

**LONDON METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY**  
**Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities**  
**GI7076 Religion and International Relations**  
**Lecture and Seminar Programme, Spring Semester, 2015-16**

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**Module leader: Professor Jeffrey Haynes**

**Module teacher: Martin Ridley**

**Email Address** [m.ridley@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:m.ridley@londonmet.ac.uk)

Office TM1-33f

Office hours 13.00-14.00

Email address: [jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk)

Office: TM1-33f

Office telephone number: 020 7133 5080

### **Introduction**

After September 11 2001 (9/11), the global community was concerned with cultivating better inter-civilisational relations between the Christian and Muslim worlds. This goal would require real, sustained, and meaningful global dialogue. The United Nations (UN) and the 'citizen-civil' sector agreed to work together to improve Muslim-Christian relations, to address their needs and help preserve their identity and cultural heritage using inter-faith dialogue to build peaceful coexistence and enhance life.

In the context of 'religion and international relations', this puts great emphasis on a new dedicated UN body, the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC), created in 2005. How might UNAOC work towards the goal of enhancing life for people, especially Christians and Muslims most affected by inter-religious tensions and conflict, by refining strategies and social mechanisms in several dimensions?

Critics contend that the UNAOC is a well-meaning, elite-sponsored, initiative that may struggle to achieve its goals. *Is UNAOC provided with enough leadership, funds and/or infrastructural support, to make achievement of its aspirations possible?*

Second, does UNAOC engage primarily in 'symbolic politics', that is, does it seek to create 'only' a more open atmosphere for political discussions among elites from the Christian and Muslim 'civilizations'? Does UNAOC engage *meaningfully* and *consistently* with grassroots actors in pursuit of its goals? If not, why not?

Third, *how can UNAOC develop an institutionalised framework fit for purpose, enabling grassroots interactions involving representative civil society actors from the Christian and Muslim worlds?*

In sum, how does UNAOC help give Muslims and Christians hope to believe better relations are possible?

## Module Aims

- Examines transnational and international religious actors to assess the claim that their activities undermine state sovereignty and threaten good civilisational relations;
- Enables students to evaluate differing interpretations of the political importance of religious actors in international relations.

## Module Objectives

Through study of this module, students should be able to:

- Understand and analyse the roles of religion in contemporary international relations, including in the context of the United Nations;
- Determine the forces that shape the characteristics of religious involvement in contemporary international relations;
- Assess the nature of the relationships between state and non-state actors in relation to the activities of religious activities in international relations.

## Teaching

The format of teaching is as follows: We will fill our weekly two-hour slot (Tuesday, 14.00-16.00) with a 60 minute lecture (14.00-15.00), followed by a 60-minute seminar (15.00-16.00). **Both lecture and seminar will take place in BEL2-13.**

- Martin Ridley will present the lecture and lead the seminar each week, using PowerPoint. PowerPoint slides available on Weblearn following the lecture.
- Students are encouraged in seminars to raise points for discussion and debate. I will require each person taking the module to deliver a seminar paper, whether on their own or in combination with a maximum of one other presenter each week. While there will be no formal credit for seminar papers, students will find it very useful to produce a seminar paper in the course of research for their essay and for their examination preparation.
- Students taking the module are required to read and absorb the necessary information and to supplement lecture notes with further reading.

## Assessment

**To pass the module, you must achieve overall at least 50%, made up of two components:**

- **One essay of around 3,500 words**
- **One unseen examination. Answer TWO of TEN questions (past exam papers on p.10)**

## The Essay

- You must choose the essay topic from the questions to be found on p. 9.
- **One copy of the essay must be submitted via the module's Weblearn site on or before: 3pm on Wednesday 2 April 2016.**

## Plagiarism

*The University recognises that passing off someone else's work as your own as a very serious offence. Depending on the extent and nature of the plagiarism you may fail a module, an entire Level of study or be expelled from the University.*

Students will receive feedback on presentations and essay assignments. This feedback will include advice on improving performance *but will not give provisional marks*. The process of second marking and checking by the external examiners – including exam scripts – means that there will be a gap of up to six weeks following the end of module's teaching before final feedback on actual results is possible.

Students are also notified by email to their University email address by the Exams Office as soon as their exam scripts are available so that they can receive full oral feedback on the examination during office hours, once the results are published by the University. This would be in March, for an Autumn semester module, taught between October and January and in August following the Spring semester, taught between January and June.

## **Books and sources of information of relevance for the module**

### **Module resources**

J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 1st ed. (Pearson, 2007)

J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Pearson, 2013)

J. Haynes, Series of four videos for the Tony Blair Faith Foundation (2014): 'The Impact of Globalisation on Religion', available at: <http://vimeo.com/groups/242126>

J. Haynes, 'Faith-based organisations at the United Nations', RSCAS 2013/70, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies/RELIGIOWEST, Florence: European University Institute, 17,500 words, September 2013. Available at: <http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/28119>

The following books – listed in alphabetical order – will also be of use for the various topics we cover. See below for detailed guidance regarding relevant material for each week's lecture topic. Please note there are a variety of useful websites, and that many are listed below in the reading for specific weeks. Remember, however, that if you use websites as source material for essays, it is essential that you reference adequately the material you use. If in any doubt, ask!

P. Beyer, *Religion and Globalization* (Sage, 1994)

C. Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics* (Cambridge University Press,

2012)

P. Broadhead and D. Keown (eds.) *Can Faiths Make Peace: Holy Wars and the Resolution of Religious Conflicts* (I.B.Tauris, 2007)

P. Cockburn, *The Rise of Islamic State*, (Verso, 2015)

K. Dark (ed.), *Religion and International Relations* (Macmillan, 2000)

J. Fox and S. Sandler, *Bringing Religion into International Relations* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004)

J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order* (University of Wales Press, 2000)

F. Robert Fisk, *The Great War for Civilisation* (Harper Perennial, 2006)

J. Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice* (Routledge, 2013)

J. Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics* (Longman, 1998)

J. Haynes, *Religion, Politics and International Relations. Selected Essays* (Routledge, 2011)

S. Hoebner Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (Westview, 1997)

S. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations* (1996) (Also see his: 'The clash of civilizations, *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 3, pp. 22-49)

*Millennium*, 'Special Issue: Religion and International Relations', 29, 3, 2000

F. Petito and P. Hatzopoulos (eds.) *Religion in International Relation: The Return from Exile* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2004)

W. McCants, *The ISIS Apocalypse* (St Martin's Press, 2015)

A. Saikal, *Islam and the West. Conflict or Cooperation?* (Palgrave, 2003)

J. Snyder (ed.), *Religion & International Relations Theory* (Columbia University Press, 2011)

S. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence Of Religion and the Transformation Of International Relations: The Struggle For The Soul Of The Twenty-First Century* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2005)

J. Troy (ed.), *Religion & the Realist Tradition. From Political Theology to International Relations theory and back* (Routledge, 2014)

### **Useful sources of information, other than books, in Holloway Road Library**

**Journals and news magazine:** There are no journals devoted to religion and international relations. However, you will find the following of use: *Millennium*, *The World Today*, *World Politics*, *Third World Quarterly*, *West European Politics*, *Journal of International Affairs*, *Journal of European Studies*, *International Affairs*, *Government and Opposition*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, *The Economist*.

Go to <http://catalogue.londonmet.ac.uk/> for many relevant e-sources.

### **References**

Please note that the references given in the lecture/seminar sections are only a guide. There are more sources in the library. *I will always be pleased to give advice and can always, in the last resort, provide you with relevant source material for the module.* BUT DO LOOK IN THE LIBRARY FIRST! ASK LIBRARY STAFF IF YOU ARE UNSURE HOW TO FIND RELEVANT SOURCE MATERIAL FOR ESSAYS AND SEMINARS.

## Lecture programme

### *Section 1: Religion and international relations: Conflict, order and fundamentalism*

1. Religion and politics (2nd February)
2. Theorising about religion in international relations (9th February)
3. Religion and globalisation (16th February)
4. Religion and international order & conflict (23rd February)
5. Religion and good civilisational relations (UNAOC ) (1st March)
6. Religious 'fundamentalism' and international relations (8th March)

### *Section 2: Religion and international relations: Regional case studies*

7. The Politics of Contemporary Islam and the West (15th March)

**EASTER VACATION: NO CLASSES ON 21st MARCH TO THE 1st APRIL**

8. The Roman Catholic Church in Europe and Sub-Saharan Africa and its role at UN (5th April)
9. India's international relations and Hindu nationalism (12th April)

**ESSAY SUBMISSION no later than Tuesday, 14 April**

10. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in the Middle East (19th April)
11. Conclusions/Revision (26th April)

**EXAMINATIONS: 16th-27th MAY 2016**

## Section 1

### Synopses of lectures and further reading

#### 1. Religion and politics (2<sup>nd</sup> February)

This introductory lecture examines the relationship between religion and politics, both in domestic and international contexts.

#### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Introduction', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to Religion and International Relations*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

J. Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics* (Chapter 1)

J. Haynes (ed.), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World* (Chapter 1)

J. Haynes, *Religion in Third World Politics*

J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order* (Chapter 1)

J. Fox, *An Introduction to Religion and Politics: Theory and Practice*

J. Fox and S. Sandler, *Bringing Religion into International Relations*

S. Hoebler Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.) *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (Chapter 1)

P. Berger (ed.), *The Desecularisation of the World*

C. Hallencreutz & D. Westerlund, 'Introduction: Anti-secularist policies of religion' in D. Westerlund (ed.), *Questioning the Secular State*

S. Thomas, 'Religion and international conflict' in K. Dark (ed.), *Religion and International Relations*

S. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence Of Religion and the Transformation Of International Relations : The Struggle For The Soul Of The Twenty-First Century*

#### 2. Theorising about religion in international relations (9th February)

This lecture examines the ways that various approaches – including, Realism, Liberal Internationalism, and Neo-Marxism – understand the role of religion in contemporary international relations.

#### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Religion and international relations theory', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> eds.

J. Haynes, 'Renaissance of political religion in the Third World in the context of global change' in J. Esposito & J. Snyder (ed.), *Religion & International Relations Theory*

M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

J. Fox and S. Sandler, *Bringing Religion into International Relations*

F. Petito and P. Hatzopoulos (eds.) *Religion in International Relation: The Return from Exile*

V. Kubálková, 'Towards an international political theology', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 675-704

K. Dark (ed.), *Religion and International Relations* (introductory chapter)

S. Hoebler Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.) *Transnational Religion and Fading States* (Chapter 1)

R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*

H.-H.Holm & G. Sorenson, 'International relations theory in a world of variation' in H.-H.Holm & G. Sorenson (eds.), *Whose World Order?*  
J.-A. Scholte, *Globalization. A Critical Introduction*  
J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors and international politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 22, 2 (2001), pp. 143-158  
J. Haynes, 'Religion' in B. White, R. Little and M. Smith (eds.), *Issues in World Politics*  
J. Troy (ed.), *Religion & the Realist Tradition. From Political Theology to International Relations theory and back*

### **3. Religion and globalisation (16th February)**

Globalisation is said to aid the growth and influence of transnational networks of religious actors. They can feed off each other's ideas and perhaps aid each other with funds, while forming bodies whose main priority is the well-being and advance of a specific transnational religious community.

#### Reading/viewing

J. Haynes, Series of four videos for the Tony Blair Faith Foundation (2013): 'The Impact of Globalisation on Religion', available at: <http://vimeo.com/groups/242126>  
J. Haynes, 'Religion and globalisation', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.  
J. Spickard, 'Religion and Globalization' (Published in the Newsletter of the American Sociological Association Section on Religion, Fall 2001) available at: <http://bulldog2.redlands.edu/fac/Spickard/OnlinePubs/ReliGlob.htm>  
J. Kurth, 'Religion and Globalization' (The Templeton Lecture on Religion and World Affairs, May 1999) available at: <http://www.fpri.org/articles/1999/05/religion-and-globalization>  
P. Beyer, *Religion and Globalization* (Especially Chapter 1)  
F. Petito and P. Hatzopoulos (eds.) *Religion in International Relation: The Return from Exile*  
J. Fox and S. Sandler, *Bringing Religion into International Relations*  
S. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence Of Religion and the Transformation Of International Relations : The Struggle For The Soul Of The Twenty-First Century*  
J. Haynes (ed.), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World* (Chapter 1)  
J. Haynes, 'Religion' in B. White et al (eds), *Issues in World Politics*  
V. Randall, 'The media and religion in third world politics' in J. Haynes (ed.), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World*  
S. Thomas, 'Religious resurgence, postmodernism and world politics' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*  
*Religion and Globalization*  
D. Padgett, Review of Peter Beyer, *Religion and Globalization* (London: Sage, 1994), available at: [www.indiana.edu/~wanthro/beyer.htm](http://www.indiana.edu/~wanthro/beyer.htm)

### **4. Religion and international order & conflict (23rd February)**

In this lecture we examine the role of religion in international conflict over time. Not since

the 30 Years War of the 17th century has religion been central to conflict in Western Europe; now, however, religion is increasingly associated with international conflict, for example, between certain Islamist groups – such as al-Qaida – and the West. Analysts have claimed that an alleged global resurgence of religion is increasingly impacting upon international political outcomes, facilitated by the processes of globalisation and encouraged by the communications revolution. In this lecture we look at the impact of religion upon international order, both in the historical past and the present.

### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Religion and international conflict', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to Religion and International Relations*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.

'Religion, Culture, and International Conflict After September 11. A Conversation with Samuel P. Huntington'. Available at:

<http://www.jamesbowman.net/articleDetail.asp?pubID=1209>

S. Huntington, **either**, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon & Schuster, 1996, **or**, Huntington's prior article - 'The clash of civilizations?' - in *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 3 (Summer 1993), pp. 22-49

P. Broadhead and D. Keown (eds.) *Can Faiths Make Peace?: Holy Wars and The Resolution Of Religious Conflicts*

S. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence Of Religion and the Transformation Of International Relations : The Struggle For The Soul Of The Twenty-First Century*

D. Smock, 'Religion and International Peacemaking' (The 2000 Perlmutter Lecture on Ethnic Conflict) available at: <http://www.fpri.org/articles/2001/03/religion-and-international-peacemaking>

J.K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*

K. Holsti, *International Politics*

S. Thomas, 'Religion and international conflict' in K. Dark (ed.), *Religion and International Relations*

C. Kegley and E. Wittkopf, *World Politics. Trend and Transformation*

J. Baylis & S. Smith (eds), *The Globalization of World Politics*

P. Beyer, *Religion and Globalization*

J. Haynes, 'Religion and International Relations: What are the issues?', *International Politics*, 41, 3, (September 2004), pp. 451-62.

J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors and international politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 22, 2 (2001), pp. 143-158

J. Haynes, 'Religion and international order', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.

S. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence Of Religion and the Transformation Of International Relations: The Struggle For The Soul Of The Twenty-First Century*

J. Esposito & M. Watson, 'Overview: the significance of religion for global order' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

J. Esposito, 'Political Islam and global order' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

S. Thomas, 'Taking religious and cultural pluralism seriously ...', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp.



815-842

P. Broadhead and D. Keown (eds.) *Can Faiths Make Peace?: Holy Wars and The Resolution Of Religious Conflicts*

F. Petito and P. Hatzopoulos (eds.)

J. Piscatori, 'Religious transnationalism and global order, with particular consideration of Islam' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

S. Hoerber Rudolph, 'Introduction: religion, states and transnational society' in S. Hoerber Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), *Transnational Religion and Fading States*

J. Haynes, 'Religion' in B. White et al (eds.), *Issues in World Politics*

D. Smock, 'Religion and International Peacemaking' (The 2000 Perlmutter Lecture on Ethnic Conflict) available at: <http://www.fpri.org/articles/2001/03/religion-and-international-peacemaking>

## **5. Religion and good civilisational relations (UNAOC ) (1st March)**

After September 11 2001 (9/11), the global community was concerned with cultivating better inter-civilisational relations between the Christian and Muslim worlds. In the context of 'religion and international relations', this puts great emphasis on a new dedicated UN body, the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC), created in 2005. How might UNAOC work towards the goal of enhancing life for people, especially Christians and Muslims most affected by inter-religious tensions and conflict, by refining strategies and social mechanisms in several dimensions? This lecture considers the goals, leadership, credibility, and asks the question 'can Muslims and Christians achieve better relations in the contemporary political climate?'

### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Religion and international order', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.

S. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence Of Religion and the Transformation Of International Relations: The Struggle For The Soul Of The Twenty-First Century*

J. Esposito & M. Watson, 'Overview: the significance of religion for global order' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

J. Esposito, 'Political Islam and global order' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

S. Thomas, 'Taking religious and cultural pluralism seriously ...', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 815-842

P. Broadhead and D. Keown (eds.) *Can Faiths Make Peace?: Holy Wars and The Resolution Of Religious Conflicts*

F. Petito and P. Hatzopoulos (eds.)

J. Piscatori, 'Religious transnationalism and global order, with particular consideration of Islam' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

S. Hoerber Rudolph, 'Introduction: religion, states and transnational society' in S. Hoerber Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), *Transnational Religion and Fading States*

J. Haynes, 'Religion' in B. White et al (eds.), *Issues in World Politics*

D. Smock, 'Religion and International Peacemaking' (The 2000 Perlmutter Lecture on Ethnic Conflict) available at: <http://www.fpri.org/articles/2001/03/religion-and-international-peacemaking>

## peacemaking

P. Cockburn, *The Rise of Islamic State*, Verso (2015)

W. McCants, *The ISIS Apocalypse*, St Martin's Press New York, (2015)

F. Robert Fisk, *The Great War for Civilisation*, Harper Perennial (2006)

B. Clifford), *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics*, Cambridge University Press (2012)

J. Haynes, 'Faith-based organisations at the United Nations', RSCAS 2013/70, Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies/RELIGIOWEST, Florence: European University Institute, 17,500 words, September 2013. Available at:

<http://cadmus.eui.eu/handle/1814/28119>

## **6. Religious 'fundamentalism' and international relations (8th March)**

The controversial notion of 'religious fundamentalism' is central to much concern about religion-orientated conflict in international relations. In this lecture we examine the concept of 'religious fundamentalism' and assess its role in international relations.

### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Religious fundamentalism', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.

J. Fox and S. Sandler, *Bringing Religion into International Relations*

T. Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms; Crusades, Jihad and Modernity*

P. Broadhead and D. Keown (eds.) *Can Faiths Make Peace?: Holy Wars and The Resolution Of Religious Conflicts*

J.K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*

J. L. Esposito, *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*

F. Halliday, *Nation and Religion in the Middle East* (London: Saqi Books, 2000) or *Two Hours That Shook the World* (Saqi, 2001)

M. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: the Global Rise of Religious Violence*

B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism. Political Islam and the New World Disorder*

D. Westerlund (ed.), *Questioning the Secular State. The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics*

M. E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds.) 'Introduction' in M. E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, (eds.), *Fundamentalism and the State. Remaking Polities, Economies, and Militance*

J. Haynes, *Religion in Third World Politics*

J. Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*

R. Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*

P. Berger (ed.), *The Desecularization of the World*

C. Hallencreutz and D. Westerlund, 'Anti-secularist policies of religion', in D. Westerlund (ed.), *Questioning the Secular State. The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics*

J. Haynes, 'Religion, Fundamentalism and Identity. A Global Perspective', Discussion Paper no. 65, Geneva, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

## Section 2: Case studies

### 7. The Politics of Contemporary Islam and the West (15th March)

In this lecture, we examine: (1) historical and contemporary international interactions between Islam and the West, and (2) contemporary Islamist 'terrorist' organisations and their potential to undermine state sovereignty with particular reference to the emergence of Political Islam and ISIS.

#### Reading

J. Haynes, 'The Middle East', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.

J. Haynes, 'Religion and globalisation', in J. Haynes, *Introduction to International Relations and Religion*

J. Haynes, 'Islam, pluralism and politics', *Contemporary Politics*, 2005. **Copy available from Jeff. Email [jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk), and I'll send an electronic version**

J. Haynes, 'Al-Qaeda: ideology and action', *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 2005. **Copy available from Jeff. Email [jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk](mailto:jeff.haynes@londonmet.ac.uk), and I'll send an electronic version**

A. Saikal, *Islam and the West. Conflict or Cooperation?*

V. Hooker and A. Saikal, *Islamic Perspectives On The New Millennium*

T. Ali, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms; Crusades, Jihad and Modernity*

S.P. Huntington (**either** *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon & Schuster, 1996, **or** Huntington's prior article in *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 3 [Summer 1993]. See also: 'The West unique, not universal', *Foreign Affairs*, 75, 6 [November-December 1996], pp. 28-46)

J.K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*

J. L. Esposito, *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*

F. Halliday, *Two Hours That Shook the World*

F. Halliday, *Nation and Religion in the Middle East*

M. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: the Global Rise of Religious Violence*

B. Tibi, *The Challenge of Fundamentalism. Political Islam and the New World Disorder*

B. Tibi, 'Post-bipolar order in crisis: the challenge of politicised Islam', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 843-860

J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors and international politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 22, 2 (April 2001), pp. 143-58

J. Esposito & J. Voll, 'Islam and the West: Muslim voices of dialogue', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 613-640

K. Dalacoura, 'Unexceptional politics? The impact of Islam on international relations', *Millennium*, 29, 3 (2000), pp. 879-888

B. Helvacioğlu, "'Allahu Ekber". We are Turks yearning for a different homecoming at the periphery of Europe', *Third World Quarterly*, 17, 3 (1996), pp. 755-77

D. Eickelman, 'Trans-state Islam and security' in S. Hoebler Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.) *Transnational Religion and Fading States*

J. Piscatori, 'Religious transnationalism and global order, with particular consideration of Islam' in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

Peter L. Bergen, *Holy War Inc. inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden*  
 Hizb ut-Tahrir Britain, *The West's Weapons of Mass Destruction and Colonialist Foreign Policy. The Assessment of the Muslim Community in Britain*  
 Columbia International Affairs Online (**ciao**), excerpts from and analysis of an al Qaeda recruiting video, available at: [http://www.ciaonet.org/cbr/cbr00/video/cbr\\_v/cbr\\_v.html](http://www.ciaonet.org/cbr/cbr00/video/cbr_v/cbr_v.html)  
 C.C. Combs, *Terrorism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century (Part II)*  
 J.K. Cooley, *Unholy Wars: Afghanistan, America and International Terrorism*  
 Federation of American Scientists, collection of online resources and links on al Qaeda at <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/para/ladin.htm>  
 Graham E. Fuller, 'The Future of Political Islam', *Foreign Affairs*, 81, 2, March/April 2002, 48-60  
 A.G. Noorani, *Islam and Jihad*  
 O. Roy, *Globalised Islam. Fundamentalism, De-territorialisation and the Search for a New 'Ummah*  
 J. Piscatori, 'The Turmoil Within. The Struggle for the Future of the Islamic World' (review essay), *Foreign Affairs*, 81,3, May/June 2002, 145-50.  
 A. Rashid, *Taliban: The Story of the Afghan Warlords*  
 Z. Sardar & M.W. Davies, *Why Do People Hate America?*  
 Kirsten E. Schulze, 'Islamic Groups. Militants and Moderates', *The World Today*, 58, 1, January 2002, 10-13  
*P. Cockburn, The Rise of Islamic State, Verso (2015)*  
*W. McCants, The ISIS Apocalypse, St Martin's Press New York, (2015)*  
*F. Robert Fisk, The Great War for Civilisation, Harper Perennial (2006)*

## **8. The Roman Catholic Church as transnational actor (Europe and Africa) and its role at the UN. (5<sup>th</sup> April)**

In this lecture, we examine further the phenomenon of transnational religious actors by assessing the claim that the activities of the Roman Catholic Church undermine state sovereignty.

### Reading

J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to Religion and International Relations*, 1<sup>st</sup> ed.  
 S. Thomas, *The Global Resurgence Of Religion and the Transformation Of International Relations: The Struggle For The Soul Of The Twenty-First Century*  
 I. Vallier, 'The Roman Catholic Church: A Transnational Actor,' in J. Nye and R.O. Keohane (eds.) *Transnational Actors in World Politics*  
 J. Haynes, 'Transnational religious actors and international politics', *Third World Quarterly*, 22, 2 (April 2001), pp. 143-58  
 J. Daudelin & W. E. Hewitt, 'Churches and politics in Latin America: Catholicism confronts contemporary challenges' in J. Haynes (ed.), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World*

J. Casanova, 'Globalizing Catholicism and the Return to a "Universal" church' in S. Hoerber Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), *Transnational Religion and Fading States*

R. Della Cava, 'Religious resource networks: Roman Catholic philanthropy in Central and East Europe' in S. Hoerber Rudolph & J. Piscatori (eds.), *Transnational Religion and Fading States*

J. Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Africa*

M. Walsh, 'Catholicism and international relations: papal interventionism in J. Esposito & M. Watson (eds.), *Religion and Global Order*

P. Palmer, 'The churches and the conflict in former Yugoslavia' in K. Dark (ed.), *Religion and International Relations*

C. Bob, *The Global Right Wing and the Clash of World Politics*, Cambridge University Press (2012)

## 9. India's international relations and Hindu nationalism (12th April)

India had a government led by the Hindu nationalists of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) for a decade between the mid-1990s and mid-2000s. Today, India has another BJP-led government in power. In this lecture we examine the role – if any – of *Hindutva* – 'Hindu nationalism' – in India's international relations.

### Reading

J. Haynes, 'South Asia', in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

Sudha Ramachandra, 'Indian Foreign Policy Under Narendra Modi. The frontrunner in the Indian elections has revealed little on foreign policy. How would it change?', *The Diplomat*, 6 May 2014. Available at: <http://thediplomat.com/2014/05/indian-foreign-policy-under-narendra-modi/>

C. Raja Mohan, 'Modi's India: towards a bolder international engagement'. Available at: <http://www.cscap.org/uploads/docs/CRSO/CSCAPCRSO2015.pdf>

C. Ram-Prasad, 'Hindu nationalism and the international relations of India' in K. Dark (ed.), *Religion and International Relations*

J. Chiriyankandath, 'The politics of religious identity a comparison of Hindu nationalism and Sudanese Islamism', *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 32, 1, (1994) pp. 31-53.

A. Copley, 'Indian secularism reconsidered from Gandhi to Ayodhya', *Contemporary South Asia*, 2, 1, (1993) pp. 47-65.

M. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God*

S. Mitra, 'Desecularising the state: religion and politics in India after independence', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 33, 4, (1991) pp. 755-77.

C. Ram-Prasad, 'Hindutva ideology extracting the fundamentals', *Contemporary South Asia*, 2, 3, (1993) pp. 285-309

J. Haynes, *Religion in Global Politics* (Chapter 9)

C. Jaffrelot, 'The Vishva Hindu Parishad: Structures and strategies' in J. Haynes (ed.), *Religion, Globalization and Political Culture in the Third World*

M. Arslan & J. Rajan (ed.), *Communalism in India. Challenge and Response*

T. Basu et al., *Khaki Shorts, Saffron Flags. A Critique of the Hindu Right*

J. Chiriyankandath, ‘‘Creating a Secular State in a Religious Country’’: The Debate in the Indian Constituent Assembly’, *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics*, 38, 2 (2000), 1-24.

Partha S. Ghosh, *BJP and the Evolution of Hindu Nationalism: From Periphery to Centre*

S. Gopal (ed.), *Anatomy of a Confrontation: Ayodhya and the Rise of Communal Politics in India*

T.B. Hansen, *The Saffron Wave. Democracy and Hindu Nationalism in Modern India*

T. B. Hansen & C. Jaffrelot (ed.), *The BJP and the Compulsions of Politics in India*

M. Hasan, *Legacy of a Divided Nation: India’s Muslims since Independence*

C. Jaffrelot, *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics*

M. Kishwar, *Religion at the Service of Nationalism and Other Essays* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)

T.N. Madan, *Modern Myths, Locked Minds: Secularism and Fundamentalism in India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998)

A. Patwardhan (producer), *Ram ke Naam* (In the name of Ram) (video – Channel Four, Global Image, 1992, 110 minutes)

\_\_\_\_\_, *Father, Son and Holy War. 1. Trial by Fire* (video- Channel Four, 1996, 70 minutes)

I. Talbot, *India & Pakistan*

A. Vanaik, *The Furies of Indian Communalism: Religion, Modernity and Secularization*

D. Westerlund (ed.), *Questioning the Secular State. The Worldwide Resurgence of Religion in Politics* (Part III)

Bharatiya Janata Party Web site: <http://www.bjp.org/>

Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh Web site: <http://www.rss.org/>

## **10. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in the Middle East (19th April)**

This lecture focuses on the role of religion in political conflicts in the Middle East, with special attention paid to the continuing Israel/Palestinians issue.

### Reading

J. Haynes, ‘The Middle East’, in J. Haynes, *An Introduction to International Relations and Religion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

L. Fawcett, *International Relations of the Middle East* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.)

A. Goldschmidt and L. Davidson, *A Concise History of the Middle East* (9<sup>th</sup> ed.)

Z. Lockman, *Contending visions of the Middle East: the history and politics of Orientalism*

N. Brown & E. El-Din Shahin (eds.), *The struggle over democracy in the Middle East: regional politics and external policies*

B. Milton-Edwards, *Contemporary Politics in the Middle East*

J. Crawford, *Opinion: third party obligations with respect to Israeli settlements in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*

C. Shindler, *A History of Modern Israel*

R. Vazquez (director), *Inside Hamas* [DVD]

A. Tamimi, *Hamas: unwritten chapters*

M. Darweish and C. Rank (eds.), *Peacebuilding and Reconciliation: contemporary themes and challenges*

S. Akbarzadeh, *Routledge Handbook of Political Islam*

## 11. Conclusions/Revision (26th April)

This lecture sums up what we now know about transnational and international religious actors in international relations.

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### Essay Questions (Choose one question. Write around 3,500 words by 14 April 2016)

1. Thinking of international relations, how do religion and politics connect?
2. Analyse how the three main approaches in International Relations – realism/neo-realism, liberal institutionalism/liberal internationalism and neo-Marxism –deal with religious actors in international relations.
3. How has globalisation influenced the growth of transnational religious actors (TRAs). Illustrate your answer with **two** examples of TRAs.
4. What impact have religious actors had on international order since the end of the Cold War?
5. Does religion increase or decrease the chances of international conflict?
6. What is 'religious fundamentalism'? With illustrative material from **two** religions, explain its impact upon contemporary international relations.
7. Was Huntington right? Is there 'civilisational conflict' between 'Islam' and the 'West'?
8. Is the Roman Catholic Church a politically important transnational actor?
9. What role, if any, does Hinduism perform in relation to India's contemporary international relations?
10. To what extent is conflict in the Middle East based on religion? Use either the Arab-Israeli or the Iraq conflict as your case study.
11. Account for the rise of Political Islam, What impact has it had on the contemporary world system.

### PAST EXAM PAPERS

#### GI7076 Religion and International Relations

#### First-sit exam paper, May/June 2015.

1. What do you understand by the term 'religious resurgence', and how does it affect our understanding of international relations?
2. Why has International Relations theory struggled with the idea of religion 'returning' to international focus in recent decades?

3. To what extent has globalisation increased religion's importance in international relations?
4. Does the involvement of religion in international relations increase or decrease the chances of international conflict?
5. Focusing on either the Roman Catholic Church or the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation, explain how important non-state religious actors can support or undermine international order.
6. Is religious fundamentalism the same thing as religious extremism?
7. To what extent is it correct to understand 'Islam' in international relations as a unified actor?
8. What difference does Pope Francis make to the Roman Catholic Church's involvement in international relations?
9. To what extent does Hinduism in India affect the country's international relations with Pakistan?
10. Would you describe the conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis as a religious conflict?

**Resit paper, July/August 2015.**

1. Are all religious actors political?
2. Does any single International Relations theory deal satisfactorily with religion?
3. Does the geographical expansion of religion over hundreds of years indicate that it globalisation is an old phenomenon?
4. What is 'international conflict' and why for so long was religion deemed to be irrelevant to it?
5. 'The current "international order" is a Western construct.' What are the ramifications of this for religious involvement in international relations?
6. Do all religious fundamentalists act alike politically?
7. To what extent is 'Islam' at the root of conflict in the Middle East?
8. Is the Roman Catholic Church an important pillar of the current international order?
9. India is officially a secular country, so why is there often conflict between Muslims and Hindus which periodically spills over into international relations?
10. Could Jerusalem be co-administered by both Jews and Muslims?