think about religious violence, we imagine violence committed by religious actors.

Legend #4: Liberalism Tames the Religious Beast

Liberalism is the widely prescribed antidote to religious violence.[34] Liberalism has various principles such as individual liberty, freedom, and autonomy that when mixed with religion, produce such calming properties as freedom of conscience, pluralism, and the separation between religion and the state. Liberal societies give permission to individuals to practice their faith, no matter how ridiculous it might seem or sound to others. They are certainly free to question each other's views and proselytize, but such exchanges are limited to conversation and persuasion — and prohibit coercion and intimidation. In liberalism, as well, religious communities know their place — they are free to roam in the realm of the private but must avoid meddling in the public realm. The state's job is to help provide a neutral playing field. In order to play that role effectively and convincingly, it must be even-handed and should not make life easy or hard for religion and religious communities. Liberal societies are characterized by a stable cease-fire between politics

[33] Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence*, p. 4.

[34] For an excellent collection of essays that expertly examines the relationship between religious freedom, tolerance, and liberalism, see A. Stepan and C. Taylor, *Boundaries of Toleration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

and religion, an arrangement that depends on both politics and religion respecting each other's territory and showing a high degree of self-restraint. Religious and political actors are constantly negotiating their borders, but as long as these negotiations occur within a demilitarized zone, all is well. A liberal order, whether in the domestic or the international society, is the living embodiment of Matthew 22:21: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's."

Liberalism, though, can incorporate principles that can make life easier or more difficult for religious belief. Simply put, how easily do the secular "rules of the game" allow for religious pluralism? A contrast between the United States and France makes clear this subtle but important point. The "establishment clause" of First Amendment in the U.S. Constitution prohibits the state from undertaking any action that stifles religious expression or favors one religion over another. It does allow individuals to express their religious beliefs in public, including conforming to a particular dress code and displaying and wearing religious symbols. So, for instance, if a Muslim woman wants to wear a hijab at school, that is her business and state authorities have no right to tell her whether she can or not. The French model of *laïcité*, though, takes a different approach. In the name of secularism and republicanism, not only is the state supposed to be a neutral umpire, but individuals are restricted in terms of religious expression in the public square. If female students want to wear a veil at public school in France, the state has something to say about that in the name of secularism. Not only is this a fairly transparent way in which secularism is "anti-religious," but, from a U.S.-centric view, also represents a possible strike against religious liberty. The point is that liberalism and secularism, in different ways and in different circumstances, police boundaries. Sometimes these markers help to keep the peace, but at other times they are seen as an assault on the very freedom of conscience and religious expression that they claim to protect.

What is true of domestic politics is equally true of international politics. Liberal states are as equally reluctant to meddle in religion abroad as they are at home. This principle of non-interference is obviously reinforced by the foundational norm of international affairs: sovereignty. States are sovereign animals, largely driven by a concern with their own survival and unwilling to recognize any authority higher than themselves. In international affairs, the State, and not God, has the final say. Sovereignty does not guarantee a world without war, but it at least guarantees a world without religious wars, which are the worst kind because the parties to the conflict appear to be less compromising, more willing to demonize the other side, and more willing to die because they believe that life truly begins when they become a martyr and

ascend to the heavens. Liberal societies have created amongst themselves a liberal international order, which is characterized by the internationalization of their liberal principles; they not only share a belief in the superiority of liberal values, they also have created international institutions that reflect their beliefs. Although their zone of peace is attributed to many different causes, including democracy, their secular character is certainly part of the story, but most certainly not all of it.

This rendering of the relationship between the liberal international order and religion should sound familiar because it has been repeated to the point that it has become accepted wisdom. It contains elements of historical truth: religion can be a divisive force, ripping apart societies, and liberalism and its commitment to individual liberty and religious freedom has helped to maintain a pluralism that is the basis for peace. But like all legends it also simplifies excessively and plays fast and loose with the facts. In short, the relationship between religion and the liberal international order is much more complicated than a story of good (liberalism) and evil (religion). Far from being seen but not heard, religion has always been present in the foreign policies of Western states and in the liberal international order. Religion has been a source of violence, but it also has been scapegoated by secularized societies. Far from being a malevolent force in world affairs, religious actors have led some of the great moral campaigns, such as the anti-slavery movement, the peace movement, and the human rights movement. And if religion seems to have become a more destructive force in world politics at this moment, then perhaps it is only catching up with the damage done by other utopian projects such as ethnic nationalism, communism, and secularism.

Conclusion

What do these legends of the West tell us about how (not) to think about religion and the liberal international order? They tell us that religion is not just "out there" but also is very much alive and well in the "West." And, even if those in the West do not believe it to be true, those outside the West certainly treat the West as having a strongly religious hue. They tell us that religion is much more and less than meets the eye. Religion is part of the world and not only part of the private. Although Western secularism has attempted to place religion in a "box," no one likes to be boxed up, especially those who believe that God is on their side. The lines of demarcation between "religion" and "politics" are constantly being negotiated, and at some moments and in some regions, they are especially intensive and convulsively violent. However, it is neither clear whether religion or secularism fired the first shot, nor clear which represents the greater threat to humanity. What most in the West do

assume, though, is that religious violence is particularly toxic. Such biases have served the political purposes of secularism and have the unfortunate side effect of making "secularists" quite oblivious to the violence done in the name of secularism. Violence is carried out in the name of religion, just as it is carried out in the name of many motives and ideologies. Liberalism has helped to contain the possibility of conflict between different faith communities, but the liberalism in practice, at times, also has made it difficult for different religious communities and individuals to exercise religious freedom according to their commitments. Secularism and liberalism might be an answer, but, at times, they also can be a source of conflict.

Box 1: Blasphemy Laws in the West

Logan Finucan[1]

Despite the secular order predominant in the West, a number of states retain laws that constrain freedom of expression on grounds related to religion. Perhaps the most striking of these laws include prohibitions on blasphemy. Such laws remain on the books in certain states that one might expect given the historical closeness of the state and religious institutions, such as Ireland, Italy, Poland, Malta, and Greece. Similar provisions also continue to exist in less expected places such as Finland, Denmark, Germany, Canada, and, until very recently, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Though such laws are a dead letter in some places, in others prosecutions are still occasionally pursued.[2]

Country	Provision	Recent Prosecutions
Austria	**Section 188 of the Austrian Criminal Code**: "Anyone who publicly disparages a person or thing that is the object of worship of a domestic church or religious society, or a doctrine, [or other] behavior likely to attract legitimate offense shall be punished with imprisonment of up to six months or a fine of up to 360 daily rates."	2009 – Politician Susanne Winter convicted and fined for "humiliating religion," for, inter alia, linking the Prophet Mohammed and pedophilia; 2009 – Activist Elizabeth Sabaditsch-Wolf convicted of same offense
Canada	**Section 296(1) of the Canadian Criminal Code**: "Every one who publishes a blasphemous libel is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years."[a]	Unused since 1930s

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[2] Unless otherwise specified, all legal citations in this table has been quoted from International Humanist and Ethical Union, *Freedom of Thought 2014* (2014), http://freethoughtreport.com/download-the-report/

[a] Canadian Criminal Code (R.S.C., 1985, c. C-46), http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-46/page-154.html.

Country	Provision	Recent Prosecutions
Denmark	**Section 140 of the Danish Criminal Code**: "Any person who, in public, mocks or scorns the religious doctrines or acts of worship of any lawfully existing religious community in this country shall be liable to imprisonment for any term not exceeding four months."	Unused since 1970s
Finland	**Section 10 of the Finnish Criminal Code**: "(1) publicly blasphemes against God or, for the purpose of offending, publicly defames or desecrates what is otherwise held to be sacred by a church or religious community..."	2009 – Blogger Jussi Kristian Halla-aho fined for linking the Prophet Mohammed and pedophilia
Germany	**Section 166 of the German Criminal Code**: "(1) Whoever publicly or through dissemination of writings… insults the content of others' religious faith or faith related to a philosophy of life in a manner that is capable of disturbing the public peace, shall be punished with imprisonment for not more than three years or a fine. (2) Whoever publicly or through dissemination of writings … insults a church, other religious society, or organization dedicated to a philosophy of life located in Germany, or their institutions or customs in a manner that is capable of disturbing the public peace, shall be similarly punished."	Though not explicitly a prohibition on blasphemy, "disturbing the public peace" has sometimes been broadly construed to prohibit any religious insults that are difficult to justify on artistic grounds. For example, in 2006, a man was convicted for distributing toilet paper with the word "Qur'an" printed on it.[b]

[b] M. Gessat, "Germany Debates Blasphemy Law," *Deutsche Welle* (September 21, 2012), http://www.dw.de/germany-debates-blasphemy-law/a-16253537.

Country	Provision	Recent Prosecutions
Greece	**Article 198 of the Greek Penal Code**: "1. One who publicly and maliciously and by any means blasphemes God shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than two years; 2. Anyone… who displays publicly with blasphemy a lack of respect for things divine, is punished with up to three months in prison." **Article 199 of the Greek Penal Code**: "One who publicly and maliciously and by any means blasphemes the Greek Orthodox Church or any other religion tolerable in Greece shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than two years."	2013 – Artist Dionysis Kavalieratos acquitted for displaying Christian-themed images in a private exhibition; 2014 – Phillipos Loizos jailed for mocking a revered Greek mystic
Ireland	**Article 40 of the Irish Constitution**: "The publication or utterance of blasphemous, seditious, or indecent matter is an offence which shall be punishable in accordance with law." **Defamation Act (2009)**, Section 36: a fine of up to €25,000 may be applied to anyone who "publishes or utters matter that is grossly abusive or insulting in relation to matters held sacred by any religion, thereby causing outrage among a substantial number of the adherents of that religion, and; (b) he or she intends, by the publication or utterance of the matter concerned, to cause such outrage."	None as of yet; removal of the provision will be subject to a referendum at undetermined future date

Country	Provision	Recent Prosecutions
Italy	**Article 403 of the Italian Penal Code**: "Whoever, in a space belonging to a religious group, in a public space, or in a space open to the public, offending a religious group, insults with injurious expressions objects of worship, things considered sacred by the religious group, or things necessary for the exercise of a religious group, or commits the act during religious services completed in a private by a minister; is to be punished with a fine between €1,000 and 5,000."[c] **Article 724**: "Whoever publically blasphemes, with invective or abusive words, against the God, the symbols or, the people venerated by the religion of the State is to be punished with a fine of between €51 and 309."[d]	2012 – Malio Padovan acquitted of criminal defamation of religion for funding an atheist poster campaign
Malta	**Article 163 of Maltese Criminal Code**: "Whosoever by words, gestures, written matter, whether printed or not, or pictures or by some other visible means, publicly vilifies the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion which is the religion of Malta, or gives offence to the Roman Catholic Apostolic Religion by vilifying those who profess such religion or its ministers, or anything which forms the object of, or is consecrated to, or is necessarily destined for Roman Catholic worship, shall, on conviction, be liable to imprisonment for a term from one to six months. **Article 164**: Whosoever commits any of the acts referred to in the last preceding article against any cult tolerated by law, shall, on conviction, be liable to imprisonment for a term from one to three months."	A reported 99 convictions for public blasphemy were handed down in 2012, a decrease from 119 in 2011.[e]

[c] Italian Penal Code, Book II, Title IV, updated June 3, 2013, http://www.altalex.com/index.php?idnot=36765.

[d] Italian Penal Code, Book III, Title I, updated October 28, 2013, http://www.altalex.com/index.php?idnot=36776.

[e] M. Dalli, "99 convicted for public blasphemy in 2012," *Malta Today* (April 20, 2013), http://www.maltatoday.com.mt/news/court_and_police/26215/99-convicted-for-public-blasphemy-in-2012-20130420#.VQrq3I54oqc.

Country	Provision	Recent Prosecutions
Poland	**Article 196 of the Polish Constitution**: "Anyone found guilty of offending religious feelings through public defamation of an object or place of worship is liable to a fine, restriction of liberty or a maximum two-year prison sentence."	2012 – Pop singer Dorota Rabczewska fined for "offending the religious feelings of Christians and Jews"; 2013 – Rock singer Adam Darski conviction overturned on appeal of "Intentionally insulting the Holy Bible."

The Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has called for a high standard for free speech limitations on religious grounds, saying, in its "Recommendation 1805 (2007) on Blasphemy, religious insults and hate speech against persons on grounds of their religion," that "national law should only penalise expressions about religious matters which intentionally and severely disturb public order and call for public violence." The Venice Commission, an independent advisory body to the Council of Europe on constitutional law, has done likewise, and further explicitly called for the abolition of blasphemy as a punishable office.[3]

Case law from the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) has been far more qualified, however. In cases dating back to the 1990s, the ECHR has declined to strike down national provisions on blasphemy, finding most laws within the "margin of appreciation" for states in interpreting and applying the European Convention on Human Rights. Finding that states have more leeway in this area than with other issues of fundamental rights, the ECHR held in Wingrove v. the United Kingdom (1996) that:

> "Whereas there is little scope under Article 10 § 2 of the Convention for restrictions on political speech or on debate of questions of public interest… a wider margin of appreciation is generally available to the Contracting States when regulating freedom of expression in relation

[3] Venice Commission Report on the relationship between Freedom of Expression and Freedom of Religion: the issue of regulation and prosecution of Blasphemy, Religious Insult and Incitement to Religious Hatred (CDL-AD(2008)026), http://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL-AD%282008%29026-e, p. 21.

to matters liable to offend intimate personal convictions within the sphere of morals or, especially, religion."[4]

Recent developments in this area have been mixed. The Netherlands and the United Kingdom both repealed explicit blasphemy prohibitions, in 2013 and 2008 respectively, while strengthening prohibitions on defamation of religious groups or beliefs generally.[5] Ireland clarified and strengthened their constitution's blasphemy provisions in 2009 through the Defamation Act. A subsequent constitutional convention, however, recommended the repeal of constitutional language on blasphemy, with the support of nearly all mainstream Christian organizations and the Catholic Church. This eventual repeal would not necessarily entail a fully liberalized regime in Ireland, however. The same convention that voted overwhelmingly to remove the provisions from the constitution recommended by a narrow majority to replace them with general language on religious hatred and was also split 49/50 on whether to have a legislative provision on blasphemy.[6]

[4] Wingrove v. the United Kingdom (November 25, 1996), European Court of Human Rights No 19/1995/525/611. http://hudoc.echr.coe.int/sites/eng/pages/search.aspx?i=001-58080#{"itemid":["001-58080"]}.

[5] J. Temperman, "Blasphemy, defamation of religion, religious hate speech," in S. Ferrari, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Law and Religion* (New York: Routledge, 2015).

[6] R. Mac Cormaic, "Convention recommends replacing blasphemy offence," *Irish Times* (November 2, 2013), http://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/convention-recommends-replacing-blasphemy-offence-1.1582317.

III. Islam and the Liberal Order

Mustafa Akyol

"The Caliphate: Coming Soon To A Country Near You." So read a poster that showed up in the streets of London in 1994. It was put up by Hizbut-Tahrir, a controversial but legal group, which defines itself as "a political party whose ideology is Islam." On its website, Hizbut-Tahrir further explains what this ideology exactly means: "[Our] objective is to resume the Islamic way of life by establishing an Islamic State that executes the systems of Islam and carries its call to the world."

Since "the world" is its ambition, and "establishing an Islamic State" is its goal, Hizbut-Tahrir, which is present in about 50 countries with some 1 million Muslim members, can clearly be seen as a rival to the liberal order. Moreover, while this particular organization is resolutely non-violent, there are also violent groups that aim to establish "Islamic" states whose legal precepts will be clearly at odds with liberal values such as freedom of religion, freedom of speech, or gender equality. Should we, then, conclude that Islam, as a religion, is incompatible with the liberal order?

Probably both Hizbut-Tahrir spokespersons and the like-minded Muslims of the world would emphatically agree, confirming the analysis of Western Islamo-skeptics who see this somewhat alien religion mainly through the lens of such "Islamists." A deeper evaluation of the diversity of thought in today's Muslim world, however, will give us a more nuanced picture, for there are quite different views of both Islam and its relation to the political and economic world.

This chapter will try to explain the shades and grades of that diversity. It will not address how "Islam" approaches the liberal order, in the sense of looking at the texts of the faith — the Qur'an, the *hadiths* (sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad), or classical Islamic books of jurisprudence and theology.[35] Rather, it looks at how contemporary Muslims, in the light of both these texts and the myriad other factors that shape their outlook, look at the liberal order.

The Map of the Muslim World

The first thing that needs to be said about the Muslim world of today, which consists of some 1.6 billion people, is that it is very, very diverse. There are some 49 Muslim-majority countries,[36] and their political systems vary from absolute monarchies (such as Saudi Arabia), to constitutional monarchies (such as Morocco), to authoritarian republics (such as Algeria), to democratic republics (such as Turkey). Only very few of these Muslim-majority countries are "theocracies," in the sense of having a full implementation of Islamic law, i.e., the *sharia* (examples include Saudi Arabia, Iran, Sudan, and Afghanistan). However, only a few Muslim-majority countries have fully secular legal systems (examples include Turkey, the Central Asian republics, and Albania). Most Muslim-majority states rather have mildly Islamic states, where the constitution honors Islam and Islamic law plays a limited role, typically limited to family matters.

According to Freedom House, in year 2015, there are only two Muslim-majority countries in the world that rank as fully "free": Tunisia, the crown jewel of the "Arab Spring" of 2011, and Senegal. Some significant Muslim-majority states are ranked as "partly free": including Turkey, Morocco, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, and Indonesia. Most Muslim-majority states, however, are defined as "unfree." Several stand with the likes of North Korea among the "worst of the worst" when it comes to freedom: Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.[37]

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[35] For that discussion, see the author's 2011 book *Islam Without Extremes: A Muslim Case for Liberty* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2011).

[36] According to a 2011 Pew Research Center report, "The Future of the Global Muslim Population," (January 27, 2011), http://www.pewforum.org/files/2011/01/FutureGlobalMuslimPopulation-WebPDF-Feb10.pdf. Forty-five of these are member states of the United Nations; the survey also included Kosovo, the Palestinian territories, Western Sahara, and Mayotte. Muslims also make up more than 40 percent of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Guinea-Bissau, and Nigeria. Nigeria, the largest country in Africa and facing an insurgency by the violent Islamist group Boko Haram, is projected to become the 50th Muslim-majority country by 2030.

[37] Freedom House, "Freedom in the World 2015," (January, 2015), https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2015#.VP2lGPnF89Q.

This not-so-bright map of freedom in the Muslim world might be a good reason to question the compatibility of Islam and the liberal order. One should note, however, that the freedom deficit in this part of the globe is not always related to Islam. Two of the "worst of the worst" countries in the Freedom House list mentioned above are Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, which are secular states dominated by secular, post-communist dictators. The tyrannical regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria is also a secular one, as was the dictatorship of Saddam Hussein in Iraq. In every corner of the Muslim world, political troubles are defined and influenced by myriad factors, which include nationalism, ethnicism, tribalism, and the universal lust for power.

Besides the Muslim-majority states, Muslims live in other states as well, as minorities, large or small. The world's largest Muslim minority is in India, consisting of more than 180 million people. China has more Muslims than Syria, while the Russian Federation is home to more Muslims than Jordan and Libya combined. In China, Russia, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Burma, Sudan, the countries that emerged from the former Yugoslavia, and elsewhere, Muslim minorities have been persecuted, either in response to national liberation movements or out of ethno-religious bigotry.

In Europe, according to a 2009 Pew Research Center report, the total Muslim population is more than 22 million people.[38] With the exception of Balkan Muslims, which roughly make some 7.5 million people, the overwhelming majority of these Muslims are immigrants — first, second, or third generation. This fact should never be overlooked, for the much-discussed question of "Muslims in Europe" is a matter of not only an alien religion but also a foreign culture. In North America, the Muslim population is estimated to be around 3 million, largely consisting of immigrants, who are largely seen as better integrated than European Muslims.[39]

Of the total world Muslim population, 10 to 13 percent are Shi'a and 87 to 90 percent are Sunni. Most Shi'as live in just four countries: Iran, Pakistan, India, and Iraq. To the question of whether Sunni of Shiite Islam is more compatible with the liberal order, there is no definitive answer. Despite their differences, both Shiites and Sunnis can be relatively sympathetic or utterly opposed to liberal ideals.

Currently, the only international body to which all Muslim-majority states belong is the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which was founded in

[38] Pew Research Center, "Mapping the Global Muslim Population," (October 7, 2009), http://www.pewforum.org/2009/10/07/mapping-the-global-muslim-population/. The figure above excludes Russia and its 16 million Muslims, which the report includes in Europe.

[39] Ibid.

1969 mainly as a reaction to the occupation of East Jerusalem by Israel two years before. Based in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, the organization carries out cultural, educational, and economic projects, but is far from being a political authority on Muslim states.

The political trends in the global Muslim community regarding the liberal order, which is our concern here, can be divided into five broad categories: secular Muslimhood, Islamic modernism, Muslim nationalism, political Islamism, and violent Islamism.

Secular Muslimhood

The term "secular" has many meanings, but it is used in this context as a separation between the religious and political realm. As such, it is internalized by hundreds of millions of Muslims around the world who think in secular terms.

This does not mean that these secular Muslims are not religious believers — although some may be atheists, agnostics, or deists who are "Muslim" only in the cultural sense. Most secular Muslims do believe in religion and practice it at various levels of piety. But they do not think that religiosity should give them a specific framework to look at politics, especially world politics. For them, religion is a matter of personal observance, tradition, and community — but not more than that.

This type of Muslimhood is the dominant trend in some countries, whereas it is very weak in others. A good way to measure its occurrence would be to look at the level of demand for the implementation of *sharia* as the law of the land, which is the main step that takes Islam from a personal and communal faith to a political and legal order.

In 2013, the Pew Research Center published a survey on this matter, showing the different levels of demand for *sharia* in Muslim societies, along with what this demand exactly means. Ninety-nine percent of all Afghans believed that *sharia* should be official law, whereas only 8 percent of Azerbaijanis believed so. The same number was 12 percent in Turkey, 56 percent in Tunisia, and 74 percent in Egypt. (But not everybody who favored *sharia* as a general concept also condoned its harsh punishments. An example was the stoning of adulterers, which was approved by roughly half of those who wanted *sharia* as the law of the land.)[40]

Throughout the Muslim world, secular Muslims are confronted by other Muslims who believe that the *sharia*, and thus a legal-political order based

[40] Pew Research Center, "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society," (April 30, 2013), http://www.pewforum.org/2013/04/30/the-worlds-muslims-religion-politics-society-overview/.

on Islam, is an integral part of the faith. The latter are typically called "the Islamists." They may try to persuade secular Muslims to accept their more encompassing version of the faith, or try to realize their goals by achieving political power — by elections or an armed revolution. The tension between secular Muslims and the Islamists is a recurrent theme throughout the Muslim world, with different contexts and consequences. So far, Tunisia has been most successful in building a working consensus between the Islamists and seculars, as the political representatives of the two camps were able to draft and ratify a remarkably liberal constitution in February 2014.

Do all secular Muslims accept and appreciate the liberal order? No, not necessarily. They just do not have a religious reason to reject it. They may have other — nationalist, socialist, or "anti-imperialist" — persuasions and motivations to oppose the liberal order, but those would be the focus of a different discussion.

Islamic Modernism

Among the categories discussed in the chapter, Islamic modernism probably is the least widespread. It is mainly an elite trend that resonates among the Western-educated yet religiously grounded intellectuals and their middle class followers. Its main premise is the reinterpretation of the classical texts of Islam in the light of the modern age. When this is properly done, Islamic modernists believe that liberal-democratic values of the modern world will prove compatible with Islam, if not even inherent to it.

Islamic modernism emerged in late 19th century, when Ottoman and/or Arab intellectuals and statesmen admired Western modernity and revisited the Islamic tradition to find a ground for Islam's own modernity. One of the key thinkers of the trend was Egyptian scholar Muhammed Abduh (1849-1905), a professor at the prestigious Al-Azhar University in Cairo. He traveled in Europe, and famously said that in Paris he saw "Islam without Muslims," and on his return to Egypt he saw "Muslims without Islam." What he meant was that all the good things Muslim societies should have — science, reason, justice, or freedom — were found in the West but not in the Islamic world.

Islamic modernists of the late 19th to early 20th century — which historian Albert Hourani defined as "the liberal age" in Arabic thought[41] — were critical of the authoritarian or dogmatic teachings in the Islamic tradition, but were also confident that the divine core of the faith is inherently rational and liberal. Democracy, they believed for example, was already recommended

[41] A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1962).

by the Qur'an in its advice for "consultation" among believers.[42] There was sometimes wishful thinking in their reinterpretations, but, arguably, their wishes were in the right place.

Then came the fall of the Ottoman Empire, the colonization of most post-Ottoman states, and the rise of Arab nationalism and socialism. Islamic modernism stayed dormant for decades, only to be revived in the late 20th century. Today, there are Islamic modernists in most Muslim-majority countries and in the West as well. The great majority of them are not clerics, but public intellectuals in the modern sense — theologians, academics, authors, journalists, and artists. Famous among them are British-Pakistani writer Ziauddin Sardar, the philosophers Tariq Ramadan (Swiss-Egyptian) and AbdolKarim Soroush (Iranian). There are also "Islamic feminists," such as Fatema Mernissi (Moroccan) or Asma Barlas (Pakistani-American), who offer new readings of the Qur'an free from "male domination."

Islamic modernists would agree with the fundamental principles of the liberal order, such as human rights, political liberalism, international law and democracy. They can be critical of Western hegemony, however, and some of them have reservations about free trade and laissez-faire capitalism. In fact, some Islamic modernists subscribe to a basically Marxist view of the economy. One of most prominent Islamic modernists was the Iranian intellectual Ali Shariati (1933-77), who offered a "revolutionary" reading of Islam, partly inspired by the works of Frantz Fanon, called "the Marx of the Third World." It should be noted, however, that some other Islamic modernists see Islam as friendly to the free-market economy.

Muslim Nationalism

In Islamic terms, the world's 1.6 billion Muslims constitute the *umma*, an Arabic word that means "the community" or "the nation," and that has historically been used to denote the whole community of Muslim believers. Besides fully secular Muslims — who can also be called "cultural" or "nominal" Muslims — probably all Muslims somehow have a sense of the *umma*. But is this a merely cultural affinity, expressed by symbols such as a common greeting — *salamun alaikum*, or "peace be upon you" — and a common respect for the prophet and other sacred values of Islam? Or is it a deeper bond with political consequences? The latter takes us to Muslim nationalism.

To give a sense of this concept to the Western reader, historian Bernard Lewis once offered the following comparison:

[42] Qur'an, 42:38.

> "In the Western world, the basic unit of human organization is the nation, which is then subdivided in various ways, one of which is by religion. Muslims, however, tend to see not a nation subdivided into religious groups but a religion subdivided into nations."[43]

This view of "a religion subdivided into nations" can lead to various political passions or projects.

On the most modest level, it can lead to a strong sense of political solidarity among the world's 1.6 billion Muslims. That is indeed the case, and that is why, for example, the suffering of the Muslims in Palestine, Bosnia, or Chechnya touches deeply the hearts and minds of millions of Muslims in the remotest parts of the world. (Palestine, it should be noted, has become especially an iconic case, partly because of the involvement of Jerusalem, Islam's third holiest city after Mecca and Medina.) The existence of countless numbers of Muslim charity organizations to help the "oppressed Muslims" is also a manifestation of this solidarity — the parallels of which can be found among Christians and other faith groups as well.

On a more ambitious level, the sense of political solidarity among Muslims can lead to the goal of establishing a "Union of Islam," or *Ittihad-i Islam*, known in the West also as pan-Islamism. This idea first emerged in the 19th century — especially in the works of some Islamic modernists, such as Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani (1839-97). They were motivated not only by their faith, but also by Western (and Russian) imperialism that sought to invade and colonize "Muslim lands." Today, too, pan-Islamism is often driven by the feeling that the *umma* is under attack, and the conviction that it will save itself only through unity.

Pan-Islamists often do not deny the existence of Muslim nation-states, but many of them see the idea of a nation-state as a Western invention (if not conspiracy) that only served to "divide and conquer" the *umma*. Their typical goal, however, is to work within each Muslim nation-state to raise its "consciousness" (religious piety and *umma* solidarity), and also work internationally to establish deeper intellectual, economic, cultural, and political connections among Muslim nations. This is the standard line of the mainstream "Islamist" parties in the world — such as the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt and the Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan. (Notably, Marxist movements of the 20th century harbored similar ideas, seeing nation-states as bourgeois inventions to suppress the solidarity of the proletariat. Yet still, most of these movements worked for revolutions within their respective states, while trying

[43] B. Lewis, "The Revolt of Islam," *The New Yorker* (November 19, 2001), http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2001/11/19/the-revolt-of-islam.

to establish an international proletarian solidarity with organizations such as the Communist International, or Comintern.)

The third form of Muslim nationalism is very extreme, and is typically followed by the Salafis — the most rigid and literalist form of Sunni Islam. The keystone of Salafism is to condemn every "innovation" (*bid'a*) in religion as heresy, and try to keep the world as it was during the life of the Prophet Muhammad. That is why, for example, Salafis are often visibly recognized by their physical appearance — long beards, short trousers, prayer caps, tunics — for they try to live exactly as the prophet did in 7th century Arabia.

Ironically, Salafis can be at odds with Muslim nationalism on a different level, for they consider non-Salafi Muslims — especially the Shiites — as heretics. But they do pursue a very extreme form of Muslim nationalism in the sense that they often totally reject the legitimacy of the nation-state, considering it as a heretical "innovation." The Salafis in Tunisia, which constitute a force quite distinct from the mainstream Islamist party of that county, Ennahda, have made this rejection quite clear by refusing the Tunisian flag and raising the black-and-white flag that they believe was used by the Prophet Muhammad.[44]

The Salafi-jihadist group that has occupied large parts of Iraq and Syria since 2013, calling itself "the Islamic State" (IS), has taken this ideological rejection of the nation-state into a reality by cheerfully abolishing the borders between two adjacent Arab countries. Their radical theology has been helped by the fact that this border was drawn by the British and French imperialists during World War I — a fact they pointed out when they declared that they were destroying the "Sykes-Picot border."[45]

For certain, IS is the most extreme expression of political Islam — and thus considered "un-Islamic" by most mainstream Islamists — but Muslim nationalism is an ideological and sentimental force that influences and drives all Islamist parties and movements. One of its most modern and moderate forms is quite influential in the officially secular Turkey, in the policies and rhetoric of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan.

Since he came to power in 2003 as prime minister, Erdoğan followed a foreign policy that was initially European Union-oriented and globalist, but since 2011, his policies have taken a new tone that some observers have defined as "Islamist." The right term, however, would be "Muslim nationalist," for

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[44] M. el Dahshan, "Of Flags and Salafis," *Foreign Policy* (April 3, 2012), http://foreignpolicy.com/2012/04/03/of-flags-and-salafis/.

[45] M. Ruthven, "The Map ISIS Hates," *The New York Review of Books* (June 25, 2014), http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblog/2014/jun/25/map-isis-hates/.

Erdoğan has recast Turkey not as an Islamic state government by *sharia*, which is the typically Islamist goal, but as a core Muslim state that defends its downtrodden brethren in the world. It is not an accident that he often begins his public speeches by "greeting" former Ottoman cities such as Sarajevo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Mecca, or Cairo, for he imagines his "New Turkey" as the 21st century incarnation of the Ottoman Empire, which for centuries used to be seat of the caliphate and the defender of the faithful. By this policy and narrative, which also corresponds to a cultural trend in Turkish society, Erdoğan leads and symbolizes what anthropologist Jenny White aptly calls "Muslim nationalism."[46]

This "Muslim nationalism" does not necessarily reject all aspects of liberalism, and even champions some of its cornerstones, such as free elections. (Erdoğan is a great defender of elections, as he keeps winning them.) But the same nationalism has a strong objection to the liberal order: that it is unfair to the world's Muslims. The West's double standards in its foreign policy (real or perceived), especially in the Middle East, strengthen this view, leading to accusations of "Western hypocrisy." The most frequently quoted examples are Western support for pro-Western dictators, the staunch U.S. support for Israel despite the latter's ongoing occupation of Palestinian territory, indifference to the destruction of Muslim lives, and the support for military coups against elected Islamists such as the July 2013 coup in Egypt.

The perception of the liberal order as "unfair to Muslims" can lead to the condemnation of the liberal order in extreme cases, or more moderately to a demand for a fundamental revision of its key institutions. Erdoğan's repeated call for the restructuring of the United Nations Security Council (especially after Turkey failed to gain a non-permanent seat in October 2014) is one recent example. In various platforms, including the United Nations General Assembly, the Turkish leader has criticized the fact that there are only five permanent members at the Security Council, and that only they have veto power. One detail Erdoğan especially stressed was that none of these five members are Muslim.[47]

Such Muslim criticisms and objections to the post-World War II global order are likely to continue, regardless of any possible "Islamic reform." For the matter here is not Islamic theology or jurisprudence, but how Muslims feel about the international system. The feeling that this system is unfair to Muslims is very widespread, and thus Muslim calls for reforming the system are likely to continue. Meanwhile, this will create incentives for countries

[46] J. White, *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

[47] World Bulletin, "Turkey: Erdoğan calls for change in UN Security Council," (February 2, 2015), http://www.worldbulletin.net/news/154225/turkey-erdogan-calls-for-change-in-un-security-council.

like the "New Turkey" of Erdoğan to aspire to become the "core state" of the Islamic civilization — the lack of which was stressed by the late Samuel Huntington in his famous work, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order.*

Political Islamism

Islamism is a vague term for which different definitions have been offered. Here, it is used in the sense described by academic Fred Halliday: "The organized political trend, owing its modern origin to the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928, that seeks to solve modern political problems by reference to Muslim texts."[48] But two caveats need to be added. According to the definition above, Islamic liberalism can be counted as "Islamism," too. Islamic liberals are also trying "to solve modern political problems by reference to Muslim texts." But they offer quite reformist interpretations of those texts, and thus markedly differ from the mainstream Islamists. Some Islamic liberals, for example, argue for a secular state by reference to the Qur'an or the *Sunna*, i.e., the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad. This is remarkably different from the typical Islamic goal of establishing an "Islamic state" or Islamizing an existing one.

The second caveat is in the emphasis on *political* Islamism. This means that the movement in question is engaged in political action (such as propaganda, grassroots work, and political participation if possible) but not violence. Violent Islamism, also commonly called "jihadism," will be addressed separately.

The founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928, indeed, can be taken as the genesis of the modern-day Islamist movement. Notably, that was the time when the world's Muslims had good reasons to feel disoriented. First, the caliphate, a political institution that guided the *umma* since its very beginning — despite the up-and-downs the institution suffered over the centuries in its prestige and power — ceased to exist in 1924. (Republican Turkey, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, abolished the institution by making it "inherent in the meaning and concept of the Republic.") Secondly, most post-Ottoman states were colonized by European powers, leading Muslim intellectuals to ponder big questions. Why was the Muslim world defeated and subjugated by the West? What was the problem? And what was the solution?

[48] F. Halliday, "The Left and the Jihad," *Open Democracy* (April 6, 2011), https://www.opendemocracy.net/globalization/left_jihad_3886.jsp.

To secular nationalists such as Atatürk — and Reza Shah of Iran or Habib Bourghiba of Tunisia — "the problem" was nothing but Islam itself, or at least its traditional, dogmatic interpretations, which had to be corrected by a vanguard (i.e., authoritarian) state. To Islamists, the problem was the exact opposite: the society's insufficient attachment to Islam. But the solution was the same. The society had to be corrected by a vanguard (i.e., authoritarian) state. This state would Islamize individuals, and open the way for the renewed glory of the *umma*. (Notably, a rare liberal thinker of that era, Sabahattin Bey of the early 20th century Ottoman Empire, argued: "[The] obstacle for our progress is not religion, but the structure of our society." As the solution, he promoted "individual entrepreneurship and decentralization."[49])

The founder of the Muslim Brotherhood was Hasan al-Banna, who imagined Islam as a "political system" distinct from and better than both socialism and capitalism. Since those early days, the slogan of the Brotherhood has simply read, "Islam is the solution." In Pakistan, a second line of Islamism was articulated by Sayyid Abu al-A'la al-Mawdudi, who openly advocated an "Islamic theocracy." This state, Mawdudi acknowledged in the 1930s, bore "a kind of resemblance to the Fascist and Communist states," in the way it would dominate the whole society.[50] The big difference was that the fascist and communist states championed the wrong ideals, whereas the Islamic state would champion the right ones.

As such, Islamism was clearly incompatible with democracy. Hence for decades, Islamists have condemned democracy as a system based on "the sovereignty of the people," whereas their state would be based on "the sovereignty of God." Some Islamist parties, such as the party of Hizbut-Tahrir mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, still preserve this idea and condemn democracy as "man-made system" that usurps the divine authority to rule. More mainstream Islamist parties such as the Muslim Brotherhood, however, began to change their views on this issue in the 1980s, and most gradually came to accept and even champion democracy. In the aftermath of the Arab Spring of 2011, Islamist parties in Tunisia and Egypt joined the democratic process by entering elections — and winning them.

However, there was a catch here: the acceptance of *electoral democracy* did not imply an acceptance of *liberal democracy*. Quite to the contrary, the political

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[49] S. Bey, *Türkiye Nasıl Kurtarılabilir?* [How Can Turkey Be Saved?] (Istanbul, 1918), pp. 27-28; quoted in N. Doğan, *The Origins of Liberalism and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire (1908-1914) (A Sociological Perspective)*, Dissertation (December 2006), p. 210, http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/servlets/MCRFileNodeServlet/FUDISS_derivate_000000002669/0_dogan.pdf?hosts.

[50] C.J. Adams, "Mawdudi and the Islamic State," in J.L. Esposito, ed., *Voices of Resurgent Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. 119-121

vision of the Islamists still included various illiberal elements that were especially rooted in their interpretation of *sharia*. Significant examples were the imposition of piety with bans on alcohol or "immodesty," the degradation of women and non-Muslim minorities, and punishments for blasphemy or apostasy.

No wonder in all "post-revolutionary" Arab states, a tension emerged quickly between "the Islamists" and "the liberals." In Egypt, for example, the latter group insisted on establishing "supra-constitutional principles" first, before the drafting of a constitution by an elected assembly dominated by the Islamists. These principles would uphold basic freedoms, human rights, and the "civil state" as opposed to a religious one. The Islamists, on the other hand, rejected enacting any political principle above "the will of the people," which they were happy to represent in a majoritarian sense.

In his 2014 book, *Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East*, Shadi Hamid has rightly stressed the tension between democratically elected Islamists who have illiberal goals and liberals whose views are not popular enough to win democratic elections. Democracy in the Arab world, Hamid reasons, might thus be inevitably illiberal, at least for the foreseeable future.[51] Turkish political scientist Ihsan Dağı, a self-declared classical liberal, also points to the same tension, and the trouble with "the post-modern authoritarianism of democratic Islamists." In his words:

> "[Theirs] is an Islamism that is not justified by a reference to the 'text' but to the 'people' and its will. Such Islamism in the aftermath of the Arab Spring Middle East is 'democratic and representative' in justification and process, but authoritarian in content and outcome."[52]

Dağı finds this "democratic" Islamism authoritarian, because it seeks to use "state apparatus to impose its choice of morality, lifestyle, [and] value system" and enact "Islam's social code as the only legitimate way of life."[53]

For a stark example of the problem here, consider the case of "apostasy," or the abandonment of a particular religious belief. In the liberal order, apostasy cannot be considered a crime; it is merely the expression of one's freedom of religion, conscience, and thought. But in all classical schools of *sharia* — the four Sunni schools of jurisprudence and the main Shiite school, the *Ja'fari* — apostasy is a crime that deserves capital punishment. Moreover, according to

[51] S. Hamid, *Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[52] I. Dağı, "Pursuing Islamism with democracy," *Today's Zaman* (December 9, 2012), http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist/ihsan-dagi/pursuing-islamism-with-democracy_300666.html.

[53] Ibid.

a 2013 Pew Research Center survey, more than 60 percent of all Egyptians and Pakistanis believe that capital punishment for apostasy must be implemented in their countries as a part of the national legal system.[54] Executing apostates in these countries would therefore be a "democratically" ratified procedure, but obviously also a severely illiberal one.

From a liberal point of view, the political Islamist's acceptance of electoral democracy might be a step forward — especially in comparison with revolutionary or jihadist Islamism — but it does not negate the tensions between Islamist ideals and liberal values. One hope that is often suggested as a solution is the moderating effect of democracy, a thesis that assumes that once Islamist parties come to power, they will have to deal with mundane problems such as the economy, and will have to let go of some of their more "ideological" aspirations, such as the imposition of the *sharia*. Shami Hamid, however, warns that incumbency can bring Islamists not moderation but rather "temptation."

That is why ideological self-critique and religious reform among the Islamists is a key necessity for their compatibility with liberalism. So far, the most promising ideas and practice on that matter has come from the Islamists of Tunisia, organized under the Ennahda party led by prominent Islamic thinker Rashid al-Ghannushi. Ghannushi is known for this emphasis on "freedom" as the basis of Islam, with reformist views arguing that apostasy from Islam cannot be a crime, Islamic practices cannot be coerced, and that women and non-Muslims should have equal rights with Muslim men. It is notable that he was defending these views already in the late 1990s, more than a decade before the Arab Spring.[55] That is one of the reasons why Ennahda proved to be the most liberal-leaning Arab Islamist party, and Tunisia has been able to avoid the bloody conflict between Islamists and secularists that have derailed other democratic experiments in Egypt and Libya.

One final matter regarding the *sharia* is its implication in societies where Muslims are minorities, such as in Western countries. Most Muslim citizens in these countries seem content with the existing national legal systems, but there are two types of exceptions.

The more radical and marginal exception consists of the groups that advocate imposing *sharia* as the law of the land in these largely secular nations. A

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[54] According to Pew results, some 74 percent of all Egyptians favored *sharia* as the law of the land, and 86 of these also favored the execution of apostates. In Pakistan, 76 percent of citizens favor *sharia*, among which an 84 percent majority favor death penalty for apostasy. "The World's Muslims: Religion, Politics and Society."

[55] A. Saeed, "Rethinking Citizenship Rights of Non-Muslims in an Islamic State: Rashid Al-Ghannushi's Contribution to the Evolving Debate," *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations,* 10.3 (1999).

notorious example is the Islam4UK movement, whose members marched in London in 2009 chanting, "Sharia is the solution, freedom go to hell," before being banned the next year. The group's leader, Anjem Choudary, is a vocal figure in the U.K., with unabashedly extreme views that attract media attention but get very little support from the British Muslim community.

The more modest and popular type of demand for *sharia* in the West is the request for voluntary "*sharia* courts" that willing Muslims can apply to. In the late 2000s, dozens of such "*sharia* councils" were formed in Britain, operating under the Arbitration Act that allows consenting adults to resolve disputes and conflicts, civil or commercial, as long as nothing conflicts with U.K. law.[56] Such voluntary "*sharia* courts" would not conflict with liberalism, in principle, as far as it is guaranteed that decisions are bound with liberal laws of the land. How they would affect the integration of Muslim minorities into their host societies is another discussion.

Violent Islamism

Also often referred to as "jihadism," this phenomenon has preoccupied the Western world in the past two decades, especially since 9/11, when al Qaeda-affiliated terrorists attacked the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon, murdering some 3,000 civilians. The origin of the problem, however, goes back to both Middle Eastern Islamism and the way Islamists were suppressed by Middle Eastern dictators and felt humiliated by foreign occupiers.

To give a brief overview, the first jihadist terror group of the 20th century was the Fada'iyan-e Islam, which was founded in 1946 basically in reaction to the secular dictatorship of Reza Shah and Western colonialism in Iran. In Egypt, armed groups such as Takfir wal-Hijra in the 1960s and Egyptian Islamic Jihad in the 1970s were reactions to the successive dictatorships of Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak. In Palestine and Lebanon, Hamas and Hezbollah arose in the 1980s in reaction to the Israeli occupation of territory. In the same decade, the *mujahideen* (jihadists) in Afghanistan waged a successful war of liberation, with significant U.S. support, against the Soviet Union. In the 1990s, when political Islamists in Algeria won an election but were overthrown by a military coup, they launched an armed offshoot called *Groupe Islamique Armé,* which took the country into bloody civil war.

The sect, jurisprudence, ideology, and ambition of every jihadi group can be different. But, at the very basic definition, they are Islamists in arms. They

[56] M. Francois-Cerrah, "Why Banning Sharia Courts Would Harm British Muslim Women," *The Telegraph* (July 17, 2014).

opt for armed struggle not only because of their religious views, but also within certain political contexts. Two of the most common reasons for jihadist mobilization, as noted above, are foreign occupation or tyrannical rule. (So, a lesson: There will be fewer jihadists in the world if there are fewer foreign occupiers in Muslim lands and fewer Muslim dictators.)

In the 1990s, al Qaeda emerged in the jihadist universe with an innovative idea and a bolder strategy: Instead of fighting local wars in different corners of the *umma*, Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri reasoned, pioneering jihadists had to attack the master of the world system — "the head of the serpent." Hence they targeted the United States directly, and took an innovative step in Islamic jurisprudence by justifying terrorist attacks on civilian populations. This was a departure from the classical norms of jihad, including that non-combatants, in particular women and children, cannot be targeted in war.[57] Al Qaeda ideologues found loopholes to overcome this trouble, and referring to the concept of eye-for-an-eye, noting that "the enemy" also kills Muslim civilians, in reference to what the West euphemistically calls "collateral damage." In regards to its own killing of other Muslims, al Qaeda's justification was typically declaring them "apostates" — simply for working under "infidel regimes," or allying with Americans and other "Crusaders," or even as "serving as human shields for invaders."[58]

Yet, such inflated arguments have been largely unconvincing, and al Qaeda's indiscriminate killing has been unacceptable to most mainstream Muslim scholars and ordinary Muslims, who could sympathize with jihad when in the context of a defensive war against an occupying army, such as the Afghan campaign against the Soviet Red Army throughout the 1980s.

In the 2010s, an offshoot of al Qaeda in Iraq and Syria evolved into the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS), which took the zeal to a higher level. First, unlike al Qaeda, which is designed to make hit-and-run attacks on "the enemies of Islam," IS is focused on establishing a state in control of territory that will fight the enemies, impose its very strict version of Salafi *sharia*, and raise new generations of jihadists. Secondly, IS is more fanatic in its sectarianism, targeting the Shiites and even secular Sunnis as "apostates." Third, unlike al Qaeda's relatively modern and modesty ideology, IS has a millenarian theology that sees itself as a key player in the Islamic scenarios of the apocalypse — and the preceding Armageddon with "the Army of Rome."[59]

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[57] B. Lewis, *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2003), p. 30.

[58] See M.M. Hafez, "The Alchemy of Martyrdom: Jihadi Salafism and Debates over Suicide Bombings in the Muslim World," *Asian Journal of Social Science,* 38 (2010), pp. 364-378.

[59] G. Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *The Atlantic* (March 2015), http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/.

It is beyond question that this radical political theology, and the carnage it produces, is simply seen as lunacy by the overwhelming majority of the world's 1.6 billion Muslims.

Conclusion

Islam, as a religion, is not necessarily at odds with the liberal order. Secular Muslims and Islamic liberals have no religious reason to oppose liberal principles, and many do not.

As for Muslim nationalism, its critique of and opposition to the liberal order is based less on directly religious grounds than on political complaints about Western hegemony and the unfairness of the international system to Muslims. Similar complaints come from other non-Western peoples. It should not be overlooked, however, that condemnations of "Western hegemony" may also serve as a mantle for anti-liberalism, as seen in the propaganda themes of authoritarian regimes from Russia to North Korea.

The real ideological tension is between the liberal order and Islamism, in its non-violent and violent forms. Islamism can perhaps be compared to Marxism, with its utopia of an ideal, and deeply illiberal, social and political order. But it should be recalled that Marxism had a very wide spectrum of interpretation, ranging from democratic Marxist parties of Europe that sought power peacefully by elections, to armed revolutionaries, to mass-murdering tyrannies such as that of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. It would be fair to say that if today the Islamic State is the Khmer Rouge of Islamism, most other Islamists seek power through ballots instead of guns, and some of them, such as the Ennahda Party in Tunisia, are even on the verge of evolving into acceptable political actors in liberal democracies. (In its first two terms in power, 2002-11, Turkey's AKParty led by Erdoğan was *the* iconic post-Islamist success story, but this very success soon tempted the party toward a deeply *illiberal* conception of democracy.)

For Western policymakers and opinion leaders, understanding this diversity within Islam, and also within Islamism, is paramount, especially to avoid very common but deeply flawed generalizations. One generalization is to argue "Islam is a religion of peace," and violent jihadists "have nothing to do with Islam." This politically correct talk is factually wrong, but it is similarly wrong is to portray these extremists as the representatives of all Islamists, let alone all Muslims.

In handling tensions between the liberal order and Islam, Western policy should follow several key guidelines:

1. Military campaigns against violent jihadists (such as al Qaeda and Islamic State) should be limited in scope, with "surgical" operations, but not wars and occupations. The latter option is very likely to breed only more violent jihadists, who are driven by the very perception that the *umma* is under attack.

2. The feeling that the *umma* is under attack should be eased by finding peaceful diplomatic solutions to the longtime "bleeding wounds" of the *umma*, such as Palestine, Kashmir (India), or Arakan (Burma), challenging as these cases are.

3. Islamist movements and parties should be welcomed to the democratic space, rather than cast out and oppressed by secular or pro-Western dictatorships or military coups. But the Islamists' acceptance of *electoral* democracy should not be mistaken for the acceptance of *liberal* democracy, and liberal values must be defended through diplomacy, media, activism, and even sanctions.

4. Western sympathy and support inevitably goes to secular Muslims or Islamic modernists (especially of the liberal kind), but this can be a kiss of death for these forces in the eyes of their more conservative co-religionists. In fact, the greatest obstacle to liberalism in the Muslim world is its perception as a foreign export, if not conspiracy. Western supporters of liberal Muslim trends should be aware of this conundrum, and avoid taking steps that risk being counter-productive.

5. The best policy for the West would be to help create the political, economic, and cultural context of Muslim liberalism. Supporting democratization, helping establish and strengthen market economies, and fostering cultural interactions through education, communication, trade, and inter-faith dialogue can be the West's safest bet for liberalism in the Muslim world.

6. As for Western Muslims, the West's challenge is the absorption of people not just of a different religion (Islam), but also of different cultures (Arab, Pakistani, Turkish, etc.). The European (in particular French) model of imposed assimilation — with bans on the veil, halal food, minarets etc. — risks being counter-productive, if not also illiberal in itself. Countries like the United States and Canada present an arguably better model, where individuals may have hyphenated identities and thus can become "American" or "Canadian" without abandoning their traditions, and integrate into broader society, thanks to greater opportunities for social mobility.

IV. Islam and Turkey: From Muslim Democracy to Islamist Autocracy?

Nora Fisher Onar

Introduction: What is Hagia Sophia Saying?

On May 29, 2015, the anniversary of the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman sultan Mehmet the Conqueror in 1453, thousands of Muslims will gather in front of Istanbul's famed Hagia Sophia to pray for its reinstatement as a mosque. A pre-eminent church of Christendom for 900 years and one of Islam's great mosques for almost 500, Hagia Sophia has been a museum since Turkey became a secular nation-state some 90 years ago.

Two years ago, a group calling itself the Anatolian Youth Movement claimed Hagia Sophia exclusively for Islam. Launching a petition demanding the "breaking" of the building's "chains" by making it a mosque, the organization has gathered 15 million signatures. It cites as precedents the recent conversions of two other churches-cum-museums into mosques: the historic Hagia Sophias of Iznik (Nicea) and Trabzon (Trebizond). The cause is but one expression of mounting demands to Islamicize public spaces.

A recent statement by Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç thus raised eyebrows. "Hagia Sophia," he declared, "is telling us something. I wonder, what is Hagia Sophia saying?... Perhaps soon it will be smiling."[60] The cryptic comment stirred speculation as to whether Turkey — a country often criticized for its track record on religious freedoms — planned to change the

[60] Quoted in A.J. Yackley, "Muslims Pray to Turn Turkey's Greatest Monument into a Mosque," *Reuters* (May 30, 2014), http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/05/30/us-turkey-hagiasophia-idUSKBN0EA1QE20140530.

site's neutral status. And if at Hagia Sophia, Islam were to be privileged over Christianity and secularism alike, what does this mean for Turkey's contested trajectory between Europe and the Middle East?

Turkish officials were quick to reassure UNESCO and the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom that there was no intention to change the building's status. Similar assurances were made to the Ecumenical Patriarch, head of Turkey's tiny remaining flock of Orthodox Christians but spiritual leader to 300 million across the globe.

The episode nonetheless affirmed the growing sense in and beyond Turkey that Islam is a growing force in public life, shaping politics and foreign policy in demonstrable if not determinant ways. The trend has been accompanied by a well-documented illiberal turn in Turkey's politics. This begs several questions: Is there a relationship between Islamicization and increasingly authoritarian tendencies? Or is the former window-dressing for the latter? And what are the implications for Turkey's regional role and transatlantic commitments?

Addressing such questions requires definitions. Islamicization is defined as policies that seek to make religion — or political Islamists' interpretation thereof — a part of public life.[61] Political Islam, in turn, is an ideology that has developed in segments of Muslim societies since the mid-19th century. It revisits sacred texts in search of responses to Western hegemony. It can display both liberal and authoritarian orientations,[62] and is an "ism" not to be lumped together with Islam as a faith *per se*, or as a set of cultural practices. Crucially, in Turkey, political Islam (unlike radical or militant Islamism) has drawn legitimacy from electoral politics.[63] The key question is whether upon achieving power political Islamists cease to be democratic, changing the rules of the game to concentrate power in the hands of a non-accountable elite — or individual.

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[61] Such policies are often informed by interpretations of *sharia* that differ considerably according to jurist, school, geography, and era. Islamicization is served by both official and informal or civil society practices. The focus here is on the formal element because it can be measured using fairly objective empirical indicators like legislation, school curricula, and budgetary allocations. That said, it is at the grassroots level where we most often encounter the Islamicizing activities of faith-based movements like the Muslim Brotherhood.

[62] Mustafa Akyol acknowledges this in his contribution to this volume, while employing two separate categories "Islamic liberalism" and the variants of "political Islamism." The two nevertheless emanate from the work of the same seminal thinkers, e.g. Jamal ad-Din al-Afghani and Mohammed Abdou. For an engaging account, see P. Mishra, *From the Ruins of Empire: The Revolt Against the West and the Remaking of Asia* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012).

[63] For a nuanced map of variants of Islamism see, for example, P. Mandaville, *Islam and Politics*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge, 2014), and S. Hamid, *Temptations of Power: Islamists and Illiberal Democracy in a New Middle East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

This chapter argues that Islamism furnishes a set of symbolic resources that Turkey's pragmatic leadership mobilizes in response to old and new forms of opposition. This is part of a short-term strategy to win elections, and a medium-term strategy of penalizing dissent in which Islamist-inflected rationales are but part of the toolkit. In the longer-term term, the goal is to raise a "devout generation" that may be more accepting of authoritarian rule framed in Islamist terms. The danger of the approach — which is not endorsed by all elements of the pro-religious leadership and constituency — is that it by repressing rather than addressing social cleavages, it creates fertile ground for radicalization. The risks are considerable given the threat of spillover from regional — and homegrown — ethnic and sectarian conflict and Islamist extremism.

Islam Rising? Putting the Trend in Perspective

Secularization

Recent debates about Turkey's perceived "turn" to Islam have their source in the cultural reforms of the 1920s.[64] At this time, Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk) founded the Republic of Turkey on the ashes of the Ottoman Empire. In so doing, he appeared to renounce the dualistic principle of *din-ü devlet* or the co-constitution of religion and state that had been a core feature of Ottoman rule.[65]

This entailed abolishing the sultanate and then the caliphate (which in accordance with din-ü devlet had been embodied in the same person). Traditional clergy (*ulema*) and seminaries (*medresse*) were eliminated. The Sufi brotherhoods (*tarikat*) were suppressed, as were new religious movements (like the *Nurcu,* antecedent of today's *Hizmet* community led by Fethullah Gülen). To subordinate and not just separate mosque and state, Turkey's founding father drew on French *laïcité*. This meant controlling core aspects of religious observance rather than privatizing religion as in Anglo-American approaches. A Directorate of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) responsible to the office of the prime minister was created,[66] and mosques and their imams

[64] The reforms built upon a century of piecemeal but nonetheless transformative late Ottoman secularization, which set the stage for Atatürk's policies.

[65] Like most governing principles, *din-ü devlet* took many forms in practice. It was also a plastic concept, used to justify both the old order and modernizing reform throughout the 19th century. It also was not as omnipresent a feature of Ottoman governance as many — from the Ottomans' European counterparts to some in Turkey today who wax nostalgically for empire — would have us believe. There had long been other sources of law besides *sharia,* including the Christian and Jewish law that bound minority communities and a body of "secular" customary law (*yasa*) emanating from the central Asian Turkic heritage. Even Islamic law, moreover, had been codified by-and-large in accordance with Western forms and norms over the course of the 19th century.

[66] It has been argued that there is actually more continuity than rupture between the Diyanet and the Şeriye *ve Evkaf Vekaleti* (Ministry of Religious Affairs) in the late Ottoman Empire.

became government property and employees. Veiling was discouraged as women were urged to personify the new Westernized ethos.

Language reform rejecting the Arabic script brought, at least in principle, non-Muslim minorities into the national fold while cutting everybody off from the Islamic canon. Thus, someone who learned to read after 1928 —nine out of ten people in the country — could only access texts like the Qur'an in translation. Religious law (*şeriat*) was disbanded, and criminal and family codes adopted verbatim from Western models.[67] These sweeping reforms to suppress, privatize, and regulate religion were unparalleled in any other Muslim-majority country (except perhaps Tunisia, where several decades later President Habib Bourguiba emulated Atatürk). They had enduring institutional and sociological consequences, bringing into being "new" Turkish men and women to take on a modernity that was then — and, as often as not, is still — defined in the image of the West.

Religion's Transformation

But could a faith — the world's second largest and still its fastest growing, to which Turks are said to have converted 1,000 years ago — be domesticated by a nation-state in a matter of decades? Nationalism, after all, is bounded, while Islam is founded on universalism. Islam's Ottoman champions aimed for much of their 700-year reign to encompass the world (*cihan-şümûl*).[68] To be sure, Turkey's secularization was irreversible. It was also, as Michael Barnett reminds us in his chapter in this volume, complicated. All over the world, religion is proving both resilient and adaptable.[69] Turkey is no exception: Islam or readings thereof continue to shape official and informal political and social practices.

The very notion of "nation" (*millet*) in Turkish evolved out of the Ottoman conception of "religious community." The idea was constitutive of the millet system that was the Ottoman framework for managing diversity. According to this framework, Muslim, Christian, and Jewish communities' coexistence was regulated by a paternalistic state embodied by the sultan. As with Christianity

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[67] This did not necessarily make the legal framework more "progressive." The criminal code came from Mussolini's Italy, and the family code imported wholesale paternalistic Swiss conceptions of family, marriage, and divorce, undermining some measures that had been taken earlier to reinterpret Islamic family law in ways favorable to women.

[68] For an account of how Ottoman universalism evolved into Turkish nationalism and the allure of Ottomanism across the political spectrum today, see N.F. Onar, "Echoes of a Universalism Lost: Rival Representations of the Ottomans in Today's Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 45.2 (2009): 229-241.

[69] See, for example, J. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); E.S. Hurd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009); D. Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.)

in Europe, even with the adoption of citizenship and a secularized conception of nationalism (*milliyetcilik*), Turkish collective identity and the nation-building project retained a culturally Muslim character. As conceived by Ziya Gökalp, the leading ideologue of Turkish nationalism, Turks were of Western civilization, the Islamic faith, and the Turkish nation.[70] The sense of ethnic Muslim-ness was heightened by the decimation of the Armenian and Greek communities during the wars of the early 20th century. Turkey became a state with a 99 percent Muslim majority. The very word "*Türk*" makes social sense only when applied to Turkish-speaking Muslims (practicing or otherwise).[71] This view was reinforced by persistent skepticism in the West of Turkey's capacity for cultural conversion (a recurring pattern since skepticism about its European credentials has fuelled Turkey's Islamicization today). In short, from the outset, what is often referred to as Turkey's "staunchly secular" Westernized identity involved a significant if ethnicized religious dimension.

The Pluralism-Populism Pendulum

The transition to market democracy to better align with the West during the Cold War enabled groups excluded from the Kemalist project to demand a place in public life. Revisionists included both religious and liberal advocates of more faith and less state. This gave rise to a pendulum pattern in electoral politics. Democratic pluralism opened the door for populists to pursue majority rule with Islamic overtones. This would lead to backlash from guardians of the (sort of) secular republic, until the next opportunity for pluralistic politics arose. This pattern prevailed from 1950 until recently, opening the way for religious self-determination. Yet the system relied on illiberal "checks" on pro-Islamic majoritarianism such as coups and closure of political parties.[72]

The experience left at least four legacies. First, the democratic election and undemocratic removal of a series of charismatic leaders cemented a deep sense of injustice and self-righteousness in the pro-religious constituency. Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, for example, was deposed in 1960 and executed in 1961, while Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan was harassed

[70] Gökalp was influenced by the German sociological distinction between "civilization" as something universal and driven by the dominate technologies of an era (e.g. capitalism and industrial production) and the "nation" as some perennial cultural and communal identity. Thus many nations whose cultural fonts include different faiths can belong to the same civilization. Under this rubric, Gökalp, who was half Kurdish, did not see Turkishness and Kurdishness as mutually exclusive categories.

[71] The foundational Treaty of Lausanne established a minority rights regime (e.g. right to education; right to administer communal religious foundations etc.) to complement the universal citizenship rights of the remaining non-Muslim Greek, Armenian, and Jewish *millet* (though not for other Christian populations like the Syriac Christians of south eastern Turkey). For much of the 20th century, however, minority protection was selective at best and a function of the state of play in bilateral relations with the kin state.

[72] Party closures were rationalized on constitutional grounds.

from power in 1997. The experience also reinforced the majoritarian equation of democracy with the ballot box in pro-Islamic circles.

Second, in the name of political and religious freedom, pro-religious politicians began to reclaim the education system and other areas of governance. This included rehabilitation of old religious orders like the Nakşibendi sect from which Turkey's political Islamist movement would emanate, as well as new faith-based groups — like the followers of Islamist modernist thinker Said Nursi — which would evolve into the *Hizmet* movement. Other measures included introduction of religious instruction into school curricula, and the establishment of the Imam Hatip secondary schools, which provided a religious education. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (prime minister 2003-13, president 2014-present) was an early graduate of the Imam Hatip system. Significantly, pro-religious actors were not alone in Islamicizing the state. The supposedly secularist military likewise advanced Islamicization, going so far as to rewrite the constitution in 1980 to reflect a "Turkish-Islamic synthesis."

Third, as conservative figures like Turgut Özal (prime minister 1983-89, president 1989-93) demonstrated, a pro-Islamic platform could serve as an anchor for pluralistic politics. Özal collaborated, for example, with liberal intellectuals to launch Turkey's first "neo-Ottoman" outreach to the Middle East, Caucasus, and Balkans. At the same time, he placed Turkey under the liberalizing influence of the EU by applying for membership in 1987. His legacy reinforced the alliance that has regularly coalesced (and collapsed) between Islamists and liberals. At the same time, it amplified the view within the pro-religious constituency — many of whom believe Özal was poisoned — that nefarious forces within and beyond the state conspire against pro-religious predominance.

Fourth, this set of experiences furnished a powerful set of eminently modern symbolic resources — iconographic figures and rousing narratives of tragedy and triumph as well as specific tropes about majority rule and cultural authenticity — available to Islamist politicians today.

The Erdoğan Era

By the early 2000s, the political pendulum appeared to swing again toward pro-religious pluralism. This was marked by the foundation of the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partısı*, AKParty) in 2002 by Erdoğan and Abdullah Gül (prime minister 2002-03, president 2007-14).[73]

[73] This was another legacy of the 1980 coup; the 10 percent electoral threshold that has enabled AKParty to emerge as a predominant party in the political science parlance was initially put in place to keep Kurdish parties out of parliament.

The duo led a much lauded economic transformation that enabled millions of Turks across Anatolia — and the cities of western Turkey to which millions more Anatolians had migrated — achieve middle class lifestyles. The AKParty overhauled services and infrastructure. Turkey joined the ranks of the G20. And by spring 2013, Ankara had paid off its debts to the IMF.[74]

The process was accompanied by sweeping if incomplete liberalization as an EU candidate under the self-declared rubric of "Muslim Democracy."[75] The process stalled, not least due to a rebuff on civilizational grounds from Christian Democrats across Europe. The EU framework nonetheless helped foster "openings" in Turkey's political culture.[76]

The AKParty leadership also weathered with acumen attempts to close it down from defenders of the Kemalist status quo. The tipping point came in 2007 when Gül became president and acquired the power to make key appointments. This enabled the AKParty to penetrate and eventually control most organs of the state (with the last, beleaguered bastion today being the constitutional court). The process culminated in the disciplining of the generals, removing the illiberal "check" that had for so long "balanced" the policies of populist pro-religious politicians. The feat earned Erdoğan accolades across the Middle East and West alike.

Turkey, many argued, offered both liberals and Islamists a "model" or "inspiration" of Muslim capitalist democracy to cite in their own challenges to the authoritarian status quo in the region. The evidence is mixed on the traction of this narrative and concomitant regional policies.[77] Turkey, nevertheless, was widely seen as a "net winner" in the Arab uprisings of 2011. After Tunisians and Egyptians, among others, rose against authoritarian regimes, they voted for political Islamist parties in the transitional elections. In 2012, when political Islamist figures from around the region attended the

[74] Between 2003 and 2013, Turkey raked in eight times more foreign direct investment than it had in the previous 80 years combined, from $15 billion between 1923 to 2002 to $123 billion between 2003 and 2013. See, for example, *The New Economy*, "FDI the Cornerstone of Turkey," (March 21, 2014), http://www.theneweconomy.com/business/fdi-the-cornerstone-of-turkey. Turkey also reduced the (hyper)inflationary currency to single digit growth, and overhauled social services, urban, and national infrastructure, while side-stepping the global economic meltdown with growth rates near 10 percent in the early 2010s.

[75] The party's pro-religious orientation has been described at various junctures as "Islamist-rooted," "post-Islamist," "Muslim Democratic," or just plain old "Islamist."

[76] These included outreach to domestic minorities like Kurds, Armenians, and Roma, and rapprochement with old regional rivals such as Greece and, for a time, Armenia.

[77] A recent assessment based on surveys and interviews suggests Arab political elites may be put off by Turkey's aspirations to leadership while considerable majorities — 77 percent in 2009, 66 percent in 2012, and 60 percent in 2013 — continue to favor a more active regional profile for Turkey. The decline, moreover, can be explained by a steep dip in support in Syria and Egypt, whereas other Arab peoples polled remained consistently positive on Turkey's regional role. See M. Mufti, "Arab Reactions to Turkey's Regional Reengagement," *Insight Turkey*, 16.3 (Summer 2014), pp. 15-23.

annual AKParty congress, Turkey's leadership declared its liberal-Islamist synthesis to be the vanguard of the right side of history.

But history is fickle. Ankara gambled and lost on several regional fronts. First, it invested in relations with Muslim Brotherhood-style parties. Turkey's influence thus diminished with the anti-Brotherhood coup in Egypt, and when Brotherhood elements in Syria proved unable to dislodge the regime of President Bashar al-Assad. Ankara's outspoken pro-Sunni position in Syria led to strained relations with the pro-Shi'a belt in Tehran, Baghdad, and Damascus. Yet, Turkey could not channel the resources of fellow Sunni states Saudi Arabia and Qatar toward shaping regional politics, and its pro-Brotherhood stance rankled Riyadh, among others. If trade between Turkey and Israel continues to thrive, the political relationship has deteriorated after a series of hostile stands by the leadership on both sides. The upshot has been that Ankara today, far from playing the "order-setting" role to which it once aspired, has little traction in Middle Eastern capitals.

Meanwhile, if prospects for a meaningful liberal-Islamist synthesis have been kept afloat by Tunisia's experience, Turkey's own political pendulum has swung back in the direction of pro-religious majoritarianism.

From Muslim Democracy to Islamist Autocracy?

In late May 2013, the world watched as a sit-in by environmentalists to protect a small park in central Istanbul spiraled into nation-wide protests in response to the authorities' treatment of protestors. Though the Gezi Park protests were soon suppressed, they had significant effects. First, they led to new forms of dissent both outside and within the pro-religious constituency. This, in turn, spurred Turkey's leadership to pursue polarization by mobilizing, among other instruments, the symbolic resources of Islamism. The purpose: to rally core supporters toward winning municipal (March 2014), presidential (August 2014), and parliamentary (June 2015) elections.

Old and New Oppositions

A major source of the protests was resentment of growing measures thought to be restrictive of open lifestyles. At one level, this testified to the enduring imprint of secularism on significant segments of Turkey's society. Yet, it was the diversity not the predictability of Gezi protestors' profiles that was striking. Participants ranged from leftists and right-wing nationalists, to non-practicing and pious women, to LGBT activists, Islamist critics of neoliberalism, and some Kurds. The oddball coalition suggested that Turkey's transformation had yielded a new social base for pluralistic politics.

The experience of repression also catalyzed some sympathy among protestors for the Kurdish movement (which remained aloof at the time due to ongoing peace talks with Ankara). When Turkey heads to the polls on June 7, 2015, however, it may be the pro-Kurdish Peoples' Democratic Party (*Halkların Demokratik Partisi*, HDP) that harnesses the political energies of Gezi by pitching itself as an inclusive opposition platform. If successful, it would pass Turkey's 10 percent electoral threshold, which distorts seat allocation, significantly reducing the AKParty's share.

The Sectarian Dimension

A second, often overlooked aspect of the protests was their sectarian dimension. If people from many walks of life participated in Gezi, those who died were overwhelmingly Alevi. Why would Alevi youth head to the heart of the fray?

This Muslim minority — which makes up some 10-15 percent of the population[78] — has been coalescing as a social and political force in tandem with the rise of the AKParty's (default Sunni) majoritarianism. Alevism has affinities with the Alawite tradition and Shi'ism but is said to have a distinctive Anatolian character influenced by Sufism. Alevi are seen as heterodox by many Sunnis. They do not view as obligatory tenets like five-time daily prayers, fasting during Ramadan, or veiling. Alevis' gender-integrated congregations (*cemevi*s) are not recognized as houses of worship by Turkey's Directorate of Religious Affairs — now a bastion of AKParty authority. Alevis have protested this — and obligatory religious education steeped in Sunni precepts — by applying to the European Court of Human Rights.[79]

Many Alevis originate from provinces that border Syria, Iraq, and Iran. Since 2012, the massive influx of Syrian refugees of mostly Sunni orientation has exacerbated sectarian tensions within Turkey. So have attempts to paint the main opposition leader, who is of Alevi origin, with a pro-Assad brush. An early source of strain was the dismissal of charges in the "Sivas massacre" of 1993 when 33 Alevi intellectuals and 2 hotel personnel were burned alive by a Sunni mob. The incident — and lack of redress — has become part of Alevi collective identity. Another catalyst of Alevi protest was a bomb, three weeks before Gezi, that killed some 50 people in Reyhanlı, a mixed town on the border with Syria. On the eve of Gezi, a third bridge over the Bosphoros was dedicated to an Ottoman sultan known for his persecution of Alevis.[80]

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[78] K. Ulusoy, "The 'Europeanization' of the Religious Cleavage in Turkey: The Case of the Alevis," *Mediterranean Politics* 18.2 (2013): 294-310.

[79] See ECHR (2007) Hasan and Eylem Zengin vs. Turkey, App. No. 14804. ECHR (2010) Sinan Isik vs Turkey, App. No. 2192405.

[80] Selim I is said to have massacred up to 40,000 Alevis in the context of Ottoman conflict with Safavid Persia.

Alevis also appear to have been excluded from patronage networks that have empowered AKParty constituents.

For all these reasons, Alevis were a driving force behind the protests. A sequel to Gezi — protests over the death of a teenage Alevi bystander in the spring of 2014 — intensified the community's concern at Sunni primacy.

The AKParty-Gülenist Rift

A third source of opposition was between the AKParty and followers of the cleric Fethullah Gülen[81] and his *Hizmet* ("Service") movement. The influential faith-based group oscillates between a liberal and ethno-nationalist line. It was said to wield considerable influence in Turkey's police force and judiciary. The rift with the AKParty predated Gezi when *Hizmet* appeared to differ on how to approach a settlement with Turkey's Kurds. Erdoğan responded with plans to shut down Turkey's "cram school" system, a major source of *Hizmet* revenue. Tensions were exacerbated by the relative sympathy displayed to Gezi protestors by press and politicians close to the movement. Rupture was definitive when *Hizmet* allied electorally with Turkey's traditional opposition, the secularist Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, CHP), and the right-wing Nationalist Action Party (*Milli Hareket Partisi*, MHP).[82]

In the run-up to presidential elections, high-ranking government figures and their families, including Erdoğan and his children, were implicated in a massive corruption probe. The initiative included criminal investigations led by police and prosecutors, and the leaking of incriminating conversations on YouTube. Turkey's leadership launched a counter-offensive against what it called a "parallel" bureaucracy, which it accused of attempting a coup. Government tactics included heightened restrictions on media, especially online platforms. This captured the world's attention when Twitter was banned on the eve of the elections.[83] When the AKParty won resounding victories in both the municipal and presidential races, Erdoğan pledged — and has single-mindedly pursued — retaliation.[84]

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[81] Gülen has been based in Pennsylvania since 1999; the Turkish authorities recently revoked his passport. C. Yenginsu, "Turkey Revokes Passport of Cleric in Exile in Pennsylvania," *The New York Times* (February 3, 2015), http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/04/world/europe/turkey-revokes-passport-of-cleric-in-exile-in-pennsylvania.html.

[82] The opposition coalition's move — unthinkable just a few years earlier — to field as presidential candidate the former secretary general of the Organization of Islamic States (OIS) is redolent of the resurgence of Islam in public life.

[83] It was reinstated by the Constitutional Court several days after Erdoğan's victory.

[84] Police and prosecutors associated with the corruption probe in particular and the Gülen movement in general have been removed. The Gülenist media and the associated Asya bank have faced intense pressure. There is also an ongoing cyber battle for domestic and international legitimacy.

A 2014 municipal election poster widely circulated on social media. In the image, Erdoğan is positioned as heir to an illustrious line of pro-religious politicians widely seen as martyrs. The caption reads: "Men of the People: Hung? Poisoned? We won't let you get him... Our grandfathers walked with Menderes, our fathers with Özal*, and we walk with Erdoğan." ("Soysal Medyayı Sallayan Kolaj," (June 3, 2013), http://www.internethaber.com/sosyal-medyayi-sallayan-kolaj-542597h.htm).*

The Short Term: Polarization as Electoral Strategy and Islamist Populism

In the face of these diverse forms of opposition, Erdoğan has opted for a polarizing approach toward winning elections. By the end of the campaign trail in June 2015, he hopes to command a two-third majority in parliament, or at least 330 out of 550 seats, to initiate a referendum. This would enable Erdoğan to convert the country into the presidential system he desires to consolidate his authority in political life. Under this strategy, electoral populism trumps other domestic and international considerations.

Erdoğan's "combative charisma"[85] combines underdog appeal with an authoritative persona in a paternalistic political culture. It rings true to the historical grievances and present triumphalism of the Anatolian everyman. Able to carry about half the electorate, supporters see in Erdoğan the embodiment of a century-long struggle for empowerment.

To foster cohesion among supporters, Erdoğan draws boundaries between in- and out-groups using symbolism from Turkey's political Islamist canon. He invokes martyrs to the cause: Menderes and Özal, but also Islamist poets whose idiom he leverages with rhetorical flourish. This entails a civilizational analysis of world affairs.[86] There are affinities also with the revanchist rhetoric

[85] BBC News, "Profile: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan," (August 14, 2014), http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-13746679.

[86] See, for example, B. Duran, "Understanding the AK Party's Identity Politics: A Civilizational Discourse and its Limitations," *Insight Turkey* (Winter 2013), pp. 91-109.

of other former empires that are rising in an age of Western retrenchment (e.g. China, India).[87]

In this framing, Muslims are the downtrodden but righteous victims (*mazlum*) of a decadent, imperialist West that will soon be eclipsed by the ethical and rising East.[88] Political opponents are "inauthentic" traitors to this manifest destiny. Revisionist claims like "Muslims discovered America" — a statement made to an audience of Latin American leaders — can be read in this vein. Such claims attempt to appropriate serious scholarship in both Turkey and the West that seeks to recover the role of non-Europeans in global history.[89]

To this end, the Ottoman-Islamic heritage is invoked as a source of once and future greatness. It is pitched as a sociological and ethical framework for reconciling Turks and Kurds under Islam. The frame appeals to religious Kurds, but falls flat with the secular, left-leaning nationalists who make up the core of the Kurdish movement.

For AKParty voters, but also many others, neo-Ottoman spectacle elicits a sense of grandeur and continuity, a textbook case of "imagined tradition" as tool of modern nation-building. This is fostered through commemorative practices like annual celebrations of Istanbul's conquest. Foreign visitors may become props in this domestic pageant, as Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas discovered in January 2015 when he was greeted by guards in various period costumes at the massive new presidential palace in Ankara. Such performances help lend a sense of historical inevitability to Erdoğan's ascendency — what a senior advisor has called the "closing of a 100-year parenthesis."[90] The nation/civilization is also attributed with essentially martial qualities. These may be invoked to inspire vigilance — even vigilantism.

Meanwhile, the diverse opposition is lumped together with a shadowy "interest rate lobby" and those staples of Middle Eastern populism — Israel and Mossad. These forces are said to be bent upon derailing Turkey's world historical rise. This is coupled with attributions of egregious behavior like allegations that anti-government protestors attacked a veiled woman and her

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[87] On the utility of "former empires / rising powers" as a unit of analysis, see N.F. Onar, "Historical Legacies in Rising Powers: Toward an (Eur)Asian Approach," *Critical Asian Studies*, 45.3 (2013), pp. 411-430.

[88] See, for example, the works of Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Necip Fazıl Kızılkürek, or Cemil Meriç, who are regularly honored at political and cultural events convened by the pro-religious constituency.

[89] See, for example, the work of Pınar Bilgin or John Hobson. A similar goal of recovering the role played by long-neglected groups animates revisionist history and cultural production when it comes to race and gender.

[90] A. Sayfa, "Mahçupyan: Yeni Türkiye, Yüzyıllık Bir Parantezi Kapatıyor," *Haksöz Haber* (October 28, 2014), http://www.haksozhaber.net/mahcupyan-yeni-turkiye-yuzyillik-bir-parantezi-kapatiyor-53388h.htm.

infant. Such claims are met with total belief and disbelief among pro- and anti-government constituencies, respectively.

If conspiracy theories are the "refuge of the powerless,"[91] in Turkey today they play on the paranoia of the newly empowered. Such fears are reinforced by the dissonance between Western calls for democracy promotion in the Middle East and the apparent primacy of security and other interests. Erdoğan's outspoken criticism of the coup in Egypt emanates from this sensibility. The analysis also enables dismissal of Western concerns about Turkey's own illiberal turn: criticism is read as Islamophobic denial of the (Sunni) Muslim majority's democratic voice.

The Medium-Term: Penalizing Dissent

If the rhetoric of Islamist-cum-Ottomanist symbolism is emancipatory for the pro-religious constituency, the empirical trend is toward repressing dissenters. This is documented by bodies like the United Nations Human Rights Council and the EU Commission, and watchdog groups like Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. The assessment is that Turkey has experienced democratic "rollback"[92] in areas like freedom of expression and media, freedom of assembly, and human and minority rights. Such policies are pursued through mechanisms inherited from the displaced Kemalist establishment and via new laws.

On freedom of the press, Reporters Without Borders ranked Turkey 154 out of 180 countries in 2014.[93] Pressure on mainstream media has led to self-censorship and the dismissal of dozens of journalists. In the past four years, the opposition press claims that press gags have been issued on 150 subjects including the parliamentary inquiry into corruption allegations.[94]

Online media is also curtailed, with some 68,000 sites currently blocked by the Telecommunications Directory.[95] Bans are mostly on grounds of affront to family values, but also in light of "blasphemy laws," "humiliating the religious

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[91] R. Cohen, "The Captive Arab Mind," *The New York Times* (December 21, 2010), http://www.nytimes.com/2010/12/21/opinion/21iht-edcohen21.html?_r=0.

[92] Human Rights Watch, "Turkey's Human Rights Rollback," (September 29, 2014), http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/turkey0914_ForUpload.pdf.

[93] The report stated that of some 60 incarcerated journalists, at least 28 are in prison for their professional activities. Turkish officials deny that journalists are in prison for their journalism *per se*.

[94] Z. Gurcanlı, "Ten Issues the Turkish media is banned from reporting on," *Hürriyet Daily News* (November 27, 2014), http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/10-issues-turkish-media-is-banned-from-reporting-on.aspx?pageID=238&nID=74904&NewsCatID=339.

[95] *Hürriyet Daily News*, "Turkey Blocks Charlie Hebdo Website, 48 Others," (March 5, 2015), http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkey-blocks-charlie-hebdos-website-48-others.aspx?pageID=238&nID=79262&NewsCatID=339.

values of people," "provoking hate and enmity or degrading the people," or "insulting the president." Such measures have been used to try celebrities for "tweets" on subjects such as atheism. Law 5651, passed in the wake of the Erdoğan-Gülen rift, authorized the telecommunications body to protect "national security, the restoration of public order, and the prevention of crimes." It also authorized access to internet users' browsing histories. Social media platforms like Twitter report that Turkey tops the list of governments requesting content moderation. The purpose may be less to block access — Turkey's tech-savvy youth can get around most bans — than to delegitimize social media in the eyes of core constituents.

Another area of concern is right to assembly. Mechanisms include a law requiring complex notification of intent to protest, and criminalization of spontaneous mobilization. Five thousand five hundred people are being tried in connection with Gezi.[96] There is also a pattern of excessive force to disperse protests and impunity for those who use it.

A recent security bill, critics argue, may turn Turkey into a police state. Concern about the 132-item bill has focused on a dozen measures. These give centrally appointed governors judicial powers including the right to conduct criminal investigations. The bill also enhances the discretionary power of police. It authorizes police to search, restrict travel, and detain suspects for up to 48 hours without written warrants on the basis of "reasonable doubt." The bill is especially worrisome to Kurds who have long chafed under anti-terrorism laws. That a brawl broke out in parliament over the bill between AKParty and Kurdish deputies, among others, is suggestive of fissures in the ongoing peace process and heightened polarization in society at large.

The Long Term: "Raising a Devout Generation"

Populism and penalizing dissent is hard work. To produce a more compliant society, changes are underway in areas like education, religious governance, and women's issues. The explicit goal is to "raise a devout generation." While the project might at one level be commensurate with political Islamist idealism, it is also a governance strategy that leaders, pious or otherwise, employ in the hopes that society will become more receptive to illiberal rule rationalized in Islamist idiom.

Education

Recent changes to the national curriculum by the Higher Education Council amplify the pattern of Islamicization since the 1950s. These include lowering compulsory religious education from the fourth-grade level to first grade.

[96] These include 35 soccer fan club members who face life imprisonment on grounds of attempting a coup.

Kindergarten instruction now also aims to "teach values" including "the concepts of paradise and hell" to imbue children with "love for Allah."[97] In what may be a harbinger of things to come, a pro-government teacher's union recently proposed gender-segregated education.

Imam Hatip or religious schools, which comprise about 10 percent of the education system, have mushroomed in size, number, and influence over the past decade. Student enrollment has increased five-fold from 90,000 students in 2004 to 474,009 in 2014. In the same 10-year period, the number of such schools has doubled from 453 to 952. In 2014 alone, there was a 20 percent increase. Restructuring of the education system has facilitated Imam Hatip graduates' access to faculties across the higher education system (previously they were expected to study theology).

There are indicators of Islamist revisionism in higher education as well. For example, theology curricula used to require courses on sociology of religion and history of philosophy as well as the Islamic sciences, i.e., Qur'anic exegesis (*tafseer*), Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), and the sayings of the Prophet (*hadith*). A recent Higher Education Council ruling, however, has made the non-Islamic subjects optional. Some theology professors fear that this will "disable critical thinking," impeding, as another put it, "graduates' ability to grasp secular society" and open "their way to be influenced by the Wahhabi/Salafi strain of thought."[98]

The philosophical basis for such a move has been articulated by Yusuf Kaplan. A prominent columnist at a pro-government daily, Kaplan wrote an open letter to the president in which he called for a return to the Ottoman-Islamic sources of Turkish "greatness" and "demolition" of Westernized universities based on Enlightenment-inspired pedagogy. These include institutions like Bilkent and Middle East Technical University (among the only Turkish universities to rank in the world's top 400).[99] In their stead, Kaplan argues, Turkey should establish at least one "Islamic University" to rival Al-Azhar

[97] K. Gürsel, "Erdoğan Islamicizes Education System to Raise 'Devout Youth,'" *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse* (December 9, 2014), http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/12/turkey-islamize-education-religion.html.

[98] Cited in M. Akyol, "A Salafi Assault on Turkish Theology," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse* (September 10, 2013), http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/tr/originals/2013/09/turkey-theology-salafis.html.

[99] The list is compiled by the Times Higher Education World University Rankings powered by Thomson Reuters. See "Out of Top 400 universities today, only 5 are in Muslim world," *Muslim Mirror* (December 9, 2012), http://muslimmirror.com/eng/out-of-top-400-universities-today-only-5-are-in-muslim-world/.

in Cairo, a "Qur'an University," and a new "Civilization University."[100] In the spirit of these suggestions, Erdoğan recently expressed the view that the term "campus" should be replaced by "*külliye*" — a term associated with the Ottoman-Islamic *madrassa* complex.[101]

Religious Governance

The *Diyanet* or Directorate of Religious Affairs is another booming institution. Responsible to the prime minister, since the inception of the republic, its job has been to inculcate the state's evolving reading of (Sunni) Islam. In the past decade, the Diyanet has grown from 74,000 personnel to 122,000.[102] One reason for this is the need to absorb the growing number of Imam Hatip graduates who are core supporters of the ruling party. The Diyanet's growing budget is also a source of debate, though the last figure posted on its website (for 2013) appears to be commensurate with the 1 percent share of GDP the Diyanet has commanded for decades.[103] The Diyanet is also described as a "stepping stone"[104] for large-scale transfers across public-sector institutions. Perhaps most significantly in terms of symbolic currency, the Diyanet is building a massive new mosque, the silhouette of which will dwarf all other monuments on Istanbul's skyline. It is not yet clear whether the Diyanet — which after all is a foundational institution of secularized governance of religion — will play an amplifying or mitigating role vis-à-vis the trend toward top-down Islamicization.

Women's Issues

The relationship between women's concerns and Islamicization is complex. In the case of Turkey, Kemalism entailed a sort of "state feminism" to amplify the country's Western credentials. But both the political culture and society

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[100] Kaplan apparently is unsatisfied with the university that currently bears that name. The piece also calls for the eradication of the current Turkish Radio and Television Board and Ministry of Education and the presidency of the Directorate of Religious Affairs, and their re-establishment on "authentic" civilizational grounds. For a somewhat garbled English translation, see Y. Kaplan, "20 Suggestions for Erdoğan," *Yeni* Şafak (August 15, 2014), https://english.yenisafak.com.columns/YusufKaplan/20-suggestions-for-erdogan-2004348. For the Turkish original, see Y. Kaplan, "Erdoğan'a 20 öneri," *Yeni* Şafak (August 15, 2014), http://www.yenisafak.com.tr/yazarlar/yusufkaplan/erdogana-20-oneri-55353.

[101] *Milliyet*, "Kampus Değıl Külliye Olsun," (January 8, 2015), http://www.milliyet.com.tr/kampus-degil-kulliye-olsun/siyaset/detay/1995610/default.htm.

[102] The latest available figures on the Diyanet website are for 2013. Available at http://www.diyanet.gov.tr/tr/kategori/istatistikler/136.

[103] K. Fabbe, "Turkey's Secularization in Reverse?" *The Washington Post* (February 9, 2015), http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/monkey-cage/wp/2015/02/09/turkeys-secularization-in-reverse/.

[104] Y. Baydar, "Turkey's Mighty Diyanet: Now a Political Tool," (May 18, 2014), http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist/yavuz-baydar/turkeys-mighty-diyanet-now-a-political-tool_348120.html.

at large remained highly patriarchal.[105] The AKParty has perpetuated this dualistic approach. As a result, AKParty policies must be analyzed at two levels: official policies and social practices. Leading AKParty figures also have called for traditional/conservative roles for women, a position that is Islamist in that it is justified by invoking religion.

At the formal level, the track record is mixed. For example, Turkey overhauled domestic legislation through penal and family code reform in the context of the EU accession process. Yet, after a decade of rule that upgraded the country's performance in other areas of economic governance, Turkey continues to perform poorly when it comes to gender equality. According to the World Economic Forum index, Turkey regularly ranks lower than 120 out of 136 countries.

Women's low levels of representation in the labor force (under 30 percent) and electoral office (under 10 percent nationally and below 5 percent at the local level) is unlikely to change so long as Turkey's leadership prioritizes women's roles as mothers and wives.[106] This paternalistic approach was emphasized with the 2012 dissolution of the Ministry of Women and Family Affairs and the subsuming of its functions into a new Ministry of Family and Social Policies. The move toward a more conservative frame was affirmed by the health minister's assertion that women's "primary career" should be motherhood. One of Erdoğan's pet causes is women's "responsibility to the nation" to produce "at least three children." The government has sought to sweeten the prospect by offering financial incentives.[107] Concomitant moves have included intermittent proposals to criminalize "adultery" (meaning both pre- and extra-marital sex), segregate by gender and monitor university dormitories, discourage cesarean sections, and curtail abortion (described by the head of the Human Rights Commission as a "greater crime" in the case of pregnancy though rape "than the deed of the rapist.")[108]

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[105] D. Kandiyoti, "Emancipated but unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish case," *Feminist Studies* (1987): 317-338; N.F. Onar and M. Müftüler-Baç, "The adultery and headscarf debates in Turkey: Fusing 'EU-niversal' and 'alternative' modernities?" *Women's Studies International Forum*. Vol. 34. No. 5. Pergamon (2011).

[106] The position is ideological insofar as data consistently reveals that without women's participation in the economy, it is difficult for developing countries to break out of the middle income trap.

[107] At rates of 300TL, 400TL, and 600TL for the first, second, and third children respectively, the amount is more likely to incentivize childbearing among lower income women whose access to education and the work force is in any case problematic. Up to 5,000TL may be available in credit to couples who marry younger than 27. M. Yurdakul, "3 çocuk için teşvik hazır" *Milliyet*, March 3, 2015, http://www.milliyet.com.tr/3-cocuk-icin-tesvik-hazir/ekonomi/detay/2025682/default.htm.

[108] Cited in E. Şafak, "After Years of Silence Turkey's Women are Going into Battle Against Oppression," (February 17, 2015), http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/feb/17/turkey-women-battle-oppression-protest.

Such moves also can be read as fodder for the populist canon as they are often invoked when the authorities face scrutiny for other reasons. The emphasis on an exclusively domestic role for women is also belied by the robust contribution of pro-Islamic female journalists, among others professionals, to public debates.

Nevertheless, a clear field of dissonance between formal policies and social practices is violence against women. At the formal level, Ankara has taken a leadership role in the Council of Europe's "Istanbul Convention" or Treaty on Preventing and Combatting Violence against Women, of which Turkey was the first signatory. At the societal level, however, violence against women has increased 1,400-fold in the past decade.[109] While this can be attributed partly to increased reporting, the numbers speak of rampant misogyny. Some 13,000 cases of harassment and abuse are reported annually.[110] In 2014, 281 women were reported murdered by partners or family members, a 30 percent increase from the previous year.[111]

Women face well-documented difficulties in securing legally mandated protections.[112] Offenders face reduced sentences and outright impunity. Suggestive of the permissive culture vis-à-vis domestic violence, a recent "Bachelor" on Turkey's version of the popular television show was in the market for a wife, having killed his first wife and later a lover.[113] This climate has been sustained, critics argue, by statements from high-ranking AKParty figures such as "men and women are biologically unequal" (Erdoğan), "women should not laugh in public" (Arınç), and "…a rape victim should kill herself" (Ankara mayor Melih Göçek).[114]

Public figures like Erdoğan stepped in with strong condemnations, however, after the attempted rape and brutal murder of 20-year old student, Özgehan

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[109] Ibid.

[110] Ö. Yılmaz "Kadına yönelik şiddetin haritası," *Milliyet* (August 13, 2014), http://www.milliyet.com.tr/kadina-yonelik-siddetin-haritasi-gundem-1924868/.

[111] Ç. Tahaoğlu, "Men Kill 281 Women in 2014," *Bianet* (January 20, 2015), http://www.bianet.org/english/women/161678-men-kill-281-women-in-2014.

[112] For example, the group Mor Çati, which operates a shelter, released a report documenting prosecutors discouraging women applying for restraining orders. The report also says that authorities refrain from penalizing men who violate such orders. "Erkek şiddeti azalmıyor, çünkü en önemli yasa hala kâğıt üzerinde!" (May 23, 2014), https://www.morcati.org.tr/tr/ana-sayfa/254-erkek-siddeti-azalmiyor-cunku-en-onemli-yasa-hala-kagit-uzerinde .

[113] "Sefer Çalınak dünyayı da şaşırttı," *Hurriyet Dünya*, May 11, 2014, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/26385668.asp.

[114] Collated along with numerous other statements from public figures in B. Oran, "Politikalarıyla kadını durmadan aşağılayanlar toplumu tahrik edegeldiler," *T24*, February 20, 2015, http://t24.com.tr/haber/baskin-oran-politikalariyla-kadini-durmadan-asagilayanlar-toplumu-tahrik-edegeldiler,287912.

Aslan. In response to her death in February 2015,[115] thousands of women and men took to the streets across Turkey to protest violence, holding placards saying "This is our rebellion." Thus, yet another rift has arisen in Turkey's polarized society. This time, it is between what novelist Elif Şafak describes as "those who defend silence and the status quo, and those who refuse to keep quiet in the face of growing gender violence."[116]

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that in the face of old and new forms of opposition, Turkey's leadership has pursued domestic polarization using the symbolic resources of Islamism to win elections, penalize dissent, and engineer a more religious — and presumably compliant — generation. There are significant risks associated with this strategy.

First, after the votes have been counted, polarization will persist. There are near daily reports of tensions turning violent. Vigilantism and violence against women may have deeper sociological sources — the alienation associated with transition to capitalist modernity for which Islamism seeks to provide an ethical roadmap. But clashes are also a function of intolerance at the highest levels. Turkey, many worry, is becoming a "powder keg."[117]

Second, managing social strife by criminalizing dissent will only cause tensions to fester. With few exceptions, the "other 50 percent" has nowhere else to go. A government with the vision to make peace with the Kurds should recall that the PKK emerged in response to draconian policies denying Kurdish identity after the 1980 coup. The costs to Turks and Kurds alike: 40,000 lives and $350-400 billion.[118] Such damage is very difficult to undo. This is attested to by recent fissures in the peace process. These include nation-wide protests at the time of Kobani's capture by the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) which caused 40 deaths, the more than 5,000 petrol bombs that the Kurds have lobbed at Turkish targets since then, and the recent brawl in parliament over a new security bill.

The pro-Kurdish HDP has responded with a call for an inclusive "language of peace" through which it hopes to capture enough protest votes from other

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[115] *RT*, "'Sleeper cells': 3,000 in Turkey linked to ISIS, police report says," January 17, 2015, http://rt.com/news/223651-turkey-people-isis-linked/.

[116] Şafak, 2015.

[117] C. Çandar, "In Turkey, Divisive Politics Leads to More Violence," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse* (February 19, 2015), http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/02/turkey-powder-keg-of-violence.html.

[118] M. Werz and M. Hoffmann, "The United States, Turkey, and the Kurdish Regions: The Peace Process in Context," *Center for American Progress* (July 31, 2014), https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/security/report/2014/07/31/94936/the-united-states-turkey-and-the-kurdish-regions/.

parties to surpass the electoral threshold. If it fails, Erdoğan will have *carte blanche* for his presidential system, and the PKK may attempt to establish an autonomous regional parliament.[119] This, in turn, could provoke a heavy hand from Ankara and inter-communal clashes across Turkey.

It is also an open question whether Alevi insecurities will lead to sustained mobilization among the 8-10 million strong community. Alevi radicalization, in turn, could lead to receptivity to outreach from pro-Shi'a actors, pulling Turkey into the region's sectarian predicament. Much depends on Turkey ability to absorb some 1.8 million mostly Sunni refugees from the Syrian conflict. This daunting challenge further requires managing the threat posed by IS, which controls significant segments of the porous border with Turkey, since IS's *takfiri* ideology deems Alevis' beliefs heretical.

Third, the strategy of Islamicizing society is problematic in several ways. At one level, and as an earlier Erdoğan once argued about Atatürk's reforms, social engineering in the absence of suitable sociological conditions can backfire. In the 2010s, Islamicizing policies notwithstanding, the jury is still out on whether Turkish society is becoming more religious. A recent book-length study assesses empirical indicators that the trend may be of growing "disenchantment" rather than "re-enchantment" (e.g. lessened belief in supernatural beings; the diminishing importance of the "sacred" in daily life).[120] Secularization at the grassroots rather than the top-down level is driven by powerful forces: technology, urbanization, and capitalism.[121] Indeed, the rift between the AKParty and Hizmet movement has generated lively debates within the pro-Islamic camp. Asking whether "Islamism is dead," some prominent pro-religious intellectuals argue that political feuding and excessive concern with material gain among the political Islamist leadership has disillusioned many pious supporters."[122] The anxiety this causes among older Islamists is at least one source of the drive to "raise a devout generation." As Kaplan wrote in his letter to Erdoğan, Turkey must confront the "dissolute post-modern culture" that is "enveloping the world" because "if we do not develop advanced Islamic sensitivities…in two generations Islam may become the faith of the minority in this country."[123]

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[119] Ş. Alpay, "Future of the Regime in Turkey," *Today's Zaman* (March 9, 2015), http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist/sahin-alpay/future-of-regime-in-turkey_374648.html.

[120] V. Ertit, *Endişeli Muhafazakar* Çağı*: Dinden Uzaklaşan Türkiye* (Istanbul: Orient, 2015).

[121] Cited in M. Akyol, "Turkey is Becoming More Secular not Less," *Al-Monitor Turkey Pulse* (March 2, 2015), http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/turkey-is-getting-more-secular.html#ixzz3TzirelrQ.

[122] See for example the debate between prominent conservative and Islamist intellectuals, Mümtaz'er Türköne and Ali Bulaç, in *Insight Turkey*14:4 (2012).

[123] Kaplan, "20 Suggestions for Erdogan."

A related challenge is the question of what reading of Islam is inculcated in the attempt to engineer a more religious society and the unintended consequences that this could unleash. As this chapter has shown, there are indicators of Salafi influence on curricula in the generic sense of a narrow interpretation of Islam devoid of contextualization or *ijtihad* (critical thinking). How will the Salafi trend in education converge, in 5-15 years time, with the demonstrable appeal to some Muslim youth of the hybrid Salafi/jihadi ideology propounded by the likes of IS?

A survey of 3,000 people in Turkey immediately after the *Charlie Hebdo* massacre revealed that 20 percent of respondents believed that *Charlie Hebdo* staff deserved to be killed and violence in the name of Islam is justified. In addition to this not inconsequential minority, 56 percent said that foreign intelligence agencies were the real perpetrators, while 42.6 percent believed the Islamic world was the "real victim" of the attacks.[124]

These figures suggest that the pervasive culture of conspiracy has contributed to a syllogism in identity politics: "Muslims face discrimination in/by the West; therefore all negative acts attributed in/by the West to Muslims are forms of discrimination; therefore Muslims never commit negative acts." This view is reflected in the tendency among some Turkish Islamists — based on their own experience as a movement that did not radicalize in the face of censure — to view all Islamist forces as benign and misunderstood.

Syria's Afghanization and the rise of IS, however, has spurred some to worry whether Turkey might become the region's Afghanistan: a state divided along ethnic and sectarian lines that pays later for early accommodation of a militant Sunni would-be regime — and magnet for global jihadists — on its borders. Ankara appears to be increasingly aware of the dangers. The Interior Ministry recently announced that there are around 600-700 Turkish fighters[125] with IS and some 3,000 affiliates in sleeper cells across Turkey. The pro-government *HaberTurk* newspaper recently ran a piece with guidelines for parents who fear their children may be radicalizing. The phenomenon may be gaining salience with recent claims that in the first three months of 2015, some 680 families have reported children absconding to Syria.[126] In the highly volatile

[124] Face-to-face interviews were conducted with 2,759 people between January 17-20, 2015. L. Brinded, "42% of Turkish people believe Muslims are the 'real victims' of Charlie Hebdo attack," *International Business Times* (February 3, 2015), http://www.ibtimes.co.uk/metropoll-42-turkish-public-believe-muslims-are-real-victims-charlie-hebdo-attack-1486355.

[125] P.R. Neumann, "Foreign fighter total in Syria/Iraq now exceeds 20,000; surpasses Afghanistan conflict in the 1980s," International Center for the Study of Radicalization of Political Violence (January 26, 2015), http://icsr.info/2015/01/foreign-fighter-total-syriairaq-now-exceeds-20000-surpasses-afghanistan-conflict-1980s/.

[126] F. Kızılkoyun, "Üç oğlu birden IŞID'i katıldı," *Hurriyet Dünya* (March 20, 2015), http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/dunya/28501315.asp.

region, Turkey must come to terms with the risks of spillover — as well as homegrown — ethnic and sectarian conflict, and Islamist radicalism.

Turkey's illiberal trajectory was and is not a foregone conclusion. Nor is it due, as Mustafa Akyol shows in this volume, to any intrinsically illiberal property of Islam. As this chapter has demonstrated, pro-religious politics have time and again served as an anchor for pluralism in Turkey. The Ottoman experience of multi-faith, multi-ethnic coexistence also offers normative resources with which to manage old and new cleavages.

Many within the pro-religious leadership understand the need for a more inclusive political climate. Arinç, his ambivalence on Hagia Sofia notwithstanding, has helped to license such a conversation. In a live interview, he declared: "several years ago, half the country loved us and the other half respected us… today, half loves us and the other hates us…This won't affect our votes…but it may make the country ungovernable." Ultimately, as a prominent Islamist intellectual has put it, Turkey's leadership must learn to accommodate criticism or subvert its own "historic mission":[127] to transform the country from an illiberal secular regime into a Muslim-majority democracy.

Recommendations

Turkey and its transatlantic partners should cooperate to promote their common interest in a stable and free Turkey as a bulwark against the centrifugal forces emanating from the region.

Turkey's government can take concrete steps like enhanced cultural rights for ethnic and religious minorities. Assimilationist pressure on heterodox Alevis should be recognized as counterproductive. Acknowledging Alevi *cemevis* as houses of worship and exemption from obligatory (Sunni) religion classes will help to reassure the 8-10 million strong community at a time of heightened sectarianism across the region. The implementation of extent policies addressing violence against women should be improved, new measures developed, and a strong message of solidarity with women projected by the Turkish leadership to society. Serious research and inter-communal dialogue should inform Turkey's rediscovery of its Ottoman past. Rather than glorifying its militaristic aspects, the rich resources of the multi-ethnic and multi-faith Ottoman heritage for pluralism today should be explored.

The domestic electoral calculus should be balanced by consideration for Turkey's international image and standing. To this end, anti-Western rhetoric

[127] A. Taşgetiren, "Yüzde 50'yi ne yapmalı," *Star* (February 15, 2015), http://haber.star.com.tr/yazar/yuzde-50yi-ne-yapmali/yazi-1000552.

should be toned down to better reflect Turkey's *de facto* Western orientation through its ongoing participation in international institutions like NATO, the Council of Europe, and the Organization for Cooperation and Security in Europe (OSCE).

Turkey's partners should incentivize its participation in the liberal international order. This could be pursued through an inclusive approach to trade settlements such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), and revitalization of Turkey's EU prospects. Turkey's partners should recognize the challenges of maintaining stability at a time of regional upheaval and refrain from blaming Ankara for problems which are the upshot of collective actions (and inaction). Joint planning vis-à-vis the region's trajectory should take into account short-, medium-, and long-term trends and goals, and recognize the possible knock-on effects of policies undertaken to meet immediate challenges (e.g. removing IS). Assistance Ankara needs to accommodate almost 2 million mostly Sunni refugees from Syria should be provided. Joint efforts should be made to confront the universal problem of foreign fighters, as well as of IS sleeper cells in Turkey, Europe, and beyond.

Over the medium-term, Turkish and international observers should follow the apparent Salafi turn in elements of Turkey's education system. The goal should be to monitor and understand how this trend may interact with the demonstrated appeal of Salafi/jihadi ideology as articulated by the likes of IS to Muslim youth across the world.

Without exaggerating the comparison, lessons for both Turkey and its partners in the West should be drawn from Pakistan's experience of ethnic and sectarian fragmentation after it opted to accommodate rather that confront the Taliban, an earlier would-be Sunni militant regime that became a magnet for and producer of global jihadists.

Box 2: Tunisia: The Challenge of Democratic Politics

Sarah Wolff[1]

The Bardo Museum attack that killed 21 people, many of them European tourists, on March 18, 2015, in Tunis is a hard blow for Tunisia's fledgling democracy. However, for the West, there is more important news out of the country. Terrorism should not overshadow the encouraging coalition politics that have seen Islamists and liberals working hand-in-hand in a thus far successful transition to democracy. In spite of huge economic, social, and security challenges, Tunisia's recent history holds out hope.

Tunisia's current coalition government is formed by the secularist party Nidaa Tounes, the Islamist party Ennahdha, and some independents. Even though many Islamists in the region might tend toward majoritarian "illiberal democracy,"[2] the Tunisian experience should force the West to reconsider its position toward those Islamists who have proven to play a positive role as democrats. So far, consensual politics and national unity have prevailed over destructive ideological polarization. Given this record, the West should further provide Tunisia with greater support and investment.

Since the fall of the regime of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali in January 2011, the popular Islamist Ennahdha party came under intense national and international scrutiny. After years in exile, it proved to be an astute political player and a key democratic actor.

First, following the October 2011 elections in which it won 41 percent of the seats in parliament and formed the government, Ennahdha has slowly but surely distanced itself from Salafists. Originally eager to engage Salafists groups that were forbidden under Ben Ali and convince them of the value of democracy, the deterioration of the security situation forced Ennahdha to distance itself from those groups and to recognize Ansar al-Sharia as a terrorist organization. Since the September 2012 attack on the U.S. embassy, this group had been trying to disrupt the democratic process in Tunisia. Regular attacks

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[2] F. Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 1997).

on military personnel and police officers took place in the Kasserine and Mont Chaambi regions. The turning point was in February 2013, when Ennahdha was accused by the secularist faction of passivity in response to the assassinations of extreme-left politician Chokri Belaid and nationalist MP Mohammed Brahmi. The Ennahdha government stepped down and the party pragmatically decided to form a coalition government with social-democrat party Ettakatol and the Parti Democrate Progressiste.

In spite of Ennahdha's pragmatism, polarization between Islamists and secularists was acute during the writing of the constitution. Ennahda was slow to stand aloof from the Salafists asking for *sharia* law to become named as the main source of law in the constitution. The polarization also led to a vague compromise regarding the role of religion. While Tunisia's official religion remains Islam and freedom of belief is protected, Article 6 of the 2014 constitution has been seen as filled with contradictions:

> "The State is the guardian of religion. It guarantees liberty of conscience and of belief, the free exercise of religious worship, and the neutrality of the mosques and of the places of worship from all partisan instrumentalization. The State commits itself to the dissemination of the values of moderation and tolerance and to the protection of the sacred and the prohibition of any offense thereto. It commits itself, equally, to the prohibition of, and the fight against, appeals to *Takfir* [charges of apostasy] and incitement to violence and hatred."[3]

Even though the Constitution does not include blasphemy, the clauses about offense against the sacred potentially allow for repressive interpretations, an unresolved point likely to trigger future debates on the role of religion in Tunisian society.[4] However, vague generalities are common to many constitutions. The peaceful adoption of the constitution is more significant.

The road ahead is still long and the current Islamist-secularist coalition needs to provide a sustainable and safe environment for democratic institutions to continue to flourish.

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[3] A. Guellali, "The Problem with Tunisia's New Constitution," *World Policy Journal* (February 3, 2014), http://www.hrw.org/news/2014/02/03/problem-tunisia-s-new-constitution. The author is also director of the Human Rights Watch office for Tunisia and Algeria.

[4] K. El Ouazghari, "Ennahdha in Practice: Democracy, Gender, and Sharia in Tunisia's New Constitution, *DGAPkompakt,* 13 (October 2014), https://dgap.org/en/article/getFullPDF/25964.

Despite the current collaboration, Islamist-secularist polarization could define future political dynamics, in particular the generation gap. Very low turnout among young voters in the 2014 elections was widely interpreted as a sign of disillusionment with the political transition[5] and is a warning to both factions. Nidaa Tounes' leaders, who won 38 percent of the votes in the legislative elections in October, will need to avoid becoming an establishment liberal party relying on the coastal upper middle-class, which alienates the young people who initiated the "Jasmine Revolution" that drove Ben Ali from power.[6] The vested interests of Nidaa Tounes in the business sector could also impede reform and therefore lead to an alienation of young Tunisians, in a country where unemployment and poverty remain a key challenge.[7] Beji Caid Essebsi, the 87-year old president, was elected in December by a public that favors strong leadership over a democratic government to solve Tunisia's problems,[8] and Nidaa Tounes remains first and foremost a "catch-all" party[9] whose ability to conduct socio-economic reforms is debatable.[10]

This needs to be assessed in combination with youth radicalization, which poses a security threat.[11] Around 3,000 Tunisians are fighting with the self-proclaimed Islamic State. With 40 percent unemployment, Tunisia's youth are suffering from poverty and still distrust the political elite. One helpful step in restoring trust in the political system would be for the coalition to accelerate the reform of the security sector. The condemnation of blogger Yassine Ayari for criticizing the army shows the long road ahead.

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[5] E. Reidy, "Tunisian youth skip presidential vote," *Al-Monitor* (November 25, 2014), http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/11/tunisia-presidential-elections-low-youth-turnout.html.

[6] P. Stickland, "Can Nidaa Tounes Unite Secular Tunisians?" *Middle East Eye* (October 25, 2014). http://www.middleeasteye.net/in-depth/features/can-nidaa-tounes-unite-secular-tunisians-1373444373.

[7] A. Wolf, "Power Shift in Tunisia: Electoral Success of Secular Parties Might Deepen Polarization," *SWP Comments,* 54 (December 2014), http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/comments/2014C54_wolf.pdf.

[8] Pew Research Center, "Tunisian Confidence in Democracy Wanes," (October 15, 2014), at http://www.pewglobal.org/2014/10/15/tunisian-confidence-in-democracy-wanes/.

[9] S. Ben Mami, "Les partis politiques tunisiens à la veille des élections législatives de 2013," *Le Carnet de l'IRMC* (March 21, 2013), http://irmc.hypotheses.org/848.

[10] A. Wolf, "Can Secular Parties lead the New Tunisia?" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (April 30, 2014), http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/04/30/can-secular-parties-lead-new-tunisia.

[11] F. Bilbech, A. Driss, and P. Longo, "Citizenship in Post-Awakening Tunisia: Power Shifts and Conflicting Perceptions," *EUSpring* (February 2014), http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/clusters/irs/euspring/publications/tunisia_report.pdf.

More meaningful support from Europe and the United States is needed to tackle the huge economic and social challenges ahead. The EU remains a key strategic partner given that it is Tunisia's largest trading partner. Relations are organized under a "privilege advanced status" gained under Ben Ali. Reaching the level of "associated country" (like Norway, Liechtenstein, or Iceland) remains one of Tunisia's main foreign policy objectives.[12] The 2014 EU-Tunisia mobility partnership has opened the road to negotiations on visa facilitation and increased mobility for some categories of travellers (businessmen, students, etc.), while the partners have in engaged in deeper cooperation on irregular migration, human trafficking, and smuggling. Negotiations toward a Deep and Free Trade Agreement, however, have not yet progressed.

Since 2011, the United States has allocated $610 million in aid to Tunisia.[13] This is far below support for strategic partners such as Jordan, where the United States spent $13.8 billion in 2013,[14] and Egypt, for whom President Barack Obama requested an appropriation of $1.3 billion in military assistance in 2016.[15] More important given the significance of the Tunisian experiment in democracy for the whole region, U.S. support is not nearly enough in absolute terms. In the wake of the Bardo attacks, with their obvious threat to the key tourism sector, it is particularly important to find ways of supporting Tunisia's economy.

Helping to anchor Tunisia's democracy, providing support for security sector reform, and creating the conditions to attract investors and tourism are some of the ways Americans and Europeans can help Tunisia's transition. Counter-terrorism support will be central to creating stability and ensuring that Tunisia's exemplary revolution does not become a blip in history. Americans and Europeans, however, need to provide a meaningful effort on all fronts to ensure social and economic security in the long term and avoid destructive polarization in society.

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[12] Institut Arabe des Chefs d'Entreprises, "Foreign Policy in Tunisia's Political Parties' Electoral Platforms" (2014), http://www.iace.tn/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/article-1.pdf.

[13] A. Arieff and E. Humud, "Political Transition in Tunisia," Congressional Research Service (February 10, 2015), http://fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RS21666.pdfn, p. 2.

[14] J. Sharp, "Jordan: Background and U.S. Relations," Congressional Research Service (December 2, 2014), https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33546.pdf, p. 4.

[15] J. Sharp, "Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations," Congressional Research Service (March 3, 2015), https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf, p. 5.

V. The Islamic State and the West: The Politics of Purification

Janice Gross Stein

The world's attention is fixated on *Daesh* (the self-proclaimed Islamic State) and its capacity to inspire young people in the Arab world and in Muslim communities around the globe to join its cause.[128] Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the ruler of the Islamic State, a descendent of the tribe of the Prophet Muhammad, is the first to proclaim a caliphate since the young Republic of Turkey ended the last one in 1924.[129]

The creation of a caliphate that controls territory is, for its leaders, a seminal moment in modern Islamic history. The laws of *sharia* now apply in their entirety, and Muslims from all over the world are enjoined to come and live under Islamic law. That a caliphate exists once again, its adherents claim, is both a repudiation of a century of misguided engagement with foreigners and the beginning of a process of redemption that will culminate in the unification of Muslims everywhere.

Brutal violence, genocidal killing, beheadings, the destruction of historic works of art, and the enslavement of women that have been captured in battle have accompanied the creation of the Islamic State. Recoiling in horror,

[128] *Daesh* is the Arabic acronym for *ad-Dawlat al-Islāmiyah fī al-'Irāq wa sh-Shām,* translated as the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham, and subsequently shortened to the Islamic State upon its declaration of the caliphate in June 2014.

[129] This chapter expands on the author's essay "The Islamic State Group, Saudi Arabia, and the Recurrent Purification Impulse in the Arab World," in the Transatlantic Academy's *The State of the Transatlantic World 2015* (February 2015), http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/blogs/anonymous/islamic-state-saudi-arabia-and-recurrent-purification-impulse-arab-world.

leaders and publics in the West and around the world are asking: Who is the Islamic State? Who do they speak for? Are their followers amongst us? And how do we cope?

The answers to these questions are complex but this chapter advances three arguments. First, the self-proclaimed Islamic State (IS) is not an unprecedented strategic or political challenge; there is a long tradition of movements that, reacting to challenges from within and without, seek to purify Islam. Second, the attributes of IS are not unprecedented. Many of its distinguishing characteristics are common to other militant and millenarian movements. Finally, this chapter suggests that in the non-Muslim world, the threat of IS is exaggerated. *Daesh* struggles with its own contradictions, as is already apparent, and it is unlikely to have the strength and resilience to overcome these contradictions and adapt to changing conditions.

The Impulse to Purification

In the Arab world, a cacophony of voices has always spoken for Islam. Immediately after the Prophet's death, a struggle for succession and legitimacy broke out, and the Islamic world, small as it was at the time, heard more than one voice that claimed authority through authenticity. At that time, authenticity came from the immediacy of the relationship to the Prophet and the capacity of his heirs who knew him to provide faithful — and "true" — interpretations of his teachings.

Even as the descendants of the Prophet claimed to be the sole, the exclusive, and the authentic voice of Islam, multiple voices spoke in noisy chorus. Almost from the outset, the Muslim world has been pluralist in form if not in content. As the Muslim empire expanded and grew, different sites of scholarship developed and seats of learning, science, and law emerged in Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo. Universities and communities of legal scholarship became especially important in a religion governed by law, and over time, four major Sunni legal traditions as well as Shi'a jurisprudence developed, all enriched by arguments, commentaries, and interpretations.

It is this diversity of voices, and a lively tradition of reform and renewal, which paradoxically opened up space for an impulse by some to return to fundamentals, to the "true" and authentic Islam, and by others to look forward to apocalyptic redemption. Whether they looked backward or forward, they shared an emphasis on the purification of Islam.

When the Islamic world began to bump up against a West that was undergoing a renaissance of science, the development of revolutionary new military technologies, and a drive for expansion, Islamic scholars began to

ask how Islam should renew itself to engage with the West but preserve its distinctiveness. Movements of renewal and reform become increasingly important in the early 19th century as the Ottoman Empire began to decay and Western powers forced their way into the heart of the Arab world. Vigorous reform movements developed that focused on the renewal of Islam and its adaptation to a "modern" world.

Not surprisingly, this conversation about reform also enabled the rise of those who wanted not reform, but return: return to the roots of Islam and to the authentic teachings of the Prophet, unsullied by encounters with foreign religions and alien cultures and customs. This impulse to purification in the face of foreign influences is hardly unique to Islam; these kinds of movements are also a part of Jewish, Christian, and Hindu history. Within Islam, as in other religions at different historical moments, a conversation began about purification, some urging return and others redemption so that Islam could fulfill its mission.

These movements become especially vigorous when the material world appears to fail to fulfill its promise. In the last few decades, the drive to purify has been amplified by the failure of Arab governments to improve the lives of their citizens, to promote basic health and education, to deliver services to their poor, and to rein in the visible corruption that has so badly infected the autocratic regimes that governed in the Arab world. Decades of authoritarian governments stripped Arab societies of effective intermediary and civil society organizations, of viable political parties that could provide meaningful opposition, and in many though not all cases, of an independent and critical press. The strongest and most resilient institutions remaining in many Arab societies were Islamic organizations — mosques, centers of learning, community health clinics, and charitable institutions. Across Arab societies, autocratic regimes deliberately or inadvertently polarized their societies, sharpened the contradictions, and presented themselves to their own publics and to the West as the only bulwark against stylized religious movements that would come to power were they to be swept away. That their prediction proved to be largely accurate was in large part a function of their authoritarian eradication of almost all opposition movements and intermediating institutions.

It is not surprising then, as Seyla Benhabib argues, that this search for the authentic and the turn to redemption are fueled by anger and civilizational despair among young people in the Arab world.[130] This anger has turned not

[130] S. Benhabib, "Piety or Rage? On the *Charlie Hebdo* Massacres," *ResetDOC* (January 11, 2015), http://www.resetdoc.org/story/00000022481.

only against their own governments, who have enriched themselves while they exploited their citizens, but also against the *takfir*, the infidel West, that has sustained and supported these authoritarian governments and stood by while they crushed dissent. Not all these angry voices, however, are alike.

It is important to distinguish two strains within militant Islamic movements. Those who want a return to the true faith that is uncorrupted by the modern, especially the West, look back. Those who are apocalyptic and seek redemption through purification look forward.[131] Common to both, however, is a militant emphasis on purification, often through violent struggle, and a commitment to the fundamentals.

This is not the first time that the Arab world has been galvanized by the search for the authentic and the pure. In the 18th century, Muhammad ibn ʻAbd al-Wahhab, a preacher and scholar born in Nejd in the Arabian Peninsula, was determined to "purify" Islam from the corrupting influences of innovation and to return believers to the practices of the Prophet; he looked backward to early Islamic history. Al-Wahhab formed an alliance with Muhammad ibn Saud, an Arabian sheikh, whose family had ruled the Arabian peninsula since the 15th century. Today, the kings of Saudi Arabia, the guardians of the holy places of Mecca and Medina, are the heirs to Wahhabism, the determination to purify Islam. For decades, they have financed and exported fundamentalist movements to the Arab world, while keeping a tight grip on dissent at home. They have done so in the name of purity, as the guardians of the holy sites of Islam and the custodian of Islam in the face of corrupting foreign influences. The continued export of Wahhabi Islam stands in strong contradiction to the rigorous control of dissent at home. The financing of militant movements not only destabilizes other Arab governments but alienates the West, especially when these militants attack institutions in Western societies. Saudi behavior creates a deep policy dilemma for Western governments, a dilemma with no obvious and easy response.

The House of Saud was not alone in claiming to speak for a pure, authentic Islam in the face of modernity. In 1881, the Sudanese cleric Muhammad Ahmad conquered Khartoum and created a state that lasted until 1898. He invoked messianic writings in Islamic texts and declared himself the *Mahdi* — a millenarian who would lead Muslims to victory before the end of the world. Muhammad Ahmad gave voice to many of the strains of redemption and purification that *Daesh* articulates today. His was the first millenarian Islamic state of the modern period, the predecessor of today's Islamic State.

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[131] G. Wood, "What ISIS Really Wants," *Atlantic Monthly* (March 2015), http://www.theatlantic.com/features/archive/2015/02/what-isis-really-wants/384980/.

Yet, in dramatic contrast to the contemporary reaction to the Islamic State, it provoked concern in Egypt and in Britain, but very little alarm in the wider world.

In Egypt, in 1928, Hassan al-Banna founded the *Ikhwan* or Muslim Brotherhood, to return believers to the faith in the face of the Westernizing influence of the British colonizers and the corrupt rule of Egyptian kings. The Muslim Brotherhood developed a syncretic form of Islam, combining religious tenets with social welfare. The Brothers not only issued a call to purify the faith, they also ran schools and clinics among the poorest urban and rural populations in Egypt and over time became almost a parastatal organization. The Brotherhood would grow to be the strongest Muslim organization first in Egypt and then across the Arab world, with branches in almost every country, even after they were first forced underground by President Gamal Abdel Nasser. Theirs was an Islam defined against corruption that served the poor and returned the faithful to purity without, however, the millenarian and apocalyptic overlay.

For decades, the Brotherhood stood as a bulwark against more millenarian and militant Islamist organizations. Marc Lynch makes the compelling argument that as the Muslim Brotherhood institutionalized and reached tacit understandings with governments about the scope of its activity, it limited the effectiveness of its more militant competitors. "The Muslim Brotherhood," he argues, "for all the many issues to be raised with its ideology and discourse, typically served as a competitor with and a firewall against recruitment into violent jihadist groups. Its tight organizational structure maintained discipline and ideological focus among its members. The Brotherhood, like most successful organizations, jealously guarded its place within Islamist politics against potential competitors such as al Qaeda."[132] There is competition and rivalry among militant organizations that differ in ideology, attributes, and organizational effectiveness, competition that is often invisible to those watching from outside.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the House of Saud fears and detests the Brothers, because they are competing largely for the same political and social space. The *Ikhwan* fully returns the enmity. This has been and continues to be a family argument about legitimacy and voice, and between them, there is room for only one. When the *Ikhwan* finally won the presidency of Egypt after the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak, the Saudi monarch King Abdullah, along with the ruling family of the United Arab Emirates, used

[132] M. Lynch, "Introduction," in The Project on Middle East Political Science, "Islamism in the IS Age," *POMEPS Studies*, 12 (March 17, 2015), http://pomeps.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/POMEPS_Studies_12_ISAge_Web.pdf.

every possible means to undermine the newly elected President Mohamed Morsi. The fierce ongoing enmity toward the Brotherhood by some of the ruling families in the Gulf is only understandable through the lens of the struggle for the mantle of purifier.

The dramatic weakening of the *Ikhwan* in Egypt after President Morsi was forced from office by Egypt's military in July 2013 is likely to have far-reaching and paradoxical consequences throughout the Arab world. Its leaders have been jailed, its cadres disrupted, and its capacity to provide educational and health services to the poorest population in Egypt has been drastically degraded. That can only make the massive social and economic challenges faced by the government of President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi even more difficult. And it is likely that more militant Islamic groups will fill the space that the Brotherhood policed before it was forced out and underground. Finally, it will be increasingly difficult for any Islamist movement to persuade its followers that renunciation of violence and participation in elections is a viable political strategy.

Militant movements have arisen even within the heartland of Wahhabi Saudi Arabia. In 1979, long before al Qaeda and the Islamic State, an apocalyptic movement led by Islamist militants inside the Kingdom seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca and called for the overthrow of the House of Saud. The group considered the ruling family corrupt, despoiled by its riches and compromised by its close contact with the West, and claimed one of its own leaders as the *Mahdi*, the redeemer and purifier. The Saudi royal family crushed the uprising with visceral ferocity.

Today, these angry voices are heard most loudly through al Qaeda, which operates across the Arab and Muslim world, and through *Daesh*, the self-proclaimed Islamic State, which has attracted more than 30,000 recruits from across the Muslim world as well as from the West.[133] Al Qaeda is a broadly based militant organization that was founded in reaction to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Created by Osama bin Laden, a member of a wealthy family in Saudi Araba, it initially provided logistical support to Muslims fighters to expel Soviet forces and actively recruited fighters from across the Islamic world. It couched its appeal as a call to expel foreign corrupting influences and to purify Islam.

After the Soviet Union withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989, al Qaeda continued to oppose corrupt regimes and the presence of foreigners in the Islamic world. It merged with a number of other militant Islamist

[133] J. Sciutto, J. Crawford, and C.J. Carter, "ISIS can 'muster' between 20,000 and 31,500 fighters, CIA says," *CNN* (September 12, 2014), http://www.cnn.com/2014/09/11/wotld/meast/isis-syria-iraq/.

organizations, including Egypt's Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Group, established its headquarters in Afghanistan, and developed a strategy of reaching beyond the Islamic world to attack the corrupting foreigners at home. Osama bin Laden was the first to internationalize the conflict between Islam and the West in the contemporary era. Al Qaeda established training camps for young Muslim fighters and attacked U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania and a U.S. warship in Yemen. All this was prelude to the spectacular attack against the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Virginia with hijacked commercial aircraft on September 11, 2001.

In the wake of that attack and the subsequent destruction of its headquarters in Afghanistan by invading U.S. forces, al Qaeda franchised its brand, encouraged local autonomy, and used global digital networks both to recruit and to broadcast its messages of purification, expulsion, and return. This franchise strategy makes it resilient; the loss of one node does not eliminate the network. After its charismatic leader, Osama bin Laden, was killed in May 2011, its strategy and preeminence were challenged by the rapidly growing *Daesh*, which had splintered from al Qaeda and had found the political and military space to grow as Syria descended into fratricidal civil war.

While both al Qaeda and *Daesh* share an emphasis on purification, they are not alike in either content or structure. In ideology, al Qaeda largely looks back, while *Daesh* largely looks forward; in structure, al Qaeda resembles a networked franchise, while IS looks much more like a state, organized around the territory it controls. Neither can live with the other and the struggle between them is fierce, as was the earlier generational struggle between Wahhabi Saudi Arabia and the *Ikhwan*. One competes with the other as the "true" voice of Islam, but both are a beacon to angry young men and women across the Muslim world and to young Muslims in the West who respond to the call for authenticity or redemption through purification, a call that gives meaning and purpose to their lives.

IS as Threat

Among Western governments and publics, the Islamic State has provoked intense fear and extraordinary revulsion. It is easy to understand the revulsion at the brutal violence, the beheadings, the sensationalized killings, all amplified through slick professional videography designed to attract and recruit young people to swell IS ranks. It is more difficult to explain the intense sense of threat that the self-proclaimed caliphate has evoked around the world. What makes these contemporary Islamist movements so threatening to Western societies? The *Mahdi* in Sudan, also an apocalyptic

purifier who ruled an Islamic state more than 100 years ago, worried the British and the Egyptians but few others.

The answer does not lie in the attributes of the Islamic State. Unlike al Qaeda, IS controls territory, but that is hardly unique among militants. Many insurgencies claim control of territory and then proclaim governments that challenge established authorities. That IS proclaimed a state is again not unusual, although this kind of state is not consistent with the states that constituted the Westphalian system.

Unlike sovereign states that shaped the rules of the global order, IS sees itself as the nucleus of a caliphate that will spill across existing states, eradicating their borders. What has provoked intense criticism within the Arab and broader Muslim world is the proclamation of a caliphate by a small group of self-appointed leaders, with the attendant sweeping claims to religious and political authority over righteous Muslims everywhere and the assertion that the legality of all emirates, groups, states, and organizations becomes null by the expansion of the caliphate's authority. The caliphate seeks to erase political borders in the Arab world as it reunifies Muslims. These sweeping claims have been almost universally rejected by Muslim religious authorities and scholars and by Arab political leaders who feel that their authority and legitimacy is being frontally challenged by IS in ways that al Qaeda never did. These claims pose no direct threat to Western governments, however, nor does IS have the West front and center in its sights unlike al Qaeda. Yet the perception of threat is very high on both sides of the Atlantic.

Perhaps the reason is the growing success of IS in recruiting fighters from Western societies. Numbers vary, but estimates suggest that over 1,000 have been recruited from Britain, a similar number from France, and that a few hundred have come from almost every major Western European country as well as the United States and Canada. IS has attracted a steady stream of young men and women from the West to the caliphate, as well as the thousands that come from across the Muslim world. Here too, however, recruitment of foreign fighters is not unprecedented; thousands of young sympathizers voluntarily went to Spain during its civil war in the 1930s to fight the Fascists. Fighters from afar, moreover, are often a mixed blessing. Their "foreign" ways — their languages, their customs, their food — almost always engender resentment among local populations who resent their authority and feel excluded by their presence. They complicate governance and imperil local support. Finally, they are a declining asset: as Western governments begin to make it more difficult for young people to travel, intelligence agencies

accelerate the sharing of information, and Turkey toughens the management of its border with Syria, the flow of Westerners will decline.

Purification in an Era of Advanced Globalization

What then explains the elevated level of threat perception across the Western world? Why does IS loom so large? The answer lies partly in the ordering principles of the contemporary international system. Today, the tight interconnections of the contemporary globalized world, the open societies that encourage people to migrate and form communities abroad, and the digital technologies that allow unprecedented quick patterns of communication through social media make impossible the indifference shown to the *Mahdi* in Sudan in colonial times. The contemporary round of millenarian militancy in the Arab world diffuses outward through online recruitment fueled by sophisticated social media campaigns and videos that glorify purification through violence, and finally, through militant attacks in Western cities. Whether these attacks are coordinated or spontaneous, the violence comes "home" to the West.

IS is adept at communicating and marketing with the tools of our digital era: response time is quick, the violence is graphic, and content is sophisticated and tailored to specific audiences. It choreographs violence as theater and follows up almost immediately to reinforce its threat: to Muslims who resist the call to purification, to those in the community whom IS label apostates because they challenge its message, and to the infidels who must be defeated in bloody battle on the way to redemption. IS has proven itself a sophisticated producer of content and a skilled user of the hard wiring and the soft infrastructure of globalization.

IS exploits more than the digital DNA of the contemporary global system. Globalization has eased migration and enabled diaspora communities to stay connected in ways that would have been impossible even a generation ago. IS draws on networks of militants, women as well as men, who facilitate travel, visas, safe passage, and the transfer of funds to recruit and move young people who find little meaning in their post-industrial lives or are angered by the disruptive role of the West in Muslim societies. As globalization deepens and societies become more interdependent and interpenetrated, it becomes harder even for autocratic governments to insulate their own societies against disruption. The Islamic State exploits the openings that disruptive globalization creates to develop and deepen its networks.

Daesh and its rival al Qaeda have issued the first calls to purification from the heart of the Islamic world that is echoed and amplified through the

technologies and networks of a globalized world. It is not the call but the globalizing conditions and enabling technologies that are new.

A second and related difference is the weakness, possibly the collapse, of 100-year-old order built by colonizers who drew borders and created states. Britain and France came to the Middle East in the shadow of the long decline of the last caliphate, and in its last moments, drew lines on the map of the Middle East that advanced their imperial ambitions but paid little attention to the tribal, ethnic, and religious differences in the region. These two European powers brought the Westphalian system of sovereign states to the Middle East at the beginning of the 20th century as the successor order to the Ottoman Empire, which had long governed with very different principles. It is still unclear whether British and French architects were blissfully ignorant or willfully blind to the contradictions between the two very different ordering principles of the caliphate and the Westphalian system.

The Arab state system gradually deepened its roots and reached the apogee of its strength in the last decades of the 20th century. After socialism and pan-Arab nationalism failed to fulfill their promise, Arab publics turned to the state in increasing desperation. The strength of the state system, however, was more apparent than real; it was fatally undermined by growing authoritarianism and corruption, by the failure to meet even minimal public expectations, and by the almost constant intervention by outside powers with their own agendas and interests.

It was the breaking apart of the two states of Iraq and Syria that opened up the political space and the physical territory to create a caliphate. Iraq was broken apart by an ill-considered U.S. military intervention. Syria was torn apart by social and political forces that had long been bubbling beneath the surface in the Arab state system and finally exploded in 2011. Mass demonstrations began in Tunisia and Egypt but quickly spread to Syria, tearing apart its social fabric and weakening the capacity and the writ of the authoritarian state. Unlike the military in Egypt, the Alawite-led army in Syria was fiercely loyal to President Bashar al-Assad and terrified of the consequences of regime change for the Alawite minority. Egyptian officers would not fire upon Egyptian demonstrators, but Syrian officers showed no such hesitation when small demonstrations against the regime began in Syria in 2011. Over the next two years, the fighting escalated, moderate elements were squeezed, and *Daesh* was able to build its strength at the expense of other militant organizations and consolidate its position as the leader of the opposition to the al-Assad regime. By 2013, IS had established its headquarters in Raqqa in Syria,

controlled the surrounding territory, and was preparing to cross the border back into Iraq, sweep through Sunni territory, and proclaim a caliphate.

It is inconceivable that the Islamic State could have been created when Saddam Hussein and Hafez al-Assad ruled their republics of fear. That this violent millenarian movement grew out of the collapse of the authoritarian order should neither surprise nor evoke nostalgia for the past. Its collapse was inevitable; no authoritarian order endures forever. In this case, the midwife was the ill-conceived invasion of Iraq by the Bush administration and the European and U.S. bombing of Muammar Gaddafi's Libya with no plan for its aftermath, but the unmaking of the Middle East order would have happened sooner or later. The rigidity of the political structures and the absence of social progress could not endure in an era of globalization built on deep connectivity and the diffusion of information. The unmaking of orders is quick, brutal, violent, and dramatic, but remaking is slow, arduous, painful, and uncertain. Building a new order is the work of generations, and if the outcome is to be legitimate, it can only be led from the inside.

The Response of the Transatlantic World

How has the West reacted? With understandable confusion, laced with horror at the ferocity of the personalized violence and the genocidal killings.[134]

The West has to reach back a long time to remember the 100-year ferocity of its religious wars, but the memory of the Nazi orgy of blood, violence, and genocide 70 years ago should still be fresh. What seems incomprehensibly violent behavior by the Islamic State is certainly different in form and texture but hardly unique and unknown to the West.

There are least three broad strands in the response of the West to IS. The first is the criminalization of support for the Islamic State by those living in Western societies. Western governments have issued executive orders or passed legislation that ranges from the confiscation of passports of young men and women, often at the behest of their agonized Muslim parents, to prevent them from travelling to Syria; enhanced surveillance of the speech and actions of suspected supporters; increased sharing of information among friendly intelligence agencies; relaxation of evidentiary standards for surveillance and intervention; and the criminalization of verbal support for terrorism. These new powers to listen, watch, and intervene against those who live in Western societies and are suspected of supporting terrorism have generally not been

[134] United Nations human rights investigators in March 2015 issued a report accusing the Islamic State of genocide and war crimes, citing evidence that it had sought to destroy the Yazidi in northern Iraq as a group. N. Cumming-Bruce, "United Nations Investigators Accuse ISIS of Genocide Over Attacks on Yazidis," *The New York Times* (March 19, 2015).

accompanied by a significant increase in legislative and civilian oversight and partnership with police and intelligence agencies.

This is a very dangerous dance in democratic societies. History shows again and again that citizens will turn against their governments when, over time, inadequately supervised agencies exceed their authority and threaten deeply held democratic values. Public trust in policing, intelligence agencies, and in governments is undermined and that loss of public trust makes societies more vulnerable to the next round of violence.

The second set of responses, partnership with Muslim communities, should be more prominent than it is. Muslim communities living in Western societies are at an exposed intersection of conflicting fears, needs, and feelings. First, they are the victims of public horror at the incomprehensible brutality of IS, often stereotyped by Westerners who do not recognize that the overwhelming majority of Muslims who live amongst them reject both the violence and the legitimacy of the Islamic State. Muslims living in Western societies are also frightened that their young people will be seduced by the siren call of a violent, millenarian organization. Finally, when information is released about young Muslims from the West who have left to join IS, community leaders at home not only worry about the fate of their young people but about the backlash and hardening of public attitudes that follows after each new case comes to light.

Yet Muslims in Western societies are essential partners, leaders in establishing interpretations of Islam that reject the literal reading of texts that promotes violence. Even as they speak out against the violence, however, they are angered by the demand that they do so and by the collective stigmatization that such a request from political leaders implies. The cooperation of Muslim community leaders is nevertheless essential to the success of the efforts to prevent young people in the West from joining IS.[135] There are no easy answers to these conundrums, and Western governments are exploring different options. Germany, for example, has initiated a process of dialogue with Muslim community leaders, and France has appointed a special prefect to protect religious minorities. No matter which approach governments choose, they must deepen civility, respect, and the commitment to inclusive and shared citizenship.

Finally, the West has created a broad military coalition first to contain IS within its present borders and then gradually to push it back and degrade its

[135] R. Levi and J.G. Stein, "The Complex Ecology of Policing, Trust, and Community Partnerships in Counter-Terrorism," in E. Iacobucci and S. Toope, eds., *After Paris* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), forthcoming.

capabilities. There is, after the unintended negative consequences of a series of badly conceived military interventions in the Arab world, deep concern about the destabilizing consequences of yet another Western military action. It is essential, however, that the capacity of IS to conquer new territory be contained. Coalition air strikes have largely accomplished that objective; they have stopped the expansion of the millenarian state and pushed it back in a few critical areas.

The hard part, of course, lies ahead, but paradoxically, despite the sophisticated use of social media and networked patterns of recruitment, the struggle against the Islamic State is a fairly old fashioned war centered on the control of territory. Once the Islamic State loses control of the territory it now rules, it will no longer be a caliphate and it will lose its legitimacy and its appeal. The loss of territory would constitute a strategic defeat even though the millenarian ideology would live on, reconstituted in different forms. What distinguishes *Daesh* is the creation of the caliphate. When that fails, so does *Daesh*, its legitimacy and its capacity to recruit deeply compromised. As IS continues to struggle to control its borders and fails to expand, over time it loses the magnetic appeal of a truly millenarian movement. Since the moment of redemption cannot be forever postponed, persistent containment is a powerful repudiation of the millenarian claims of IS leaders.

The West, however, cannot lead the next stage of the struggle, the attack on the ground against the Islamic State. An all-out assault by Western forces would fulfill the most violent apocalyptic fantasies of IS leaders. The attack must be led by those who live next door, by neighbors who reject the brutality, the violence, and the genocidal impulses. But it must be led in a way that reassures those who now live under the rule of IS that the violence and the brutality will not continue under the liberators. Here, past performance is not encouraging. Shi'a militias, for example, have in the past exacted revenge as they have "liberated" Sunni communities that were under the control of IS. The West can only support from behind those who seek to overthrow IS even while it restrains from behind those who seek vengeance and reprisals.

Over time, this story is mildly optimistic. The fires of purification burn fiercely for a while, but then are generally quenched by the grinding realities that organizations face. The kings of Saudi Arabia, the partners and inheritors of Wahhabi ideology, make the compromises that they must, and the Muslim Brotherhood that won the election in Egypt a few years ago was but a pale imitation of the *Ikhwan* that was born in the slums of Cairo in 1928.

What can the West do in the face of a struggle that will go on for generations? Endure, with resolve, stoicism, patience, and intelligence. The fight among

this generation of purifiers continues, but its primary victims are the hundreds of millions of believing Muslims whose voices are drowned out by this quarrel, the millions who have been made refugees from their homes, and the hundreds of thousands who have lost their lives as the war goes on in Syria and in Iraq. This quarrel, like all others in history, will eventually be transformed, institutionalized, and routinized. In these early days, as the fires of purification burn strongly, we in the West need to be resolute in our commitment to contain, to prevent the spread of the violent, brutal impulse, but not to lead. Our best protection from the flying debris is the use of our intelligence assets in ways that are compatible with our basic values, the deepening of our open and inclusive societies, and a long view of history.

VI. Religious Activists and Foreign Policy in the West

Clifford Bob

From 1983 to 2005, Sudan was torn by a civil war that cost over 2 million lives and displaced more than 4 million people. In its early years, the conflict was little reported in the international press, and foreign governments took few steps to end the bloodshed. Beginning in the mid-1990s, however, Christian conservatives in the United States and Europe began to take interest. They formed ties with the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), an insurgent group composed primarily of black ethnic groups from the country's south fighting a government dominated by Arab rulers from the north. Portraying the fight as one pitting a repressive Islamic state against Christian minorities, overseas religious activists directed media attention to widespread human rights violations, most prominently the alleged enslavement of African Christians by Muslims. Using a variety of lobbying techniques, the religious groups helped persuade the U.S. government to make peace in Sudan a high priority issue. In 2001, President George W. Bush, himself a born-again Christian, appointed former U.S. Senator John Danforth as special envoy for peace in Sudan. Years of negotiation resulted in a Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005. In a 2011 referendum on southern self-determination, an overwhelming majority of Southern Sudanese voted for independence, resulting in the creation of South Sudan as a sovereign state with membership in the United Nations and African Union.

This case in which religiously motivated groups kept a conflict in the public eye and pressured policymakers to act is unusual only in that a new state was

the ultimate if indirect result. In numerous other issues, involving both the "high politics" of war and peace and the "low politics" of non-security issues, religiously inspired groups exert influence on foreign policy. Such influence might seem to be a recipe for foreign policy disasters. Critics have predicted that religion's entry into international politics would stoke sectarian strife, culture wars, or civilizational clashes. Others worry that religiously based activism skews foreign policy away from a country's true national interest.

In certain respects, the critics are right. Some religiously inspired groups have indeed stoked violent conflict within and among states. Even when violence is not the outcome, religiously motivated activists advance particular goals and values. Political scientists have long shown that the pressure group system as a whole tends to result in suboptimal policy, and foreign policy is no exception. Certain voices, usually those representing relatively cohesive groups with superior organizing abilities and resources, exert greater weight than the general public. Religious groups can have the same disproportionate and deleterious effect as economically or ideologically based interest groups. The result, notwithstanding a supposed marketplace of ideas in pluralist systems, can be policy that would contradict an objective definition of the national interest (if one could be accurately determined).

For all the disadvantages of the pressure group system, however, this chapter argues that religiously based political activism is not deeply threatening to liberal societies. For one thing, there are few alternatives to inclusion of religious actors in liberal politics. Total exclusion of religious voices from the public sphere is not only undemocratic but also dangerous, making it likely that some might turn to violence to achieve their goals. Even corporatist-style democracies, in which the state chooses favored civil society interlocutors or licenses particular faiths, do not do away with religiously based demands. These arise both from faith groups favored and not favored by governments, creating a pattern similar to familiar interest group politics. By contrast, allowing religiously motivated groups to mobilize and seek influence openly helps create more peaceful relations among religions. As this chapter will show, in many policy areas, advocacy groups from different faiths form bonds and cooperate for common aims. These ties cross-cut and weaken the confessional divides often viewed as likely to lead to conflict. In short, religious groups have long influenced foreign policy, just like other interest groups, and the vast majority of them do not represent a unique or uniquely dire challenge to liberal states. Those few believers who seek to intimidate or silence other voices or who use violence and terrorism represent fringe elements that can be handled using conventional social or criminal sanctions.

To make this argument, this chapter first discusses three reasons why religion is a powerful basis for collective action, relating to the substantive goals many religions establish, the tactics they encourage, and the organizational forms they provide. Next, it surveys the various ways that religiously motivated groups operate and probes the impacts of their actions. On certain issues, using a set of recurrent tactics, such groups have shaped foreign policy in significant ways. Of course, as with other activist and lobbying groups, it is often difficult to measure their precise influence. Nonetheless, there is little question that religiously motivated groups have had an impact on certain issues. Notably, that influence need not involve promulgation of new policy, let alone the formation of a new state. More broadly, it may involve maintaining a threatened policy, stalling or blocking a novel initiative (non-policy), or gutting any policy that eventually materializes (zombie policy).[136] Because religiously motivated groups often oppose one another in policy conflicts, one group's success is often another group's failure.

Religion and Collective Action

To start with an obvious but often neglected point, religions themselves do not act. Individuals do, usually in groups, and sometimes in the name of religion or at least in the actor's interpretation of his or her own or another's religion. In the Sudan case, for instance, the "Christian Right" did not act; groups such as Christian Solidarity International, Servant's Heart Ministries, and the Institute on Religion and Democracy did, as did secular organizations such as Human Rights Watch.[137] Sometimes such action is based on sincere belief; other times leaders with non-religious agendas use religion instrumentally (just as they do other identities). Most times, motives are mixed. Whatever the situation, religion can be a powerful basis for collective action, whether its aim is to deepen group identity or achieve policy aims.

There are at least three reasons for religion's power, none alone unique to religion but together creating a distinctive basis for political action even if all religions may not share all these attributes at all times.

First, religions provide believers with policy goals: the protection of co-religionists abroad, the preservation of threatened rituals, the realization of moral-theological principles, or the fulfillment of ordained prophecies, among many others. In some cases, belief inspires people to work toward seemingly unreachable goals, those with little chance of short-term success or in sharp

[136] C. Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 32.

[137] A.D. Hertzke, *Freeing God's Children: The Unlikely Alliance for Global Human Rights* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), pp. 246; 268-300.

conflict with material interests and political power. Religious groups and leaders often stand as moral beacons, reminding political leaders and ordinary citizens of humanitarian principles they overlook or downgrade in the face of suspicion, indifference, or self-interest. The important role of clergy in the anti-slavery movements of the 18th and 19th centuries is a key example. Similarly, today's human rights movement has been strongly affected by religious believers. Such figures as Pope John Paul II, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and the Dalai Lama stand for ethical principles, even if these are often controversial and require political muscle to realize.

Second, religions provide a rationale for certain political tactics. Most of the time, pragmatic religious activists follow methods common to any group trying to influence foreign policy. Indeed, as we shall see, religiously motivated groups are in many ways indistinguishable from other lobbying groups, in large part because political institutions channel participation into a relatively narrow set of regularized methods. These differ to some degree between countries, but in Western democracies, the broad contours of political lobbying are largely the same. On the other hand, religion has also been a spur to specialized or high-risk tactics, those that, whether peaceful or militant, carry a significant chance of imprisonment, torture, or death. Suicide bombers offer an extreme case, although one not unique to religion, let alone Islam. Hunger strikers exemplify another high-risk tactic often used by religiously motivated activists. Having a transcendental goal or believing in an afterlife makes such tactics more palatable for religious than non-religious groups.

Third, religions provide an organizational base for political mobilization. Many religious institutions hold significant cultural, monetary, and political resources that they may deploy for political activism. In addition, churches, madrassas, and other religious institutions create long-term, face-to-face interactions building interpersonal trust — and more resources. They serve as safe havens for activists and provide ready-made constituencies for consciousness-raising, fundraising, protest, or violence. Less personal interactions — direct mail, television broadcasts, Internet chatrooms, or social media sites — have similar if probably weaker effects. Of particular note, because religions cross national borders, they serve as a ready substrate for transnational mobilization. Members of a faith often share worldviews, are part of international federations, or have personal ties with co-believers in other countries. These linkages can galvanize overseas mobilization if one set of believers faces threats in its home state. It also facilitates transnational activism for broader political goals, as the Sudan case that opened this chapter suggests. Religious activists learn from one another, work together in both

national and international institutions, and in some cases share organizational structures as part of internationally operating lobbying groups.

As a final cautionary note, it should be emphasized that the foregoing attributes of religions seldom motivate all believers to action. Among followers of the world's major religions, there is wide diversity of belief, zeal, organization, and opportunity. As a result, for all but the smallest sects, only a fraction of the faithful participate in political action for religious purposes. Many times as well, believers from the same sect, even within the same country, disagree with one another about policy goals. These caveats notwithstanding, religion clearly influences foreign policy. It does so primarily through the work of "religiously motivated activists." For the purposes of this chapter, they are defined as individuals and organizations that seek to influence foreign policy based in large part on their religious identity, belief, or sentiment. Although the focus is on groups that are themselves motivated by religious identity or belief, it also discusses groups that are anti-religious or that oppose particular religions. Suspicion, hostility, and hatred toward religions can be a powerful driver of political mobilization even in liberal societies. Religiously motivated groups often fight against this, whether such hostile movements are directed against their own faiths or others.

Religious Groups as Activists

In the transatlantic region, there are many religiously motivated activists from numerous faiths concerned about diverse policies. Organizationally, they come in a variety of forms: politically active churches, interfaith associations, foundations, lobbying outfits, cause law firms, media outlets, and more. Most use non-violent tactics to achieve their goals, but some deploy force or even violence to influence policy. Such groups seldom can be said to "represent" their religion or even the bulk of their religion's believers. Groups from the same religion often oppose one another. In debates over U.S. policy toward Israel and the Occupied Territories, the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs seldom agrees with Jewish Voice for Peace. The Catholic Family and Human Rights Institute (C-FAM) staunchly promotes pro-life policies in international development funding and other areas, whereas Catholics for Choice demands reproductive rights worldwide. In conflict over climate change, the Evangelical Climate Initiative supports controls on greenhouse gases, seeing them as necessary for "creation care," whereas others such as the Cornwall Alliance cite Biblical injunctions to oppose such policies

as unnecessary and harmful to the world's poor.[138] At most then, religious activists, like other civil society groups, can be said to represent those who are members, financial supporters, or sympathizers of their particular group.

In another similarity to other advocacy groups, religious ones are driven by a mix of material and principled motives. Although many such groups highlight their religious identities or doctrines, they must pay attention to organizational matters — most basically, the need for members, contributions, and commitment. As a result, religious ideals may sometimes serve to cover up the quest for monetary contributions, preferred policies, or political power. Nonetheless, there is little doubt that many religious advocacy groups are motivated by genuine belief.

Some religiously motivated activists work strictly within their home states, yet have effects on foreign policy. In Europe, anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim movements chiefly claim to be protecting their countries' cultures and economies from dangerous foreign influences. Yet such efforts have direct influences on immigration and asylum policies, in turn affecting relations with countries outside the European Union. Members of such movements are driven by a variety of causes including religious ones — both their own beliefs and fear of "alien" religions, in particular Islam. For instance, the United Kingdom's Christian protection group, the Barnabas Fund, works chiefly in Muslim countries, but it has also drawn controversy by working at home to fight what it sees as growing Islamization.[139] In 2009, Switzerland's popular referendum banning minarets sparked controversy not only within the country but around the world. Its passage, thanks to support from Swiss political parties and interest groups, was condemned by governments of Muslim countries, as well as many European states. In Germany in late 2014, the Patriotic Europeans against Islamization of the West (PEGIDA) movement drew demonstrators and media attention, even as top political and religious leaders denounced it. Without doubt, anti-Islamic groups, like anti-Semitic ones, not only threaten liberal values at home but also present problems for the foreign policies of liberal states.

Other religiously motivated groups operate internationally, coordinating with or supporting fellow believers abroad. In recent debates over Western policies toward Syria, Iraq, and Egypt, transnational lobbying groups promoting

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[138] The Evangelical Climate Initiative, "Climate Change: An Evangelical Call to Action" (February 2006), http://www.npr.org/documents/2006/feb/evangelical/calltoaction.pdf; The Cornwall Alliance, "Protect the Poor: Ten Reasons to Oppose Harmful Climate Change Policies" (September 17, 2014), http://www.cornwallalliance.org/2014/09/17/protect-the-poor-ten-reasons-to-oppose-harmful-climate-change-policies/.

[139] D. Gadher, "Christian Charity to Fight Britain's 'Slide into Islam'," *The Sunday Times* (August 7, 2011), http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/news/uk_news/Society/article695813.ece.

freedom of religion and belief have played a key role in urging actions to protect Christian communities threatened by governmental or insurgent violence. As in numerous other overseas conflicts, diaspora groups, some of them religiously identified such as members of the Chaldean Catholics, Assyrians, Syriac Orthodox Church, and Copts, have provided eyewitness accounts of repression to media and governmental representatives. In a very different realm of globalized debates over gay rights, Christian law offices based in the United States, such as Advocates International and the Alliance Defense Fund (ADF), have provided legal support to traditional religious communities in Europe who feel threatened by national and EU initiatives promoting gay marriage and laws against homophobic hate speech. For instance, in 2005 when Romanian Orthodox and Evangelical leaders worried that the country's communist-era family law unintentionally permitted same-sex marriage (by defining marriage as the union of two spouses), they turned to ADF for support. In the late 2000s, ADF provided strategic advice, legal training, and even the language for a national referendum and constitutional amendment modeled on America's Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), redefining marriage as the union of a man and a woman. The result is that Romanian law was changed. It now bars same-sex marriage, contrary to the policy preferences and lobbying efforts of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, members of the European Parliament, and secular human rights groups.[140]

International organizations such as the United Nations and supra-national organizations such as the European Union are another field in which religiously motivated activists toil. In some cases, they work on issues of special concern to their own religions. B'nai B'rith International promotes the global fight against anti-Semitism. At the UN, Muslim groups and states push for international standards against blasphemy or the defamation of religions. On the other hand, on issues of rights, development, and immigration, religious activism by groups such as Christian Concern and Global Vision extends beyond the concerns of the group's own community. To take a very different example of religiously motivated groups promoting foreign policy goals having little overt religious content, consider the Iraq War. In the lead-up to the U.S. invasion in early 2003, religious conservatives at the influential magazine *First Things* — founded in 1990 to "confront the ideology of

[140] Bob, *The Global Right Wing*, pp. 104-106.

secularism" — developed moral and theological justifications for war, rooted in the Catholic just war tradition.[141]

In many cases, religious activists join or form advocacy networks, loosely coordinated agglomerations of independent entities — NGOs, government bureaucrats, international organization staff, journalists, and more — working together for a particular policy goal.[142] Often these networks span groups from varied faiths and traditions. The Save Darfur Coalition, for instance, was founded by the U.S. Holocaust Museum and American Jewish World Service in 2004. It soon came to include over 190 secular and faith-based organizations including the Islamic Society of America, the National Council of Churches, and Sojourners.[143] Although such advocacy networks typically start with a focus on a particular campaign, they may establish more lasting ties and broader agendas. Save Darfur sought to end alleged genocide in Sudan. In 2011, it joined with other groups to form a broader coalition, United to End Genocide, with a worldwide mission. As a final point, it is worth noting that just as individual organizations often face opposition, so too do advocacy networks. For decades for instance, cross-creed networks of conservative religious groups have battled women's, human rights, and liberal religious groups over international family planning. Similar battle lines are now drawn in states and international organizations over women's rights, gay rights, and related issues.

Working the Institutions

Religious actors, like other groups that seek to influence policy, work in two broad arenas, often simultaneously: institutional politics, including executives, bureaucracies, legislatures and judiciaries; and non-institutional politics, anything from the media and the Internet to the street. They also use a full array of strategies and tactics to achieve their goals. In this and the next section, the chapter surveys a number of tactics for reaching desired ends within political institutions.

To begin, one of the most effective methods of shaping policy is to found or penetrate the political parties that typically play a major role in policymaking in democratic states. Some parties have been started by religious groups.

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[141] First Things, "About First Things,"www.firstthings.com/about/?permalink=about; G. Weigel, "Moral Clarity in a Time of War," *First Things* (January 1, 2003), http://www.firstthings.com/article/2003/01/001-moral-clarity-in-a-time-of-war; D. Linker, *The Theocons: Secular America under Siege* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007), p. 130.

[142] M.E. Keck and K. Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1998).

[143] Save Darfur Coalition, "Annual Report 2008 — Uniting Voices" (2008), issuu.com/savedarfurcoalition/docs/2008_sdc_annual_report, pp. 5-7.

Christian Democratic parties in Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, Turkey's Justice and Development Party (AKParty), and India's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) are prime examples, albeit with very different religiously based agendas that have influenced their approaches to domestic and foreign policy. In some cases, such parties retain their zeal to achieve religiously related goals. Often, however, as they strive to win power or to govern, they engage in horse-trading and bargaining, eroding their commitment to their original religiously motivated goals. Whether this suggests that such parties had merely been using religion instrumentally or that the necessities of democratic politics inevitably force compromises, activists frequently feel disappointed or betrayed.

Because of this, religiously motivated groups remain active in most democratic systems, promoting relatively narrow agendas and standing firm on positions they deem fundamental to their belief systems. One of the most important means used by such groups is direct lobbying of parties. The U.S. Christian Right has shaped Republican Party agendas not just on domestic but also foreign policy issues. Among these are prohibitions on USAID funding of NGOs providing or promoting abortions overseas (the so-called Mexico City Policy), opposition to gay rights and same-sex marriage at the UN, and staunch support of Israel's policies toward the Palestinians. Canada's ruling Conservative Party has likewise been strongly influenced by conservative Christians on "family values" issues, development, and Middle East policies.

The political influence of religiously motivated actors goes well beyond a narrow focus on parties, however, to include legislative and executive institutions as well. Across the region, there are groups of Catholics, Protestants, Copts, Hindus, Muslims, and others that work to promote the interests of their religions and their believers worldwide. Consider the United States' Israel Lobby, the "loose coalition of individuals and organizations that actively works to move U.S. foreign policy in a pro-Israel direction."[144] Although its members come from many distinct organizations and include both secular and religious people, two of the most important constituencies are Jews and Evangelicals. Many U.S. Jews, whether or not they consider themselves religious, have affection for the Jewish State, and some have family ties there. Only a fraction of them support the Israel Lobby, and many of them, both secular and religious, oppose the policies of the current government of Benjamin Netanyahu and the Likud party. The Evangelical connection to Israel is less obvious but equally strong. Millions of fundamentalist Christians, reading the Bible literally, believe that Christ's second coming will

[144] J.J. Mearsheimer and S.M. Walt, *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), p. 5.

occur after three events — restoration of the state of Israel; Jewish control of Jerusalem; and rebuilding of the Jewish Temple destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D. on the city's Temple Mount, home for more than 1,000 years to a mosque and shrine holy to Muslims.[145] Together these two constituencies, operating through a variety of independent groups with strong ties to Israel's government, parties, and civil society, have shaped U.S. policy toward Israel and the Middle East for decades. Importantly, there is no formal direction or hierarchy to the lobby. Some of the organizations that can be considered part of it differ on particular policy issues. But like other lobbies and advocacy networks, the Israel Lobby's like-minded but autonomous groups often work for the same goals and sometimes do so together. As key members of the lobby themselves claim and as national politicians acknowledge, the Israel Lobby is one of the most powerful lobbies in Washington.[146]

The Israel Lobby operates in much the same way as other lobbies, whether religious or secular. Among other ways, its members urge Jewish Americans and others to provide campaign contributions and votes to legislative and executive candidates deemed strong Israel supporters. Through in-house publications and contributions to mainstream news outlets, members of the lobby seek to influence debates about policy toward the Jewish state. Many of them also criticize those critical of Israeli government policies, sometimes charging them with anti-Semitism in an effort to shut down debate. Well-known examples include the firestorms over two recent books: John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt's *The Israel Lobby and U.S. Foreign Policy* (2007) and former U.S. President Jimmy Carter's *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid* (2006). Members of the lobby also seek to influence appointments to high policy positions. In 2009, they helped pressure Chas Freeman, a career diplomat and alleged critic of U.S. policy toward Israel, into withdrawing his name from consideration as National Intelligence Council chief. Of course, like any other lobbying group in a political system as porous as that of the United States, members of the Israel Lobby do not get everything they want. In 2013, when President Barack Obama nominated Republican former Senator Chuck Hagel as secretary of defense, members of the lobby opened a similar if unsuccessful campaign to block his nomination.

Another perhaps surprising venue for activists seeking to influence foreign policy is the court system. Although not a place where major new initiatives are promoted, courts can be an important site for whittling away, carving up, or eviscerating policies developed after years of international lobbying and

[145] R. Wright, "Forcing the End," *New Yorker* (July 20, 1998), pp. 42-53.

[146] Mearsheimer and Walt, *The Israel Lobby*, p. 153, quoting President Bill Clinton, House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid.

negotiation. Liberal religious activists have mounted or supported litigation to end wars, challenge provisions of trade agreements, or punish repressive regimes. Conservative groups operating within and across borders have brought legal cases to protect religious freedoms, practices, and leaders against incursions by secular governments and laws. This legal activism might be expected in a country with a long tradition of cause lawyering and judicial review, such as the United States. It also occurs in the national courts of European countries and, especially in recent years, in pan-European courts.

In the late 2000s, a transnational coalition of secular groups headed by Italy's Union of Rational Atheists and Agnostics (UAAR) filed a lawsuit hoping to end the country's Mussolini-era practice of placing crucifixes in public school classrooms. The case, *Lautsi v. Italy*, was part of a broader effort by European secularist groups to reduce the perceived influence of the Catholic Church in Italian politics and to reshape church-state relations across the continent. A major basis for the plaintiffs' case was that the crucifixes violated national, European, and international laws protecting conscience and parental rights. Instead, they suggested, strict U.S. or French principles should serve as a new model for church-state separation across the continent. Rejected by the Italian courts, the *Lautsi* plaintiffs appealed to the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR), where a seven-judge panel unanimously upheld their claims. The 2009 ruling stunned the government of Silvio Berlusconi, which angrily denounced it and appealed to the ECHR's Grand Chamber. In this, it was joined by other countries, both Catholic and non-Catholic, including Russia, Greece, and Romania, as well as the Holy See. Meanwhile, religious lobbying organizations and law firms such as the European Council of Law and Justice rallied to defend the crucifix. Working across borders and faith lines, they warned their constituents, agitated in the media, and filed amicus curiae briefs with the Grand Chamber. For them, the crucifix was merely a passive symbol infringing no one's rights, and international law should be interpreted broadly to accommodate the continent's varied national traditions of church-state relations. On the other side, the UAAR attracted additional support, including legal briefs, from secular organizations such as Human Rights Watch. In the end, the Grand Chamber reversed the lower court's decision, largely adopting the passive symbol doctrine and holding that the Italian crucifixes were within the "margin of appreciation" allowed European states under international standards of religious freedom. This judicial decision is unusual only in the political passions it raised and the publicity it generated. In recent years, national and international courts have been involved in important decisions on other issues pitting religious against secular actors on such globally resonant issues as same-sex adoption, test tube babies, and veiling.

Taking to the Streets: Non-Institutional Strategies

Political institutions are not the only venue for activities by religious groups seeking policy goals. In some cases, legislatures, bureaucracies, or courts are closed or unresponsive; in others, activists seek to exert additional pressure outside institutional channels. In these circumstances, religiously based movements, like other social movements, use the pulpit, the media, the streets, and other settings.

The Central America solidarity movement of the 1980s began as a response to U.S. foreign policies supporting authoritarian anti-communist governments in the region. Religious activists and clergy, appalled by massive human rights violations, sought to bring attention to the conflicts and the U.S. role in them. Using linkages already present because of their shared religious affiliations, activists in North America and Europe worked together in a broad network. In this context, the killings of nuns, priests, and Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador by governments and paramilitary forces were particularly important in galvanizing public outcry.[147] Meanwhile, in the United States, churches provided sanctuary for thousands of refugees fleeing violence and oppression. In the end, the Central America solidarity movement had only limited impact, primarily because of the powerful military and political forces it faced. Nonetheless, it served as a strong moral rebuke to a foreign policy often justified by the necessity of fighting "godless Communism."[148]

More recently and in a similar vein, European religious organizations such as Pax Christi, the Quaker Council for European Affairs, and the Churches Commission for Migration in Europe have been strong advocates for the thousands of undocumented immigrants fleeing persecution and poverty in their homelands.[149] The Syrian refugee crisis has been a focus of their work in recent years. Migrants from African countries have also galvanized religious and secular groups. They not only provide direct services to the needy and stand as moral reproofs to tough immigration policies, but also lobby for liberal asylum and resettlement policies against political parties and NGOs unfriendly to migrants. In November 2014, Pope Francis brought significant attention to the issue in a speech to the European Parliament, where he denounced an "elderly and haggard" Europe for, among other things, turning

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[147] C. Bob and S. Erickson Nepstad, "Kill a Leader, Murder a Movement," *American Behavior Scientist,* 50.10 (June 2007), pp. 1381-85.

[148] See generally W. Inboden, *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[149] NGO Platform, "EU Migration and Asylum Policy" (May 2007), http://picum.org/picum.org/uploads/file_/NGO%20Platform%20Information.pdf.

the Mediterranean into a "vast graveyard" for migrants.[150] As noted previously, church leaders active on immigration issues have also taken the lead in countering religious and non-religious voices within European and U.S. societies that are hostile to immigrants.

In another realm, international development policy, religiously based organizations of varied denominations play key roles. Groups such as Catholic Relief Services, American Jewish World Service, the ecumenical Bread for the World, and the evangelical World Vision provide aid to the needy of all faiths, using both private funds and government contracts. In turn, for both theological and organizational reasons, many of them also stand as strong voices for foreign aid, influencing broad audiences through advertising and public relations campaigns, as well as lobbying governments directly. In recent years, an important recipient has been South Sudan, its weak new government and impoverished population making it ripe for foreign aid. Another memorable example of development activism was the Jubilee 2000 debt relief campaign. This was primarily an initiative of Anglican, Baptist, and Catholic organizations, with rock star Bono of U2 playing a prominent role. The campaign used a variety of tactics, including persuading Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo, a Baptist, to write a letter supporting debt cancellation to Baptist churches in the southern United States. With this, the campaign gained greater access to such powerful conservative politicians as North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, long a fierce foe of foreign aid, who turned into an enthusiastic supporter of debt forgiveness.[151] In the end, the United Kingdom, United States, and other governments canceled billions of dollars in debt or offered other forms of debt relief.

Finally, the contemporary human rights movement has strong roots in Christian-derived practices of bearing witness to suffering. Although the movement's origins are centuries old, the seminal modern NGO, Amnesty International, was founded in London in 1961 by Peter Benenson, an English barrister and recent convert to Catholicism. Benenson's primary goals were two-fold: to create an organization that would work on behalf of non-violent "prisoners of conscience" whatever their politics; and to bring spiritual renewal to the group's own members in democratic countries. As Benenson wrote about the group's first campaign, "those whom the Amnesty Appeal primarily aims to free are the men and women [of the United Kingdom] imprisoned by cynicism, and doubt." Amnesty also began as an "international

[150] I. Traynor, "Pope Francis Attacks EU over Treatment of Immigrants," *The Guardian* (November 25, 2014), http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/25/pope-francis-elderly-eu-lost-bearings.

[151] J. Busby, "Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry," *International Studies Quarterly,* 51.2 (June 2007); M. Bunting and O. Burkeman, "Pro Bono," *The Guardian* (March 18, 2002), http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/mar/18/usa.debtrelief.

movement to guarantee the free exchange of ideas and the free practice of religion."[152]

By the 1970s, however, the NGO had subordinated its earlier emphasis on religion to the larger concern for human rights, hoping to attract members from increasingly secularized societies. Other important NGOs such as the U.S.-based Human Rights Watch were founded as secular organizations aiming to cover the full gamut of rights issues. Yet, as Stephen Hopgood argues, their championing of human dignity and criticisms of authoritarian government's repression and democratic government's indifference constituted a form of "secular religiosity."[153] Whether or not that characterization is correct, after the end of the Cold War, the reports and recommendations of rights NGOs became increasingly prominent, although their actual impacts are less certain. At minimum, however, they drew media and public attention to rights abuses, making it more difficult for policymakers to ignore major violations. In the 1990s, rights groups such as Amnesty and Human Rights Watch began expanding their focus beyond political repression to social and cultural concerns, such as women's rights, reproductive rights, and gay rights. In recent years, the United States, United Kingdom, and other Western nations, as well as international institutions such as the World Bank, have increasingly promoted these rights worldwide.

In turn, this emphasis has led to a backlash. Religious conservatives in many countries and of many denominations fear that the foregoing policies threaten traditional, religiously consecrated values. In response, they have joined forces to fight aspects of these states' foreign policies. U.S. evangelicals have sent top lobbyists to European countries to fight for home-schooling in Germany, against laws targeting homophobic hate speech in Sweden, and against gay marriage in Romania. Networks have formed uniting conservative evangelicals, Catholics, Orthodox, and Muslims — a "Baptist-burqa-babushka" coalition that coordinates for policy goals and promotes "traditional values," despite confessional differences.[154] Even as certain countries change their policies on the foregoing issues, sectors of their populations continue to object. Massive protests in France against the new "marriage for all" policy exemplify this. In more conservative countries, there is broader support for traditional values. As part of this, the Russian Orthodox

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[152] Benenson, quoted in T. Buchanan, "The Truth Will Set You Free: The Making of Amnesty International," *Journal of Contemporary History,* 37.4 (2002), pp. 582, 593-94; Peter Benenson, *Persecution 1961* (Penguin Books, 1961), p. 152, cited in Buchanan, "The Truth Will Set You Free: the Making of Amnesty International," p. 591.

[153] S. Hopgood, *The Endtimes of Human Rights* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2013), p. 1.

[154] Bob, *The Global Right Wing*, p. 36.

Church and Russian President Vladimir Putin have become champions of traditional values, as Alicja Curanović details in her chapter in this volume.

All of these national conflicts are part of larger international and foreign policy contests. At the UN and the Council of Europe, women's and human rights NGOs have long promoted family planning, reproductive rights, and more recently gay rights — but for decades they have also faced opposition from the cross-creed network of religious conservatives. Although Russia's aggression against Ukraine gave pause to some Western religious groups in 2014, the "Baptist-burqa-babushka" coalition appears to be more than just a tactical alliance and may grow, especially in conservative regions of Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa.

Conservative religious activists have also reshaped broader human rights politics. In the 1990s, U.S. evangelicals became increasingly frustrated by what they saw as rising religious persecution worldwide. In their view, the mainstream rights movement's secular bias made it indifferent to the specifically religious aspects of violations in countries such as Sudan. For many activists, this was particularly galling because freedom of religion, in their view, is the first and most basic right, not only under the United States' First Amendment but also for all humanity. To fix this problem, they began to agitate for international religious freedom to become a core aspect of human rights policy. Rebuffed by major NGOs such as Human Rights Watch, they sought to affect U.S. and later European foreign policies more directly. Whereas the mainstream human rights movement has its roots in non-institutional activism, conservative religious activists in the United States had strong connections to the U.S. Congress. Although they worked to some degree in the media and through protest, much of their time was spent lobbying. Evangelicals also reached across religious lines to form ties with American Jews worried about global religious persecution. After several years of institutional and non-institutional pressure, Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed the International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA) of 1998. It established an independent bipartisan agency, the Commission on International Religious Freedom; a special advisor on religious freedom at the National Security Council; and the Office of International Religious Freedom at the State Department. The latter is charged with producing an annual report on religious freedom in every country in the world, with the expectation that the Secretary of State will designate any country that commits egregious violations as a Country of Particular Concern (CPC), with the possibility of sanctions against them.

Passage of IRFA did not end agitation on religious freedom issues. Particularly in the wake of 9/11, activists continued to pressure the U.S. government to implement the statute more rigorously.[155] A major focus of their work is a claimed rise in Christian persecution in countries around the world. Whether or not this perception is accurate, in the post-9/11 era, it has dovetailed with those who portray the West as being at war with terrorists or violent extremists, often involving groups that profess Islam. In 2014, for instance, attacks by the self-proclaimed Islamic State on Christian and other religious communities in Iraq became a rallying cry for groups supporting intervention and an important reason for Western airstrikes.

In recent years, U.S. activists who promoted IRFA have taken their cause to other countries, including Canada and the United Kingdom. In the U.K., Baroness Elizabeth Berridge, chair of the U.K. All-Party Parliamentary Group on International Religious Freedom, has provided high-profile leadership on the initiative.[156] The European Union has begun work in this area as well. As one recent example, in an October 2014 speech before the European Parliament, Federica Mogherini, the (then-incoming) high representative of the European Union for foreign affairs and security policy, noted freedom of religion as one of her office's three priority human rights areas.[157]

Notably, as religious freedom has gained prominence, approaches to it have undergone changes. For one thing, the religious freedom agenda has broadened to now include an emphasis on religious engagement. In addition, although the original focus had been on religious freedom, freedom of conscience and belief are now generally included. In this way, the views of agnostics and atheists are protected. Finally, government initiatives on religious belief provide a new focus for activism. Annual government reports create a basis for news stories, fundraising letters, and further lobbying not only in the United States but also in other Western democracies. Bureaucratic agencies, such as the State Department's Office for International Religious Freedom, provide an easy conduit for raising concerns and some activists take jobs within the agencies themselves. It seems likely that as international religious freedom bureaucracies grow in other countries, a similar religious "revolving door" will begin to operate there too.

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[155] T. Farr, "Diplomacy in an Age of Faith: Religious Freedom and National Security," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 2008), http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/63226/thomas-f-farr/diplomacy-in-an-age-of-faith.

[156] B. Pellot, "Britain's Baroness Berridge Seeks Global Coalition on Religious Freedom," *Religion News Service* (April 23, 2014), http://brianpellot.religionnews.com/2014/04/23/religious-freedom-berridge-lantos-swett-uscirf-united-kingdom-pakistan-europe-united-kingdom/.

[157] F. Mogherini, "Opening Statement by Federica Mogherini, Vice-President-Designate of the Commission/High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, at the hearing in the European Parliament," *European External Action Service* (October 7, 2014), eeas.europa.eu/statements/docs/2014/141007_03_en.pdf.

Of course, the extent to which human rights issues, let alone freedom of religion and belief, actually influence the foreign policies of key countries is open to debate. Yet even if these initiatives have not met the hopes of their proponents, they nonetheless represent a major change from decades in which religious freedom was not upheld as a human rights priority. The ultimate effects of this are uncertain, however. Supporters of this agenda claim that current initiatives have not gone far enough.[158] Other critics argue that when powerful states emphasize religious engagement and freedom, they privilege sects that support their own foreign policies, alienate other believers, and highlight potentially divisive religiously differences that might otherwise be ignored.[159]

Conclusion and Implications

This chapter has argued that religiously motivated groups exert significant influence on foreign policy, even if the precise degree of influence is sometimes difficult to measure. In many cases, religion provides them with goals, tactics, and organizational foundations that facilitate mobilization. On this basis, they operate in a variety of venues using sophisticated strategies to advance their goals. They work not only in institutional settings, lobbying just like other interest groups, but also in non-institutional settings, through mass mobilization and protest. In some cases, groups from different faiths vehemently oppose one another on particular policy matters. More commonly, divisions within religious communities mean that lobbyists of different faiths work together. Conservative believers form networks across confessional bounds, and their main opponents are often networks composed of liberal members of their own faiths, along with secular activists. Thus, these conflicts both in institutional and non-institutional settings do not mean that the results portend a destabilizing religious or cultural clash. Rather, for both high and low politics across a great range of foreign policy issues, such conflicts are part of the normal tumult of liberal democracies. Indeed, cleavages that cross-cut religious lines counteract divisive tendencies.

More worrying in recent years has been the rise of political actors that attack particular religions, especially minority ones. Anti-Islam activism has in recent years joined anti-Semitism as a dangerous form of politics, fueled by fear of those who are different, by economic anxieties, and by high-profile events such as terrorist attacks. In many cases, these anti-religious groups can

[158] T. Farr, "Our Failed Religious Freedom Policy," *First Things* (November, 2013), http://www.firstthings.com/article/2013/11/our-failed-religious-freedom-policy.

[159] E.S. Hurd, "What's Wrong with Promoting Religious Freedom?" *Foreign Policy* (June 12, 2013), http://foreignpolicy.com/2013/06/12/whats-wrong-with-promoting-religious-freedom/; B. Pellot, "Religious Freedom: Universal Right or Political Pawn," *Religious News Service* (October 10, 2013), http://brianpellot.religionnews.com/2013/10/10/religious-freedom-universal-right-political-pawn/.

be sophisticated and effective in their activities, even if mainstream politicians and leaders of all faiths oppose them. They inappropriately tar all believers in a particular faith with the criminal actions of a tiny minority of violent individuals or they simply preach hatred of a particular religion. However, as this chapter has shown, on numerous issues, religiously motivated groups from different faiths share common policy goals and common values. It is important that these groups continue to work together, using the ties that already bind them and transcending policy differences that divide them, to fight against the very real threats that such intolerant groups represent.

As one way of doing this, leaders of advocacy and civil society groups from different faiths should build on the political and social cooperation they already exhibit to build trust among religious communities on an ongoing basis. Cross-faith networks could be strengthened to counter the propagation of intolerance, including anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and other forms of religious and racial prejudice. Such independent initiatives are often seen as less biased or political than government efforts. In addition, civil society leaders should form "emergency reaction teams" that would respond to rare if inevitable flashpoints such as religiously motivated terrorist attacks. Meeting together on an ongoing basis before a domestic or foreign crisis erupts, such groups would develop joint strategies to deploy when a crisis occurs. These could be aimed at providing moderate voices in the media, authenticating credible versions of facts, contextualizing actions and reactions, avoiding a rush to judgment, and emphasizing individual rather than group responsibility. Together such strategies could help reduce immediate public fears and inter-religious tensions and avert growth of dangerous perceptions about unbridgeable civilizational divides. As examples of how such dialogues and "emergency teams" might work, civil society leaders should look to the experience of Indian cities in which similar institutions have long existed and been shown to reduce fears and moderate reactions to periodic Hindu-Muslim violence.[160]

[160] A. Varshney, *Ethnic Conflict and Civic Life: Hindus and Muslims in India* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003).

Box 3: The Decline of Christian Democracy

Jan-Werner Müller[1]

John Rawls famously asked why religious citizens should accept a liberal democratic order if they have good reasons to think that their religion would decline over time in such a regime. It is a question Catholics and, to a lesser extent, Protestants might well ask themselves when they think back over the development of Christian Democratic parties over the last half-century or so. The political order Europeans live in still bears the imprint of Christian Democratic giants such as Konrad Adenauer. But the parties have been in steady decline, as has been the role of public religion, to use José Casanova's term, across the continent. Many scholars today argue that the inclusion of religious actors in politics can under certain circumstances lead to political moderation. This short essay asks whether such moderation might not in the end also lead to the decline of religion.

It is a myth that, in the face of the horrors of World War II and the Holocaust, the Vatican simply abandoned what had been its preferred type of regime, namely the Catholic authoritarianism embodied by dictators such as Francisco Franco in Spain. Even after 1945, Rome sometimes supported right-wing parties like the Italian Social Movement, the de facto successor to the Fascist Party, in order to retain a hold on a reconstituted mainstream Christian Democratic party. Thinkers like Jacques Maritain and John Courtney Murray — later to be celebrated as pioneers of a full reconciliation between Catholicism and democracy — came close to being put on the index of prohibited books by Pope Pius XII. Even in West Germany, derided by the Lutheran pastor and anti-Nazi resister Martin Niemöller as a "Catholic state … begotten in the Vatican and born in Washington," the bishops were skeptical of the new 1949 constitution, since, in their eyes, it did not sufficiently protect Catholic concerns regarding schooling and family law.

Christian Democratic parties, however, succeeded in largely freeing themselves from the Vatican and played a crucial role in constructing the post-war European order. Circumstances turned out to be propitious for them. Fascism and the War had discredited Christian Democrats' competitors on the right; at the same time, they were seen as the quintessentially anti-communist parties in countries like Italy, West

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Germany, and other frontline states of the Cold War. While Christian Democrats endorsed democracy as a political system, they also kept insisting that in order not to drift into totalitarianism, democracy needed spiritual underpinnings — hence a renewed legitimacy for a public role for religion.

They also advocated a particular model of democracy, one that came with a great deal of distrust of popular sovereignty. Christian Democrats sought to constrain the people through institutions such as constitutional courts, make them moral through the teachings of the church, and, just for good measure, put another set of limits on what they might do through a new supranational order. It is often forgotten that the European Convention of Human Rights was the creation of British Tories and continental Christian Democrats; the later alone then also constructed the European Union. Christian Democrats — like Catholics internationalists by nature — placed no value on the nation-state as such. In fact, many remembered that, in the 19th century, it had been newly unified nation-states like Germany that had waged a *Kulturkampf* against Catholics who were suspected of putting devotion to the Vatican above loyalty to the nation-state.

Neither the peculiar understanding of democracy nor the strong public role of religion advocated by Christian Democrats led to secularization in Europe — and secularization in turn did not automatically bring about the end of Christian Democracy's golden age. As is well known, since the early 1960s the churches have been emptying. But Christian Democratic parties themselves adapted and insisted that one simply had to subscribe to "humanism" in order to be considered a good Christian Democrat — in other words, non-believers with suitable policy preferences were welcome, too.

The real problem arose partly with the triumph of the very political model that Christian Democrats had been promoting since the 1950s. It was adopted by most Central and Eastern European countries after 1989, but virtually none of them developed Christian Democratic parties. In some countries — Catholic Poland for example — no Christian Democracy seemed necessary. In others, right-wing parties turned out to be radically different from old-style Christian Democracy in at least two respects: they were deeply nationalist (and hence unwilling to concede much of the national sovereignty wrested back from the Soviet Union after the fall of the Berlin Wall), and they were much more populist (unlike the post-war West European Christian Democrats, they saw

no reason to distrust the simple folk who had managed to survive state socialist dictatorships with their morals seemingly intact).

Meanwhile, in the West, Christian Democrats lost their number-one ideological enemy — communism — and with it much of the glue that had held often fractious political coalitions together. In Italy, the Christian Democrats had participated in every single government since World War II, the rationale being that the Community Party had to be kept out. In the early 1990s, the hugely corrupt *Democrazia Cristiana* collapsed. Silvio Berlusconi — not a man known for strict adherence to Catholic morals — turned out to be its main inheritor.

To be sure, Christian Democracy, as embodied in the supra-national "party family" of the European People's Party, remains the strongest political force on the continent. The head of the European Commission is a Christian Democrat, and so is Europe's most powerful politician, Germany's Angela Merkel. But as the policies of the latter also illustrate, there is a challenge of ideological distinctiveness. Leaders from Adenauer to Helmut Kohl were willing to take risks for Europe — today one is hard-pressed to find any true believers who would put their career on the line for continental integration. On questions of markets and morality, Christian Democrats had an opportunity to reinvent themselves after the financial crisis. They might have brought back their old ideals of an economy where employers and unions cooperate and where the morally relevant unit is always groups with legitimate interests, not individuals in the sense of a utility-maximizing *homo oeconomicus*. But they did not.

Some European Christian Democrats have tried to take a leaf out of the book of U.S. conservatives and wage a *Kulturkampf* of their own against secularism. The Spanish Popular Party mobilized the Catholic vote against socialist then-Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, who had liberalized divorce laws and introduced same-sex marriage. Contrary to the cliché of a religious United States and an irreligious Europe, there remains considerable potential for such campaigns in at least some Southern and Eastern European countries. But it is telling that in the end Zapatero was undone by the crisis of the euro, not defeat in a culture war.

Christian Democrats are caught in a dilemma. In economic matters, they are often only marginally different from Social Democratic parties. Being seen as an agent of the Vatican in moral issues is a non-starter politically; becoming too mainstream on questions of family and bioethics, on the other hand, is likely to leave political space for groups that present themselves as genuinely conservative. Apart from this

programmatic problem, there is also an electoral one. The old coalition that supported both Christian Democracy and European integration at the polls and benefited from it economically — the middle class and the peasantry — has declined virtually everywhere. This long-term structural transformation makes it unlikely that Christian Democracy will ever regain the dominant position it had in the post-war years. But it also shows that a willingness to engage in secular democratic politics did not harm religion as such. On the contrary, Christian Democracy, while opposing Catholic authoritarianism in the post-war period, at least initially strengthened the role of public religion. In short, while Christian Democracy is in decline, that decline should not be read as a warning against moderation in politics by religious actors. Less influence for public religion in Europe is not a result of Christian Democracy. If anything, believers might see engagement in democratic politics as being in need of more public religion, just as Christian Democrats argued in the 1950s and 1960s.

VII. A Transatlantic Religious Divide? Religious Minorities in EU and U.S. Foreign Policy

Anne Jenichen

Introduction

Is there a transatlantic religious divide? This question has motivated a series of studies, usually concluding with a conditional "yes." These studies, on one hand, refer to existing differences in individual religiosity, the political influence of the Christian right in the United States, and the presence of religion in U.S. political rhetoric ("one nation under God," "in God we trust," "God bless America," and so forth). On the other hand, many studies point out that these differences are often overstated in order to nurture stereotypes and dichotomies where in fact more overlap exists.[161]

Another oft-cited transatlantic gap concerns the nature of foreign policy. Americans, for example, are more inclined than Western Europeans to say that it is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world, yet they are less inclined than Western Europeans, with the exception of the French, "to help other nations."[162] Yet, the question of differences in how

[161] P. Berger, G. Davie, and E. Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe? A Theme and Variations* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008); M. Bös and K. Hebel, "Religion," in A. Martinelli, ed., *Transatlantic Divide: Comparing American and European Society* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 198-217; T.A. Howard, *God and the Atlantic: America, Europe, and the Religious Divide* (Oxford University Press, 2011); and B. Waldschmidt-Nelson, "Faith and the Transatlantic Divide: The Different Role of Religion in America and Europe," in C. Collado Seidel, ed., *Geheimdienste, Diplomatie, Krieg: Das Räderwerk der Internationalen Beziehungen* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013), pp. 319-336.

[162] Pew Research Center, "American Exceptionalism Subsides: The American-Western European Values Gap," (November 17, 2011), www.pewglobal.org/files/2011/11/Pew-Global-Attitudes-Values-Report-FINAL-November-17-2011-10AM-EST1.pdf.

the United States and the European Union deal with religious issues abroad has seldom been posed.[163]

This chapter grapples with that question: how does the professed transatlantic divide play out in U.S. and EU foreign policy?[164] It primarily asks whether the differing social and political importance of religion on the opposite sides of the Atlantic, often used to emphasize a divide, facilitates a higher prominence of religion in U.S. foreign policy than in that of the EU. By analyzing how they respond to discrimination against religious minorities in three countries — Egypt, Pakistan, and Burma — the chapter explores similarities and differences in the EU and U.S. approaches toward religious issues (of a particular type) abroad.

The three cases were selected for several reasons. According to a recent Pew Research Center study, they are all among a group of countries with a particularly high rate of social hostilities involving religion as well as a very high level of government restrictions on religion.[165] One could therefore expect that religious minorities in these countries rank high on Western foreign policy agendas. The three cases furthermore allow the consideration of whether the EU and the United States respond differently when different denominations of religious minorities are at risk (primarily Christians in Egypt, Muslims in Burma, and both in Pakistan), and whether varying security and economic interests (higher in Pakistan and Egypt than in Burma) affect the relevance of the issue of religious minorities on the EU and U.S. foreign policy agenda.

Based on analysis of official documents and online publications by the EU and the United States describing their relations to and activities in the three countries, the findings reveal that, firstly, religious minorities do not rank high on either agenda, which could be ascribed to the fact that other political and economic interests often trump the interests of foreign religious minorities. The analysis secondly shows that the EU has actually been more active on the issue than the United States. This somewhat counter-intuitive finding suggests that differences in EU and U.S. foreign policies on religious issues do

[163] One notable exception is M.N. Hampton, *A Thorn in Transatlantic Relations: American and European Perceptions of Threat and Security* (New York: Palgrave, 2013). She argues that "(a)t the core, American and European perceptions of threat are shaped by beliefs about religion and the role of Providence, which in turn influence how 'the other' in the international system is defined and perceived," (p. 2).

[164] Foreign policy here is broadly defined as the formal policies of states and organizations that affect various military, economic, humanitarian, social, and cultural dimensions of its relations with other international actors (C.M. Warner and S.G. Walker, "Thinking about the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis," *Foreign Policy Analysis,* 7 (2011), p. 114). It thus not only includes the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy but also its development, humanitarian, and external trade policies.

[165] Pew Research Center, "Latest Trends in Religious Restrictions and Hostilities," (February 26, 2015), www.pewforum.org/files/2015/02/Restrictions2015_fullReport.pdf, p. 27.

not result from differences in the social and political importance of religion in their respective societies, but rather from differences in "secular" foreign policy objectives. In the case of religious minorities, the EU's focus on human rights makes it more likely to respond to the violation of their rights than the United States with its stronger emphasis on security.

A few caveats are necessary. The analysis of external policies in this chapter focuses not on European member states, but on the EU as a supranational organization in order to make a broader transatlantic contrasting of policies possible. The member states of the EU have delegated many external policy coordination tasks to the European institutions, among them development and humanitarian assistance and international trade. The EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy is decided upon in a complex policymaking process in which no one state determines the outcome and in which all member states are bound — more or less — by the outcomes they produce together.[166] EU foreign policies, thus, are the common denominator all (now 28) member states can agree upon. In 1999, the EU appointed its first high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, a sort of "foreign minister" of the EU. Even though the EU is not a nation like the United States, this chapter argues that both entities can be understood, and thus compared, as international actors. Their polities follow similar institutional logics (both are outcomes of the aggregation of distinct and separated territorial units and their citizens), although they differ in their degree of "actorness" and the degree of centralization of foreign policy decision-making (U.S. foreign policy is highly centralized with the president holding the main decision-making power, whereas in the EU, the Common Foreign and Security Policy, unlike other external policy components such as international trade and development, is highly decentralized due to the predominant role of the member states).[167] Due to limited space, this chapter focuses on the EU as an international actor rather than examining member state foreign policies.

Furthermore, this chapter focuses only on official foreign policy approaches and activities on which the EU and the United States report, i.e. on the extent to which religious minorities are on the official agenda. It cannot draw any conclusions on the effectiveness of these policies or on what happens informally "behind the scenes." Needless to say, it only generates conclusions on the specific cases of religious minorities in Egypt, Pakistan, and Burma,

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[166] K.E. Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014), p. 14.

[167] E. Brattberg and M. Rhinard, "Actorness and Effectiveness in International Disaster Relief: The European Union and United States in Comparative Perspective," *International Relations,* 27:3 (2013), pp. 356-374; S. Fabbrini and D. Sicurelli, "Bringing Policy-Making Structure Back In: Why are the U.S. and the EU Pursuing Different Foreign Policies?" *International Politics,* 45 (2008), pp. 292-309.

which nonetheless contribute to a better understanding of the general role of religion in EU and U.S. foreign policy.

The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part compares the social and political importance of religion in Europe and the United States in order to illustrate the basis of the oft-proclaimed transatlantic religious divide and to discuss its possible implications for the prominence of religion in foreign policy. The second part compares EU and U.S. responses to the persecution of religious minorities abroad.

Unpacking the Process of Secularization in Europe and the United States

Secularization theory, which assumes that with modernization the social importance of religion would decrease worldwide, was the major sociological paradigm until the 1960s. Empirical evidence has since swept away the belief in a worldwide secularization process. However, rather than discarding the theory altogether, some have suggested reformulations that, for instance, demonstrate that secularization does not have to mean that religion completely disappears from public life.[168] Furthermore, they have revealed that secularization can take place at different levels.[169] The quintessence of all secularization processes is functional differentiation, i.e. the differentiation of societal subsystems from each other, such as education, science, the economy, the state, and religion, which has become a subsystem of its own. This does not mean that there cannot be any religion in any of the other spheres, but that religious rationales and norms do not determine the logic through which other societal subsystems function anymore. Processes of secularization, moreover, can take place at the level of individuals, i.e. the erosion of subjective religiosity (e.g. personal beliefs, religious service attendance); at the level of religious organizations (internal secularization and adaptation to contemporary market or network structures); and, finally, at the level of the public if religious themes are pushed out of public debates. Even though these levels are interrelated, the importance of religion does not have to change at all levels simultaneously or even move in the same direction. Although functional differentiation has been more or less realized everywhere in the West, and individual religiosity has declined in many parts of Europe, on both sides of the Atlantic we witness a politicization of religion rather than religious issues being pushed out of public debate.

[168] E.g. J. Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

[169] Summarized, for example, by G. Pickel, "Die Situation der Religion in Deutschland — Rückkehr des Religiösen oder voranschreitende Säkularisierung?" in G. Pickel and O. Hidalgo, eds., *Religion und Politik im vereinigten Deutschland* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Fachmedien, 2013), pp. 65-101.

In order to understand differences between Europe and the United States in terms of religion, it is worthwhile to take a closer look at individual religiosity and at relations between religion and the state. When drawing on comparative data on individual religiosity, Americans are indeed more religious than most Europeans. More of them believe in God, identify themselves as religious, consider religion to be more important in their lives, and pray and attend religious services more frequently (Table 1).[170]

However, as can be seen in Table 1, Europe is also very heterogeneous, and religious beliefs are far from disappearing from the region. In Eastern Europe, moreover, there are some countries, such as Poland and Romania, whose populations are similarly religious to the U.S. population. At the same time, there are also particularly secularized countries, such as Estonia.

Table 1: Parameters of Individual Religiosity in the United States and Selected Countries of Western and Eastern Europe, 2010-14 (in percent)

	Belief in God: yes	Self-identification: as a religious person	Importance of religion in life: very or rather important	Religious service attendance: at least once a week	Prayer: at least several times each week	(N)
United States	87.7	67.0	68.4	33.3	65.1	2,232
Germany	62.9	49.5	38.0	9.9	35.2	2,046
Netherlands	47.7	43.8	25.2	10.6	28.5	1,902
Spain	71.1	40.0	32.0	13.9	20.2	1,189
Sweden	40.9	31.2	26.2	4.2	18.3	1,206
Estonia	43.1	30.9	25.3	3.9	12.4	1,533
Poland	92.2	86.2	79.6	50.4	63.2	966
Romania	92.3	81.4	83.8	25.9	77.7	1,503
Slovenia	58.7	64.2	32.9	14.4	22.4	1,069

Note: The European country selection mirrors those countries that participated in the sixth wave of the World Values Survey.

Source: World Values Survey, Wave 6, 2010-2014 (http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org).

[170] See also the data in Bertelsmann Stiftung, "Religionsmonitor: Understanding Common Ground. An International Comparison of Religious Belief" (2013), http://www.religionsmonitor.de/english.html, which also contains data on Switzerland, Great Britain, and France, as well as on Brazil, Canada, India, Israel, South Korea, and Turkey, but no data on Eastern Europe.

In all countries in Western Europe, rates of individual religiosity have been decreasing since the second half of the 20th century, though at different levels and paces. Only in Eastern Europe did rates of church membership and attendance skyrocket after the end of the Cold War (with a few exceptions, such as East Germany), making up for the enforced secularity under socialism. Meanwhile, most of these countries have reached a plateau, though at different levels.[171] In the United States, by contrast, numbers of churchgoers have remained relatively high. However, the stability of this trend is contested.[172] According to a recent Pew report, for instance, the number of Americans who do not identify with any religion has grown.[173]

Explanations for the question of why there is more religious vitality in some Western countries than in others include differences in socio-economic security, past decisions that are now difficult to change due to opposition by actors who benefit from these decisions, such as churches, and the dovetailing of religion with national identity.[174] Another explanation is the relationship between religion and the state. It has been argued that "(of) all religions, the 'established' churches of secular states, caught as they are between a secular state which no longer needs them and people who prefer to go elsewhere if and when they want to satisfy their individual religious needs, are the least able to weather the winds of secularization."[175] In the United States, by contrast, religiosity has been able to thrive because a state religion was never established.

In Europe, unlike in the United States, where the state is constitutionally prohibited from supporting or restricting any religion, a variety of arrangements between the state and religion prevail, ranging from separation to cooperation to establishment.[176] It is not sufficient to only look at constitutional arrangements to understand how religion and state are intertwined. There are several questions that are pivotal to that relationship, such as: 1) whether there is an officially established church, 2) whether certain churches and religions are privileged over others, 3) whether church personnel is appointed by the state, 4) whether church employees are paid by taxpayers' funds, 5) whether there are state subsidies for church activities, 6) whether

[171] G. Pickel, "Säkularisierung, Individualisierung oder Marktmodell? Religiosität und ihre Erklärungsfaktoren im europäischen Vergleich," *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, 62:2 (2010), pp. 219-245.

[172] P. Norris and R. Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Chp. 4.

[173] Pew Research Center, "'Nones' on the Rise: One-in-Five Adults Have No Religious Affiliation," (October 9, 2012), www.pewforum.org/files/2012/10/NonesOnTheRise-full.pdf.

[174] Norris and Inglehart, *Sacred and the Secular*; Pickel, "Die Situation der Religion in Deutschland."

[175] Casanova, *Public Religions in the Modern World*, p. 22.

[176] J. Fox, "World Separation of Religion and State Into the 21st Century," *Comparative Political Studies,* 39.5 (2006), pp. 537-569.

there exists a church tax system, i.e. church membership fees can be gathered through the general state tax system, 7) whether there is religious education in public schools, and 8) whether there is state funding for private religious schools. Based on these criteria (and a scoring system that allocates one point for each fulfilled criterion), it is possible to contrast the variety of official religion-state relationships in Europe to compare with that in the United States (Table 2).[177]

Table 2: State-Religion Regimes in the EU and the United States Cross-Tabulated with Church Attendance

Average church attendance per year		High (at least 17 times)	Middle	Low (up to 4 times)
Strict Separation	0	*United States*		
	1		***Netherlands***	
	2	**Ireland**	**France**	***Estonia***
Partial Establishment	3	**Italy** **Slovakia**	**Spain** **Slovenia**	
	4	**Poland** **Portugal**	**Austria** **Lithuania** **Hungary** **Czech Republic** ***Latvia***	
	5	Romania	**Belgium** ***Germany (W)*** *United Kingdom* Bulgaria	*Germany (E)*
Full Establishment	6			
	7	Greece		*Sweden* *Finland* *Denmark*
	8			

*Note: The different fonts identify confessional majorities in the countries: Catholic (**bold**), Protestant (italic), mixed Protestant/Catholic (**bold and italic**), Orthodox (unmarked).*

Sources: Minkenberg 2013: 58 (church-state regimes and confessional majority); Pickel 2010: 228 (data and classification of church attendance).

[177] M. Minkenberg, "Religion und Politik in Europa — alte Fragen und neue Herausforderungen," in T. Beichelt et. al., eds., *Europa-Studien* (Wiesbaden, Germany: Springer Fachmedien, 2013), pp. 53-71.

Table 2 indicates a link in Europe between confessional majority and church-state relationship. In Europe, predominantly Protestant and Orthodox countries tend toward a closer relationship between religion and state than Catholic and mixed Protestant/Catholic countries. It furthermore reflects the mentioned positive relationship between separation and religious vitality. First and foremost, it illustrates the gap between the United States and most of Europe in terms of both church-state relationship and individual religiosity.

Considerably smaller is the difference in the political importance of religion between the United States and Europe. In the United States, for instance, about one-quarter of the population agrees with the statement that "Only politicians who believe in God are suitable for public office," whereas in European countries, such as the United Kingdom, Germany, France, Spain, and Sweden, these numbers range between about seven (Sweden) and 11 percent (France).[178] Religious voters and policymakers have party outlets in both regions: Christian Democratic parties in most of Europe and the Republican Party in the United States.

So what does all that mean for the role of religion in foreign policy? In accordance with the assumption of a transatlantic religious divide, one could assume religion is more prominent in U.S. than in EU foreign policy. Mass attitudes and opinion, as well as interest groups, are among the main mechanisms through which religious values and ideas are transmitted and channeled into foreign policies.[179] If there are more people in a democratic society for whom religion is important in social and political life, it is likely that policymakers are also more responsive to the views of a large part of their constituencies. It is furthermore likely that there are also more policymakers who themselves are religious and might, therefore, be more prone to act accordingly. More religious vitality might also mean that there are more religious interest groups advocating their values (see Clifford Bob's chapter in this report).

Alternatively, religion might be equally (non-)prominent. Religiosity is not evenly distributed within societies but contingent on factors such as age (younger generations are less religious than older ones in Europe and the United States[180]) and academic education. Universities are among the most secularized institutions in the United States. Political administrations are usually staffed with people holding degrees from higher education institutions, which is why their policies are often less affected by religious

[178] BertelsmannStiftung, "Religionsmonitor." p. 26.

[179] Warner and Walker, "Thinking about the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy."

[180] Bertelsmann Stiftung, "Religionsmonitor," p. 24.

values than the degree of religiosity in the wider population would lead one to expect.[181] In the United States, moreover, the strict constitutional separation between religion and state might be a hindrance to political officials becoming active on issues of religion abroad. The supranational EU, in order to reconcile the potentially conflictive cultural and religious variety among its member states, has so far followed a secularist trajectory as well, largely keeping religion out of its policymaking.[182] For these reasons one could assume that in foreign policies of both the United States and the EU, religion plays a similarly subordinate role, which would also be in line with Hurd's diagnosis of a secularist bias in foreign policies on both sides of the Atlantic.[183]

This situation, however, might have changed. Recently, both the United States and the EU have adopted relevant institutional and policy changes in that regard. While the U.S. Congress already adopted the International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA) in 1998, the U.S. Department of State in 2013 released a Strategy on Religious Leader and Faith Community Engagement and founded the Office of Faith-Based Community Initiatives (now Office of Religion and Global Affairs) to reach out to religious actors worldwide. The EU has followed suit by adopting Guidelines on the Promotion and Protection of Freedom of Religion or Belief in 2013 within the framework of its external human rights policy, and by developing an agenda of religious engagement in its external affairs (see chapter by Michael Leigh in this report).

Another question is whether and how the EU and the United States deal with minorities of different faiths in their foreign policies toward various countries. It is sometimes argued that, due to the Christian majority both in the EU and the United States, their policies were biased in the sense that they were more protective toward Christian minorities while being negligent toward Muslim minorities.

The three cases of religious minorities in Egypt, Pakistan, and Burma will be used in the following section to review the outlined presumptions about similarities and differences in how the United States and EU deal with issues of religion in their foreign policies.

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[181] Berger and Fokas, *Religious America, Secular Europe?*, p. 12.

[182] J.P. Willaime, "European Integration, Laïcité, and Religion," *Religion, State and Society*, 37.1/2 (2009), pp. 23-35.

[183] E.S. Hurd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

U.S. and EU Approaches Toward Religious Minorities in Egypt, Pakistan, and Burma

In all three countries, religious minorities have been discriminated against and persecuted for decades: in Egypt, notably Coptic Christians (almost 10 percent of the population); in the predominantly Sunni Islamic Republic of Pakistan, Christians and Hindus (together about 4 percent), as well as Muslim minorities, such as Shi'a, many of them Hazara, and Ahmadi (estimated 9 to 14 percent, and 0.22 to 2 percent, respectively); and in mostly Buddhist Burma, Muslims (almost 4 percent), primarily Rohingya in Rakhine State on the country's west coast.[184] In the last couple of years, the situation of these minorities has further deteriorated, with numerous violent attacks on them and their institutions. The countries' governments often fail to provide effective protection, to prevent discrimination, harassment, and violence, and to bring perpetrators to justice. Sometimes they even partake in violent attacks.

In Egypt, international attention peaked when on New Year's Eve 2011 a car bomb exploded in front of a Coptic church in Alexandria, and when the Egyptian military cracked down on thousands of Coptic Christians who were peacefully protesting against the burning of a church in an Upper Egyptian village in October 2011. Each incident resulted in more than 20 killed.[185]

The diverse religious minorities in Pakistan have been afflicted by numerous violent attacks on places of worship and other places known for being frequented by religious minorities, such as several bomb attacks on "Hazara markets" on the outskirts of Quetta. The assassination of Federal Minister for Minorities Affairs Shahbaz Bhatti in 2011 received much international attention, as he had been the only Christian in the country's cabinet and had openly spoken out against the blasphemy laws, under which many Sunni Muslims and religious minorities alike have been prosecuted.[186]

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[184] See, for example, figures in the CIA World Factbook (https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/) on these countries. However, we should be aware that quantifying religious minorities is always also a political question, which becomes clear when, for instance, the Pakistani government artificially reduces the number of Ahmadis in the country by officially using the numbers counted in the census despite its boycott by the majority of the Ahmadis, or when the government of Burma precludes Muslims in the census from identifying as Rohingya. In some instances, therefore, official numbers have to be treated with caution.

[185] Amnesty International, "Amnesty International Annual Report 2012: Egypt," (May 24, 2012), http://www.refworld.org/docid/4fbe3940c.html; M. Tadros, "Egypt's Bloody Sunday," *Middle East Research and Information Project* (October 13, 2011), http://www.merip.org/mero/mero101311.

[186] E.g. Amnesty International, "Pakistan: Human Rights and Justice: The Key to Lasting Security," (2012), http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/ASA33/003/2012/en/6c82342f-46c7-4110-9742-502a2241d534/asa330032012en.pdf; Human Rights Watch, "World Report 2013: Pakistan" (2013), http://www.hrw.org/world-report/2013/country-chapters/pakistan.

The Rohingya in Burma are considered to be one of the most persecuted minorities worldwide. International attention rose when in 2012 riots broke out between Buddhists and Rohingya Muslims in northern Rakhine State, followed by a coordinated campaign to forcibly remove all Muslims from the state, leaving thousands of Rohingya dead or displaced. Today they remain in dire conditions.[187]

How have the United States and the EU responded to the discrimination and persecution of these religious minorities? Are they aware of the situation? Do they consider it when taking decisions on assistance? Do they address it in direct contacts and negotiations?

Both the United States and the EU regularly report, among other things, on the situation of religious minorities in the three countries: the United States primarily through its annual International Religious Freedom Reports mandated by IRFA, the EU through its Annual Reports on Human Rights and Democratisation and, on Egypt, in its Annual Progress Reports within the scope of the European Neighborhood Policy.[188] Due to their focus on religious freedom, the U.S. reports cover the issue of religious minorities in a much more detailed and comprehensive way. Still, the EU reports show that Brussels is also aware of the situation of religious minorities in these countries. This awareness, however, has little impact on their assistance policies toward these countries. At least in relations with Egypt and Pakistan, religious minorities do not rank high on the agenda.

In the documents that constitute the basis of or describe the relationships of the United States and the EU with Egypt and Pakistan, religious minorities are hardly ever mentioned. Washington is conspicuously silent on the issue. U.S. cooperation with Egypt and Pakistan focuses primarily on military and economic assistance, as well as counterterrorism, trade, and civilian assistance in areas such as economic growth, energy, education, and health.[189] Since 2011, the support of democratization has become an additional stated

[187] Human Rights Watch, "'All You Can Do is Pray': Crimes Against Humanity and Ethnic Cleansing of Rohingya Muslims in Burma's Arakan State," (2013), http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/burma0413webwcover_0.pdf.

[188] U.S. International Religious Freedom Reports (http://www.state.gov/j/drl/irf/rpt/index.htm), Annual Reports on Human Rights and Democratization by the EU (http://eeas.europa.eu/human_rights/docs/index_en.htm), EU's yearly ENP Progress Reports on Egypt (http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/documents/progress-reports/index_en.htm).

[189] J.M. Sharp, "Egypt: Background and U.S. Relations," *Congressional Research Service* (June 5, 2014), http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf; U.S. State Department, "Assistance to Egypt, Fact Sheet," (May 19, 2011), http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2011/05/163818.htm; U.S. State Department, "U.S. Relations With Pakistan: Fact Sheet" (September 10, 2014), http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3453.htm.

priority of U.S. assistance to Egypt.[190] Religious minorities do not usually appear in the official description of these priority areas and of U.S. relations with these countries. An exception is the Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act, which was adopted by the U.S. Congress in 2009 and provides the basis for relations between the two countries. The Act refers to the protection of religious minorities as an important international human rights issue (section 101.b.2F). Beyond that, however, the plight of religious minorities is usually not addressed with Pakistan, not even during official state visits. This contrasts with diplomatic visits to Egypt, where U.S. secretaries of state have occasionally raised the question of religious minorities in the country.[191]

Relations between the EU and Egypt have primarily been based on trade relations: "The objective of the EU strategy toward Egypt is to develop a privileged partnership through deeper political cooperation and economic integration. The key strategic importance of Egypt lies in (…) its potential for deeper economic relations with the EU and in its willingness to cooperate with the EU on promoting peace and security in the region."[192] Further priorities of the EU for the country, which has been part of the European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) since 2006, include a variety of issues, such as dialogue on security issues, industrial development and tax reform, democratic institution building, human rights, poverty reduction and social development, cooperation in science and technology, migration, organized crime, transport, energy, environmental protection, and people-to-people contacts. The field of human rights also includes the promotion of dialogue between and respect for religions.[193] EU officials and the Egyptian government meet regularly within the framework of the EU-Egypt Association Council, an institution set up at the ministerial level to implement the Association Agreement of 2004 between the two countries, and the EU-Egypt Task Force, which was established in 2012 to support the transition process in Egypt. The topics of these meetings sometimes include the situation of religious

[190] U.S. State Department, "U.S. Relations With Egypt," (May 20, 2014), http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/5309.htm.

[191] U.S. State Department, "Remarks with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmed Ali Aboul Gheit (Revised)" (November 4, 2009), http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2009a/11/131316.htm; "Remarks with Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr" (July 14, 2012), http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2012/07/195027.htm; "Background Briefing on Secretary Kerry's Meetings in Cairo, Egypt" (November 3, 2013), http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/11/216226.htm.

[192] European External Action Service, "EU Egypt Country Strategy Paper 2007-2013" (January 4, 2007), http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/country/enpi_csp_egypt_en.pdf.

[193] European External Action Service, "EU/Egypt Action Plan," (March 6, 2007), http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/action_plans/egypt_enp_ap_final_en.pdf.

minorities.[194] In 2013, an internal auditing of EU support to Egypt criticized that minority rights, including those of Christians, had not been given enough attention.[195] The EU Foreign Affairs Council, subsequently, explicitly included the full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all Egyptians, including persons belonging to all religious communities, in its key priorities for the country.[196]

The EU in Pakistan, besides cooperating in the areas of trade and economic cooperation, energy, development and humanitarian assistance, and peace and stability, works to ensure the respect of the rights of minorities in the area of human rights and democracy.[197] Whereas many policy documents on EU-Pakistan relations do not refer to the issue, the Country Strategy Paper for 2007-13 does mention the rights of religious, as well as ethnic and tribal, minorities as an area of concern.[198] The EU and its representatives in Pakistan furthermore raise this issue in regular human rights dialogues as well as specific cases with the Pakistani authorities in bilateral contacts.[199]

The situation of religious minorities in Burma, by contrast, ranks relatively high on the agendas of the United States and EU with the country. Relations with Burma had long been limited to sanctions and humanitarian assistance due to the decades-long rule of a military junta. Even then, assistance took the dire situation of religious and ethnic minorities in the country into account.[200] Since the gradual opening of Burma in the last several years under President Thein Sein, both Washington and Brussels have (partly) lifted the sanctions, allowing for trade and investments, reoriented their assistance toward more development aid, and entered into official diplomatic relations with Burma. Since 2012, when the riots broke out, the situation of the Rohingya has

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[194] E.g. European External Action Service, "Second Meeting of the EU-Egypt Association Council," (June 12, 2006) http://eeas.europa.eu/egypt/aa/eu_dec_0606.pdf; "EU-Egypt Task Force Fact Sheet," (November 14, 2012), http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/foraff/133513.pdf.

[195] European Commission, "Press Release: EU Support for Governance in Egypt — 'well-intentioned but ineffective,' say EU Auditors" (June 18, 2013), http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_ECA-13-18_en.htm.

[196] The Council of the European Union, "Council Conclusions on Egypt, Foreign Affairs Council Meeting," (July 22, 2013), http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/138282.pdf.

[197] European External Action Service, "EU-Pakistan: Partnering for Democracy and Prosperity" (2013), eeas.europa.eu/delegations/pakistan/documents/press_corner/eu_pakistan_relations_an_introduction_20131206_en.pdf, p. 9.

[198] European External Action Service, "Pakistan-European Community Country Strategy Paper for 2007-2013," http://www.eeas.europa.eu/pakistan/csp/07_13_en.pdf.

[199] See, for example, the answer given by the EU high representative for foreign affairs and security policy to a parliamentary question: European Parliament, "Parliamentary Questions," (November 6, 2012), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getAllAnswers.do?reference=E-2012-008176&language=EN.

[200] U.S. Treasury Department, U.S. Burmese Freedom and Democracy Act of 2003, Public Law 108-61 (July 28, 2003), http://www.treasury.gov/resource-center/sanctions/Documents/bfda_2003.pdf; European External Action Service, "The EC-Burma/Myanmar Strategy Paper (2007-2013)," http://eeas.europa.eu/myanmar/csp/07_13_en.pdf.

been relatively high on the Burma agenda for the United States and the EU. Both, for example, increased humanitarian assistance in border regions, sent diplomatic missions to Rakhine State, and raised issues of religious freedom, diversity, and mutual understanding during human rights dialogues.[201] However, they have usually defined the question as an ethnic issue rather than a religious one.

Beyond the annual reporting and occasional dialogues on the situation of religious minorities, discrimination on the grounds of religion is not very consequential for Egypt, Pakistan, and Burma. The EU and the United States do regularly react to and condemn incidents of violence against religious minorities in the three countries through public statements. Beyond that, however, the only additional response is the occasional reallocation of assistance into different targeted categories. In Pakistan, for example, after a mid-term review in 2011 had indicated major problems with the rights situation of religious minorities, the EU suggested directing more funding to the area of governance and human rights.[202] In addition, it granted €13 million for a program in Pakistan in support of democracy and human rights, which had "the overall objective of strengthening the democratic experience and rights of the Pakistani people as a whole, especially the most vulnerable, including children, religious minorities, and women."[203] Pakistan also received comprehensive trade concessions, despite widespread concerns regarding the human rights situation in the country, including of religious minorities.[204] However, the EU seems to be willing to use these concessions to exercise more pressure on Pakistani authorities on issues of religious minorities.[205] The U.S. government increased its civilian assistance in 2009 to Pakistan as part

[201] E.g. U.S. State Department, "Oversight of U.S. Policy Toward Burma," (December 4, 2013), http://www.state.gov/p/eap/rls/rm/2013/12/218288.htm; U.S. State Department, "Press Release: Myanmar and the United States Conclude Successful Second Human Rights Dialogue," (January 16, 2015), http://photos.state.gov/libraries/burma/895/pdf/2ndUS-MyanmarHRDJointStatement.pdf; The Council of the European Union, "Council Conclusions on the Comprehensive Framework for the European Union's policy and support to Myanmar/Burma," (July 23, 2013), http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-12629-2013-INIT/en/pdf; European External Action Service, "Joint Press Release: The European Union and Myanmar Hold First Bilateral Human Rights Dialogue" (May 20, 2014), http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/myanmar/press_corner/all_news/news/2014/20140521_en.htm.

[202] European External Action Service, "Conclusions of the Mid-Term Review of the Country Strategy Paper for Pakistan (2007-13) and Multiannual Indicative Programme 2011-13," http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/pakistan/documents/csp_mip_2011-2013_en.pdf.

[203] European External Action Service, "Press Release: Subject: €13 million Financing Agreement Signed between the EU and Pakistan in Support of Democracy and Human Rights" (2013), http://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/pakistan/documents/press_corner/20130930_01_en.pdf.

[204] S.O. Wolf, "Just Another Carte Blanche? GSP Plus Status and Human Rights in Pakistan," *South Asia Democratic Forum* (December 6, 2013), http://sadf.eu/home/2013/12/06/just-another-carte-blanche-gsp-plus-status-and-human-rights-in-pakistan/.

[205] European Commission, "Death Penalty in Pakistan and the Case of Asia Bibi," (October 22, 2014), http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_SPEECH-14-716_en.htm.

of a counterterrorism-focused approach in order to strengthen democratic institutions and civil society groups in their fight against violent extremism.[206]

U.S. assistance was suspended in Egypt after the military coup in 2013. The United States withheld the delivery of several major weapons systems and stopped cash transfers to the Egyptian government. However, even though violence against Coptic churches and the Coptic community was condemned in the explanation, the reorientation of assistance was justified by the military coup and the violence and repression of the opposition, not the violence against religious minorities.[207]

Though the situation of religious minorities abroad is not high on the agenda of the EU and the United States, it seems that the issue is overall more prominent in EU foreign policy than in U.S. policy, despite expectations based on EU and U.S. relative religiosity and the earlier establishment of a religious freedom policy by Washington. This continues when one looks at the legislative branches. Both the U.S. Congress and the European Parliament (EP) have advocated for the rights of religious minorities to be taken more seriously. However, here too the EP has been more active and more united on the issue than the U.S. Congress (Table 3).[208]

Due to its limited legislative authority in EU foreign policy, the EP certainly has less power in this area than the U.S. Congress, which has the right to initiate legislation in several areas of foreign policy, including for the protection of religious minorities. For example, 2014 legislation established the position of a State Department special envoy to promote religious freedom of religious minorities in the Near East and South Central Asia. Additional attempts by members of the House — usually Republican — to take actions such as cutting off aid to Pakistan because of the situation of religious minorities or prohibiting Pakistan to use "its military or any funds or equipment provided by the United States to persecute minority groups for their legitimate and non-violent political and religious beliefs, including the

[206] "We are collaborating closely on security and counterterrorism because this work directly improves our ability to protect the American people. But we also know that strong democratic institutions and civil society groups will help Pakistanis in their fight against violent extremism. So we will support key civilian initiatives in energy, agriculture, education, and other sectors that affect the daily lives of the Pakistani people." U.S. State Department, "Executive Budget Summary: Function 150 & Other International Programs, Fiscal Year 2012," (February 14, 2011), http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/ebs/2012/pdf/index.htm, p. 4.

[207] U.S. State Department, "Next Steps on Egypt Policy," (October 29, 2013), http://www.state.gov/p/nea/rls/rm/215965.htm.

[208] Due to differing procedures and competencies, it is difficult to directly compare the U.S. Congress and the EP. The EP, for example, has limited legislative authority in the area of the EU's external relations (limited to international trade and development); and unlike the U.S. Congress, it has only one chamber. In order to make the activities comparable, the table focuses primarily on resolutions adopted by the House of Representatives and the EP, which have no force in law but solely express the majority opinion in these institutions.

Table 3: Number of Resolutions Addressing Religious Minorities in Egypt, Pakistan, and Burma Adopted in the U.S. House of Representatives and the European Parliament (2009-14)

	U.S. House of Representatives	European Parliament
Egypt	0 (2 in Senate)	6
Pakistan	0 (3 proposed but not yet adopted)	7
Burma	1 (2 additional ones proposed but not yet adopted)	6

Sources: Resolutions in the U.S. Congress, 111th-113th term, 2009-14 (https://www.congress.gov/legislation), Resolutions in the EP, 7th term, 2009-14 (http://www.europarl.europa.eu/plenary/en/texts-adopted.html).

Balochi, Sindhi, and Hazara ethnic groups and minority religious groups, including Christian, Hindu, and Ahmadiyya Muslim,"[209] rarely find majority support.

The EP's legislative authority in the EU's external relations, by contrast, is limited to international trade and development. Moreover, it generally lacks the right to initiate legislation, which always has to be first proposed by the European Commission.[210] In the area of the EU's Common Foreign and Security Policy, the right to initiate policy lies with the high representative of the Union for foreign affairs and security policy, or the Council of the EU (a body made up of member state governments). The EP nevertheless has carved out some areas of influence. For example, it has successfully amended a Commission proposal on emergency autonomous trade preferences for Pakistan after the severe floods in 2010 by adding a clause that allowed the Commission to immediately repeal the regulation "if Pakistan adopts measures restricting human rights and workers' rights, gender equality or religious rights or if it provides terrorist organisations of any kind with backing or support."[211]

Hence, in terms of power, the U.S. Congress can definitely be more effective on the issue of religious minorities than the European Parliament. It is by no means, however, more active.

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[209] U.S. Library of Congress, "Committee Reports, 113th Congress (2013-2014), House Report 113-108," http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/cpquery/?&dbname=cp113&sid=cp113U7ozV&refer=&r_n=hr108.113&item=&&&sel=TOC_279187&.

[210] Since the Treaty of Lisbon (2009), the EP, however, can request the Commission initiate legislation.

[211] On the whole procedure, see European Parliament/Legislative Observatory, "Procedure File on 2010/0289(COD): Emergency Autonomous Trade Preferences for Pakistan," http://www.europarl.europa.eu/oeil/popups/ficheprocedure.do?lang=en&reference=2010%2f0289%28COD%29.

Last but not least, is there a bias toward Christian and against Muslim minorities detectable in EU and U.S. foreign policies? The findings here suggest not. The EU and the United States are not less active on Muslim minorities in Burma than on Christian minorities in Egypt and Pakistan. The opposite is actually true. However, this might be caused by the variation in security and economic interests rather than differing views on Islam and Christianity. Politically and economically, there is just more at stake for the EU and the United States in Egypt and Pakistan than in Burma. But in Pakistan, where both Christian and Muslim minorities are persecuted, the EU and United States refer to both Christian and Muslim minorities in their reports on human rights and international religious freedom, giving them comparable coverage. They publicly condemn attacks against Christians, but also against Muslims and other religious minorities. Beyond that, though, EU and U.S. foreign policy officials and institutions prefer not to mention any specific faiths at all. The legislatures are exceptional in that their (proposed) resolutions on Pakistan refer much more frequently to Christians than to Muslim minorities.

Conclusions

The analysis largely confirms the assumption that religion as a policy issue does not play a significant role in EU and U.S. foreign policies (with the exception of reporting on international religious freedom in the United States which is comprehensive but seems not to have much impact on Washington's actual foreign policy behavior). Religious minorities do not rank high on the U.S. and EU foreign policy agendas, and even in a case like Burma where they are relatively prominent, they are primarily framed as an ethnic rather than a religious issue. However, the EU grants more attention to the issue than the United States, which is surprising. Questions about the social and political importance of religion can hardly explain this difference. Rather, it is the stronger focus on human rights in EU foreign policy, in opposition to the more security-oriented approach of the United States, which makes the EU more responsive to the question of religious minorities. The transatlantic divide in foreign policy, therefore, does not play out as a religious one, but rather one of generally differing foreign policy objectives.

So what does that mean for transatlantic cooperation on questions of religious minorities? There already has been transatlantic cooperation, primarily on issues such as humanitarian assistance, support of democratic transitions,

and national reconciliation.[212] The EU and the United States, for example, worked together in the group of "Friends of Democratic Pakistan," which was established in 2008 by the governments of several countries and international organizations in order "to galvanize international support for Pakistan's democratically elected civilian government as it faces critical economic and security challenges."[213] Cooperation is not hindered by differences in the social and political importance of religion on both sides of the Atlantic. The differing foreign policy objectives do not have to be an obstacle either — they can also be an asset if foreign policies complement each other. However, they should be coordinated to avoid conflicting policy objectives, which can undermine each other.

The analysis furthermore showed that other interests often trump those of religious minorities. This is particularly obvious in the case of Pakistan. Despite the documented dire situation of religious minorities in the country and despite the fact that the independent U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (also established by IRFA) has since 2002 called on the U.S. Department of State to designate Pakistan with the status of a Country of Particular Concern (CPC) in regards to religious freedom, the U.S. government has refused to do so.[214] In the public statements of the United States on incidents of violence against religious minorities, the influence of security interests becomes obvious. The U.S. government has repeatedly emphasized the responsibility of the Egyptian state and government to protect all of its citizens, including religious minorities, whereas the responsibilities of the Pakistani government toward protecting religious minorities are rarely mentioned. This striking omission indicates the strong security interests of the U.S. government, which relies on the cooperation of the Pakistani government in the "war on terror."[215] The EU also faces conflicting foreign policy objectives, namely promoting sustainable economic development on one hand and human rights on the other, which sometimes lead to the relative disregard

[212] Council of the European Union, "EU-U.S. Statement on Burma/Myanmar," (September 26, 2007), http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-13280-2007-INIT/en/pdf; U.S. State Department, "Joint Press Statement With EU High Representative Lady Catherine Ashton," (October 14, 2010), http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/10/149428.htm; U.S. State Department, "Joint Statement by Secretary of State Kerry and EU High Representative Ashton," (August 7, 2013), http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2013/08/212828.htm.

[213] U.S. State Department, "Friends of Democratic Pakistan," http://www.state.gov/p/sca/friends/; European Commission, "Memo on the 'Friends of Democratic Pakistan,'" (October 13, 2010), http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-10-491_en.htm.

[214] U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Annual Report — Chapter on Pakistan" (2014), www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/Pakistan%202014.pdf.

[215] Pakistan, for example, closed the ground lines of communication to U.S. and NATO cargo for a period of eight months after an accidental killing of 24 Pakistani soldiers in a November 2011 cross-border incident. U.S. State Department, "U.S. Relations With Pakistan: Fact Sheet" (September 10, 2014), http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/3453.htm.

of more normative concerns.[216] This explains, for example, why the EU, for the sake of promoting development and trade, granted Pakistan generous trade concessions despite serious concerns with respect to the human rights situation in the country.

Basically, it does not have to be a problem if foreign policies do not explicitly focus on the protection of religious minorities. In countries in which religious divisions are often violently mobilized, singling out a particular religious group for external support might even be counter-productive if it just aggravates the conflict. In any case, foreign policy administrations have to make sure that the most vulnerable groups can actually benefit from their assistance. This is a complicated task, as banking exclusively on dialogue and human rights and democracy education is often ineffective in changing government behavior toward the situation of minorities. The more consequential withdrawal of assistance, by contrast, might also worsen the social and economic situation of these minorities. The development of appropriate strategies to protect and promote the rights of religious minorities without demonizing other groups, and without aggravating divisions and conflicts, requires a deep understanding of the specific causes of the conflicts involved, which might not be rooted in religious differences but rather in other political, economic, and social inequalities that become interlinked with religion. Differing European and U.S. approaches to religion in foreign policy and politics might even be an asset in jointly addressing these difficult tasks.

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[216] K. Del Biondo, "EU Aid Conditionality in ACP Countries: Explaining Inconsistency in EU Sanctions Practice," *Journal of Contemporary European Research,* 7.3 (2011), pp. 380-395; Smith, *European Union Foreign Policy in a Changing World,* primarily conclusions.

Box 4: Women's Rights, Gender Equality, and Religion

Nora Fisher Onar and Anne Jenichen

There is no country in the world where women's rights to equality with men have been completely realized.[1] Gender inequality has many sources and one of them is religion. As such, it is often assumed that religion conflicts with equal rights for women. Discriminatory practices toward women exist in almost all religions. However, it is not religion *per se* that contradicts women's rights but rather interpretations of religious texts and practices, often rooted in cultural traditions.

In most religions, we find practices that violate the rights of women.[2] The most severe infringe on their bodily integrity. Examples include bride-burning and other forms of violence against women found across the Indian subcontinent, so-called honor killings and forced marriages found in some Muslim communities, and female genital mutilation, which is practiced among Muslims, Christians, and other groups in parts of Africa. However, it is debatable whether these practices are rooted in religious rather than in cultural traditions. In most of these countries, moreover, such practices are legally prohibited, though serious gaps in implementation of bans remain.

Many religious leaders often preach that women's primary duty is to obey men and to conform to conservative gender roles. Women are therefore often disadvantaged in religious family codes. In Israel, for instance, Jewish women cannot divorce without the permission of their husbands because marriage and divorce are exclusively organized by rabbinical courts and Orthodox Jewish law. The prescription of a subordinate role for women also infringes on the rights of women to equal access to political and economic resources.

There is mixed evidence for the common assumption that women in Muslim contexts face special challenges. According to the World Economic Forum's "Global Gender Gap Report 2014," which surveys 143 countries, the Muslim-majority countries of the Middle East and North Africa are regularly among the lowest-ranked. Women in these societies face serious challenges in terms of economic participation

[1] World Economic Forum, "The Global Gender Gap Report 2014," (2014), http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2014/).

[2] See for example the articles in the 2010 special issue of the journal *Third World Quarterly*, "The Unhappy Marriage of Religion and Politics: Problems and Pitfalls for Gender Equality," Vol. 31, No. 6 (2010).

and opportunity, health and survival, educational opportunity, and political participation. Yet, predominantly Christian states adjoining the Middle East also perform poorly when it comes to gender equality, while Muslim-majority countries in Central and Southeast Asia tend to rank higher. This suggests that women's predicament is a function of the specific history and cultures of countries and regions, rather than due to Islam *per se*. The conservative morality of Catholic, Orthodox, and some Protestant churches, for example, can have devastating effects on the health and socio-economic situation of women, especially if access to sex education and contraception is refused and abortion is unavailable, even in cases of rape.

Women's rights to equality also encompass the right to practice religion freely. A striking example of the infringement of women's rights to religious freedom for the sake of "secular" gender equality is the ban on veiling in public institutions in European countries such as France. Restrictions on veiling are perceived by many Muslim women (and men) as a violation of their freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and right to an education. Citing double standards, they point to the presence of Christian symbolism in public fora. The prohibition of Muslim veiling infringes, moreover, on the rights of women to equal economic and social participation.

Debates on the rights of women in Muslim minority communities in Europe have often been used to demonize religious minorities and declare the multi-cultural society a failure.[3] In many of these debates, strange bedfellows have emerged, such as the overlapping agendas of left-wing feminists, convinced they must protect Muslim women from Muslim men, and right-wing populists, who use the question of women in Islam to call for restrictions on immigration. In the United States, by contrast, the relatively high threshold for expressions of religiosity that do not infringe upon the freedom of others means that veiling is not as great a source of controversy.

The tension between some readings of religion and women's rights does not mean that religion in general is the nemesis of gender equality.[4] Neither religions nor relations between the sexes are uniform. Religious

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[3] See, for example, the 2008 special issue of the journal *Ethnicities* on "The Rights of Women and Crisis of Multiculturalism," Vol. 8, No. 3 (2008).

[4] J. Casanova and A. Phillips, "A Debate on the Public Role of Religion and its Social and Gender Implications," United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), Gender and Development Programme Paper No. 5 (September 15, 2009) http://www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/search/C6E7ED9E2588C1F6C125765E004C8F66?OpenDocument.

texts, for example, have been interpreted in radically different ways, ranging from very conservative to moderate to feminist interpretations. While some women's rights activists draw on international law to mobilize for women's empowerment, others of religious orientation seek to reinterpret seminal texts and traditions in ways that are beneficial to women. Examples include the "Women's Islamic Initiative in Spirituality and Equality," a social network and social justice movement led by Muslim women, and the organization "Catholics for Choice," which advocates access to reproductive rights for women from a Catholic point of view.[5] The approval of women's ordination in some Protestant and Reform Jewish communities is a good example of the ability to interpret religion in gender equitable ways. Which interpretations are asserted in a given time and place, however, depends on the political, social, and historical context as well as the material and ideational resources available to religious conservatives and reformers. Since (usually male) religious leaders often possess more resources and authority, their conservative interpretations of the position of women often prevail. Advocates of alternative interpretations, by contrast, often lack the resources required to make their voices heard.

In short, the promotion of gender equality includes not only the enhancement of women's political and economic opportunities, health, and education. It also requires acknowledging women's religious freedom and engaging a variety of secular and religious voices. Religion *per se* is not a problem for the rights of women, but discriminatory interpretations of religion are. Nor do secular states always protect the rights of women. It is therefore counterproductive to frame the problem as a dichotomy between "female-friendly" secular practices and "female-unfriendly" religion. Rather, gender inequitable practices should be identified and challenged irrespective of whether they are maintained in the name of religion or for more secular reasons.

[5] For more information on these groups, see their websites: http://www.wisemuslimwomen.org/; http://www.catholicsforchoice.org/.

VIII. Religious Freedom in the European Union and Its Southern Neighborhood

Michael Leigh

Remaking the World in Our Image

The end of the Cold War led to a widespread conviction in Europe and the United States that the Western way of life, both political and economic, had triumphed and that the rest of the world now sought to become more like ourselves. The world's peoples, it was felt, wanted both material well-being and the rights and freedoms enjoyed in Europe and the United States. Democratic change and modernization, however, were often constrained by conservative constituencies, vested interests, and established elites. So the European Union took the lead in offering incentives to countries in its neighborhood to embark on democratic transitions, hedged with conditions, including the implementation of reforms based on values claimed to be "universal."

Religious freedom is among such values, though Europeans have tended to treat it with circumspection because of its sensitivity. This reflects the different versions of secularism in the European Union's own member states and reservations about Western conceptions of religious freedom in certain partner countries, especially in North Africa and the Middle East. Nonetheless, the freedom of religion, as assessed by precise indicators, became one of the tests of a country's readiness to move closer to the EU politically and, in the case of eligible countries, to join it. The outward projection of Western values has gained some traction with countries whose leaders and people are themselves attracted by "Westernization" or "Europeanization." But such countries are rather few, especially in regions remote from Europe.

Many "emerging" or "developing" countries still smart from imperial domination and disdain the Western model. The European Commission and various official bodies in the United States conduct extensive monitoring of democracy, the rule of law, and respect for human rights. Both the EU and the United States, however, often prefer to avoid confrontation and choose "dialogues" or assistance programs rather than sanctions for non-compliance with such principles.

Today many political leaders in Europe and the United States remain committed to the diffusion of Western values in the world but their efforts have lost momentum for a number of reasons. The global financial crisis and recession have pushed democracy promotion down the priority list. The Obama administration, while proclaiming the universality of democratic values, is far less interventionist than its predecessors. The floundering state of Europe's economies and the travails of the euro have reduced the EU's "magnetic appeal." It has taken longer than expected to "integrate" new member states into the EU and migration, even within the borders of the EU, has come under attack from populist political parties.

Backsliding in transition countries, dysfunctional democracy, state failure, sectarian conflict, and relapses into authoritarianism have given policymakers pause for reflection. The troubled legacy of the color revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine in the first decade of the 21st century and of the Arab uprisings in the second moderated earlier Western triumphalism.

The less encouraging outlook in Eastern Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East has led the EU in particular to more critically scrutinize the policies it has been pursuing toward these regions over the past decade. Political polarization in the United States has prevented an equally candid re-evaluation, though setbacks have been widely acknowledged. Against this background, this chapter looks at the European Union's efforts to expand in particular the scope of religious freedom in neighboring countries. Comparisons are made with the experience of the United States in promoting religious freedom to help reach conclusions of potential application on both sides of the Atlantic.

The European Union's Promotion of Religious Freedom

In the EU itself, the freedom to worship, train clergy, establish religious schools, and build churches, mosques, synagogues, and other places of worship is, with limited exceptions, taken for granted. Indeed, this freedom has permitted a major expansion of the number of mosques in EU countries in recent years, many of them financed and staffed from abroad. In North Africa and the Middle East, the same freedoms are not widely accorded to

non-Muslim minorities, and Christian communities have come under severe pressure. Their numbers are declining throughout the region, often as a result of persecution instigated or tolerated by officially recognized bodies. As many as 1 million Christians are said to have been displaced from their homes in Iraq and half a million from Syria. The desire to protect such minorities was one of the EU's objectives in taking a new initiative to uphold religious freedom.

The EU turned its attention to religious freedom as a distinct human right meriting specific attention in 2009 with the EU Council of Ministers' conclusions on freedom of religion or belief.[217] In June 2013, the Council went on to approve more detailed guidelines on "the promotion and protection of freedom of religion or belief."[218] This was one of a series of guidance documents on fundamental rights and freedoms both within the Union and in relations with third countries. The Council conclusions and guidelines were influenced by the International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA), adopted by the U.S. Congress in 1998, which established a mechanism for prodding reluctant countries toward guaranteeing religious freedom and for supporting persecuted minorities.

The aim of the EU Council guidelines was to set out objectives, standards, and procedures that could be taken up in individual policy initiatives. Despite the diversity of member state approaches to religion, the document demonstrates a strong commitment to the principle of freedom of religion and belief and was the culmination of a long process of consultation with civil society groups, both religious and non-religious.

The guidelines uphold the importance of religious freedom *within* the EU and in third countries and affirm the right both to *hold* and to *manifest* a religion or other beliefs. They also emphasize that the individual has a right *not* to hold religious beliefs, recognizing that in today's world, freedom *from* religion may be as important as freedom *of* religion.

The guidelines champion the universal character of the freedom of religion, based on the relevant international conventions. The document identifies states as the main actors that must ensure respect for religious freedom and emphasizes the link between religious freedom and other basic rights, in particular the freedom of opinion, expression, association, and assembly. It points out that certain practices that may be *perceived* as religious in origin may actually stem from other sources and can constitute violations of international human rights standards. Female genital mutilation and

[217] Adopted by the General Affairs Council meeting, Brussels (November 16, 2009).

[218] Adopted by the Foreign Affairs Council meeting, Luxembourg (June 24, 2013).

the forced marriage of minors are cases in point. The guidelines call for the withdrawal of financial assistance and other benefits from a country if religious freedom is violated.

Full implementation of these guidelines requires political will, something that the Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament enjoined in its 2014 Annual Report on Human Rights.[219]

The guidelines call for implementation to be monitored by the Taskforce on Freedom of Religion within the European External Action Service's (EEAS) Human Rights Working Group. The first formal review is scheduled for 2016 and questionnaires have been circulated to gather information on implementation.[220]

Monitoring is also carried out by the Intergroup on Freedom of Religion or Belief and Religious Tolerance in the European Parliament. This group, which began to meet in January 2015, evolved from a previous group of narrower scope that was formed in December 2012. It fills a monitoring and watchdog role similar to the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF), which is referred to in the next section, though it lacks a durable legislative mandate and does not speak with the same political independence. The intergroup reports annually on the situation in third countries and evaluates the actions of EU institutions.

Relying upon information from the USCIRF, EEAS, and other sources, the group, in its earlier formation, issued its first annual report in 2013. The report designated "countries of particular concern," summarized the actions of EU bodies, and made institutional and country-specific recommendations. Welcoming the adoption of the guidelines, the working group called on the EEAS to devote the necessary effort and resources to their implementation and to engage the working group in a process of dialogue.[221] Its 2014 report was released at a ceremony with the USCIRF, a collaboration it plans to repeat in subsequent years.

Until now, the EU's promotion of religious freedom has been largely declaratory. Its effectiveness will be judged by the degree to which it guides

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[219] European Parliament Committee of Foreign Affairs, "Draft Report on the Annual Report on Human Rights and Democracy in the World 2013, and the European Union's Policy on the Matter," (November 28, 2014) 2014/2216(INI), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/meetdocs/2014_2019/documents/afet/pr/1042/1042061/1042061en.pdf, p. 15.

[220] Council of the European Union, "EU Guidelines on the Promotion and Protection of Freedom of Religion or Belief," (June 24, 2013), http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/137585.pdf, p. 12.

[221] European Parliament Working Group on Freedom of Religion or Belief, "2013 Annual Report" (February 2014), http://www.indianet.nl/pdf/EPWG-2013-Report-Final.pdf, p. 17.

subsequent action by EU institutions and member states and by its impact in the countries directly concerned. The full commitment of member states is particularly important. Several, including France, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom, are particularly active in this area. However, member states are rather reluctant to withhold financial assistance from strategically important countries that interfere with religious freedom. Efforts by EU institutions to promote political values lose credibility if member states ignore agreed conditionality and pursue business as usual, impelled by security or commercial considerations.

The prevalence in many parts of the world of intolerant forms of religion and of sectarian conflict raises doubts as to the reception likely to be given to the EU's forthright promotion of the freedom of religion. There is a risk, too, that this and similar initiatives will be seen as an effort by the West to impose its own values and model of society. References to "crusaders" by radical Islamist groups have abounded since the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq. They play into memories of colonial domination, preaching by missionaries, and Western complicity with authoritarian rulers who repressed Islamist movements. The very notion of the freedom of religion, as understood in the West, is challenged by the unified conception of religion, society, and the state that is held by many Muslims.

It is important, whenever possible, for the EU to act in cooperation not only with the United States and Canada but also with other countries such as Brazil, Indonesia, Morocco, Senegal, and Tanzania whose governments are active in promoting religious freedom. Later sections of this chapter consider how, in practice, the EU has approached the promotion and the protection of the freedom of religion through two of its core external initiatives: enlargement and neighborhood policy. These initiatives, whose recent phases were launched before the guidelines were adopted, concern countries in the EU's immediate vicinity. The success of the EU as a foreign policy actor can best be gauged by its impact in its own neighborhood, the part of the world where it can expect to have most influence.

The U.S. Model

Efforts by the U.S. government and particularly the Congress to promote religious freedom over the past two decades served as a model for the EU and therefore merit some consideration here. Such initiatives were spurred by elected representatives and by civil society groups both in the United States and the EU. The U.S. experience demonstrates that the promotion of religious freedom competes with other foreign policy priorities that are often perceived as of overriding importance; however, modest breakthroughs can be achieved.

The 1998 International Religious Freedom Act (IRFA) is the principal basis for official U.S. efforts to address religious freedom in foreign countries. This act established a number of entities and procedures to raise awareness of shortcomings around the world and to seek to alleviate them, the two main institutions being the Office of International Religious Freedom (OIRF) and the USCIRF.

The OIRF is an office within the State Department headed by the ambassador-at-large for international religious freedom. It monitors religious persecution and discrimination and issues an annual report on the situation in each country surveyed. Its mission is to promote freedom of religion and conscience throughout the world as a fundamental human right and as a source of stability; to assist emerging democracies in implementing freedom of religion and conscience; to assist religious and human rights NGOs in promoting religious freedom; and to identify and censure regimes that are severe persecutors.[222]

USCIRF, whose members are appointed by the president and the Congress, is an independent commission tasked with monitoring and formulating policy recommendations. It publishes an annual report focusing on countries that it deems "of particular concern," (CPCs), and establishes a "watch list" for further monitoring. The executive branch is required to draw up a response for CPCs, a responsibility that is usually delegated to the secretary of state, and thus, in practice, to the OIRF. In 2014, the State Department officially designated Burma, China, Eritrea, Iran, North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Turkmenistan (so designated for the first time), and Uzbekistan as CPCs, and declined to follow the USCIRF's recommendations to so designate Egypt, Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan, Syria, Tajikistan, and Vietnam.[223]

Despite ambitious monitoring and reporting requirements, the mechanisms established by IRFA remain largely in the hands of political actors who are selective in applying them. The independent USCIRF has long called for action that the State Department has declined to pursue. The current exclusion of Egypt, Iraq, Nigeria, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Vietnam from the final list of CPCs reflects their perceived strategic value to the United States.

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[222] U.S. Department of State, "Religious Freedom," http://www.state.gov/j/drl/irf/.

[223] U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Annual Report 15th Anniversary Retrospective: Renewing the Commitment," (2014), http://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/USCIRF%202014%20Annual%20Report%20PDF.pdf, p. 39; U.S. Department of State, "2013 International Religious Freedom Report," (July 28, 2014), http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2014/07/229853.htm.

Saudi Arabia has been designated as a CPC since 2004 but has benefitted since 2006 from a waiver regarding the consequences of such status.[224]

The results achieved have been useful but modest. These include pressure on governments not to adopt legislation discriminating against religious minorities, and behind-the-scenes contacts on reforms necessary to avoid designation as a CPC, as well as assistance programs and activities outside the IRFA framework such as training in Holocaust education in Estonia, instruction on enforcing anti-discrimination laws in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Hungary, and Indonesia, and developing Arabic language educational materials on diversity in Egypt.[225] In any event, many of today's worst violations are committed by non-state actors such as the self-proclaimed Islamic State that do not come within IRFA's purview.

Nevertheless, IRFA has created an independent watchdog that can raise awareness and press for action on particular issues. This has led, for example, to targeted sanctions against Iranian officials deemed to be human/religious rights violators; the monitoring of religious persecution and hate crimes in Russia; and pressure for the release of Saudi religious prisoners and monitoring of Saudi funding for radical religious education abroad.

The EU and the United States face similar calls for action and similar constraints. In both cases limitations arise from competing foreign policy goals including security, stability, trade, and access to energy resources. The EU, United States, Canada, and other countries around the world concerned about threats to religious freedom should coordinate their activities more closely to achieve greater impact and effectiveness.

The EU Enlargement Process

The European Union has most leverage with countries that have applied for membership. The enlargement process gives the EU unprecedented powers to verify compliance with political, economic, administrative, legal, and human rights benchmarks. The European Commission questions aspirant countries about respect for the freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, religious freedom, women's rights, and gender equality as well as other basic rights and freedoms. Before they can join, the EU insists on candidates meeting standards comparable with those in existing member states.

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[224] U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, "Saudi Arabia - U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom: 2013 Annual Report," (2013), http://www.uscirf.gov/sites/default/files/resources/Saudi%20Arabia%202%20pager%202013%20final.pdf.

[225] U.S. Department of State, "International Religious Freedom Report for 2013 - Executive Summary," (2013), http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/irf/religiousfreedom/index.htm#wrapper.

To qualify, they are expected to adopt and implement laws based on the fundamental rights and freedoms set out in the European Convention on Human Rights, and, since December 2009, on the EU's own Charter of Fundamental Rights. Chapter 10 of this Charter provides that "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, and religion. This right includes freedom to change religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice, and observance." [226]

As all applicant countries claim that they guarantee the freedom of worship, scrutiny of the freedom of religion has come to focus on more specific issues. These include the property rights of bodies representing different religions, the recognition and acceptance of different houses of worship, the prosecution of persons evoking hatred and hostility toward members of other religious communities, and the elimination of measures that could be the basis for discriminatory treatment, such as the requirement that religion be indicated on identity cards.

Since the mid-2000s, significant progress has been made in inducing aspirant states in the Western Balkans to adopt provisions establishing the clear separation of church and state, the equitable regulation and registration of religious organizations, as well as broader anti-discrimination laws and legal frameworks for the protection of minorities and vulnerable populations.

In jurisdictions where less progress has been made, notably Kosovo and Serbia, the Commission devotes close attention to religious freedom. The 2014 progress report on Serbia, for example, contains specific recommendations, largely implemented in many of its neighbors up to a decade earlier, to revise sentencing criteria for certain crimes to take account of religious motivation, to reform the manner in which the state registers and oversees religious communities to make it more open and transparent, and to increase efforts to implement legislation for the protection of minorities.[227] The Commission's 2014 progress report on Serbia includes the following observation:

> "…the lack of transparency and consistency in the registration process continues to be one of the main obstacles preventing some religious groups from exercising their rights. Some disputable provisions of the rulebook on the register of churches and religious communities may constitute a breach of the principle of state neutrality toward the internal affairs of religious

[226] Text available at European Commission, "EU Charter of Fundamental Rights," http://ec.europa.eu/justice/fundamental-rights/charter/index_en.htm.

[227] European Commission, "Serbia 2013 Progress Report" (October 16, 2013), http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/sr_rapport_2013.pdf, pp. 44-45.

> communities. Access to church services in some minority languages is not fully guaranteed in practice."[228]

The Commission also calls for more action regarding religious property disputes in Kosovo, especially better policing and enforcement of penalties.[229]

The Commission's 2014 progress report on Turkey expresses concern over a number of developments related to the freedom of religion, including the limitations facing Muslim and non-Muslim minorities. The obstacles encountered by the Orthodox Church in Turkey, continued pressure on the country's large Alevi minority, and other limitations on religious groups have given the issue of religious freedom in Turkey particular salience. EU reports began to raise the treatment of Alevis as far back as 2001, two years after Turkey officially received candidate status. Though some progress was eventually made in 2009-10, many Alevi leaders and the EU have remained unsatisfied.

The Commission notes that:

> "there is a need for comprehensive reform of legislation on freedom of thought, conscience, and religion and application of this legislation, in line with European Court of Human Rights rulings, Council of Europe recommendations and EU standards. This relates also to issues including the indication of religious affiliation on identity cards, conscientious objection, legal personality of religious bodies and institutions, places of worship and work, and residence permits for clergy."[230]

The report also calls for the establishment of a specific body to combat racism, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism.[231] Turkey's courts are criticized for a restrictive interpretation of the law when considering incitement to hatred of non-Muslim communities.[232] Failure to adequately prosecute "honor crimes" is another shortcoming. Other problems raised by the Commission include the religious curriculum in schools and the conditions for exempting pupils from religious studies.[233] "Non-Muslim communities, as organized religious groups," the Commission reports, "continued to face problems as a result of their lack of legal personality, with adverse effects on their property rights,

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[228] Ibid, p. 47

[229] European Commission, "Kosovo 2013 Progress Report" (October 16, 2013), http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2013/package/ks_rapport_2013.pdf, p. 22.

[230] European Commission, "Turkey Progress Report," (October 2014), http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/pdf/key_documents/2014/20141008-turkey-progress-report_en.pdf, p. 16

[231] Ibid, p. 49

[232] Ibid, p. 52

[233] Ibid, p. 55

access to justice, fundraising, and the ability of foreign clergy to obtain residence and work permits."[234]

Other long-standing problems include recognition of the property rights of religious foundations, restrictions on the right to train clergy, continued closure of the Halki Greek Orthodox seminary, and persistent refusal to countenance use of the Patriarchate's ecumenical title.

The report also draws attention to restrictions applying to Armenian and Syriac Christian communities in the country. The statement by a senior Turkish government official that the Hagia Sofia Museum should again become a mosque and the announcement that a bridge over the Bosphorus would be named after Sultan Selim I, considered responsible for killing thousands of Alevis, are cited by the Commission as affronts to the religious communities concerned.

These examples show that fundamental changes are needed in the Turkish authorities' approach to the freedom of religion to bring it into line with European standards. Turkey's Minister for EU Affairs Volkan Bozkır recognized the 2014 report as generally "objective and balanced."[235]

The enlargement process provides the EU with a unique opportunity not only to monitor but also to intervene actively in pressing for greater freedom of religion in what are still third countries. Such intervention, while not always welcome, is generally accepted in the countries concerned as legitimate, in light of their aspiration for membership. However, as membership prospects dim for remaining candidates, notably Turkey, the EU's traction has weakened.

The European Neighborhood Policy

In 2003 and 2004, the EU introduced an ambitious scheme, known first as "Wider Europe" and then as "the European Neighborhood Policy" (ENP) to promote European values in nearby countries that could not join the EU either because they were ineligible geographically, being located in north Africa or west Asia, or because they fell far short of the EU's political standards. The goal was to form a ring of well-governed states around the EU that would provide a buffer against terrorism, organized crime, illegal flows of migrants, or military pressure. Poland and the Baltic States felt particularly vulnerable to pressures from Russia, well before the annexation of Crimea. However, the goal of creating a "ring of friends" was not attained, and one

[234] Ibid, p. 55

[235] Turkish Radio and Television, "EU Minister Bozkır: EU Progress Report 'Objective and Balanced'," (October 9, 2014), http://www.trt.net.tr/english/turkey/2014/10/09/eu-minister-bozk%C4%B1r-eu-progress-report-objective-and-balanced-91918.

commentator opined in 2014 that the EU was surrounded, rather, by a ring of fire.[236]

The policy covers all the countries on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean, plus the Palestinian Authority, as well as Ukraine, Moldova, Belarus, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. The inclusion of such a varied group of countries in a single policy framework reflects a "package deal" between EU member states with diverse interests and traditional ties. The "Eastern Partnership" introduced in 2008, at the urging of Poland and Sweden, was intended to provide a specific framework for Eastern Europe and the Southern Caucasus. But essentially the same approach was announced for Mediterranean countries in 2011, following the Arab uprisings. A decade's experience suggests that differentiation, rather than a single policy framework, would better enable the EU to address each country's needs, capacities, and goals.

The ENP offered participating countries an opportunity to embrace the European model of society, while stopping short of actual EU membership. "Action plans," inspired by the "accession partnerships" with candidate countries, were concluded by the EU with countries to the east and south, many of which still had authoritarian regimes. These plans include measures to advance fundamental rights and freedoms. However, they handle freedom of religion guardedly in light of the delicate balance between denominations and the religious source of legitimacy of the neighborhood's monarchies. Most governments proved willing to sign action plans with the EU but showed little inclination to carry them out.

The Arab uprisings were at first interpreted in Brussels as the start of a process resembling "transition" in Central and Eastern Europe. For many, it was as if another Berlin Wall had fallen. Europeans were confident that they possessed the toolbox needed to consolidate political "transition." Accordingly, in 2011, the EU put forward a "Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean" in response to the "Arab Spring."[237] It offered additional increments of support in exchange for specific reforms said to reflect "shared values."

It soon became clear, however, that, with rare exceptions, the former autocracies had been replaced by dysfunctional winner-take-all democracies, failed states, civil wars, or renewed authoritarian rule. The EU was little

[236] Charlemagne, "Europe's Ring of Fire," *The Economist* (September 20, 2014), http://www.economist.com/news/europe/21618846-european-unions-neighbourhood-more-troubled-ever-europes-ring-fire.

[237] European Commission, "A Partnership for Democracy and Shared Prosperity with the Southern Mediterranean," (March 8, 2011), COM (2011) 200, http://eeas.europa.eu/euromed/docs/com2011_200_en.pdf.

inclined to put pressure on the few relatively stable governments, however imperfect, that held the line against the wave of radical Islam in the region. One European foreign minister told the author in October 2013 that there was no chance that Mediterranean countries could implement the kind of highly ambitious association agreements proposed by the EU in the next few decades.[238]

Furthermore, member states pursued bilateral relations with Mediterranean countries in a pragmatic fashion, maintaining close diplomatic, commercial, and personal ties with autocratic rulers. The southern member states drew on links going back to colonial times to build a privileged position in terms of trade, investment, public procurement, and energy supply. The EU institutions, by contrast, were tasked with promoting regional cooperation, good governance, and human rights. The interest-based approach of the member states undermined the credibility of the EU's political conditionality, which the states themselves had approved. Europe manifestly did not speak with one voice.

The action plans drawn up for the ENP-South countries differ in their scope, depending on the regime with which they were agreed. Action plans with Morocco and Tunisia were adopted in 2005, well before the Arab uprisings. Tunisia has since negotiated a new action plan characterized as a "privileged partnership." Lebanon's action plan, renewed in June 2014, is more ambitious in scope but lacks concrete steps.

Egypt's action plan was negotiated before the Arab uprisings and various changes in regime; the broadly secular nature of the Mubarak regime allowed the plan to make commitments to specific action in several areas that were too "sensitive" elsewhere in the region, including religion and the protection of women. Egypt's plan specifically mentions the need to "improve the dialogue between cultures and religions, cooperate in the fight against intolerance, discrimination, racism, and xenophobia, and in the promotion of respect for religions and cultures."[239] However, it stops short of calling for action beyond the "exchange of best practices" and "consideration" of appropriate legislation.[240]

The action plan agreed with Jordan, and renewed in 2012, goes furthest on religious freedom. The plan calls for protection from religious-based

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[238] M. Leigh, "The European Neighbourhood Policy: A Suitable Case for Treatment," in S. Gstöhl and E. Lannon, eds., *The Neighbours of the European Union's Neighbours* (London: Ashgate, 2014).

[239] European External Action Service, "EU/Egypt Action Plan," http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/action_plans/egypt_enp_ap_final_en.pdf, p. 4.

[240] Ibid, p. 8.

discrimination and for efforts to "combat hate crimes, including cases motivated by Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and Christianophobia and other beliefs, which can be fuelled by racist and xenophobic propaganda in the media and on the Internet."[241]

All action plans mention the need to "strengthen the role of women" and call for greater enforcement of UN conventions protecting women.[242] The action plan with Lebanon stresses the need to eliminate "all forms of discrimination" against women and promote their fair electoral representation in Lebanon.[243] The Jordanian authorities commit themselves to "mainstreaming" women in government policies, increasing support for victims of domestic violence, and combatting "so-called 'honor crimes.'"[244] Egypt's plan calls for new legislation and public awareness campaigns to eradicate female genital mutilation.[245]

Considerable time will be needed to ascertain the impact and effectiveness of such commitments. Until now they have remained largely declaratory, competing with the much more conservative values upheld by the Gulf States, whose financial assistance far outstrips that of the European Union.

The European Response to Radical Islam

By 2015, the failure of the ENP to deliver the kind of political transformation that EU leaders had hoped for prompted calls for a fundamental revision of the policy.[246] In several countries covered by the ENP, terrorist groups, including al Qaeda and the self-proclaimed Islamic State, have brutally attacked both Muslim and non-Muslim religious minorities. Europe itself has become a frequent target for terrorist attacks by militants claiming to act in the name of Islam.

Sectarian conflict, civil strife and violent repression are undermining Iraq and Syria, with severe consequences for Turkey, Lebanon, and Jordan. Displaced persons and refugees, including 1 million Christians from Iraq and half a million from Syria, are experiencing a major humanitarian disaster. It is

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[241] European External Action Service, "EU/Jordan Action Plan," http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/action_plans/2013_jordan_action_plan_en.pdf, p. 12.

[242] European External Action Service, "EU/Morocco Action Plan," http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/action_plans/morocco_enp_ap_final_en.pdf, p. 6; European External Action Service, "EU/Tunisia Action Plan," http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/action_plans/tunisia_enp_ap_final_en.pdf, p. 5.

[243] European External Action Service, "EU/Lebanon Action Plan," http://eeas.europa.eu/enp/pdf/pdf/lebanon_enp_ap_final_en.pdf, p. 3-5.

[244] "EU/Jordan Action Plan," p. 11.

[245] "EU/Egypt Action Plan," p. 7.

[246] European Commission, "Toward a new European Neighbourhood Policy: The EU Launches a Consultation on the Future of its Relations with Neighbouring Countries," (March 4, 2015), http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-15-4548_en.htm.

increasingly difficult for them to find refuge in Jordan and Lebanon, countries that are themselves over-burdened and vulnerable. Lawlessness is rife in Libya and in the Sinai. Coptic Christians working in Libya have been murdered by extremist Islamist groups.

The flow of "jihadists" between conflict zones and Europe as well as the increasing number of home-grown Islamist militants in Europe have become a major causes for concern. The attacks on the journalists of *Charlie Hebdo* and on a kosher supermarket in Paris in January 2015 by French citizens of Muslim background prompted an unusual display of national unity. There was a similar reaction in Denmark in February 2015 after a murderous attack near the main synagogue in Copenhagen. The rise in the number and violence of anti-Semitic incidents leave European Jews feeling particularly exposed.

The French authorities' response to the Paris attacks involves stricter security as well as greater efforts to integrate minorities and to prevent the radicalization of alienated youth. There is a new recognition of the need to prevent radicalization in prisons, to strengthen diversity training in schools and other institutions, and to do more to integrate young unemployed French citizens of Muslim background. There has also been a strong reassertion of French secularism or *laïcité* and of the country's assimilationist approach to minorities. This forms a fundamental part of French national identity but does not necessarily convey the message of inclusiveness that its proponents intend.

European and U.S. political leaders insist that Islam as such is not the problem; they seek to avoid the perception of a "clash of civilizations" and to prevent an anti-Muslim backlash. Yet violent groups that train European jihadists, especially including the self-proclaimed Islamic State, espouse millenarian variants of Salafi and Wahhabi Islam and are financed by citizens of the Gulf States. Militants often lack a basic knowledge of the Qur'an, *sharia*, and religious practice, and have been repudiated by many Muslim clerics. Nonetheless, they claim to act in the name of Islam, and some are spurred to action by radical clerics. Clearly, the definition of what can be considered a legitimate expression of Islam is primarily a matter for Muslim religious authorities themselves.

European countries are stepping up efforts to promote religious freedom in countries around the Mediterranean Basin, with a view to countering extremism and protecting religious minorities, including Christian minorities. But Gulf countries, struggling with domestic dissent, mired in sectarian disputes, and eyeing Iranian activism in the Middle East, are slow to clamp down on their citizens who support militant groups. The United States has kept up business as usual with repressive countries, including Saudi Arabia,

which receives waivers from the consequences of its Country of Particular Concern status. There is also extensive trade and security cooperation between European countries and the conservative Gulf States.

Many question the seriousness of European and U.S. efforts to promote fundamental rights and freedoms, including religious freedom, in the Middle East in light of reticence to follow through on violations of religious freedom, when security or trade are at stake. In any event, these efforts address states rather than militant groups, which are today responsible for some of the worst abuses.

Conclusions

In 2015, the EU embarked on a year-long review of its neighborhood policy. In doing so, it would do well to take into account a decade's experience with efforts to promote human rights in general and religious freedom in particular. Many of the lessons learned apply equally to the United States.

The changes in North Africa and the Levant, which raised so many hopes, have improved the enjoyment of political rights to a very limited degree and have led to widespread violence. There have been serious setbacks and transition appears in several cases to be from autocracy, to electoral democracy, and back to authoritarian rule. In others, dysfunctional democracy or state failure prevails. Brutal sectarian groups undermine state authority and inflict incalculable human suffering.

The issues that are stressed by Western countries are not necessarily priorities for local people who crave above all a semblance of order permitting them to go about their daily lives unmolested. Third countries, notably in the Gulf, compete to propagate their own values and sectarian preferences, even undermining apparently moderate Islamist movements such as Ennahda in Tunisia. The protection of religious minorities and the fight against extremist groups are often viewed by Muslim leaders as essentially Western causes that go into high gear when U.S., European and, indeed, Christian lives are at stake.[247]

China, Russia, and Iran are increasingly active in North Africa, the Levant, and the wider Middle East. Their agendas have little in common with Western efforts to promote fundamental rights and freedoms. Iran supports the regime of Bashar al-Assad in Syria as well as Hezbollah and Hamas. The Turkish government, which has lost ground in the region since the overthrow of the Morsi government in Egypt in July 2013, resorts to increasingly illiberal

[247] Author interviews, March 2015.

measures internally and is ambiguous in its policy toward militant Sunni groups, especially those in conflict with Kurdish fighters in Syria and Iraq.

Many leaders in North Africa and the Levant question the legal, moral, or political grounds for EU insistence on respect for European values and standards. The EU's promotion of its own model is greeted with further skepticism because of persistent economic and financial problems in Europe since 2008. The putative beneficiaries of the ENP are increasingly exposed to non-Western models and ideologies.

The financial resources at the disposal of the EU pale by comparison with those mobilized by the Gulf States, for example to prop up Egypt and advance their own sectarian agendas. The scale of their aid renders ineffective any EU efforts to reward supposed political reforms with marginal increments of assistance. The Arab uprisings, their suppression, and the outbreak of sectarian violence demonstrate the limited success of Europeans in encouraging a democratic political evolution in these countries.

Local ownership is the key to successful democratic transition, including respect for religious freedom among other fundamental rights and freedoms. Where it is lacking, Europeans and Americans need to accept that they cannot impose these values from outside. They can prod the governments concerned to be more respectful of religious minorities and, whenever possible, provide support to distressed religious denominations, and facilitate civil society initiatives. But there are limits to what can be achieved in the absence of local ownership.

Where local ownership is present, as may be the case in Tunisia, assistance should be increased significantly, drawing on the full tool box of measures that the EU has developed over the past two decades, since the collapse of communism in Europe. In time, success in one country, such as Tunisia, may demonstrate what can be achieved and inspire others to follow its example.

Recommendations

Against this background, there are a number of lessons learned that should be considered by the European Union and the United States when formulating foreign and domestic policies related to religion in the future.

- Proponents of the liberal international order need to take into account the increasing influence of religion within their own societies and around the world.

- Religion as such is not inimical to the liberal international order and can even reinforce its principles. This, however, requires increased acceptance of diversity, especially in Europe, and greater efforts to distinguish between religion as such and its exploitation for political ends.
- The United States and the European Union should not seek to impose liberal values from outside but to reinforce local initiatives and to strengthen local ownership of them.
- The United States and the European Union should cooperate with the authorities of states in North Africa and the Middle East that seek to strengthen fundamental rights and freedoms, including the freedom of religion, in their countries. Assistance to countries committed to political reforms, including notably Tunisia, should be increased.
- In other countries, where the authorities are not themselves proponents of liberal values, the United States and the European Union should provide support to civil society groups, especially through partnerships and twinning programs with civil society bodies in the West.
- The United States and the European Union should review their current programs promoting religious freedom. This review should cover their impact and effectiveness and the perception of such initiatives in target countries.
- Provisions in such programs that call for the withholding of assistance to countries interfering with the freedom of religion should be applied consistently or repealed.
- In the European Union, greater coordination between the position of EU institutions and the member states is needed.
- In the United States, there should be greater consistency between the findings of the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom and positions taken by the executive branch of government.
- The EU, United States, Canada, and other countries concerned about threats to religious freedom should coordinate their activities more closely to achieve greater impact and effectiveness.
- They should coordinate their diplomatic efforts to prevent citizens of Gulf States and others from financing violent extremist groups.
- The United States and the European Union should exercise their political influence with Turkey, a NATO ally and candidate for EU membership

1) to ensure greater freedom of religion for Muslims and non-Muslim minorities within the country itself and 2) to refrain from providing, officially or unofficially, logistic support, including transit, for militants joining violent sectarian groups in Iraq and Syria.

- In Europe, cross-faith networks should be mobilized to counter the propagation of intolerance (including anti-Semitism and Islamophobia).
- Young delinquents incarcerated for petty crimes should be separated in prisons from militants convicted of violent crimes motivated by religious or racial intolerance, to reduce the risk of radicalization of susceptible young offenders.
- School curricula in the United States and Europe should devote greater attention to raising awareness and understanding of the lasting legacy of imperial expansion, including perceptions of the role of missionaries.
- In countries with large Muslim minorities, such as France and Germany, the number of Muslim chaplains in prisons and in the military should be increased to provide an opportunity for dialogue with exponents of moderate currents of the Islamic faith.
- Greater efforts should be made by Europe and the United States to promote understanding that certain violations of human rights should not be attributed to religion. Awareness should be raised that, for example, female genital mutilation and forced marriage are not called for by religion and are a serious violation of women's rights. Greater efforts should be made to eradicate such practices through attention and appropriate political pressure.

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Box 5: Religion and Foreign Policy: A Brussels Perspective

Merete Bilde[1]

Religion comes in different shades and forms when you deal with foreign policy from a European perspective. At times, we deal with issues or situations that have a religious component without fully recognizing this. In other instances, we are faced with policy dilemmas that clearly demand positions on how to engage when religious concepts or realities enter diplomatic work. This piece briefly sketches out what I think has been the experience and the lessons learned from within the foreign policy branch of the European Union when trying to come to grips with this factor in our daily work.

When is Religion At Play?

The EU agenda has long included intercultural engagement and dealing with cross-cultural issues. Unfortunately, much of this crystallizes around moments of tensions or crisis. Not least starting with the publications of Danish cartoons of Muhammad in 2005-06, the EU has faced challenges that have free speech at their core but that also have many "other ingredients."

Both Javier Solana and Catherine Ashton were met with such challenges during their mandates as EU high representative for foreign and security policy. In February 2006, Solana issued a joint statement with the secretaries general of the United Nations and the Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC),[2] aiming to calm the spiral of violence in and beyond the Middle East that followed the publication of the cartoons. Similarly, in September 2012, Ashton joined forces with the secretaries general of the Arab League and the OIC and the chairperson of the Commission of the

[1] Merete Bilde is a Bosch Public Policy Fellow at the Transatlantic Academy. She is a policy advisor at the European External Action Service (EEAS) of the European Union in Brussels. She works on issues at the cross-section of religion and foreign policy, which includes political aspects of Islam and cross-cultural/religious relations. She has been involved in a number of networks of diplomats and faith-based political actors meeting regularly in an effort to bridge the gap in understanding between religious and secular worldviews. Prior to her current appointment, she worked in the Policy Unit of EU High Representative Javier Solana (2005-09) and before that she served as a Danish diplomat from 1994. The views expressed are her own.

[2] United Nations, "Press Release: Joint UN, European Union, Islamic conference Statement Shares 'Anguish' of Muslim World at Mohammed Caricatures, but Condemns Violent Response," (February 7, 2006), http://www.un.org/press/en/2006/sg2105.doc.htm.

African Union[3] when an anti-Muslim video created in the United States and posted online sparked violence.

Inevitably, much of the focus when handling such crises revolves around the defense of free speech and the condemnation of violence. But it is well worth noting how international leaders just in these two instances both stressed respect for the anguish and hurt that individuals of any faith (or none) may have experienced and warned that "religion" should not be used to fuel provocation, confrontation, and extremism. In other words, there is recognition that "religion" is part of the equation as well as a desire not to frame the situation as "us versus them" and thus fall into the narrative trap of those who aim to achieve precisely this.

However, the very dynamics of how the Danish cartoons went viral on the global stage, with significant delay from their actual publication, show that "cartoons" can be a very useful and powerful tool for letting off steam in domestic political situations. Understanding the lessons learnt from the cartoons and their handling cannot be divorced from the political dynamics at play on the regional and international arena at the time. As such, the cartoons "played out" in a tense climate affected not least by the post-9/11 war on terrorism and an already brewing sense of "West against Islam," but also by a fierce rivalry within the region as to who was the best "defender" of Islam.

Precisely the fact that religion and religious sentiments can be deployed for political purposes is part of why many Western senior policy officials often discard religion as an epiphenomenon at best and an irritant at worst. The fact that the global trend seems to suggest that religion (and religious identity) is on the rise sits uneasily with the very secular worldview of many Western officials and diplomats. It is more often than not considered intrinsically problematic for policy. Most diplomatic handbooks still largely hinge on realpolitik and interests, leaving little room for religion, identity, or culture.

However, in parallel with that view, there has been a growing realization, within some European capitals and in the halls of the European Union in Brussels, that "religion" matters and that we need to, at minimum, understand when, where, and how.

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[3] European Union Delegation to the United Nations – New York, "Joint Statement on Peace and Tolerance by EU High Representative, OIC Secretary General, Arab League Secretary General, and AU Commissioner for Peace and Security," (September 20, 2012), http://eu-un.europa.eu/articles/en/article_12602_en.htm.

Understanding the Religion-Diplomacy Nexus
France was the first to set up a specific unit (*Pôle Religion*) within its Ministry of Foreign Affairs to address religion as well as similar outfits in the French Ministry of Defense and the French Development Branch. A number of other EU member states have also devoted resources to look more systematically at the nexus of religion and diplomacy.

At the EU level, as this topic falls between acronyms as well as geographical and thematic sections, we set up an informal "Likeminded Group" in 2008 to stimulate collective thinking and an exchange of ideas on issues at the cross section of religion and politics. In addition to a number of interested member states, we had the benefit of also having Norwegian and Swiss colleagues take part in the discussions. That process proved to be very valuable for handling and inspiring some of the initiatives that blossomed at the time, such as discreet networks with faith-based political actors as well as more intercultural initiatives like the Alliance of Civilizations.

As diplomats and officials have become more conscious of the role of religion in today's world, new questions have been raised regarding our own "policy filter." How does our predominantly secular worldview affect the formulation of foreign policy? How is it affected by our own values and our own understanding of history? Do we implicitly project our "domestic religious experience" abroad? Are we aware of our blind spots and biases? How much time do we give to non-secular faith-based political actors as well as more traditional religious actors? When is a politico-social movement a political force to be reckoned and engaged with? When and why is it to be branded a "terrorist organization"? How do we engage with secular political forces that show illiberal or undemocratic tendencies? All of these questions have crept up the policy agenda in the wake of the Arab Uprisings.

It would go too far to attempt to provide elements of an answer here, but suffice it to say that this is a central policy challenge that is simultaneously difficult to handle and impossible to ignore.

Upgrading Mindsets, Skill Sets, and Tools
Since 2013, the European External Action Service (EEAS) has offered a special series of trainings on religion and foreign policy for EU officials and member state diplomats. This training has in part been inspired by what the U.S. Department of State and the U.K. Foreign and Commonwealth Office have offered to their staffs. But we have deliberately and carefully adapted the module to a specific European

context and based it on concrete policy challenges experienced first-hand by colleagues.

The aim is to develop a collective awareness and skill set to appreciate the role of religion (whether helpful or problematic) and its implications for diplomatic work. By increasing our religious literacy and sensitivity to non-secular worldviews, we hope to improve our ability to better navigate the politico-religious landscape in countries and situations where a religious component matters. This also helps to raise awareness about how an overly secular worldview can lead to not only blind spots, but also occasional misconceptions and inconsistencies.

The training has proved very popular and has triggered discussions of these topics at the level of senior management. Each training course has a core curriculum focusing on the diversity within selected key religions. In addition, each session has a specific thematic focus and targeted concrete case work. This allows the capture of different thematic fields where religion is at play, as "religion" is not one box to be ticked, but is rather present in many boxes. It also allows for colleagues to showcase their particular work within these concrete fields and to raise in-house awareness of how to use, operationalize, and implement existing tools.

One of our first training modules was devoted to the topic of "tolerance and respect," which allowed colleagues to become more familiar with the EU guidelines on Freedom of Religion or Belief[4] and the challenges of their implementation. It also allowed discussion of the merits of engaging through initiatives like the Istanbul Process, where the EU together with the OIC and the United States are aiming to give more practical expressions to Resolution 16/18 (March 2011) of the UN Human Rights Council, on "combating intolerance, negative stereotyping and stigmatization of, and discrimination, incitement to violence, and violence against persons based on religion or belief."

Whereas religious freedom has traditionally been seen as the "first entry point on religion," it has become increasingly clear that it is not possible to capture all the relevant aspects through this prism. A more recent training focused on religion, violence, and peace mediation, where colleagues showcased their practical experience of integrating religious and cultural aspects in their conflict analyses and mediation support work. We had invited a colleague from the U.S. Department of State and

[4] Council of the European Union, "EU Guidelines on the Promotion and Protection of Freedom of Religion or Belief," (June 24, 2013), http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/137585.pdf.

a colleague from the U.K. Department for International Development (DFID) to provide their experience for a comparative perspective.

One of our upcoming sessions will address the role of religion in development. Here, we will build on the experience from not only from the EU and key member states but also the UN Interagency Task Force on this topic and the challenges of the post-2015 agenda.

Regardless of the thematic focus, our motivation or ambition is to make ourselves "smarter" as foreign policy actors. Instead of making engagement with religious or faith-based actors a special "diplomatic discipline," our aim is to integrate it across the board, where it is relevant. Our aim is not to increase the role of religion, but to see the world as it is and to pay due attention to a factor that is part of shaping the world around us.

I will end by letting former Secretary General, Pierre Vimont, have the final word of caution:

> "The EU and its diplomatic service must be able to have a more complex reading of these realities… As such, the religious dimension must of course not be ignored, but one must not forget either that the religious factor is one among several, and maybe not always the most dominant nor the most influential."[5]

[5] "Pour l'Union européenne et pour son action diplomatique, il faut être capable d'avoir une lecture davantage en phase avec la complexité de cette realité… Dans un tel cadre, la dimension religieuse ne doit pas être ignorée bien évidemment, mais il faut se rappeler en permanence que celle-ci n'est qu'un élément parmi d'autres et peut- être pas toujours le plus prédominant ni le plus influent." Author's translation. In D. Lacrone, J. Vaïsse, and J. Williame, *La Diplomatie au défi des religions, tensions, guerres et médiations*, (Paris: Odile Jacob, October 2014).

Box 6: Islam and German Foreign Policy

Heinrich Kreft[1]

Since the rise of political Islam, first with the Iranian Revolution and even more forcefully in the wake of the terror attacks of September 2001, the Arab Revolutions of 2011, and the violent brutality in the name of Islam by the self-proclaimed Islamic State, religion — long underestimated as a factor in international affairs — is back on the global agenda. Intercultural and interreligious dialogue, in particular with Islam, has since the beginning of this millennium become one of the new pillars of German foreign policy.

Religion is not new to the world of German foreign policy. The activities of the German Catholic Church and German Protestant churches have always been viewed by the Foreign Ministry in a benevolent way, and their aid and cultural work has been always financially supported.

Germany's relationship with the Muslim world is also long-standing. Relations with the Arab world, particularly Egypt, and with the Ottoman Empire were important for Berlin from the creation of the German Empire in 1871. Because of Turkish immigration from the early 1960s, relations with Turkey mattered for domestic reasons. More than 90 percent of the 1,250 full-time imams working in German mosques today are sent by the Turkish Presidency of Religious Affairs and receive their salaries *de facto* from the Turkish government.

But it was the terrorist attacks of 9/11 that led German foreign policy to have a focus not only on Muslim countries, but also on Islam itself. These attacks and the U.S./Western reaction to them had a negative influence on German/European relations with the Muslim world and particularly the Arab world. For that reason, the German Foreign Ministry created a special representative for dialogue with Islam within the Department of Culture, Communication, and Education, with the rank of ambassador and equipped with a special program for a "European Islam Dialogue." This program is executed in close cooperation with German cultural institutions like the Goethe Institute and the German Academic Exchange Service, as well as with German embassies and consulates in Muslim-majority countries. This position was later renamed special

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representative for dialogue among civilizations (the author held the position from 2010-14).

The dialogue with the Muslim world also included dialogue with the Muslims living in Germany and their organizations. This meant the Foreign Ministry was sitting at the table in 2006 when then-Minister of the Interior Wolfgang Schäuble initiated the so-called "German Islam Conference" to start a government dialogue with representatives of the more than 4 million Muslims living in Germany.

The dialogue programs aim at a better understanding of different cultures and religions and the encouragement of respect across religious and cultural divides. They are focused on the fields of culture, education, and media, tackling in particular the widespread belief in the Muslim world that the political concepts of democracy, human rights, and pluralism are Western concepts and for that reason are not compatible with Islam.

When upheavals in Tunisia and Egypt at the beginning of 2011 led to the so-called Arab Spring in many parts of the Arab world, Germany offered the new transition governments in Tunis and Cairo "Transformation Partnerships" with substantial financial underpinning. As political parties inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood with mostly unknown leaders came to power in both countries, there was an immediate need to establish contacts with these little-known new elites. Together with other parts of the ministry and German and international NGOs, it was the special representative and his office who established different dialogue schemes with political Islamists in government. One of these dialogue projects brought German, French, and British members of parliament together with newly elected members of Brotherhood-inspired parties in Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, and Morocco for behind-closed-doors meetings to talk about democratic values and how to build democratic institutions. Other formats focused on bringing leaders from different religions together either in their own countries or in Germany. These activities included not only Arab countries, but also Indonesia, Pakistan, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and several Central Asian countries.

A considerable amount of public funds have gone into Youth Exchange programs like the "CrossCulture Internship Program," in which young professionals from Muslim countries were invited to get work experience in German companies, media, and other institutions and thus gain greater intercultural competence.

A signature project in the field of media is the Internet dialogue platform qantara.de (the word "qantara" is Arabic for bridge). This platform publishes analyses and commentaries about Islam and on the Muslim world by authors of various countries and cultural backgrounds.

With the recent establishment of faculties of Islamic Studies at five German universities to train German Muslims to become teachers of Islamic education at German public schools and/or imams in German mosques, the cooperation between German universities and institutions in Muslim countries — for example al Azhar in Egypt — also now includes cooperation in the field of Islamic studies.

Germany has also been supportive of putting interreligious and intercultural dialogue on the European agenda. The fights against radicalization, religious violence, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, and Christianophobia are being debated in many international fora. One of the main organizations in this regard is the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations initiated by Spain and Turkey, which has developed a variety of discussion fora including so-called dialogue cafes in Israel, Palestine, and other places. Other organizations that are playing an important role in the interreligious dialogue are the OSCE, UNESCO, the European Council, and the Asia-Europe-Meeting.

The perception that Orient and Occident are two sides of the same coin and thus indivisible, and demand for a true dialogue between these two worlds, can be found as early as in Goethe's *West-Eastern Divan* (1819) and the works of German Orientalist Friedrich Rückert (1788-1866). This dialogue needs long-term attention and will remain a continuous challenge and task of our foreign policy.

Box 7: *Laïcité* and the Muslim Prison Chaplaincy in France

Eric Germain[1]

Following the tragic terrorist attacks that occurred in Paris in January 2015, the most popular answers from political leaders have been calls for more *laïcité* and more Muslim chaplains to fight radicalization in French prisons, as the men behind the attacks met in prison where they entered as petty criminals and left as religious extremists. It is useful to examine whether those claims could really be the answer and to recall exactly what we are talking about.

In France, a 1905 law laid the modern legal foundations of the principle of separation of church and state. This law still frames the public policy of secularism known as *laïcité*. The word itself appeared in official texts only half a century later, with the 1958 constitution in which the very first article states that France is a Republic "democratic and *laïque*."[2] In the minds of the vast majority of French citizens, the notion of *laïcité* evokes a crystal-clear and intangible "wall of separation," strictly relegating religious matters in the private sphere. In reality, such a radical vision of secularism has never been written in any legal text and has never been practiced by any government. Over the past century,[3] the "wall" between religion and state has always been a fluctuating frontier, with borders a matter of constant negotiation and adjustment.

The promoters of the 1905 law have vigorously claimed that in assessing the principle of neutrality of the state, the law aimed fundamentally to be a "law of freedom," supporting freedom of thought and expression but also freedom of religion. As a matter of fact, if nearly everybody in France knows by heart the second article of the law, stressing that "the Republic does not recognize, remunerate, or subsidize any religion," most

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[1] Eric Germain is a Bosch Public Policy Fellow at the Transatlantic Academy. He is a policy advisor at the Directorate General for International Relations and Strategy of the French Ministry of Defense. This piece is written in a personal capacity and the views expressed do not reflect the position of the Directorate General for International Relations, Ministry of Defense, or Government of France.

[2] It continues: "(France) shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race, or religion. It shall respect all beliefs."

[3] This is well observed in a 2004 report, "A century of *laïcité,*" written by the Conseil d'État, France's highest administrative jurisdiction: Conseil d'État, "Un siècle de laïcité" (2004), http://www.conseil-etat.fr/content/download/367/1129/version/1/file/rapportpublic2004.pdf. *Laïcité* has been consistently understood and practiced by the state as a remarkably flexible concept, accommodating several schemes differing from general law (in Alsace and Lorraine and some overseas territories).

ignore the first article, mentioning the obligation of public authorities to ensure freedom of conscience and guarantee the free exercise of religion (subject solely to restrictions related to public order). The practical example of this legal dual obligation was given in the text with the example of so-called "closed" institutions where the state has the duty to organize chaplaincies in order to ensure freedom of religious practice. The law provides that in order "to ensure the free exercise of religion in public establishments," the state shall make an exception in financing chaplaincies in boarding schools, hospitals, asylums, and prisons. The armed forces were not explicitly mentioned in the text, as military chaplaincies had already been organized by a specific decree in 1880.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the religious diversity of the metropolitan French society was limited to the Catholic and Protestant churches as well as Judaism. At that time, state relations with the two minority religious groups, Protestantism and Judaism, had already been structured for a century in a centralized and hierarchized fashion, on the model of relations with the Catholic Church. Such organizational structures have been imposed by Napoleon as the precondition for the state to recognize a religious group and to interact with it.[4] Today, a similar model is being implemented for French Islam, but it is difficult to successfully adopt this almost overnight, as we are no longer living in the Napoleonic era. It was only with the creation in 2003 of a French Council of the Muslim Faith (known under its French abbreviation of CFCM), an interlocutor officially recognized by the French government, that allowed the development of a Muslim chaplaincy. In September 2006, the CFCM appointed the first three national Muslim chief chaplains, for hospitals, prisons, and the military.

In public hospitals and secondary boarding schools, chaplaincies have always been organized in a highly decentralized way, with the state not having much say. Things are quite different in the prison system and in the military, where chaplains enjoy special rights and duties, creating the need for a much higher degree of security clearance. Nevertheless, the practice of *laïcité* in prisons and the military environment remains significantly different from in other aspects of French life.

The number of Muslim chaplains in prisons started to grow after 2000. In January 2015, out of a total of 1,474 prison religious workers

[4] The Lutheran and Reformed Churches were unilaterally organized by the state alongside the so-called "Organic Articles" of April 1802 and an Israelite Consistory was created through a March 1808 decree by Napoleon.

(*intervenants cultuels*),[5] 182 were Muslims.[6] This number has tripled in the past ten years, but has still to increase to match the demand in the 191 penitentiary institutions of various types operating on the French soil. The prison administration is prohibited by law from keeping statistics about religious affiliation of prisoners, but the demand for *halal* food, which is documented,[7] gives credit to the assumption that almost one out of two prisoners in France could be of Muslim faith or culture. In recent years, the media and the successive governments have regularly called for a significant increase in the number of Muslim chaplains with the hope that they will help to counter "radicalization" (a serious issue, even if it should not be overstated) occurring within the overpopulated prisons. Nevertheless, the increase has been limited because of the lack of people ably prepared to contest the type of malicious religious interpretations flourishing on Internet. Only Muslim chaplains with strong theological training could have the authority to engage on matters of faith with prisoners tempted by violent religious extremism.

Even if this human resource had been available in larger numbers, a major problem remains as prison chaplains do not receive a true salary, but only rather modest allowance to cover the costs they incur for their work, such as transport.[8] Prison chaplaincy was organized at a time when the only visible religions in the French society were Christianity and Judaism. Chaplains of those religious groups are people working essentially as volunteers (among the lay personnel, they are often retired school teachers or former social workers). With today's French Muslim community, a similar pattern of people is not about to emerge; theologically trained Muslim chaplains need a salary to live and support their families. However, the public prison administration cannot correct this imbalance in making an exception for Islam; if Muslim prison chaplains were paid more, it would certainly lead other faith groups to sue the state for breaching its *laïc* principles of equal treatment of all religious groups.

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[5] The penitentiary administration uses the name "religious workers" instead of chaplains, since the number of lay personnel exceeds clerics in every faith groups.

[6] Seven religious groups are now officially registered by the penitentiary administration : Catholic, Protestant, Muslim, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jewish, Orthodox Christians, and Buddhists; Ministère de la Justice, "Pratiques et organisation du culte en détention," (January 16, 2015), http://www.justice.gouv.fr/prison-et-reinsertion-10036/la-vie-en-detention-10039/culte-12002.html.

[7] From one prison to another, pork-free diets were requested by between 30 and 80 percent of the total number of prisoners; those figures were given by an official study of 2011; Conseil Nation al de l'Alimentation, "L'alimentation en milieu carcéral" (December 1, 2011), http://www.inpes.sante.fr/10000/themes/sante-penitentiaire/pdf/alimentation-carcerale.pdf, p. 27.

[8] This is a major difference with military chaplains who, even if they have no rank, are paid under commissioned officers' salary scales.

The demand that emerged in a large section of the French national community at the end of January 2015, calling for more *laïcité* and more Muslim prison chaplains, appears to be based on two serious misconceptions. The first is the common belief that *laïcité* would be a legal system that could be turned into some anti-clerical tool to be used today against radical Islam (in the same way as it is supposed to have been used, more than a century ago, against an anti-democratic reactionary form of Catholicism). The second is that violent Islamism feeds itself solely off religious scriptures and that it is an ideology that can be solely fought on religious grounds with the help of chaplains rightfully equipped with a liberal and humanistic understanding of Islam.

Some people might regret not having a proper legal tool to fight violent obscurantist ideologies, but they will definitely not find one within the legal corpus making modern *laïcité*. As for the issue of prison radicalization, even if some gifted chaplains might truly help, it is almost certain that an effort to seriously address the issue of overcrowding in prisons would be far more efficient than significantly increasing in the number of Muslim religious workers. Violent ideologies develop within specific political, economic, and social contexts. Public policies should focus on addressing the root causes of problematic contexts and maintain a long term effort to strengthen the resilience of the society as a whole.

But the issue cannot be restricted to the socio-economic discrimination of ghettoized suburban territories, as shown by the profile of the young men and women who are currently answering some "jihadist call" and who are coming equally from city centers, *banlieues*, and even rural areas. It is worth adding that the vast majority of them have never been to prison. As pinpointed by many academics such as Olivier Roy, the genuine issue today is about the divorce of religion from culture, it is about a type of fanaticism growing without theological or cultural roots and it is probably misleading to keep on analyzing this only as a "religious" type of radicalization/extremism.[9]

[9] For the specific kind of "radicalization" occurring in prison environment, a recent study from the penitentiary administration concludes that religious "intensification" (of practice/identity) is a normal phenomenon observed across all denominations and this should not be confused with "radicalization" leading to terrorist action that could best be detected with tools provided by psychiatry: C. Béraud, C. Galembert, and C. Rostaing, "Des hommes et des dieux en prison," Lettre d'information Mission de recherche Droit et Justice (December 2013), http://www.gip-recherche-justice.fr/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Entretien_hommes-dieux-en-prison.pdf, p. 7.

IX. Eastern Christianity and the Liberal International Order

Lucian N. Leustean

At a time of uncertainty over the fate of Ukrainian military bases in Crimea, in March 2014, when barricaded soldiers faced an ultimatum from pro-Russian forces, members of the clergy suddenly appeared in the midst of military tension. At the Perevalne military base, the stand-off even attracted an archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate who stood near the entrance gate separating the two military sides. He defended the faithful with his authority perceived to extend in both the material and the spiritual worlds. His presence was not an isolated act. In 2013 and 2014, throughout Ukraine, the "fault lines" between governmental forces and demonstrators were regularly interspersed by clergy in liturgical attire, holding huge crosses, blessing the masses, praying for national unity, and alleviating violent confrontation.

Events such as these in Ukraine denote not only exceptional political times but also the increasing role of churches within the nation-building process. The widespread liberal international order that promotes democratic values, freedom of religion, and human rights has found a strong challenge in the interplay between churches and political regimes in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states. By embarking on a process of democratization, many religious and political leaders have regarded as irreversible their countries' paths to membership in Euroatlantic institutions associated with the liberal West, while others have argued that the very nature of churches, societies, and politics in the East is fundamentally different from that in the West. This chapter examines the engagement of Eastern Christian churches with

political actors at national and international levels. It addresses the dynamics of church-state relations in the Eastern Christian commonwealth by focusing on the four main contemporary challenges that they pose to the liberal international order, namely the idea of a unique Orthodox civilization, the role of Eastern Orthodoxy in the European Union, the survival of Eastern Christian churches in the Middle East, and the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church planned for 2016. It argues that the diversity of Eastern Christianity should be taken into account as a key factor in the engagement between religious leaders and policymakers.

Eastern Christianity and *Symphonia*

Eastern Christianity is a fellowship of churches, Orthodox and Oriental, the origin of which dates back to the first historical divisions within the Christian world. The 1054 schism between Orthodox Christianity and Roman Christianity indicated a *de facto* division in which the East and the West were formally separated according to imperial rule and religious boundaries. It took nearly a millennium, until 1965, for the 1054 schism to be officially lifted between the Roman and Constantinopolitan churches.

Figure 1: The Map of Eastern Christianity

Eastern Christian churches regard themselves as "a family of Churches" divided into the following bodies.

1. **Chalcedonian churches** (15 Eastern Orthodox churches purporting to be in full communion in their order of honorary primacy, which acknowledges the honorary primacy of the Ecumenical Patriarchate):

   A. **Ancient autocephalous patriarchates**

      i. The Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople

      ii. The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria

      iii. The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch

      iv. The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem

   B. **Autocephalous churches**

      i. The Russian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate)

      ii. The Serbian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate)

      iii. The Romanian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate)

      iv. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church (Patriarchate)

      v. The Georgian Orthodox Church (Catholicosate Patriarchate)

vi. The Orthodox Church of Cyprus

vii. The Orthodox Church of Greece

viii. The Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania

ix. The Polish Orthodox Church

x. The Orthodox Church in the Czech Lands and Slovakia

xi. The Orthodox Church in America (autocephaly is contested by some churches)

C. **Autonomous (or semi-autonomous) churches**, such as: The Church of the Sinai (Jerusalem Patriarchate); The Finnish Orthodox Church (Ecumenical Patriarchate); The Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church (Ecumenical Patriarchate); The Orthodox Church of Crete (Ecumenical Patriarchate); The Monastic Community of Mount Athos (Ecumenical Patriarchate); The Orthodox Ohrid Archbishopric (Serbian Patriarchate); The Orthodox Church in Japan (Moscow Patriarchate); The Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate); The Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia (integrated with the Moscow Patriarchate in 2007).

D. **Churches not in communion** with the above churches, such as: The Macedonian Orthodox Church – Ohrid Archbishopric (Republic of Macedonia) and the Montenegrin Orthodox Church (Montenegro).

2. **Autocephalous non-Chalcedonian churches**: "Oriental" or "Monophysite" churches. These churches separated from the Chalcedonian churches after the Council of Chalcedon in 451, namely The Armenian Apostolic Church (Armenia); The Coptic Orthodox Church (Egypt); The Syrian Orthodox Church (Syria); The Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church/The Indian Orthodox Church (India); The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawehedo Church (Ethiopia); The Eritrean Orthodox Tawehedo Church (Eritrea).

3. **Religious missions** of Chalcedonian or non-Chalcedonian churches, which are in the process of becoming autonomous.

4. **The Assyrian Church of the East** (and its faction the Ancient Assyrian Church of the East) in various countries in the Middle East and its diaspora, which accepts only the first two Ecumenical Councils (Nicaea in 325 and Constantinople in 381).

5. **The Greek Catholic churches**: "Uniate" or "Eastern Catholic" churches for Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian churches, which recognize the Pope's primacy while retaining their liturgical and doctrinal communion

with other Eastern churches, such as: The Armenian Catholic Church; The Coptic Catholic Church; The Maronite Catholic Church; The Chaldean Catholic Church; The Syro-Malabar Catholic Church; The Melkite Greek Catholic Church; The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church; The Ruthenian Byzantine Catholic Church; The Romanian Greek Catholic Church.

6. **The "True Orthodox" or "Old Calendarist**," represented by churches which separated from Chalcedonian churches after the implementation of the Julian calendar or due to Soviet persecution.

7. **The "Old Believers,"** which refused the reforms of Russian Patriarch Nikhon in the 17th century.

8. **Small dissident communities and Protestant churches** that emerged from Orthodox/Oriental churches.

In Eastern Christianity, church-state relations are based on the principle of *symphonia*, which argues for close interaction between religious and political structures. The principle dates back to the Byzantine Empire, in which imperial authorities intervened in church life to support its jurisdictional and theological development. The idea of the "church" confined to the limits of religious structures denotes a modern understanding of the term "religion"; in Byzantium, the "church" was universal, working together with the empire, imposing authority at home and in foreign lands, and striving for the salvation of the faithful in the material and spiritual worlds. Religious heresy, therefore, equalled state dissent, and those who disobeyed the church were persecuted or expelled to the geographical limits of the "civilized" world. Despite the 1453 fall of Constantinople,[248] symphonia has remained a potent concept in the Eastern Christian world. After Prince Vladimir's conversion to Orthodox Christianity (at Chersonesus in Crimea) in 989, the Russian empire encouraged the use of the symphonic concept, as evident when the tsar-son ruled together with the patriarch-father, at the start of the Romanov dynasty in the early 17th century. Today, symphonia is regarded as an ambiguous concept that is fundamentally opposed to the Western model of church-state relations.[249]

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[248] Byzantium's church, the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, survived the fall, and has operated under the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey. Though its membership is only 5.25 million, the Patriarchate retains honorary primacy and political power in the Orthodox world.

[249] For the concept of *symphonia,* see J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology. Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1974); J.A. McGuckin, *The Orthodox Church: An Introduction to its History, Doctrine, and Spiritual Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2008); A. Papanikolaou, *The Mystical as Political: Democracy and Non-Radical Orthodoxy* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012).

The strongest criticism of the distinctiveness of church-state relations in the Orthodox world came from Samuel Huntington's 1996 book, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, which reinforced the Western imaginary of Eastern Christian churches. Huntington's response to the question "Where does Europe end?" was that "Europe ends where Western Christianity ends and Islam and Orthodoxy begin."[250] His point was built on the assumption that the liberal international order found no parallel in Orthodoxy's engagement with political authorities. The individual, the promotion of human rights, and the holding of free elections were alien to the Eastern Christian world. This assumption drew on Russia's trajectory after the fall of communism, when the state began to expand its political influence through religious values. Huntington observed that, together with five other former Soviet states (Armenia, Belarus, Moldova, Ukraine, and Georgia), Russia was building an "Orthodox bloc" that challenged the construction of a secular European Union.[251] He also placed Bulgaria and Romania in the same "Orthodox space," foreseeing that, due to the predominant Orthodox culture in both of these countries, the enlargement of the European Union would most likely not include them. The "clash of civilizations" theory was further developed by Victoria Clark's *Why Angels Fall: A Portrait of Orthodox Europe from Byzantium to Kosovo* (2000), in which Orthodoxy was presented as the main cause of social and political backwardness in Eastern Europe. Clark saw symphonia as "almost always too high and vague an ideal to be entirely practical"[252] and having little to do with secular Europe.

Neither Huntington nor Clark do full justice to the complex relationship between politics and Eastern Christian churches. The spread of modern nationalism in the 19th century ensured that the "church" has become directly linked to the nation-building process. Churches closely follow state structures, with symphonia acquiring the quality of the artefact of the nation, namely religious and political leaders have to cooperate in order to achieve national interests. Today, symphonia continues to be a potent concept building on the historical legacy of church and state and the thin lines between the religious and the political realms.

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[250] S.P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 158.

[251] Ibid, p. 164.

[252] V. Clark, *Why Angels Fall: A Portrait of Orthodox Europe from Byzantium to Kosovo* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), pp. 414-5.

Orthodox Christianity and Communism

Church-state relations working toward the national interest were particularly potent during the communist period.[253] After World War II, the Russian Orthodox Church became more assertively employed in international relations when the Soviet Union established a Department of External Church Affairs in 1946. The department had the largest number of employees in the patriarchate and acted as a direct liaison with state institutions. By claiming spiritual superiority over other autocephalous (independent) churches, Moscow sent religious delegations to neighboring countries, thereby ensuring close contact between Orthodox churches and communist regimes. The Iron Curtain between East and West acquired a religious dimension, which separated the predominately Orthodox bloc from the Catholic and Protestant West. Delegations of church leaders travelled between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria and Yugoslavia (1945), Romania (1946), and Albania and Poland (1948); on their return, those that praised the new communist regimes were promoted to the highest ecclesiastical offices. A pattern developed of granting autocephaly or incorporating smaller churches across the region: the Latvian, Estonian, and Georgian Orthodox churches were included under Russian jurisdiction; the Orthodox churches in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria were offered autocephaly upon rejecting their previous ties to the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Furthermore, in 1948, in a sign of religious and political cooperation, Orthodox church leaders held a Pan-Orthodox Synod in Moscow, with the aim of rewriting the very foundation of jurisdictional structures within the Eastern Christian world. The Synod concluded by claiming the religious and political superiority of the Orthodox bloc and condemning the West. The refusal of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to attend or support the 1948 Synod ensured that the Synod's decisions were not fully applied throughout Eastern Christianity.

As Table 1 shows, despite religious persecution and atheist state policies, Orthodox churches persisted in retaining significant influence in the social

[253] See also, P. Ramet, ed., *Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1988); Daniela Kalkandjieva, *The Russian Orthodox Church, 1917-1948. From Decline to Resurrection* (London: Routledge, 2015).

life of their countries. With the exception of Albania, which declared itself the first atheist state, religious and political structures interrelated throughout the Cold War period. In the cases of Romania and Serbia, the number of clergy in 1989 was even slightly higher than in 1945; however, at the same time, the population increased significantly.

Table 1: Orthodox Christianity, 1945-90

Country	Population ~ 1945	Population ~ 1990	Congregations ~ 1945	Congregations ~ 1990
Albania	1,115,350	3,138,100	450 clergy (1950)	0 clergy (1968)
Belarus	See Russia/ Soviet Union	10,190,000	967 churches (1958)	900 churches (1995)
Bulgaria	7,029,349 (1946)	8,487,317 (1992)	3,024 clergy	900 priests (1989)
Czechoslovakia	14,151,970 (0.5% Orthodox in 1950)	15,592,086 (0.4% Orthodox in 1991)	259 churches (1950)	143 churches (1987)
Estonia	See Russia/ Soviet Union	1,565,662 (1989)	123 churches (1958)	52 churches (1995)
Finland	68,000 Orthodox out of 4,030,000 total population (1950)	56,000 Orthodox out of 4,999,000 total population (1990)	33 churches (1945)	120 churches (1990)
Georgia	4,044,000 (1959)	5,400,800 (1989)	29 churches (1945)	200 churches (1980)
Greece	7,632,801 (1950)	10,264,156 (1991)	7,150 clergy (1946)	9,682 clergy (1988)
Latvia	See Russia/ Soviet Union	2,663,000	123 churches (1958)	100 churches (1995)
Lithuania	See Russia/ Soviet Union	3,674,802 (1989)	55 churches (1958)	45 churches (1990)
Macedonia	1,152,986 (1948)	2,033,964 (1991)	200 clergy	560 clergy
Moldova	See Russia/ Soviet Union	4,364,000	546 churches (1958)	190 churches (1995)
Romania	14,872,624 (1948)	22,810,035 (1992)	8,279 churches; 8,257 clergy (1930)	12,300 churches; 9,000 clergy (1989)

Country	Population ~ 1945	Population ~ 1990	Congregations ~ 1945	Congregations ~ 1990
Russia/Soviet Union	162 million total population in the Soviet Union (1937)	73,670,000 Orthodox (49.7%) out of 148,292,000 total population in Russia (1990)	73 dioceses, 74 bishops in office; about 20,000 clergy; about 18,000 churches; 67 monasteries and convents; about 10,000 monks and nuns (1945)	70 dioceses; 70 bishops in office; 8,100 clergy; 9,374 churches; 35 monasteries and convents (1989)
Serbia	6,973,000 (1948)	9,038,000 (1991)	22 bishops; 1,860 clergy; 2,643 churches and chapels; 129 monasteries (1953)	25 bishops; 2,000 clergy; 3,000 churches and chapels; 194 monasteries (1986)

Data from individual chapters in Lucian N. Leustean (ed.), Eastern Christianity and the Cold War, 1945-91 *(London: Routledge, 2010).*

The Politics of Eastern Christianity in the New Millennium

The transitional periods after the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe and the 1991 disintegration of the Soviet Union found churches in the region engaged with political regimes in various forms of church-state relations. As a general trend, the resurgence of religion in the public sphere took place across the former communist bloc. References to "religion" were included in national constitutions (Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and Russia), persecuted churches were officially recognized (for example, the Greek Catholic churches in Romania and Ukraine), new places of worship were erected (for example, the rebuilding of the Cathedral of Christ the Saviour in Moscow, which had been demolished on Stalin's orders in 1931), and religious and political leaders appeared together in support of national unity (Orthodox clergy became members of national parliaments in Belarus and Romania).[254]

[254] See also J. Garrard and C. Garrard, *Russian Orthodoxy Resurgent. Faith and Power in the New Russia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); A. Papanikolaou and E. Prodromou, eds., *Thinking Through Faith: New Perspectives from Orthodox Christian Scholars* (Crestwood, New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2008); M.D. Steinberg and C. Wanner, eds., *Religion, Morality, and Community in Post-Soviet Societies* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2008); Z. Knox, *Russian Society and the Orthodox Church. Religion in Russia after Communism* (London: Routledge, 2009); V. Roudometof and V.N. Makrides, eds., *Orthodox Christianity in 21st Century Greece: The Role of Religion in Culture, Ethnicity and Politics* (Farnham, U.K.: Ashgate, 2010); L. Stan and L. Turcescu, *Church, State, and Democracy in Expanding Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); I. Papkova, *The Orthodox Church and Russian Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); K. Richters, *The Post-Soviet Russian Orthodox Church. Politics, Culture and Greater Russia* (London: Routledge, 2014).

After the fall of communism, Orthodox churches have engaged in a "tiered" model of symphonia with the political realm:

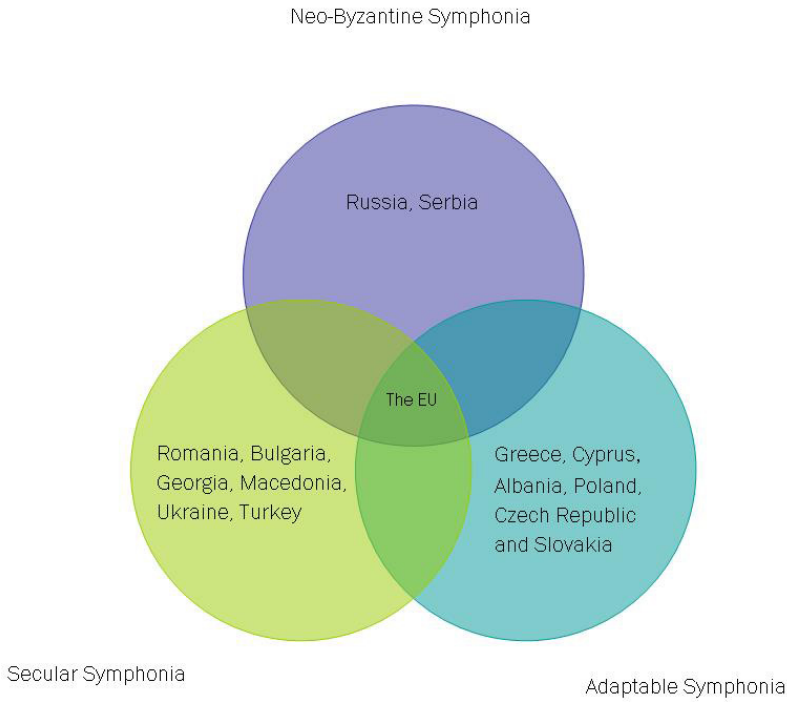
- *Neo-Byzantine symphonia*, in which church and political leaders cooperate closely in domestic and international affairs, such as in Russia and Serbia;
- *Secular symphonia*, influenced by the secular canopy of the European Union and its predominant cooperationist model of church-state relations, in which the links between church and state are clearly divided and party politics acquire religious tones, particularly during electoral disputes, such as in Bulgaria, Romania, Georgia, the Republic of Macedonia, and Ukraine; and
- *Adaptable symphonia*, situated between the neo-Byzantine and the secular models, present in countries with minor Orthodox churches, which fall under the influence of larger Orthodox churches and their patterns of church-state relations, such as Greece, Albania, Poland, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia.

The classification set out in Figure 1 shows that there is no general pattern of engagement with the political realm, as the "tiered" structure of symphonia intersects with various models of church-state relations. Church-state relations are influenced by national legislation on religion as well as the engagement of political actors in religious matters. The enlargement of the European Union and the increasing number of migrants to the West have a direct impact on the nature of symphonia. Diasporic communities have become key factors in winning electoral campaigns and preserving the authority of churches at home and abroad.[255] For example, while the Ecumenical Patriarchate is a small religious community in Turkey, numbering around only a few thousand faithful, its strong diaspora in the West strengthens its international influence. The European Union does not impose a specific model of church-state relations, encouraging instead religious diversity. As Figure 2 indicates, the European Union is situated at the intersection of the three models of symphonia and operates as an arbiter of church-state relations at the national level.

At the start of the new millennium, the political engagement of Eastern Christian churches with the liberal international order is visible in four main areas, namely the idea of Orthodox civilization, the churches' engagement with the European Union, the survival of Eastern Christian churches in the Middle East, and the 2016 Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church.

[255] L. Leustean, "A Romanian Religious Revolution: The Orthodox Church and the 2014 Presidential Election," *Transatlantic Academy* (November 18, 2014), http://www.transatlanticacademy.org/node/742.

Figure 2: Symphonia in Europe's Orthodox Christianity



Orthodox Civilization

The idea of a distinctly Orthodox civilization has emerged in the discourse of most Orthodox churches, with the strongest support first appearing in Russia and other churches following suit.[256] In Russia, both the state and the church have presented Orthodoxy as a unique civilization. In a comparable manner to its interventionism in the emerging Orthodox states in 19th century Southeastern Europe, Russia supports the Orthodox faithful affected by modern conflict, whether militarily as evident in Syria and Ukraine, or societal such as the widespread secularization of the European Union. In the latter case, the construction of Russian churches in Rome (on a hill opposite St. Peter's Basilica) and Paris (a disputed project overlooking the Seine near the Eiffel Tower, currently on hold) are not only symbolic displays of Russian

[256] In 1994, a "European Inter-parliamentary Assembly of Orthodoxy" was set up in Athens, bringing together members of parliaments from predominantly Orthodox countries in support of a forum within secular Europe to meet regularly in various European countries.

power but also further the idea that Orthodox civilization provides an alternative to the secularized West.

Examples of Russian rhetoric on Orthodoxy as a distinct civilization include:

- President Vladimir Putin's 2012 suggestion to involve the Russian Orthodox Church in the Eurasian Union integration project;
- statements by Patriarch Alexii II and Kirill's statements on the uniqueness of Orthodoxy, even suggesting the idea of implementing an "Orthodox democracy";[257]
- references to Orthodox civilization by Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov during the evolving conflict in Ukraine;
- the Moscow Patriarchate's proposal to establish "a multi-polar civilizational order" in which religion could play a strong role that emerged during the debates on including "God" and "religion" in the Preamble of the European Constitution;[258] and
- Patriarch Alexii II's 2007 speech to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in which he supported the "Orthodox tradition" within European Christianity.

The existence of Orthodox civilization is not restricted to countries where there are Orthodox faithful. In 2004, after Putin visited Cuba, the Castro regime built an Orthodox church in tribute to "the help given to them by the Soviet Union"; five years later, Raul Castro met Patriarch Kirill in Moscow in a sign of strengthening religious and political relations between Cuba and Russia. Furthermore, the Russian Foreign Ministry has supported the work of the Orthodox Church with supranational institutions. In 2005, the establishment of a United Nations Alliance of Civilizations found support in the church and the state. Four years later, in 2009, following a similar approach, the Russian Orthodox Church became directly involved in establishing a consultative UNESCO group on Peace and Dialogue of Cultures. Patriarch Kirill chaired the debates when the group met in Moscow.[259]

Russia's geopolitical interests closely follow religious and political lines as evident in the attempt to mediate the Serbian-Albanian conflict in Kosovo. Despite the unsuccessful 1999 visit of Patriarch Alexii II to Serbia, when he

[257] A. Curanović, *The Religious Factor in Russia's Foreign Policy* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 136-7.

[258] Ibid, pp. 145.

[259] Ibid, pp. 148-9.

met President Slobodan Milošević and Ibrahim Rugova, the leader of the Kosovo Albanians, the Russian and the Serbian churches have tightened their relations. Meetings between church and state authorities have taken place at times of religious and political conflict in other predominant Orthodox countries, such as Moldova, Ukraine, Cyrus, the Republic of Macedonia, and Montenegro.

The engagement of Orthodoxy as a distinct civilization goes further than mere political discourse, with the term "spiritual space" (*dukhovnoye prostranstvo*) being present in many documents relating to Russian foreign policy.[260] Thus, Orthodox civilization acquires a strategic position that needs to be defended, as for example in Ukraine and Transnistria, and nurtured, as for example where it exists in small communities amidst other civilizations, such as in the West, China, India, and Japan. Furthermore, the idea of a unique civilization has implications in local politics. Western sanctions against Russia have encouraged politicians to appeal to local popular support by presenting Orthodoxy as incompatible with the West. Anti-Westernism builds on the idea of a distinct Orthodox (and Russian) civilization that is threatened by the United States and the secularized European Union.[261]

Eastern Orthodoxy and the European Union

After the 1992 Maastricht Treaty, European Commission President Jacques Delors's call to search for "the heart and soul" of the European Union resonated among the European institutions. An initiative titled "A Soul for Europe: Ethics and Spirituality" was run by the European Parliament in the 1990s and early 2000s, while at the same time, the European Commission engaged in dialogue with a large number of "churches, religions, and communities of conviction." As a result, many churches have opened offices in Brussels and Strasbourg. In 1994, the Ecumenical Patriarchate opened a Liaison Office of the Orthodox Church to the European Union, a title that suggests that it represented the whole Orthodox commonwealth in relation to European institutions. However, in the following years, other churches opened their own representations, namely the Orthodox Church of Greece in 1998, the Russian Orthodox Church in 2002, and the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Church of Cyprus in 2007. In addition, the Serbian Orthodox Church appointed a representative working for the

[260] Ibid, p. 248. See also Alicja Curanović's chapter in this volume.

[261] See also V. Roudometof, *Globalization and Orthodox Christianity. The Transformation of a Religious Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2013); J. Anderson, *Conservative Christian Politics in Russia and the United States. Dreaming of Christian Nations* (London: Routledge, 2014); K. Stoeckl, *The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights* (London: Routledge, 2014); A. Brüning, "The Empire and the Desert. Eastern Orthodox Theologians about Church and Civilization" in P. Vos and O. Zijlstra, eds., *The Law of God. Exploring God and Civilization* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 84-104.

Church and Society Commission of the Conference of European Churches. In 2010, Orthodox leaders from these offices decided to set up a Committee of Representatives of Orthodox Churches to the European Union in an effort to coordinate a pan-Orthodox response to the political evolution of the European Union. Until then, the offices of Orthodox churches engaged in dialogue with European institutions mainly through the Conference of European Churches. The decision to establish their committee outside the Conference of European Churches denotes not only increasing tension with their ecumenical counterparts but also has wider consequences for the dialogue between Orthodox churches and European institutions, namely the promotion of a unique Orthodox civilization with its own religious and political values.

The enlargement of the European Union to include the predominantly Orthodox countries of Greece, Cyprus, Bulgaria, and Romania[262] was generally perceived in a positive light by their respective Orthodox churches. However, an increasing number of church leaders have shown dissatisfaction with the EU bureaucratic apparatus and have not hesitated to draw a parallel between the European Union and the Soviet Union. Paradoxically, the European Union seems to enforce national lines rather than encourage an integrative model of church-state relations. For example, while the process of secularization characterizes the dominant trend in most EU countries, in Romania the Orthodox Church is building a mega-Cathedral of National Salvation in Bucharest, while in Greece the church retains considerable influence in political affairs, with the government sworn in in the presence of the Archbishop of Athens.[263]

Perhaps most significantly, recent events in Ukraine have demonstrated that Eastern Christian churches remain divided not only on theological grounds but also with regard to political values. Conflict in Ukraine has taken an ideological form with a number of religious and political leaders affirming support for "European" as opposed to "Eurasian" values. Eurasianism, which places Orthodox Christianity, tradition, and nationalism at its very core, is considered by a number of scholars to influence the decision-making process in the Kremlin. Eurasianism regards itself not only in opposition to the values of the European Union but also encourages ultra-nationalist movements

[262] Greece became the tenth country to join the European Communities, the EU's predecessor, in 1981. Cyprus joined the EU in 2004 and Bulgaria and Romania in 2007. Among "candidate countries" currently negotiating EU membership or waiting to start are an additional three predominantly Orthodox countries: the Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia.

[263] Greece's current prime minister Alexis Tsipras, an avowed atheist, broke with tradition in January 2015 by taking a secular oath and inviting a more junior cleric for the swearing in of the rest of the cabinet. *Erasmus Religion and Public Policy Blog*, "Church and State in Greece: A Courteous Distance," *The Economist* (January 26, 2015), http://www.economist.com/blogs/erasmus/2015/01/church-and-state-greece .

across Europe, as evident in cross-party links between Russia, Hungary, Greece, and France. From this perspective, recent and on-going events in Ukraine have a wider transnational dimension that challenges the *status quo* of the international state system. Aleksandr Dugin, one of the leading theorists of Eurasianism, even promotes the idea of the dissolution of the nation-state and the establishment of a Eurasian transnational empire from Vladivostok to Austria, which opposes secular Western Europe.[264]

While political values in the European Union are under scrutiny, the EU enlargement process has raised awareness of the diversity of Eastern Christian churches. Eastern Christianity is no longer confined to the traditional centers of religious authority in Orthodox Christianity but also comprises a large number of religious bodies. By engaging in dialogue with European institutions, minor Eastern Christian churches have found support at the European and national levels. Furthermore, the concept of the freedom of religion is discussed within the liberal international framework of the European Union.

Eastern Christian Churches in the Middle East

The Middle East has been the scene of some of the most dramatic events regarding the persecution and survival of Eastern Christian churches during the post-Cold War period. While the majority of the population is Muslim, the Middle East brings together a diverse religious and ethnic composition including Christian communities belonging to large autocephalous non-Chalcedonian churches (the Coptic Orthodox Church and the Syrian Orthodox Church), many Greek Catholic churches (such as the Coptic Catholic Church, the Maronite Catholic Church, the Chaldean Catholic Church, and the Melkite Greek Catholic Church), and a distinct church, the Assyrian Church of the East (and its faction the Ancient Assyrian Church of the East), one of the world oldest churches, which dates back to the fourth century. In addition, three ancient autocephalous patriarchates (the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, and the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem) provide a direct link the wider Orthodox commonwealth (see Figure 1).

Political uncertainty in the region has affected not only daily church life but on the very structures of these churches to the extent that the existence of

[264] *The Economist*, "Eurasia and Religious Ultra-Nationalism. Beyond Hard-Line," *Erasmus Religion and Public Policy Blog (*September 5, 2014), http://www.economist.com/blogs/erasmus/2014/09/eurasia-and-religious-ultra-nationalism; and *The Local,* "Russian Nationalist's Vision for Austria," (January 30, 2015), http://www.thelocal.at/20150130/russian-nationalists-vision-for-austria.

Christianity in the region in the near future has been questioned.[265] Large numbers of refugees, displaced people, and migrants, from the wars in Iraq and Syria have brought major changes to the structure of the population. In 2014 and 2015, the advance of the self-proclaimed Islamic State has led to around 120,000 Christians relocating to Kurdish northern Iraq. Out of a total of 1.5 million Christians in Iraq, around 1 million have now left the country, leading one senior clergyman to say that "Every Christian wants to leave."[266]

The rewriting of religious boundaries amid religious persecution, kidnappings, and extreme violence have mobilized political regimes, as evident in the Egyptian military response against Libya after the killing of Coptic Christians by jihadists supporting the Islamic State.[267] Religious violence has affected not only the ordinary faithful but also religious leaders, such as the abductions of Mar Gregorios Yohanna Ibrahim of the Syrian Orthodox Church and Metropolitan Boulos Yazigi of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch in April 2013; their situations are still uncertain. International condemnation has done little to alleviate religious change in the Middle East. Notable examples of support for inter-religious dialogue in the Middle East have included in June 2014, the "Invocation for Peace" of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew and Pope Francis, who met together with Israeli President Shimon Peres and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas at the Vatican,[268] and in September 2014, the vigil of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, Imam Ibrahim Mogra, Rabbi Laura Janner-Klausner, and Ayatollah Sayed Fazel Milani outside Westminster Abbey.

The expectation in the West that the Arab Spring would encourage the development of a liberal international order in the Middle East has affected church-state relations, as Michael Leigh writes in his chapter. Military and political actions in the region are currently shaping not only the boundaries of nation-states but also Eastern Christian churches, whose presence remains unclear and fluctuates rapidly. Furthermore, the support of the Russian

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[265] G. Botelho, "Amid Killings and Kidnappings, Can Christianity Survive in the Middle East?," *CNN* (February 27, 2015), http://www.cnn.com/2015/02/27/middleeast/christianity-middle-east/.

[266] A. Scheller and A. Blumberg, "How Christianity is Disappearing in the Middle East in One Chart," *The Huffington Post* (May 23, 2014), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/05/23/chart-christianity-middle-east_n_5378582.html; and A. Blumberg, "Vicar of Baghdad Claims 'Every Christian Wants to Leave' Iraq as ISIS Approaches Capital City," *The Huffington Post* (September 30, 2014), http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/09/30/vicar-of-baghdad-christians-isis_n_5906508.html.

[267] J. Mullen, "Egyptian Warplanes Bomb ISIS Targets in Libya After Killings of Christians," *CNN* (February 16, 2015), http://www.cnn.com/2015/02/16/middleeast/isis-libya-egypt/.

[268] The Catholic World Report, "Remarks by Pope Francis, Shimon Peres, Mahmoud Abbas, from yesterday's Invocation for Peace" (June 9, 2014), http://www.catholicworldreport.com/Blog/3178/remarks_by_pope_francis_shimon_peres_mahmoud_abbas_from_yesterdays_invocation_for_peace.aspx and "Archbishop joins multi-faith peace vigil for Iraq," (September 3, 2014), http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/articles.php/5402/iraq-archbishop-stands-with-faith-leaders-at-joint-peace-vigil-in-london.

Orthodox Church for the Greek Orthodox patriarchates demonstrates the complexity of actors involved in shaping the future of religion and international order in the Middle East.

The 2016 Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church

In March 2014, the heads of the Eastern Orthodox churches met under the leadership of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew in Istanbul, the *primus inter pares* of the Eastern Orthodox world, and announced that it would hold the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church in 2016. The announcement was unexpected. Preparations for the Synod date back to the 1920s. However, the last two decades have constantly been fused with jurisdictional tension between Orthodox churches, particularly between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Russian Orthodox Church. The very presence of the Russian Patriarch in Istanbul, meeting his counterparts, was surprising and a sign that the churches were working toward alleviating disputes. The Synod can be seen as a successor to the Seventh Ecumenical Council of the Eastern Orthodox Church, also known as the Second Council of Nicaea, which took place more than a millennium ago, in 787. The proposed 2016 Synod will not only be a large inter-church meeting but also has wider implications for church-state relations in the region, particularly in the following areas.

The Composition of the Synod: An international balance of religious authority seems to have been reached between two groups of churches around the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Russian Orthodox Church. Each autocephalous church will send a delegation of primates (the head of each church) and 24 bishops. At the same time, autonomous churches, which are under the jurisdiction of a larger autocephalous church, will send representatives; however, they will abstain from the voting process.[269] There are three exceptions in the cases of church leaders who refused to sign the 2014 Synod declaration and their attendance is unclear at this stage: the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, due to jurisdictional conflict with the Jerusalem Patriarchate over a community in Qatar; the Church of the Czech Lands and Slovakia, whose leader is contested by the Ecumenical Patriarchate due to his pro-Russian views; and the Orthodox Church in America, whose autocephaly granted by the Moscow Patriarchate in 1970 is not recognized by a number of Orthodox churches.

The bringing together of churches around the two main players, namely the Russian Church *versus* the Ecumenical Patriarchate, follows the ideological

[269] C. Hovorun, "The Fragile Promise of the Pan-Orthodox Council," *The Catholic World Report* (March 14, 2014), http://www.catholicworldreport.com/Item/3001/the_fragile_promise_of_the_panorthodox_council.aspx

rhetoric of Cold War politics. Throughout the Cold War period in particular, the Ecumenical Patriarchate had the support of the large U.S. Orthodox diaspora. The legacy of the public support of U.S. President Harry S. Truman for Patriarch Atenagoras has continued to shape the ways in which the Patriarchate engages with the West.

The dynamics between the two groups are complicated by the continuing unfolding of events in the Middle East and Ukraine. In the Middle East, the refusal of the Antioch Church to sign the 2014 document demonstrates that the jurisdictional lines between churches will continue to have a far-reaching impact. For example, the jurisdiction over the Orthodox faithful in Syria and Iraq is unclear.

In Ukraine, the situation is far more complex. Ukraine currently has three competing Ukrainian Orthodox churches which emerged after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (as well as the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, which recognizes the Pope's primacy). The pro-European stance of the Maidan protests in Kyiv has been strongly supported by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church while the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate was perceived to support the policies of the Kremlin. The growing anti-Russian sentiment in Ukraine has led to suggestions that the largest Orthodox communities (the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate and/or the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate), should declare autocephaly. As a result, this church could become the second largest Orthodox church, after the Russian Orthodox Church. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate has already asked for recognition from the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Until now, the Patriarchate has been neutral, recognizing instead only the Ukrainian churches in diaspora. The decision to announce the 2016 Synod could be interpreted as a wish to maintain the *status quo* in Ukraine with the Russian Orthodox Church and the Ecumenical Patriarchate refraining for the time being from recognizing new churches and from condemning Russia's takeover of Crimea.

The Topics of Discussions: At the time of writing this chapter, the topics of discussion have not yet been made public.[270] In 2014, it became clear that two items will not be discussed in 2016, namely the ways in which autonomy is granted and the order of honor of local churches. These items proved to be highly contentious throughout the 20th century. Instead, churches have agreed

[270] A list published by the Diocese of Great Britain and Ireland of the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia in 2013 shows the previously agreed topics: "1. The Orthodox Diaspora; 2. The way in which autocephaly is granted; 3. The way in which autonomy is granted; 4. The diptychs (the order of honor of the Local Churches); 5. The Church calendar; 6. Canonical impediments to marriage; 7. Fasting; 8. Relationships with the heterodox denominations; 9. The ecumenical movement; 10. The contribution of Orthodox to affirming peace, brotherhood, and freedom," available at http://orthodoxengland.org.uk/panorth.htm

to hold an Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Committee, which will meet from September 2014 to April 2015 to detail the topics for discussion.

The proposed topics will not fundamentally change any theological areas that could deepen strain between churches. However, there is one item whose legacy could influence relations between churches in the new millennium, namely the diaspora of Orthodox churches. Decisions taken on clarifying the issue of the diaspora could subsequently lead to major changes in Eastern Christianity, particularly on the granting of autocephaly and the order of honor of local churches. The Fourth Pan-Orthodox Preconciliar Conference held in Chambésy, near Geneva, in 2009 proposed the establishment of regional Assemblies of Bishops. As a result, one year later, the Assembly of Canonical Orthodox Bishops in North and Central America was founded. Similarly, in 2010, an Episcopal Assembly of the British Isles brought together 13 Orthodox bishops in the United Kingdom and Ireland. The large number of migrants from Greece, Bulgaria, and Romania living elsewhere in the European Union complicates the matter with unclear jurisdictional lines. For example, the decision of the Romanian Orthodox Church to ask their faithful living abroad to attend only Romanian churches raised protest from the local communities and other churches.

Relations with the Catholic and Protestant Churches: Although discussions during the March 2014 meeting announcing the Synod did not make reference to other Christian churches, the dialogue between Orthodox churches and their Catholic and Protestant counterparts is considered significant. Relations with the Roman Catholic Church strengthened after the signing of the Declaration of Ravenna in October 2007, which tackled a sensitive issue for Christian churches, namely ecclesiastical communion or mutual church recognition. The Declaration stated that "Rome, as the Church that 'presides in love' according to the phrase of Saint Ignatius of Antioch (*To the Romans*, *Prologue*), occupied the first place in the *taxis*, and that the bishop of Rome was therefore the *protos* among the patriarchs."[271] In March 2013, for the first time in the history of relations between the Orthodox and Catholic churches, Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew attended Pope Francis' installation in Rome, a gesture that has been interpreted as having consequences for both the honorary order of churches and Orthodox-Catholic dialogue.

[271] Joint International commission for the Theological Dialogue Between the Roman Catholic church and the Orthodox Church, "Ecclesiological and Canonical Consequences of the Sacramental Nature of the Church: Ecclesial Communion, Conciliarity and Authority," (October 13, 2007), http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/chrstuni/ch_orthodox_docs/rc_pc_chrstuni_doc_20071013_documento-ravenna_en.html. For a list of meetings between Popes and Ecumenical Patriarchs, see https://www.patriarchate.org/press/-/asset_publisher/wfpdvmLXgl9l/content/visits-of-ecumenical-patriarchs-to-rome-and-popes-to-the-ecumenical-patriarchate

While Patriarch Bartholomew has held many meetings with his Catholic counterpart, relations are tense between the Russian Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church. The Synod does not aim to discuss the Greek Catholic churches and their role in the nation-building process, a move which supports Russian jurisdiction in Ukraine, home of the largest Greek Catholic Church in the world. After the fall of communism, distrust developed around the issue of property restitution, which significantly affected the Greek Catholic churches.

Furthermore, Orthodox churches have had a difficult relationship with ecumenical organizations. In 1997, the Georgian Orthodox Church left the World Council of Churches and the Conference of European Churches; one year later, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church followed suit. In 2008, the Russian Orthodox Church withdrew its participation from the Conference of European Churches due to jurisdictional conflict with the Ecumenical Patriarchate over churches in Estonia. The relocation of the headquarters of the Conference of European Churches from Geneva to Brussels in 2014 and the holding of the 2016 Synod could provide a basis for the Russian reintegration into the Conference of European Churches.

The Diversity of Eastern Christianity: The 2016 Synod could be perceived as a forum for the engagement of churches with the process of globalization and, more widely, with the diversity of Eastern Christianity. As Table 2 shows, Eastern Christianity now comprises at least 262 million faithful who are not only confined to churches in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states but inhabit a wide geographical area in which religious boundaries shift continuously. Autonomous churches become autocephalous, religious missions extend the influence of national churches, and the re-emergence of persecuted churches have reshaped traditional church-state relations. It is perhaps surprising that Oriental churches are not included in discussions, although they retain a significant number of faithful. For example, the Ethiopian Orthodox Tawehedo Church has the largest number of clergy in the whole of Eastern Christianity, while many Eastern Christian churches in Syria, China, and India have not fully publicized the number of their faithful for local religious and political reasons.

Transatlantic Policy Considerations

The legacy of communism has influenced post-1989 church-state relations in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet states. Since 1989, the concept of symphonia in its tiered models (neo-Byzantine, secular, and adaptable) has reasserted itself at the core of church-state relations in Eastern Christianity. Persecuted churches have officially been reestablished while traditional centers of religious power have aimed to strengthen their links to state

Table 2: Eastern Christianity in Numbers, 2014

Eastern Christian Churches	Church members	Clergy
The Ecumenical Patriarchate (data for all jurisdictions)	5,255,000	n/a
The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch	542,000	n/a
The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem	39,000	n/a
The Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Alexandria	10,000	n/a
The Russian Orthodox Church	107,210,100	33,174
The Serbian Orthodox Church	8,500,000	2,000
The Romanian Orthodox Church	18,800,000	14,530
The Bulgarian Orthodox Church	5,758,301	1,280
The Georgian Orthodox Church	3,835,013	1,000
The Orthodox Church of Cyprus	553,635	707
The Orthodox Church of Greece	10,744,390	8,515
The Polish Orthodox Church	509,500	284
The Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania	190,483	149
The Orthodox Church of the Czech Lands and Slovakia	75,605	187
Eastern churches in America (data for all jurisdictions)	1,043,800	n/a
The Church of the Sinai	800	n/a
The Finnish Orthodox Church (Ecumenical Patriarchate)	58,000	43
The Estonian Apostolic Orthodox Church (Ecumenical Patriarchate)	27,000	31
The Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate	4,092,045	9,922
The Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Kyiv Patriarchate	5,593,713	3,088
The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church	375,417	730
The Latvian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate)	285,039	88
The Estonian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate)	200,000	39
Orthodox churches in Moldova	3,383,332	n/a

Eastern Christian Churches	Church members	Clergy
The Macedonian Orthodox Church	1,310,184	850
The Belarusian Orthodox Church	4,618,137	1,485
The Orthodox Church in Lithuania	125,189	47
Orthodox faithful in China	13,000	n/a
The Orthodox Church in Japan	30,000	n/a
Eastern churches in Australia (data for all jurisdictions)	583,986	n/a
The Armenian Apostolic Church	11,030,400	500
The Ethiopian Orthodox Tawehedo Church	32,138,126	190,000
The Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Church	3,128,000	15,000
The Syrian Orthodox Church	500,000	n/a
The Coptic Orthodox Church	5,000,000	n/a
Syrian churches in India	8,000,000	n/a
The Holy Apostolic Catholic Assyrian Church of the East	400,000	n/a
Eastern Catholic churches	17,539,432	n/a
Other Eastern churches	1,000,000	n/a
Eastern Christianity: Total	262,498,627	

(approximate numbers; n/a = data not available). Data has been collected from individual chapters in Lucian N. Leustean (ed.), Eastern Christianity and Politics in the Twenty-First Century *(London: Routledge, 2014); Barnett et al (eds.),* Encyclopedia of World Christianity *(Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); and Ronald G. Roberson, "The Eastern Catholic Churches 2014," Annuario Pontificio, published on the website of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association (CNEWA). If unofficial church figures are included, such as around 164.1 million for the Russian Orthodox Church, Eastern Christianity counts over 319 million faithful.*

structures. Churches that engaged with communist authorities during the Cold War period have emerged in an advantageous position; while retaining public support from the faithful, they have also benefitted from access to state funding at domestic and foreign policy levels.

The main actors in Eastern Christianity remain the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the Russian Orthodox Church, between whom divisions and jurisdictional tension are likely to continue. The Moscow Patriarchate has championed the idea of a distinctly Orthodox civilization based on "traditional values," which challenges the European Union's models of church-state relations, the secularism and liberalism of European societies, and indeed the liberal international order. Russia's support for the idea of a unique

Orthodox civilization relates to its claim to great power status, as Alicja Curanović details in her chapter.

Orthodox churches have held an ambivalent position toward the political construction of the European Union. While many church leaders have supported their country's EU membership, they feared the spread of secular values among the faithful and the diminishment of their authority. At times of acute economic strain, churches have been praised for their social engagement, as evident in regular welfare activities recently in Greece.

The decision to hold the Holy and Great Synod of the Orthodox Church in 2016, which was agreed by the heads of the autocephalous churches at the time of Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014, may be seen as having religious and political consequences. The 2016 Synod will not address competing church jurisdictions in Ukraine while, at the same time, Russia's takeover of Crimea has not been unanimously condemned by Orthodox churches. The 2016 Synod represents an opportunity for churches to engage with the liberal international order. While the final topics of discussion are still to be decided, the issue of diasporas, which is due to be addressed, will have wide ramifications for the structure of Eastern Christianity. The enlargement of the European Union enabled the transnational movement of Orthodox faithful, blurring jurisdictional lines. Who has authority over the faithful in Western Europe, America, Asia, and Australia? Will new churches be recognized as part of the wider Orthodox communion of churches? How will inter-church relations develop after the 2016 Synod? Furthermore, will the Synod encourage a new Catholic-Orthodox rapprochement as evident in unprecedented relations between Pope Francis and Patriarch Bartholomew? These are open and complex questions to be addressed in the future.

Inter-church relations have demonstrated that Orthodoxy has moved closer to Catholicism than ever before. Relations with Protestantism are another matter. While significant contact between Orthodox and Protestant churches took place during the interwar and Cold War periods, the ordination of women into the Church of England has raised a major barrier between them. Furthermore, the process of electing the religious leadership has placed Orthodox churches at odds with their counterparts. In an exceptional move, with the retirement of Pope Benedict XVI, the Catholic world has given a signal that the highest authority in the church (the pope/patriarch) could become "emeritus." In Protestant churches, the highest authority serves only for a number of years, such as in the Church of England where the Archbishop of Canterbury is not elected for life. Will Orthodox leaders adopt a similar model? By engaging with churches deeply seated within the

liberal international order, the Orthodox world will not be immune to wider transformations in the Christian world.

The number of Eastern Christian faithful is contested and continues to have a long-term impact on church-state relations. For example, a united Ukrainian church may have 30 million faithful, thus becoming the second largest church in Eastern Christianity. The Russian Orthodox Church currently lists this figure under its jurisdiction while the latest sociological polls in Ukraine shows that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church – Moscow Patriarchate has, in fact, only around 4 million faithful. Similarly, the number of Eastern Christians in the Middle East is uncertain. For example, the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate of Antioch, based in Syria, unofficially counts over 4 million faithful compared to only half a million according to Syrian state records. Political challenges in the Middle East will continue to be closely related to the survival of Eastern Christian churches, affecting the very existence of these churches and, more widely, the future of inter-religious dialogue.

Eastern Christianity provides one of the most fascinating examples of church-state relations in the modern world and its diversity should be taken into account by religious leaders and policymakers. It is the religious and political diversity of Eastern Christianity, both at home and abroad, that shape its future in transatlantic society and politics.

X. The Guardians of Traditional Values: Russia and the Russian Orthodox Church in the Quest for Status

Alicja Curanović

Introduction

On December 4, 2014, in his annual state-of-the-nation address to the Federal Assembly, Russian President Vladimir Putin pointed to traditional values as being one of the country's policy priorities. In the same speech, he praised Russia "for honorably defending truth and justice" in the face of the Ukrainian crisis. Finally, Putin said that while for many European states national pride was a long-forgotten notion, for Russia it was a cornerstone of its existence. Although traditional values, justice, and a sense of pride might seem unrelated, they form a new distinctive ideological framework for Russian politics.[272]

The central notion is "traditional values," which, according to the leading figures of Russia's political elite, forms the basis for Russia's politics. The ongoing retraditionalization of the Russian public sphere manifests itself in a tendency to define Russia's activity in the international arena in terms of moral duty. This explains the significance of categories such as justice and truth. Finally, national pride or, more precisely, *wounded* national pride, is one of the reasons why this shift toward traditional values in the Russian Federation has been seen in the first place. As a consequence of the humiliation caused by the failed attempts in the 1990s to catch up with the West, Russia began to stress

[272] This chapter was previously published in February 2015 as a Transatlantic Academy Policy Paper under the same title. It is based on a presentation at the Transatlantic Academy's October 29, 2014 workshop on "Orthodox Christianity and Foreign Policy" held in Bucharest, Romania, in cooperation with the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation of The German Marshall Fund of the United States.

the need to follow its own path of modernization. Emphasizing its uniqueness became a means of obtaining the status of an equal to the West.

Traditional values are usually defined in contrast to modern or post-modern values. According to Ronald Inglehart and Wayne Baker, traditional values manifest themselves in the approach to three issues: religion, family, and gender.[273] In societies committed to traditional values, religion plays a significant role. Members of these societies show a low tolerance for abortion, suicide, homosexuality, or divorce and consider family life to be highly valuable (e.g. characterized by the common conviction that children must make parents proud and are obliged to love unconditionally). The public sphere is dominated by men and paternalism is strong. The prominence of traditional values in social life strengthens nationalistic attitudes. In traditional societies, respect for authority and hierarchy translates into deference to the authority of God, Family, and Homeland.

The shift some societies have made to traditional values in the post-modern era is usually interpreted as a reaction to the cultural pressure exercised by the West and/or a serious socio-economic crisis that undermined the foundations of social stability. As regards the Russian Federation, both factors appeared in the 1990s and paved the way for the traditionalist reorientation. This tendency did not escape the Kremlin's notice and so, since the end of the 1990s, the authorities carefully encouraged it and used retraditionalization as a source of legitimacy.

The political effects of retraditionalization cannot be correctly assessed without taking into consideration the role of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC). The Church is the most important partner the Russian state has in promoting traditional values. The high and stable level of declared adherence to Orthodox Christianity (over 60 percent) and the high level of social confidence in the Church (approximately 66 percent) make the ROC a key social institution with a significant impact on the public sphere. The noticeable rapprochement of Church and state in post-Soviet Russia has solid foundations, and reviving traditional values is just one of the shared objectives of the ROC and the Kremlin. The effects of retraditionalization are noticeable not only in domestic affairs but can also be observed in Russia's foreign policy.

This paper starts with the presentation of a general framework of the rapprochement of Church and state in Russia. This is followed by the characterization of the public narrative on traditional values and examples of the rhetoric of "traditional values" in Russia's foreign policy. It concludes

[273] R. Inglehart and W.E. Baker, "Modernization, Cultural Change, and the Persistence of Traditional Values," *American Sociological Review,* 65.1 (2000), pp. 19-51.

with a possible interpretation of Russia's traditionalist shift and some thoughts on the issue of whether Russian society is likely to fully embrace the retraditionalization encouraged by the authorities.

The Foundations of the Church-State Rapprochement in the Russian Federation

If one compares the situation of the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) in the beginning of the 1990s with its present status, it is plain how far the Church has come and what a significant change Church-state relations have undergone in Russia. With the fall of the Soviet Union, the ROC regained freedom but none of the privileges it had enjoyed before the October Revolution. Although people started to show more interest in religion, this initially did not result in substantial state support. Soon enough, the benefits of religious freedom and pluralism were assessed by the ROC to be a threat to its own position. It turned out that other religious communities (e.g. various Protestant churches) were often better adapted to the new circumstances and more efficient in fulfilling believers' expectations. In order to face the growing competition, the Moscow Patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church under Patriarch Aleksy II (1990-2008) decided to seek refuge under the state's wing. Meanwhile the political elites, who faced a serious legitimization crisis, were looking for a way to strengthen their mandate. The Kremlin recognized the potential in supporting the ROC, an institution perceived positively by the majority of Russians. These complementary interests provided the first incentives for a Church-state rapprochement.

The political crisis of 1993[274] gave the ROC a chance to play the role of mediator between disputing parties. President Boris Yeltsin accepted Aleksy II's invitation to talks between the president's representatives and the rebel parliament members in the Danilov Monastery in Moscow. The Church's neutral stance in a time of domestic conflict allowed it to gain the confidence of society and the gratitude of politicians, including the president himself. These two factors contributed to the changes introduced to the Religious Freedom Act in 1997. Despite protests from many religious communities and concerns expressed by U.S. President Bill Clinton and Pope John Paul II, Yeltsin signed the bill, which significantly limited the scope of activity of religious institutions. The amended act acknowledged a special role for the ROC and the existence of four "traditional" religions in Russia — Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, and Judaism. In practice, this list of "traditional" religions

[274] Disputes around the shape of the new constitution resulted in a political stand-off between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and the Russian parliament. The crisis was resolved by the use military force ordered by Yeltsin.

was narrowed to particular religious institutions, e.g. the Russian Orthodox Church representing Christianity and the Gelug School within Buddhism.

The introduction of the category of "traditional" religions undermined the constitutional principal of the equality of all religious institutions. However, during Putin's first two presidential terms (2000-08), rhetoric, symbols, and gestures of cordiality dominated over actual privileges granted to religious communities. The turning point was the presidency of Dmitry Medvedev (2008-12), in which most of the Russian Orthodox Church's demands were met by the state. In December 2009, military chaplains were introduced in the Russian army. A year later, the new law on the "Return of Property of a Religious Character Held by the State or the Municipalities to Religious Organizations" came into force. In 2011, religious faculties and seminars were granted state accreditation for granting academic titles and degrees. Finally, after several pilot projects in 2012, religion was introduced into school curriculums ("Basis of Religious Cultures and Secular Ethics").[275]

During his third presidential term, Putin has continued the course toward closer cooperation with "traditional" religions. This is possibly an expression of his gratitude for the support religious leaders lent to him in the face of mass protests in winter 2011-12. During the February 2012 demonstrations, Putin met with representatives of all "traditional" religions at the residence of the Patriarch of Moscow and All Rus. The president acknowledged that the state had a debt to pay to religious organizations. He therefore assured them he would personally support a faster restitution of real estate; additionally, 3.5 billion rubles were to be allocated to renovation projects and assurances were made that the voice of the Church will have a greater presence in the media. Putin thus presented the "traditional" religious institutions with the benefits they could expect if they stayed loyal. Eventually, in contrast to 1993, the ROC did not play the role of a politically neutral national reconciler in 2012 but discreetly sided with the Kremlin.

Church-state relations, which have been reshaped in the Russian Federation since 1991, carry three distinctive features. Two of them have already been mentioned. One is the constitutional principle of a secular state — which is however weakened by the second one, the category of "traditional" religions, which enjoy certain privileges inaccessible to other (non-traditional) religious institutions. However, these benefits come at the price of loyalty to the political authorities. "Traditional" religions are expected to support state policies and to strengthen the mandate of the ruling elites. The freedom to

[275] Primary school pupils in the fourth and fifth grades can choose among six modules: Orthodox Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism, World Religions, and Ethics.

act that religious institutions wield therefore rather resembles a "license to preach" granted by the Kremlin under the condition of loyalty and usefulness. The "license" is a third feature of church-state relations in Russia.

For obvious reasons (number of adherents, size of infrastructure, historical role, etc.) the Russian Orthodox Church occupies a central place in the Kremlin's policy. The ROC and the state cooperate in selected areas of the public sphere — this cooperation has been called a "social partnership." It encompasses the Church's service in the army, detention and social care centers, schools, orphanages, and homes for the elderly. Within the framework of the social partnership, the ROC has developed a network of contacts with state organs and institutions (e.g. the Federal Migration Service, the Federal Treasury, the Federal Prosecutor's Office, the Ministry of Health, and the Customs Office), which are secured by bilateral contracts regulating the scope, goals, and principles of this cooperation.

In the sphere of foreign policy, the close cooperation that Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) and the country's "traditional" religious institutions undertake beyond Russia's borders constitutes "religious diplomacy."[276] An expert working group of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the ROC has held regular sessions since 2003. This cooperation is encouraged by Sergei Lavrov, foreign minister since 2004, who has repeatedly declared his support for the renewal of historical ties (dating back to the Tsarist era) between the ministry and ROC. As a result, joint delegations and an exchange of information between diplomats of both organizations take place on a regular basis.[277]

The fact that the ROC and the ruling elites share many views is the driving force for Russia's religious diplomacy. The Church, as with the state, perceives the post-Soviet territory as a sphere of exclusive Russian influence. The ROC is therefore one of the main supporters of the Kremlin's integration concepts, including the Eurasian Economic Union, as well as initiatives aimed at strengthening the Russian diaspora, e.g. the *Russkiy Mir* (Russian World) Foundation. Both the Church and state describe Russia as a distinctive civilization and increasingly often define it in opposition to the West.[278] Both

[276] Religious diplomacy can be described as a state activity consisting of the use of a religious factor in foreign policy; that is, the whole set of mechanisms of the state's cooperation with religious associations in the pragmatically defined national interest, use of the international activity of religious institutions, ideas, and religious symbols (appropriately interpreted for realization of current political aims).

[277] The future diplomats of the MFA and the ROC have gone through the same professional training since 2013, when the Moscow Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) allowed the enrollment of priests for doctoral studies.

[278] The Eurasian Economic Union is presented as a means to transform the post-Soviet space from the global periphery to a sovereign civilizational pole. See Putin's 2013 Valdai Discussion Club Speech: Valdai Discussion Club, "Vladimir Putin Meets with Members the Valdai International Discussion Club. Transcript of the Speech and Beginning of the Meeting," (September 20, 2013), http://valdaiclub.com/politics/62880.html.

parties voice concern about the unbalanced global dominance of the United States and call for a multipolar world order. In this context, the Kremlin talks about strategic partnership with India and China, which is paralleled by the ROC's concept of a Russian alliance with "traditional" civilizations, i.e. China, India, and Iran.

Traditional values are another issue that brings together the Kremlin and the ROC. It provides the main ideological framework for church-state rapprochement in both domestic and international spheres.

The Main Features of Traditional Values in Russian Discourse

After the failure of the transformation of the 1990s, a large part of Russia's political elites, including the ruling party and the Putin-Medvedev "tandem," believe that Russia must not copy Western system solutions but instead adapt them in accordance with its own tradition, national character, mentality, etc. One of the well-known harbingers of this shift was the concept of "sovereign democracy" coined by political operative Vladislav Surkov and embraced by the Kremlin after the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004-05.[279] Although this notion later disappeared from the main government agenda, the basic logic behind this reasoning persisted, i.e. that Russia must stay true to its political tradition in order to succeed in its modernization efforts, which also meant that the Russian Federation must not be judged according to Western standards. Promoting the idea of Russia's own understanding of democracy also meant emphasizing its independence from the West. What is more, the Kremlin began marking the division line in terms of cultural and civilizational differences.

It was therefore no coincidence that "sovereign democracy" was followed by the concept of the "*Russkiy Mir*" (Russian World). According to the definition presented by the Russkiy Mir Foundation (established by President Putin in 2007), the phrase refers to a community of ethnic Russians and citizens of the Russian Federation of non-Russian ethnic origin, the Russian Diaspora, foreigners speaking Russian, and all the people who express concern about Russia's future. In Patriarch Kirill's words, "*Russkiy Mir* is a community based on the Orthodox faith and the Russian culture and language, as well as a common historical memory and a model of socio-economical development."[280] In practice, *Russkiy Mir* coincides with Russia's sphere of cultural influence, whose borders correspond, by and large, to the post-Soviet territory.

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[279] The Orange Revolution refers to a series of protests against rigged presidential elections that, eventually, led to new elections and the victory of opposition parties in Ukraine.

[280] Russian Orthodox Church, "Russkii mir: puti ukrepleniya i razvitiya," (November 3, 2009), https://mospat.ru/church-and-time/4.

A logical consequence of presenting Russia as a distinctive civilizational universe was to define Russia's own set of values as different from the Western ones. Constructing Russia's values in contrast to those of the West is one of two characteristic features of the Russian discourse on traditional values. However, it should be noted that in the Russian tradition, Western values are not always synonymous with European ones. In the public narrative, Russia is sometimes presented as the defender of the old (true) European values, which have almost been lost in Western societies. This kind of differentiation between good, virtuous Europe (true to its tradition and original virtues) and the bad, debased, and materialistic West is deeply rooted in Russia's identity.[281]

A good example of this tendency could be found in Putin's speech delivered to the participants of the Valdai Discussion Club Summit in September 2013. Putin juxtaposed Russia — a country faithful to traditional values — with Euroatlantic states that have ostensibly abandoned their true moral roots. He went on to identify traditional values exclusively with religious values.[282] And that is the second feature of the narrative on traditional values in Russia: it comes with a wide-spread conviction that, if one wants to learn about true Russian tradition, one should refer to Russian Orthodoxy. In short, the efficiency of Russian modernization is conditioned by the revival of tradition, which in turn is identified with religion.

This is, for instance, also the main thesis of so called "dynamic conservatism"[283] ("social patriotism") hailed *inter alia* by the Kremlin's United Russia party and the World Russian People's Council.[284] Traditional (read: religious) values have found their place also in the agenda of the Russian parliament, the State Duma. The protection of traditional values and the preservation of Russia's moral identity are the main goals of the Parliamentary Cross-Party Group for the Defense of Christian Values. This body was established in 2012 and its work is coordinated by Sergei Gavrilov (the

[281] Sergei Karaganov, one of the leading Russian political scientists, remarked that Europe "is also worried by Moscow's readiness to defend the old European values such as Christianity, the family, the state, nationalism, and sovereignty, which are still supported by most Europeans, while their elites are rejecting them or trying to leave them behind. The overwhelming majority of other nations share these traditional values as well." S. Karaganov, "The Watershed Year: Interim Results," *Russia in Global Affairs* (December 18, 2014), http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/The-Watershed-Year-Interim-Results-17210. See V. Morozov, *Russia and the Others: Identity and Boundaries of a Political Community* (in Russian) (Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2009).

[282] Vladimir Putin stated that defending Christian values is the only right thing a state can do. He also argued that the unilateral global order, which was being forced on other countries by the West, was against the nature of a world variety given by God. Putin's 2013 Valdai Discussion Club Speech.

[283] The notion was promoted by the authors of the book "Russian Doctrine" (called also *sergiejvski projekt*).

[284] The World Russian People's Council was established in 1993 at the initiative of Patriarch Aleksy II. It is an international organization that seeks to gather people who are concerned over Russia's faith. Council sessions are attended by governmental representatives, leaders of public associations, clergy, science and culture figures, and delegates of Russian communities from the near and far abroad.

Communist Party) and Sergei Popov (United Russia). Regular meetings bring together members of the group with representatives of the ROC.

The Moscow Patriarchate has so far been the most influential promoter of traditional values in Russia. Equally unsurprisingly, the Church considers religious faith the foundation of traditional values. In this context, one of the initiatives of the ROC most fraught with consequences is a document entitled "The Basic Values: the Fundaments of National Unity" issued by the World Russian People's Council on May 26, 2011.[285] This document was prepared by the Synodal Department for Church-Society Cooperation, and, if we can believe the head of this department, Vsevolod Chaplin, the text was the result of discussion with political parties and different social groups. In order to specify traditional values, which previously had been used in general terms, the document provides a catalogue of 17 values: faith; justice (meaning "the rightful place of a nation in the international community," i.e. status); peace; freedom (limited by moral obligations); unity (of different ethnic groups, social classes, political groups); morality; dignity; honesty; patriotism (defined as love for homeland, nation, culture, respect for history; readiness for self-sacrifice); solidarity; mercy; family; culture and national tradition (characterized as respect for one's own culture and the tradition of others); prosperity (material and spiritual); diligence; self-limitation (resignation from consumption); and devotion (to the homeland and nation).

The combination of freedom, unity, patriotism, the family, and a sense of devotion fits well into the framework of traditional values created by Inglehart and Baker. Laws enacted in recent years in the Russian Federation banning propaganda of non-traditional sexual relations among minors (2013) or the use of profanity in the arts and media (2014) are symptoms of the ongoing retraditionalization. Oleg Mikheev, member of parliament from the party Just Russia (*Spraviedlivaya Rossiya*) even appealed to ban shoes with high heels and flat soles (popularly known as "ballet flats"). Such initiatives and laws illustrate the state's efforts to shape public morality in an increasingly rigid (and invasive) manner, patronizing and infantilizing citizens.

From the perspective of the ruling elites, Russians should show deference to the authority of Homeland, Family, and God, precisely in that order. The Russian top-to-bottom approach to strengthening traditional views and attitudes is foremost about authority, hierarchy, legitimization, and national identity. From the perspective of the Kremlin, religion is important as an integrative element of tradition and as a source of moral norms. The

[285] Russian Orthodox Church, "Bazisnyye tsennosti — osnova obshchenatsional'noy identichnosti" (May 26, 2011), http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/1496038.html.

transcendent aspect of religion is deliberately dismissed by the authorities.[286] Too much religious fervor could cause tensions and potentially foster extremism in a multiethnic and multi-religious country. Therefore, despite the catalogue created by the ROC, "traditional values" remain a vague notion in Russian discourse, which serves the Kremlin's political goals better (i.e. strengthening the regime's mandate and integrating and mobilizing society).

The Moral Factor in Russia's Foreign Policy

An analysis of public statements made by Foreign Minister Lavrov shows that retraditionalization has appeared also in Russia's foreign policy discourse. In 2012, Lavrov said that foreign policy should be guided by religious (traditional) values.[287] A year later, the foreign minister warned that attempts to undermine the system of traditional values presented a serious threat to the international order.[288] In June 2014, during the Ukraine crisis, he claimed that the new tensions in relations with the West were caused by Russia's return to traditional values.[289] Keeping in mind the rapprochement of Church and state, it is important to note that similar opinions were expressed by representatives of the ROC. Vsevolod Chaplin,[290] chairman of the Synodal Department for the Cooperation of Church and Society of the Moscow Patriarchate and known for making controversial statements, remarked that Russia was being attacked by the West because it decided to defend the Truth.[291] Patriarch Kirill named Russia "one of the few countries in the world which forms its foreign policy in accordance with moral values and international law."[292]

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[286] V. Karpov, "The Social Dynamics of Russia's Desecularisation: a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective," *Religion, State and Society,* 41.3 (2013), pp. 254-283.

[287] *RIA Novosti*, "Lavrov zhelayet kollegam ne rasteryat' obshchiye dlya vsekh religiy tsennosti" (December 16, 2012), http://ria.ru/society/20121216/915004621.html.

[288] *Interfax*, "Lavrov schitayet opasnym usileniye popytok peresmotra moral'nykh tsennostey" (March 3, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=54643.

[289] *Interfax*, "Zapad otdalyayetsya ot Rossii iz-za eye vozvrata k pravoslaviyu, schitayet Lavrov" (June 5, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=55525.

[290] The archpriest Vsevolod Chaplin ranks among the most influential hierarchs of the Moscow Patriarchate. After nine years (from 1990) spent in the Department for External Church Relations (DECR), considered the main ideological kitchen of the ROC, Chaplin became the head of the Synodal Department for the Cooperation of Church and Society, which could be compared to the civil Ministry of Internal Affairs. Moreover, Chaplin used to or still does represent the ROC in many state institutions, e.g. the Council for Cooperation with Religious Associations under the Russian President, the Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation, and the Expert Council under the Committee of the State Duma on affairs of public associations and religious organizations. Chaplin is also the deputy head of the World Russian People's Council. Last but not least, the archpriest runs his own radio broadcast in which he comments *inter alia* on the matters of ethic and public morality.

[291] *Interfax*, "Dlya politikov Rossii prishlo vremya vybirat' mezhdu interesami strany i schetami za granitsey - protoiyerey Vsevolod Chaplin" (March 18, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=54769.

[292] *Interfax*, "Patriarkh Kirill postavil vneshnyuyu politiku Rossii v primer drugim gosudarstvam" (March 18, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=54255.

These quotations show that retraditionalization in the sphere of foreign policy translates into taking a moral stand. Russia has ambitions to act as an independent normative power. In this context, it claims to have moral obligations that originate in Russia's commitment to traditional values. It is eager to assume the role of leader of the non-West in this sphere. In short, after years of declared pragmatism, the moral factor is back in the Kremlin's foreign policy.[293]

The Middle East is an example of the usage of the moral framework by Russian diplomacy. Putin, other Russian politicians, and Russian diplomats have on many occasions voiced their concern about the persecution of Christians in Syria, Iraq, and Egypt. They have emphasized that Russia, historically speaking, has been a protector of Christians and that it still has a moral obligation to protect these minorities. Significantly, the Kremlin juxtaposes this moral duty with the indifference of the West. This line is put forward by the Russian Orthodox Church, which remains very active in the Middle East. Metropolitan Hilarion, the head of the Synodal Department for External Contacts (a sort of Church Ministry for Foreign Affairs), said that since the West cared only for Israel and oil, all Christians have already learnt the lesson that "the Russian Orthodox Church and President Vladimir Putin are their only hope."[294]

The emergence of the motive of traditional values in Russia's foreign policy should be viewed within a more general framework that Russia's ruling elites use to interpret global dynamics. This is the civilizational "paradigm" usually associated with Samuel Huntington's thesis on the clash of civilizations.[295] Following Huntington's assumption, Russian state doctrines perceive civilizations as the main units competing for supremacy in the emerging global order. In the 21st century, civilizations are to replace the Cold War superpowers. A state's self-identification in terms of civilization is thus an attribute of its power status.

The acknowledgement of a geopolitical role for civilizations was reflected in Russia's official 2008 foreign policy doctrine, which read, "It is for the first time in the contemporary history that global competition is acquiring

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[293] Y. Pavlova and T. Romanova, "Ideological Rivalry or Trash Discourse? The Normative Power of Europe vs Russia as a Great Power," *Russia in Global Affairs* (September 23, 2014), http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/number/Ideological-Rivalry-or-Trash-Discourse-16996.

[294] Russian Orthodox Church, "Mitropolit Volokolamskiy Ilarion: Osnovnymi geograficheskimi napravleniyami vneshney deyatel'nosti Russkoy TSerkvi v 2013 godu byli Blizhniy Vostok i Kitay" (January 9, 2014), http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3503307.html.

[295] S.P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996). Among Russian intellectuals who refer to the civilization "paradigm," one should mention Aleksandr Panarin, Vadim Tsymburski, Boris Miezhuev, and Aleksandr Dugin.

a civilizational dimension which suggests competition between different value systems (…) A religious factor in shaping the system of contemporary international relations is growing, *inter alia*, as regards its moral foundation. This problem cannot be resolved without a common denominator that has always existed in major world religions."[296]

The notion of the common denominator was elaborated in the 2013 doctrine, "A true consolidation of efforts of the international community requires a set of common values as a foundation for joint action, a common moral denominator, which major world religions have always shared, including such principles and concepts as pursuit of peace and justice, dignity, freedom and responsibility, honesty, compassion, and work ethic."[297] Following this reasoning, religion is the main, if not the only, source of values.

Interestingly, in this latest version of the Russian foreign policy doctrine, the unfolding clash of civilizations is seen as a result on the West's (implicit) attempts to impose its own system of values. The document reads, "The reverse side of the globalization processes is the increased emphasis on civilizational identity. Desire to go back to one's civilizational roots can be clearly seen in recent events in the Middle East and North Africa (…) In these circumstances, imposing one's own hierarchy of values can only provoke a rise in xenophobia, intolerance, and tensions in international relations leading eventually to chaos in world affairs." These excerpts show that the Russian authorities have identified values as an important field of contemporary global competition.

Russia's ruling elites emphasize that Russia is a unique civilization (called the Russian/Orthodox or Eurasian civilization) with its own distinct culture. As a consequence of this position, Russian diplomacy has repeatedly stressed its commitment to Russian traditional values, which are presented as an important part of its civilizational identity. Another result of Russia's civilizational uniqueness is the conviction, consistently proclaimed by the highest representatives of power, that Russia must act as a guardian of traditional values and stem the tide of nihilistic liberalism promoted by the West.

Unsurprisingly, the recent conflict in Ukraine has also been portrayed in Russia as a result of the clash of civilizations (the West versus the *Russkiy Mir*). According to this narrative, Ukraine is faced with a civilizational choice.

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[296] President of Russia, *The Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation* (August 12, 2008), http://archive.kremlin.ru/eng/text/docs/2008/07/204750.shtml.

[297] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, *The Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Russian Federation* (February 12, 2013), http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/76389FEC168189ED44257B2E0039B16D.

Forced by the West to give up its values and submit to a foreign model, Ukraine's only hope is Russia if it is to avoid becoming a satellite of the West. Lavrov has even gone so far as to state that Russia was helping Ukrainians "because Christian values say so."[298] The narrative about Ukraine as a victim of the clash of civilizations is also promoted by the Russian Orthodox Church. Chaplin echoed politicians by characterizing the Ukrainian crisis as "a result of the clash of values" and remarked that in certain circumstances, defending the Holy Truth requires armed resistance.[299] Similar and even more radical positions are prevalent among the clergy. For example, Metropolitan Hilarion linked the Ukrainian crisis with the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East, arguing that both were part of the same strategy of the West to turn Russia's neighborhood into an unstable and hostile place.[300]

Another element of Russia's civilizational narrative is the conviction that it has a special role to play in a world threatened by the clash of civilizations. Russia is to bring balance, restore justice (which, in the context of traditional values, is interpreted as a state of affairs in which nations take their rightful place in the international order) and to preserve traditional (read: genuine) values. Russian elites emphasize that Russia is exceptionally well equipped for this task due to its unique tradition of harmonizing different ethnic and religious groups. President Putin has often referred to this ability and repeatedly underlined that Russia, unlike Europe, has never experienced religious wars or crusades.[301] Russia's historic record of interfaith concord makes it, according to the Kremlin's narrative, predestined to initiate and moderate inter-civilizational (interfaith) dialogue (which is essentially a matter of values and morality).[302]

The analysis of Russian foreign policy doctrines shows how the role of interfaith dialogue has evolved. Significantly, in the 2000 doctrine, the dialogue was not even mentioned. They both appeared only in the document published in 2008, in which Russia declared its strong commitment to developing the inter-civilizational dialogue. Another important change in this narrative may be observed between the doctrines of 2008 and 2013. While in the former, the United Nations was considered the central platform for

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[298] *Interfax*, "Pomoshch' Ukraine so storony Rossii prodiktovana khristianskoy istinoy — Lavrov" (December 19, 2013), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=53862.

[299] *Interfax*, "V Russkoy tserkvi schitayut, chto na Ukraine idet bor'ba za Bozh'yu pravdu" (July 15, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=55920.

[300] Russian Orthodox Church, "Mitropolit Volokolamskiy Ilarion: Blizhniy Vostok i Ukraina — chasti odnoy strategii" (August 5, 2014), http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/3700872.html.

[301] Putin's 2012 Valdai Discussion Club Speech. President of Russia, "Meeting with Valdai International Discussion Club participants" (October 25, 2012), http://eng.kremlin.ru/news/4564.

[302] Putin's 2012 and 2013 Valdai Speeches.

interfaith dialogue, in the latter, Russia claims to bear the main responsibility for this global task itself. Moreover, the stress on Russia's unique civilizational knowledge has become more prominent. In the 2013 doctrine, a phrase was added that describes Russia as "a multiethnic and multi-religious state, with historic experience of the harmonious coexistence of different nations, ethnic groups, and faiths, which is well equipped for dialogue and inter-civilizational partnership." Russia thus presents itself as a crucial element of the post-Cold War global balance because only it can prevent a clash of civilizations.

Both the state and the ROC see interfaith dialogue as another sphere of global rivalry. Therefore, as Chaplin suggested, Russia should create its own institutions responsible for moderating interfaith dialogue, especially in the post-Soviet territory.[303] This approach resulted in the establishment of the Interfaith Council of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in 2004.[304] The council gathers representatives of all "traditional" religions from the CIS countries and focuses *inter alia* on promoting traditional values in the region. Framing interfaith dialogue as part of the global rivalry of powers confirms Russia's concern about its power status in the international community. Underlining its commitment to traditional values is part of a wider strategy of regaining parity with the West.

Russia's Distinctiveness Used as a Status Strategy

Russia has a long record of emphasizing its civilizational uniqueness. It is one of the components of Russia's quest for recognition and rightful status.[305]

It is important to underline that Russia's uniqueness, historically speaking, was constructed in opposition to the West. One could call it "a course of the neighborhood"; as one of the oldest embodiments of the "other" for Westerners, Russia in its self-identification process became trapped between a longing for Europe and a lingering feeling of alienation (Russia as non-Europe). As Iver Neumann rightly notices, Russia has never been

[303] *Interfax*, "V Russkoy tserkvi prizyvayut otstoyat' nezavisimost' mezhreligioznogo dialoga v SNG ot vneshnego vozdeystviya" (April 17, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=50857.

[304] The Commonwealth of the Independent States (CIS) is a regional organization established in 1991 by former Soviet republics. There are nine full member states: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Turkmenistan is unofficially associated.

[305] Following the collaborative work of T.V. Paul *et al*, I define status as a collective opinion about the position of a certain nation in the ranking of excellence regarding a certain attribute (material wealth, culture, demography, diplomatic skill). Status is acknowledged by the community (it can therefore not be achieved solely through the state's own efforts and regardless of opinions of other states), is subjective (it depends on perception of other states and not exclusively on the material means of an aspiring state), and relative (it is always measured in relation to other participants of international relations). See T.V. Paul, D.W. Larson, W.C. Wohlforth (Eds.), *Status in World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

fully accepted by the Western countries as one of "their kind."[306] Even after defeating Napoleon, which made Russia one of the major European powers, in France, Great Britain, or the Habsburg Monarchy, Russia's "Europeanness" was not recognized, and convictions of differences in political tradition and of its general backwardness persisted. According to Neumann, Europeans had a tendency to treat Russia as a case of peripheral European identity.[307] For Russia, in turn, the questioning of its Europeanness was a source of frustration because Moscow had always been clear about its ambitions to be an equal partner with the powers forming the center of the world system of the time. Through most of its history, Russia has competed with the West for recognition. This rivalry took place in the sphere of symbols, and the quest for status was one of the main factors of Russia's international activity. This is still the case today.

Thomas Volgy *et al* introduced the notion of "status inconsistency" in relation to states whose aspirations (and power potential) in regard to status (self-attribution) do not correspond to their actual status (i.e. the status ascribed to them by other participants — recognition).[308] In view of this distinction, there are states whose status is disproportionally high in relation to their actual potential (overachievers) and states whose status is lower than their potential would warrant (underachievers). In this context, Russia is an interesting case because it represents an example of a state whose policy is almost chronically burdened by status inconsistency. In the conviction of Russian elites, Russia is an underachiever, for it keeps being denied its deserved recognition in the international area by the West. Russia's foreign policy is still characterized by the drive to be recognized as an equal partner by its "significant other," i.e. the West.

The analysis of Russia's quest for status is better understood if complemented by the Social Identity Theory (SIT). Within the framework of SIT, three main strategies of aspiring states (with lower status) in relation to dominating states (with higher status) are distinguished. Firstly, aspiring states can accept the values of stronger states and copy their behavior (emulation). Secondly, states trying to increase their status can decide to question the order established by the dominating states (social competition). Finally, if the current order seems stable, states with a lower status can try to satisfy their ambitions by finding a

[306] See I. Neumann, *Uses of the Other. The East in European Identity Formation*, "Borderline Series," vol. 9 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

[307] Ibid, p. 67.

[308] T.J. Volgy, R. Corbetta, J.P. Rhamey, Jr, R.G. Baird, and K.A. Grant, "Status Considerations in International Politics and the Rise of Regional Powers," in T.V. Paul, D.W. Larson, and W.C. Wholforth (Eds.), *Status in World Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 59-67.

niche that has been overlooked by — or for some reason is inaccessible to — the dominating power (social creativity).

From this perspective, in 1991-93 Russia's activity in the international arena was an emulation of the activities of the West, with its elites counting on this bringing it the recognition of being an equal partner. Russia interpreted the events in the former Yugoslavia, i.e. the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and especially the bombardment of Serbia in 1999, as slights. The rapprochement between Russia and the United States after the 9/11 attacks was short-lived. Russia saw the "color" revolutions[309] as an attack of the West on a key attribute of its power-status: an exclusive sphere of influence. Russia's distinctiveness from the West had been stressed by Minister of Foreign Affairs Yevgeny Primakov[310] as early as 1996-98, but without a civilizational (not to mention moral) dimension. In 2004-05 a shift in Russia's strategy became increasingly apparent — Russia gave up trying to emulate the West and focused its efforts on achieving the desired status by emphasizing its own unique and separate identity, promoting its own values and its own, original model of modernization (social creativity).[311]

This "moral" shift creates a great prospect for developing cooperation between the Russian state and the ROC. The Moscow Patriarchate is a self-proclaimed repository of traditional values. As mentioned above, the Church has defined these values and even created a catalogue in one document. If one recalls the dominating theme in Russian public discourse that traditional values equal religious values, then it becomes clear that the Russian Orthodox Church is the most important (if not the only) institution that can give some content to the strategic notion of traditional values. The ROC thus has a crucial role to play in legitimizing the Kremlin's aspirations to the role of the "guardian of values." The priority given to interfaith dialogue (and traditional values) makes the ROC an indispensable part of Russia's current foreign strategy. It is precisely in the field of symbolic rivalry where the Russian Orthodox Church plays a significant role in Russia's international activity. It is therefore hardly a coincidence that in regard to three distinctive issues of symbolic rivalry (so

[309] This term refers to protests by anti-government movements that emerged in several post-Soviet republics. Demonstrator usually used non-violent forms of protest. In most cases, these revolutions led to the overthrow of ruling authorities.

[310] Yevgeny Primakov was minister of foreign affairs (1996-98) and prime minister (1998-99) of the Russian Federation. Although the Primakov doctrine was never formalized in a conceptual document, it refers to three major priorities: integrating Russia with the world economy, multipolar world, and opposing U.S. dominance (U.S. unilateralism).

[311] Considering the escalation of antagonism between the European Union, the United States, and Russia in the face of the Ukrainian conflict, one could even argue that Russia is already balancing between two strategies, i.e. social creativity and competition.

called "status markers"[312]), in which Moscow has recently shown a growing interest, the ROC and Russian diplomats work hand-in-hand.

The issue most talked about recently is the idea of the *Russkiy Mir*. As mentioned earlier, the ROC is not merely one of the most active promoters of this idea, it is also very much involved in the work of the Russkiy Mir Foundation. According to the Russian state and the Church's narrative, the *Russkiy Mir* must resist Western liberalism and preserve traditional values.

The second issue is the narrative on human rights. The ROC has shown ambition to question the monopoly of the West on defining human rights. In 2006, the ROC prepared a document that was subsequently issued by the World Russian People's Council. This document, entitled *Declaration of Human Rights and Dignity*, presents an interpretation of human rights in accordance with the Russian Orthodox tradition.[313] In 2011, the Russian Foreign Ministry published Russia's first report on the observance of human rights in other countries. This was an obvious attempt to manifest Russia's independent stand. A year later, while speaking to members of the Valdai Club, Putin stated that nobody should possess complete control over the definitions and interpretations of human rights. This issue, i.e. the Russian interpretation of human rights, was eventually brought to the United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC). On the initiative of Russian diplomats, and with strong support from the ROC, in 2012 the HRC adopted the resolution "Encouraging Human Rights and Main Human Freedoms through Deeper Understanding of Traditional Mankind Values: Best Practice." Upon its adoption, the Russian Foreign Ministry issued a statement declaring: "The Russian Federation, together with its opinion allies, will continue promoting the idea of (the) inseparable connection of human rights and traditional moral values in the Human Rights Council."[314]

Russia's activity in the Arctic provides a further example of the intensification of symbolic rivalry (although not connected to traditional values). Russia's efforts to mark its presence in the North Pole (e.g. by placing a Russian flag on the North Pole seabed in 2007) are paralleled by the rise in the Moscow

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[312] Status markers refer to positions and protocol symbolizing respect and deference, e.g. permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council, a national space program, nuclear weapons, hosting international sport events. See T.V. Paul *et al*, op. cit. p. 10.

[313] Russian Orthodox Church, "Deklaratsiya o pravakh i dostoinstve cheloveka X Vsemirnogo Russkogo Narodnogo Sobora" (April 6, 2006), http://www.patriarchia.ru/db/text/103235.html; See K. Stoeckel, *The Russian Orthodox Church and Human Rights* (London-New York: Routledge, 2014).

[314] Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, "Press release: About the UN Human Rights Council Adopting Russian Resolution Draft 'Encouraging Human Rights and Main Human Freedoms through Deeper Understanding of Traditional Mankind Values: Best Practice'" (September 27, 2012), http://www.mid.ru/brp_4.nsf/0/735D5EA855B1525944257A8A0028F441.

Patriarchate's activity in this region. The ROC marks symbolic frontiers foremost by erecting new churches, even in barely populated places like Wrangel Island. Bishop Iakov of Naryan-Mar and Mezensky not only blessed several Arctic expeditions but also ones to the North Pole itself and the Northern Sea Route.

Assuming the role of the self-proclaimed "guardian of traditional values" is one of Russia's strategies to fully regain its desired power status, i.e. that of a state with its own sphere of influence, which is approached respectfully as an equal by others, especially the West. Status consists of two components — a material and a moral/ideological one. In attributing status, countries take into consideration not only the material potential of an aspiring country but also its commitment to the values and principles shared by the dominating actors. Placing emphasis on its own values is an important element of Russia's efforts to build its own authority in moral terms in the international arena. It is interesting to note a difference in Russia's strategy. In the beginning of the 19th century, the Russian Empire legitimated its power claim almost exclusively with reference to its material potential. Two centuries later, Russia not only underlines the normative aspect of its power but also juxtaposes its values with the moral stand of the West.

All these tendencies are reflected in Putin's 2013 state-of-the-nation annual address to the Federal Assembly, which deserves to be quoted at length. He said, "Today, many nations are revising their moral values and ethical norms, eroding ethnic traditions and differences between peoples and cultures. Society is now required not only to recognize everyone's right to the freedom of consciousness, political views, and privacy, but also to accept without question the equality of good and evil, strange as it seems, concepts that are opposite in meaning. This destruction of traditional values from above not only leads to negative consequences for society, but is also essentially anti-democratic, since it is carried out on the basis of abstract, speculative ideas, contrary to the will of the majority, which does not accept the changes occurring or the proposed revision of values."

Putin continued, stressing Russia's new role as a leading normative power attracting other countries, by saying, "We know that there are more and more people in the world who support our position on defending traditional values that have made up the spiritual and moral foundation of civilization in every nation for thousands of years: the values of traditional families, real human life, including religious life, not just material existence but also spirituality, the values of humanism, and global diversity."

Considering the Kremlin's "conservative" course, it is important to examine to what extent the retraditionalization promoted by the power elites can be embraced by Russian society.

Russian Society's Reception of Retraditionalization

The last decade of the 20th century was traumatic not only for Russians but for the majority of citizens of the former Soviet republics. The fall of the Soviet Union caused a rise in the commitment to traditional values among post-Soviet societies that had hitherto been considered essentially modern. Inglehart and Baker's research in the 1990s showed that due to the violent transformation and disintegration of the economy in the former Soviet republics, survival values (i.e. when economic and physical security are placed above all other goals) were more widespread than even in some low-income developing societies. Meanwhile, commitment to values of self-expression,[315] characteristic for modern Western societies, did not rise in former Soviet republics.

The prominent Russian sociologist and public opinion expert Boris Dubin remarked that the re-emergence of traditional conservatism was accompanied by a deliberalization of views among Russians and a de-Westernization of the Russian identity; both of these trends started in the 1990s.[316] Although Dubin did not deny that conservatism was initially a grassroots reaction to the socio-economical crisis, he argued that it would not have persisted had it not been fostered and cultivated by the authorities.[317] Tatiana Rassadina, meanwhile, tends to stress the spontaneous character of the change of Russians' values, including the shift to conservatism.[318] Surveys that she conducted show that 1988-96 was the period of the highest value bifurcation among Russians. In the transition years from the USSR to the Russian Federation, most people placed most value on an interesting job, a clear conscience, and a family, and attached relatively low importance to material values. The following years of 1996-98 were marked, as Rassadina put it, by a "landslide" in the system of values because material well-being suddenly ranked higher than personal freedom, which had previous topped the hierarchy of values.[319] However, already in 1997-98, a new tendency could be observed, namely the

[315] Self-expression values refer to values that include life satisfaction, public expression, and an aspiration to liberty. These values indicate, for instance, that personal fulfillment is set above high income by an individual.

[316] B. Dubin, *Rossiya nulevykh. Politicheskaya kul'tura. Istoricheskaya pamyat'. Povsednevnaya zhizn'* (Moscow: Rossiyskaya politicheskaya entsiklopediya, 2011), p. 107.

[317] In Boris Dubin's opinion, an indispensable part of fostering Russian conservatism is underlying Russia's uniqueness and distinctiveness from the West. B. Dubin, op. cit., pp. 79, 95.

[318] T.A. Rassadina, "Transformations of the Traditional Values of Russians in the Post-Perestroika Period," *Sociological Research* 46:6 (2007), pp. 59-74.

[319] Ibid, p. 65.

return of traditional guidelines, which, according to Rassadina, served as "spiritual compensation for the lack of justice in life and the lack of material sufficiency."[320] According to Rassadina's data, Russian society's approach to values in 2007 was far from homogeneous: 25-30 percent declared commitment to the individualistic (Western type) values, 35-40 percent identified themselves with the patriarchal-collectivist model, while 30-35 percent expressed a contradictory type of values.[321] This data shows that the narrative of the central role of traditional values in Russian society promoted by the Kremlin does not fully correspond to the social reality.

This differentiation of Russian society in terms of values is also confirmed by the research conducted by Andrei Voz'mitel and Galina Osadchaia.[322] Their surveys revealed an evolution from the orientation characteristic for Soviet society — collectivist-oriented work — to a focus on the means of achieving success and prosperity in life.[323] In 2008, most of the respondents stated that self-fulfillment was more important than money, which indicates that the effect of the economic collapse of 1997-98 had receded, while self-expression values started to gain importance. This tendency was recognized also by the authors of a report prepared in 2014 for the Valdai Club. For today's Russians, material well-being and consumption take first place among values — in 2006, 55 percent ranked it first, while in 1986, only 31 percent did so.[324] So the retraditionalization is not something the majority of Russian society feels unconditionally comfortable with. The changes brought about by the free market and democracy — albeit one hamstrung and largely limited to unfair elections — have had an impact on Russian society.

There is one more factor that should be considered when estimating the scope of the retraditionalization in contemporary Russia, namely the connection between tradition and religion. As mentioned earlier, in Russian public discourse, traditional values are identified almost exclusively with religious values. This tendency is supported by the Kremlin as well as, for obvious reasons, the ROC. This could seem like a suitable strategy if one takes into account the fact that religion serves in Russia above all as a criterion of self-identification (belonging to an ethnic group).[325] In 2013, 68 percent of Russians declared adherence to Orthodox Christianity, while 13 percent claimed to practice religion regularly (6 percent participate in a service every

[320] Ibid, p. 70.

[321] Ibid, p. 73.

[322] A.A. Voz'mitel, G.I. Osadchaia, "Way of Life in Russia," *Sociological Research.* 50.2 (2011), pp. 67-88.

[323] Ibid, p. 73.

[324] *Valdai Discussion Club Report*, "National Identity and the Future of Russia" (February 2014), http://vid-1.rian.ru/ig/valdai/Identity_eng.pdf, p. 16.

[325] This is true not only for Orthodox Christians but also for Russian Muslims or Buddhists.

week, 12 percent pray every day).[326] Half of respondents thought that the president of the Russian Federation should be Orthodox.[327] Over 50 percent approve of the ROC's influence on public morality, but crucially these same respondents disapprove of Church's involvement in state affairs.[328] What's more, the number of people presenting this view is growing yearly. This is evidence that not all Russians are prepared to support the ROC's growing presence in the public sphere. After all, as Inglehart and Baker noted, Russians' values were substantially shaped by the Communist legacy and secondly by Orthodox culture.[329]

Russia (like all former communist societies) ranks high regarding the level of secularization. Russian citizens might be traditionalist in their views on family and gender, but in terms of their attitude toward religion, they resemble their counterparts in Western countries. As Dmitri Furman put it, in terms of the declared religious identity, Russia comes close to the countries of the Middle East, but when it comes to practicing religion, there is no difference between Russia and the most secular states of the West. Around half of Russians believe that the Church has very little actual influence on public morality and people's everyday life.[330] For the majority of respondents, religion is either not too important (43 percent) or plays no role in their life (19 percent).[331] More than half, for example, do not mind unmarried young people living together.[332]

This data reveals that Russians' traditionalism has a secular edge. The social ground in which the top-down retraditionalization is being sown is not as solid as it might seem from the vision of a homogeneous society promoted by the Kremlin. This strategy therefore has its limits even within the domestic policy framework in the long term. However, it should be admitted that in the short term, it helps to strengthen the regime's mandate.

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[326] *Interfax*, "V Rossii rastet chislo pravoslavnykh, no lish' nemnogiye regulyarno poseshchayut khram, prichashchayutsya i molyatsya — opros" (July 4, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=55819; *Interfax*, "Okolo pyatoy chasti pravoslavnykh i desyataya chast' musul'man v Rossii molyatsya kazhdyy den' — opros" (April 25, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=55140.

[327] *Interfax*, "Polovina rossiyan schitayet, chto prezident strany dolzhen byt' pravoslavnym" (November 11, 2013), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=53384.

[328] *Interfax*, "Rossiyane schitayut znachitel'nym vliyaniye pravoslaviya na razvitiye strany — opros" (November 12, 2013), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=53409.

[329] R. Inglehart and W.E. Baker, "Modernization, Cultural Change and the Persistence of Traditional Values," *American Sociological Review,* 65 (2000), p. 40.

[330] Levada-Center, "Russian Public Opinion 2012-2013," (2013), http://www.levada.ru/sites/default/files/2012_eng.pdf, p. 142.

[331] Ibid, p. 144.

[332] Ibid, p. 152.

Conclusion

The rapprochement of the ROC and the Kremlin has consequences for Russia's domestic as well as foreign affairs. However, the course on retraditionalization is more than a result of the Church and state moving closer together. It is Russia's response to the pressure of global processes associated in Russia with Western domination. Struggling for its rightful status, Russia has once again set out to define its identity in opposition to the West. The drive for recognition provides fertile ground for the cooperation of the Church and state in the international arena. Within the framework of the narrative of Russia as "the guardian of traditional values," the interests of the Kremlin and the ROC are complementary and their efforts parallel. The changes in Russia's foreign policy doctrines indicate that Moscow has ambitions to act as a normative power capable of providing an alternative system of values to that of the West associated with liberalism and extreme individualism. The Kremlin is convinced that the minimum required to achieve this goal is for Russia's own civilizational sphere of influence as a crucial attribute of power status to be strengthened and defended. The Russian Federation's conception of its rightful status is an essential component of its identity.

The ruling elites are actively constructing Russia's identity as the guardian of values and foreign policy plays a major role in this process. The presence of the moral factor in Russia's interpretations of world politics has recently become stronger. Russia claims to have "moral obligations" in the Middle East, which was not at all the case a few years ago. Europe and the United States, presented as spaces with falling moral standards, are shown in Russian public discourse as the opposite pole to Russian civilization. Interestingly enough, the image of Russia as a country defending moral causes resonates with the one-third of Russian citizens who believe that they are much more spiritual than the people of Western societies.[333] The narrative of traditional values creates the basis for alliances with China, India, Iran, and/or Turkey — all considered proponents of traditional values. The Kremlin is thus using moral positioning to draw new normative, civilizational, and geopolitical dividing lines simultaneously.

The recent Ukrainian crisis has significantly stoked the flames for retraditionalization in Russia, both in domestic and foreign affairs. However, it is important to keep in mind that the "moral" shift occurred in Russian foreign policy before EuroMaidan took place in Kyiv. Defining international

[333] At the same time, 45 percent of Russians are convinced that their society is less spiritual now than during the Soviet era. *Interfax*, "Boleye treti rossiyan schitayut, chto uroven' dukhovnosti v obshchestve snizhayetsya," (July 4, 2014), http://www.interfax-religion.ru/orthodoxy/?act=news&div=55818.

processes in terms of values is likely not merely a temporary tendency but an element that will mark Russia's activity in the international arena for the years to come. Framing relations with the West in the context of opposing values does not augur well for Russia's potential rapprochement with the United States or the EU — even if an acceptable solution for the Ukrainian crisis is eventually found. The Kremlin envisions Russia as a leader of the non-West. Moreover, the role of the guardian of traditional values aims at exploiting the dividing lines that run through Western societies between liberals and conservatives. The West must find a way to adapt to this new dynamic in the Russian self-identification process with potentially important geopolitical implications.

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