

STATE - CHURCH RELATIONSHIP AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

Alexandru NECHIFOR¹
Roxelana UNGUREANU²

ABSTRACT

WESTPHALIAN MODEL OF COOPERATION BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE IT IS STILL FUNCTIONAL BEING STRENGTHENED BY CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS, EVEN IF SECULARISM HAS BECOME MUCH STRONGER THAN BEFORE.

A FUTURE MASSIVE WORLD WAR WOULD PROBABLY NOT HAVE A RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION, BUT PARTICIPANTS WILL WITH WELL-DEFINED RELIGIOUS CHOICES, UNDERLINING THE OVERALL EFFECTS OF RELIGION.

THE RETURN TO RELIGION IT IS A SURVIVAL STRATEGY AND FOR RELIGIOUS LEADERS AN OPPORTUNITY TO ACCUMULATE POWER BY EXPLOITING HATE OR LOVE, PROMOTING VIOLENCE OR PEACE.

AFTER 1989, IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE REFORMULATION OF STATE - CHURCH RELATIONS INVOLVES HUGE TRANSFORMATIONS.

THE ABSENCE OF STRUCTURES TO MATERIALISE THE DECLARED IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION IN FOREIGN POLICY STRIVES TO CHARACTERISE RELIGION AS "DEPENDENT" RATHER THAN A "VARIABLE" OF THE POLITICAL DECISIONS OF FOREIGN POLICY OR THERE IS A HIDDEN ISLAMIC AGENDA. IT FINDS AN ISLAMIC BASE INTERNAL MOBILISATION AND A RETURN TO CERTAIN FOREIGN POLICY CONSTANTS OF THE PAST.

KEYNOTES: WESTPHALIAN MODEL, STATE - CHURCH RELATIONS,

Contemporary conflicts major motivation regardless of their causes - political, economic, social, and cultural - cannot be analysed independently of the religious context. The religious dimension of contemporary conflicts with deep historical roots it is closely related to nationalist lode, in a perspective with apocalyptic ending generated by changing the order established by the ended war³.

¹ PhD candidate, Valahia University, Targoviste, alnechifor@yahoo.com

² Open University, London, u_roxelana@hotmail.com

³ A regulated relationship between the Catholic Church and secular rulers was first established when Pope Calixtus II and Holy Roman Emperor Henry V sealed *the Concordat of Worms* in 1122.

In September 2013, the terrorist attack committed by Islamic organisation al-Shabaab on Westgate Mall in Nairobi it is the most significant symbol of repudiation of Western values in sub-Saharan Africa but also a sign of the role that the religious leaders play in the political games and African security. A simple comparison between the roles played by religious leaders in different places of the planet in terms of globalisation and neoliberalism rises to the surface the importance of religious leaders and religious institutions in African societies⁴.

Understanding African societies, cannot ignore the centrality of the Christian, Muslim and traditional beliefs to the security environment of the African continent, democratisation and sustainable development, the influence of international values over these societies throughout history. Increase economic changes, cultural and spiritual connection of the African continent with China, Russia, India and Brazil cannot have echoes on African religious plateau. Promoting the values of neoliberalism, globalism but the international actors are in more or less understood interdependent with the African religious vectors. The key to success in the international cooperation on the African continent depends on a decisive measure by regional religious leaders.⁵

The conflict in Mozambique become open just two years after gaining independence (1975) it is due to the geopolitics of South Africa, ends in 1992 after more than a million people lost their lives, and more than a million and a half people left their homes.

The civil war in Mozambique included a strong dimension of religious ideology with deep meanings; if at first the state has attempted suppression of religion, during the conflict its actors have turned to religion to find solutions by participating in the peace process and settling the conflict⁶.

The leading political force in Mozambique, FRELIMO⁷ tried to secularise society and abolish religion, which makes the population to legitimise rebels⁸ reunited under the RENAMO flag supporting the defence of religious freedoms.

African traditional religions in Mozambique have played a major role in the communities before the arrival of Christian missionaries (the 16th Century); thus controlled education, economic spheres, social and political cultural, religious leaders were consulted before taking important decisions on local wars. Even after coverage of the entire territory of Christian institutions promoted by the Portuguese, the traditional Mozambican African religions manifest their resistance against Portuguese colonists: Shona rebellion (1886), rebellion community Barwise (1917), Makombe revolt⁹.

To control the traditional religions, the Portuguese settlers cultivate a certain cooperation with religious leaders, especially in today's Mozambique, the Arab traders had introduced Islam before the arrival of Christianity given that Catholicism becomes an official religion.

⁴ Englebert Pierre and Kevin Dunn, *Inside African Politics*, Boulder, (CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013), 96.

⁵ Politico-military events in Southeast Europe highlights the nationalist-extremist groups tend to manipulate traditions and contexts in opposition to the values and principles of liberal democracy. After 1990, in certain political circles outside were circulated project of anti-Islamic «crusade» in the Balkans or the creation of Balkan «axis» (Belgrade-Sofia-Skopje-Athens) or Eastern and South-Eastern Europe (Belgrade, Bucharest -KIEV-Moscow). See also Patterson, Amy S., "Religion and the Rise of Africa", *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 21, Issue: 1, Fall 2014, Providence, 181-196.

⁶ Chingono Mark, "Religion, politics and war: Reflections on Mozambique's Civil War (1977-1992)," *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume: 8, Issue: 2, Mar 2014, Victoria Island, 31-42.

⁷ Front for the Liberation of Mozambique – Frelimo.

⁸ Mozambique National Resistance - MNR or Renamo/Matsangaissa named after the first leader.

⁹ Ranger R., "Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Afr. Stud. Rev.* 29(2), 1986, 1-69.

FRELIMO official claimed that religion it is a private matter but through its political agenda of the socialist origins with Stalinist hints sought the removal of it from society; but the intention of suppressing religious attract the opposite result, as it happened throughout history, the Mozambicans coming together regardless of religious orientation under the banner of the fight for religious rights, taken over by RENAMO.¹⁰

RENAMO exploits the desire to defend religious freedom, approaching the leaders of African traditional religions, protecting the churches and mosques becoming a liberating force of good faith (*bona fide liberator*).

From the games of the two great camps, religion and war have reinforced each other; religion is justifying and legitimising war, and war is strengthening the power of religious leaders¹¹. During the war, it's established that there are too many churches, some led by false prophets it is noticing a resurgence of religion either as an instrument of colonial domination or as a form of protest against settlers.

The return to religion it is a survival strategy and for religious leaders an opportunity to accumulate power by exploiting hate or love, promoting violence or peace. The Catholic Church begins to lose ground against the Protestant; Pentecostal churches simultaneously with the rise of the traditional neo-religions, but the major sense is heading towards Pentecostal churches.

In the case of Mozambique conflict, many religious leaders have helped to settle the conflict and the peace process (neo-traditionalists according to their beliefs by performing certain rituals, Christians through prayers, Maforga missionaries through forgiveness and tolerance). Neo-traditionalists are considered drought (mid-tenth century) as a punishment for the bloodshed, calling for an end to violence while the Catholic Church substantial gets involvement in opening the negotiations FRELIMO - RENAMO which concludes the Agreement to cease fire of Rome in 1992.

Interventions of various religions in favour of the peace process demonstrated through the conclusion of the civil war in Mozambique that the relation religion - peace - war it is extremely complex, trying to abolish religion is impossible if not equivalent to suicide especially that the revival of religion was achieved in socio-economic condition particularly difficult, the lack of confidence in leaders, leaving their homes. One opinion¹² considers that religion cannot play a positive role in a civil war because it doesn't have the necessary force to change the situation, just possibly to mystify the reality often with reactionary objectives.

Religious ideology provides the moral basis for the formation of a community identity or to oppose domination or war or for its justification. In the case of the civil war in Mozambique religious intolerance was not a central part of it but an option anti (FRELIMO) and pro (RENAMO) religion, report that allowed the display of religious ideology and as a factor of the continuation and legitimacy of the conflict. The existence of a variety of religions has complicated the situation further. FRELIMO final intention to abolish religion led to the rebirth of the religious phenomenon, people return to church.

Religious ideology in the civil war in Mozambique located in various situations - FRELIMO wanting its abolition, mobilisation strategy for RENAMO, the survival strategy for population -

¹⁰ Berkley Center, *Mozambique: Religious Peacebuilders Broker End to Civil War*, (Washington DC: Georgetown University, 2013), 13-32.

¹¹ Chingono Mark, "Religion, politics and war: Reflections on Mozambique's Civil War (1977-1992)," *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume: 8, Issue: 2, Mar 2014, Victoria Island, 31-42.

¹² Roesch O., "Peasants, War and Tradition in Central Mozambique", paper presented at a Symposium, *Symbols of Change: Transregional Culture and Local Practice in Southern Africa*, Free University of Berlin, 1993.

was rechecked as a political force particularly influential in the conflicts case and not only through its positive or negative roles.

A secularised Europe it is seen as a counter to the religious wars (are taken into account extreme forms - Nazism, fascism and racial extermination). A future massive world war would probably not have a religious motivation, but participants will with well-defined religious choices, underlining the overall effects of religion.

The Treaty of Westphalia (1648) stipulates that the territory religious choice it is decided by the head of the territory over which it had recognised jurisdiction; the idea of religious freedom is non-existent. An unclear period ends with mutual recognition of equal status between Protestantism and Catholicism¹³. In the Lutheran space¹⁴, the ratio between church and state is regulated through secular constitution while the Catholic spaces prevail concordat with Rome. Subsequently, confessionalism is connected to the territorial sovereignty of the state until the "Age of Enlightenment" that places religion as a personal matter protected by the constitution¹⁵. As a feature of reinforcements state's role in international relations is the connection with the church closely linked to nationalism.

In the European landscape, three areas are outlined: Lutheran in the North, Catholic in the South and Orthodox in the East, places accompanied by several multi-confessional state.

The institutionalisation of the church in France it is strongly contested in the "Age of Enlightenment".

In 1901, Napoleon concluded a concordat with the Vatican which it secures coexistence of confessions, after a period of persecution against the Catholic Church and Monotheism; In 1880, anti-clerical Republicans break diplomatic relations between France and the Vatican and in 1905 the secular status of the French state it is supported by law which institutionalises the separation of church and state and the privatisation of religion. This moment it is considered the starting point of the emergence of modern national states¹⁶.

In 1870, Pope Pius IX declared "Papal Infallibility" and 1874 it allows believers to engage in political activities, starting point for the birth of political parties based on religion, especially where Catholicism is becoming a symbol of oppression of national culture (Ireland, Poland and Croatia) the subsequent emergence of the Catholic nationalist ideologies (Franco regime in Spain)¹⁷.

The conflict between church and state, in the case of the multi-confessional states (Germany, the Netherlands and Switzerland) subsists in the contradiction between Catholics loyal to the Vatican and commands nationalism. Between 1871 and 1978, Germany limits the influence of Catholic in education and society stipulating the separation of church and state.

Westphalian model of cooperation between church and state it is still functional being strengthened by constitutional provisions, even if secularism has become much stronger than before.

¹³ *The Peace of Augsburg in 1555* was a crucial turning point in this conflict as Protestantism and Catholicism became of equal status.

¹⁴ The reform theologians John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli and Martin Luther criticized the political influence of the popes, condemning their wealth and their violent rejection of dissenters.

¹⁵ Anja Hennig, "Between Conflict and Cooperation: Religion and Politics in Europe", *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, Vol. 20/21, Issue: 4/1, 2015, East Jerusalem, 121-128.

¹⁶ John Madeley, Religion and the Modern State, in: Jeff Haynes (ed.), *The Politics of Religion*, London, 2006, 60.

¹⁷ Kjell Å. Moberg, "Public and Private, a Moving Border", in: Silvio Ferrari/Sabrina Pastorelli (eds.), *Religion in Public Spaces*, Farnham 2012, 27.

In the Habsburg and Tsar Empire, the Roman Catholic Church and the Russian Orthodox Church played an important role in the relationship between religion and politics by setting up the two empires as “state-church”, with a deep involvement in the conduct of WWI. The way it was involved in supporting the lead of empires in the conduct of war it brought a serious loss of authority. The Catholic Church took a more reserved attitude in formulating politico-religious objectives to mobilise the resources of multitude nations with different confession while the Russian Church followed the Tsar line, both options resulting in loss of prestige among believers.

The vision of American civil religion, tributary bases on Judeo-Christian related to political principles building values for which the sacrifice it is worthy. According to Abraham Lincoln, the appeal to religion it is important for divine purposes of America and alert of divine judgement for moral errors. WW II it is considered from a political and academic view as a "just war" necessary to fight evil (even if there was the Pearl Harbor episode, bombing campaigns from Europe and the Pacific, the two nuclear bombs dropped on the Japanese cities).

The history of the Cold War hadn't paid sufficient attention to the role of religion in analysing the causes of the conflict, “ignoring God” when it treated the early times of the Cold War when the Americans perceived it as being primarily spiritual. Religion was the cause and the instrument of the Cold War; there is a “theological diplomacy” that united Americans in their opposition to communist atheism. American Protestant leaders have treated the Cold War as a spiritual conflict while seculars (Harry Truman and Dwight D. Eisenhower) have put into practice this perception¹⁸. American Protestantism failed to overcome the rift between them and Catholics nor a religious alliance against the communist threat.

President Truman to the achieve political objectives depict moral obligations in a religious perspective; President Reagan demonises enemy states while the American nation is the good nation, ignoring the war in Vietnam; President Carter proposed the recognition of an error by the American nation if committed; however, the experience of war in Vietnam was invoked in the 2004 presidential campaign. For President Bush, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq through their high degree of violence it was not allowed to make them compatible with a moral vision. President Obama's promise, after the massive withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan, for the USA to become a force of good was rewarded with the Nobel Peace Prize¹⁹.

USA Presidents Bush and Obama include in the documents of national security religion as a moral factor for the members of society both in peacetime and in wartime²⁰. It states that the recognition of common values and common interests it is accompanied by avoiding transformation of religious difference in the hot topics²¹. In President Obama's vision religion plays a major role in shaping the behaviour of American citizens and religious freedom it is a universal right.²²

In the view of an author, throughout the America history there is a certain sense of fear of persecution combined with conspiracy abundantly exploited by political vectors up to the

¹⁸ Lahr, Angela M., "Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment," *Journal of Church and State*, Volume: 53, Issue: 4, Autumn 2011, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 682-683.

¹⁹ Raymond Haberski Jr., *God and War: American Civil Religion since 1945*, By New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012.

²⁰ Casey Lucius, "Religion and the National Security Strategy," *Journal of Church and State*, Volume: 55, Issue: 1, Winter 2013, Oxford University Press, 50-70.

²¹ Barack Obama, "Remarks by the President on National Security" (speech, Washington DC, White House, May 21, 2009), www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-On-National-Security-5-2109/, (accessed on 3 January 2016).

²² Carolyn M. Warner and Stephen G. Walker, "Thinking About the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (2011): 125.

“paranoia” level. In 1947, the Catholic organisation “Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima”²³ is created to save humanity from the prophesied disasters; the emergence of this organisation is rapidly represented in USA political class during the Cold War by transforming Russia into Satan and by focusing a propaganda to perceive this state as the enemy. This political propaganda movement based on pathology paranoia schemes aimed to develop a religious fundamentalism with pronounced political objectives.²⁴

The religious component of the Cold War it is of a substantial signification in the West-East conflict, being present in Korean issue, the situation of Muslims in the USSR, the case of the two Germans churches, in institutionalised atheism and not only, including practically all peoples and nations.²⁵

Modernity, in the view of some authors, the declining religions; however, the support for anti-Communist movements in Poland by the Vatican, Islamic Revolution in Iran (1979), the 9/11 terrorist attacks, protests in France against homosexuality (2013) imposed religion as a political instrument in the public opinion sphere. The heated debate on artificial insemination, the use of stem cells, bioethics councils, fundamental issues concerning the right to life and death calls for a statutory regulation.

After 1989, in Central and Eastern Europe reformulation of state - church relations involves huge transformations. Islam as a new political phenomenon it is a particularly hot subject; they are considered as foreigners, their right to wear the burqa in public being disputed.

The State - church relationship characterised by ongoing conflicts throughout history, due to the decline of religiosity in Europe is a satellite in the privileged position of the Church in society, due to fear of radical Islam. Religion has become more important in European politics.

The emergence and development of religions in African space determine the societal configurations and the specific causes of tensions, crises, conflicts and intracontinental wars.

Starting from the ninth century, Islam penetrates through West of the continent gradually and consistently, so in fourteen century contain the Indian Ocean coasts, including Egypt, the Horn of Africa stretching until Nigeria. In the nineteenth century, African Islam it is comprised of reform movements and manages even the birth of a Sokoto Caliphate, as a form of government²⁶.

In the nineteenth century, it can speak of Christianity institutions on the African continent, after the great powers divided the continent into colonies, although the missionary phenomenon precedes them with more than two centuries. The impact of Christianity is so impressive that 24% of Christians live in Africa²⁷.

The two religions draw near certain components of traditional African religions²⁸ achieving significant influence and legitimacy in African societies, especially that the African religious leaders can mobilise large masses of citizens from participating in terrorist organisations and democratic activities. More prominently it is highlighted the idea that Africa it is the centre of

²³ The Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima.

²⁴ Bennett, Jeffrey S., "The Blue Army and the Red Scare: Politics, Religion, and Cold War Paranoia", *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, Vol. 16, Issue 2-3, 2015, Taylor & Francis Ltd., Abingdon.

²⁵ Philip E. Muehlenbeck (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012.

²⁶ Robinson David, *Muslim Societies in African History*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 3-7.

²⁷ Ellis Stephen and Gerrie ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1998.

²⁸ African Traditional Religions – ATRs.

radical Islamic activities (Mali, the Islamic Movement for Azawad, Al- Shabaab, Boko Haram, MUJAO)²⁹.

The African religious institutions - both Islamic and Christian, after the release of European colonialism are an important vector in the “second liberation” (in Malawi, Zambia, Senegal, Mozambique)³⁰.

After refusing entry in the Preamble of the European Constitutional Treaty for “Judeo - Christian heritage”, the great challenge of current times it is the acceptance of Islam as part of European identity.

If between 1960 and 1970, secularisation has a word to say against religion imposing a marginal position, in the contemporary landscape, can be seen that religion came from private space becoming a participant in policy decisions, conflicts and competitions. Europe's population it is perceived as the different relationship with religion based on the ground of religion to which it is affiliated, the representation of politico-religious, but in its great majority is concerned about the role of Islam in its relation, both on the principles of democracy and the freedoms, including the issue of blasphemy³¹. There is a critical mass regarding the public roles of religious actors in relation to the fundamental political issues relating to democracy, democratisation and civil liberties.

The existence of Muslim Europeans as normal has echoes in the political plans, a certain fear of Islamist extremism it is an incontestable reality. The tendency to promote profanity against Islam have generated intense debate, though many Europeans do not realise the serious meaning for Muslims to “right to denigrate”³² the most sacred elements of Islam, not considering that it is a sacrosanct democratic right³³.

Religion played an important role during the Cold War in the West-East confrontation, the religious subject being the centrepiece of ideological polemics, based on the institutionalisation of atheism in the service of communism. The role of ethnic, religious minorities in Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey stressed the importance of religious freedom disregarded from the interests of international players in the balance of power in the Cold War, becoming vectors of manipulation to obtain political advantages by undermining the cohesion of the Eastern bloc³⁴.

Western missionary, in particular, the American ones during the Cold War focused on promoting religion as an ideological alternative to communism (the case of Koreans and Chinese prisoners retrain by Americans).

²⁹ Mouvement pour le Tawhîd et du Jihad en Afrique de l'Ouest, or, in English, Movement for Oneness and Jihad in West Africa.

³⁰ Gellar Sheldon, “Beyond Islamists and Sufi Brotherhoods: Liberal Varieties of Islam in Africa and the Struggle for Tolerance and Democracy,” in *Religious Ideas and Institutions: Transitions to Democracy in Africa*, ed. FU.mond Keller and Ruth Iyob, Pretoria, South Africa: UNISA Press, 2012.

³¹ Russian Orthodox Patriarchate tends, sometimes, to expand the authority - or primacy - and its relations with the Churches in Ukraine and the Caucasus, pretending to want what monk Filotei said, contemporary of Basil III (father of Ivan the Terrible) in a report to the grand Prince of Russia "Moscow is the successor of the great capitals of the world: first - ancient Rome, the second - Constantinople, Moscow - third Rome, and Rome will be the fourth." See Jeffrey Haynes, "Religion, Democracy and Civil Liberties: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Ramifications," *European Political Science: EPS*, Volume: 12, Issue: 2 Jun 2013 Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 171-183.

³² Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses (1989) and the Danish cartoons imbroglio (2005). Bilefsky, D. (2006) 'Death toll mounts in rioting over cartoons', *International Herald Tribune*, 8 February. Available at: <http://www.iht.com/articles/2006/02/07/news/islam.php>, (accessed 14 January 2016).

³³ Jeffrey Haynes, *Transnational Religions and Soft Power*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2012.

³⁴ Muehlenbeck Philip E. (Ed.), *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), 12.

In 1992, is the year when the USSR begin liquidation religion, vision denied by other authors who say that actions against religion have not been carried out, example is the Communist Party position towards Islam, but imposing the condition to participate in building a stable society³⁵.

“In the Russian Federation, although it expressed its opinion that Panslavism alternative lost some of its shape, the tendency to strengthen the position of the Russian Orthodox Church it is evident, both by the entry into force of the 1997 Law on Association for Freedom of Conscience and Religion (offering for the future the permission to increase its role externally as well) and by the Church’s actions. After the failure suffered to prevent the establishment of the Metropolis of Bessarabia under canonical subordination of the Romanian Orthodox Church - following the judgement given by the European Court of Human Rights - Russian Patriarchate practice messages outside the canonical limits.”³⁶

A special case of the conflict between state and religion is Tajikistan, one of five Central Asian countries with a Sunni majority population. After the antireligious campaign carried by the States authorities, it follows a phase of confrontation of religious groups, questioning the secular character of the state. Between 1992 and 1997, Tajikistan sinking into a civil war with significant consequences for a population of seven million inhabitants: around 100,000 dead and 800,000 people fleeing their homes.³⁷

After the disappearance of the Soviet Union, Tajikistan was declared secular state although it shares its power with the Islamic forces; In fact, the state authorities continue the Soviet practices to eliminate religion from society based on animosity but also promoting religious independence which develops an extensive and accelerated Islamization process of the society including the social and political levels. The political tensions linked to the secular state and religion option continues; the religious group perceives the secular state as being an anti-religious state while the opponent group wanted to avoid Tajikistan to become a religious state³⁸. Through negotiations, it reaches a compromise³⁹, by separating the state and religion, although governmental authorities reiterated that political Islam had become a potential rival supported by the traditional Islam which it is highly respected and influential amongst the population.

A number of Islamic religious groups⁴⁰ in Tajikistan advocates a return to Islamic ordinances for the seventh century, for the establishment of the Islamic Caliphate⁴¹, creating religious tension among the population; in many cases, religious leaders’ positions were stronger than government

³⁵ "Religion played a significant role in determining the scope and stratagems of the global Cold War, but it was a factor in the Cold War, not the factor." See Muehlenbeck Philip E. (Ed.), *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012), 158.

³⁶ Kirill, Metropolitan of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, declares in Chisinau: „We consider the creation of so-called Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia in Moldova as a schism Church,” having „only one explanation, and it is marked by sin. This may be not a church opportunity, not the salvation of men, but about a policy, thus creating a serious precedent.” His Holiness Kirill said that the schism idea comes from Romania, calling the clergy and society not to frequent the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia holy places, because its creation have not respected the canons and "if church rules are violated in such a manner, the violators will suffer because of this.”

³⁷ The General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord. See Akiner Shirin, "Prospects for Civil Society in Tajikistan," in *Civil Society in the Muslim World: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Aryn B. Sajoo, (London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002), 160.

³⁸ Hakim Zainiddinov, "The Changing Relationship of the Secularized State to Religion in Tajikistan," *Journal of Church and State*, Volume:55, Issue:3, Summer 2013, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 456-477.

³⁹ *The Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations*

⁴⁰ Jamaati Tabligh, Hizb ut-Tahrir, Salafiya, and Bayat.

⁴¹ Karagiannis, "The Challenge of Radical Islam in Tajikistan," *Asia Plus*, March 2, 2010, <http://news.tj/en/news/irpt-criticizes-poll>, (accessed on 5 January 2016).

orders⁴², their power being able to paralyse Tajikistan society but also to support governments in the implementation of large economic projects.

The secular component of the Tajikistan society still believes that Islam cannot be alien to radicalisation, deaf to the needs of reforming society, opting for the Islamic state and not to strengthen the foundations of the national state. On the other hand, the religious component is aware of the antagonism in its political representation and the principles of the secular state, the secular and religious balance being particularly fragile.

In general, state - religion relations are seen from the perspectives of communist secularism, Islam is considered a remnant of feudalism, a political force to be controlled. The principle of separation of church and state is interpreted and implemented by the Tajikistani authorities by removing religion from social life. From religion's point of view, religion is part of Tajikistan society, and Islam was artificially separate from the state; forcing the elimination of religion from society can lead to the formation of radical Islamic groups, the transformation of moderate Islam in an extreme form.

Tajik secular state can promote policies on religion following models both from the Muslim world and the West, according to the balance of power in society and models considered.⁴³

The anti-religious actions carried out in Vietnam brought disservice to legitimacy on power for the authorities of South Vietnam and in Iraq the anti-communist propaganda by exploiting the Muslim sentiments being appreciated that it had the wrong formula bringing disservices to the political goals.

In a case of a roundtable between Palestinians and Israelis regarding secularism, both sides reiterate that the views on statehood in the area in question, the problem is addressed from a secular perspective. Moreover, Palestinians highlights the difference between the Palestinian National Movement⁴⁴ and the Palestinian Arab nationalist movements based on the options of all these movements for secularism, which imposes a distinction between religion and nationalism. The movement is Muslims, Christians and also the Jewish, any interpretation of a religious option is very dangerous⁴⁵.

Turkey under the precepts of "soft power," "activism" declaim religion as a component of its foreign policy, mainly in its neighbourhood - Middle East - promoting the replacement of "circle of enemies" phrase with "circle of friends" phrase, although its relations with Israel have deteriorated, the installation of NATO facilities and the emergence of tensions related to this with to the neighbours, the unexpected "Arab Spring," involving forces in Syria and Iraq contradict these statements.

Moreover, the absence of structures to materialise the declared importance of religion in foreign policy strives to characterise religion as "dependent" rather than a "variable" of the political decisions of foreign policy or there is a hidden Islamic agenda. It finds an Islamic base internal mobilisation and a return to certain foreign policy constants of the past.

⁴² Niyazi, "Islam and Tajikistan's Human and Ecological Crisis" in *Civil Society in Central Asia*, ed. M. Holt Ruffin and Daniel C. Waugh, (Seattle: Center for Civil Society International, 1999), 189-90.

⁴³ Yaacov Ro'i, "Islam in the FSU-An Inevitable Impediment to Democracy?" in *Democracy and Pluralism in Muslim Eurasia*, ed. Yaacov Ro'I, (London and New York: Frank Cass, 2004), 102.

⁴⁴ The Palestinian national movement.

⁴⁵ [...] the biggest danger we are facing at the moment is turning the national conflict between Israelis and Palestinians into a religious war between Judaism and Islam. Schenker, Hillel, "Religion and the Conflict", *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, Volume: 20/21, Issue: 4/1, 2015, Middle East Publications, East Jerusalem, 129-144.

REFERENCES

1. **Anja Hennig**, "Between Conflict and Cooperation: Religion and Politics in Europe", *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, Vol. 20/21, Issue: 4/1, 2015, East Jerusalem, pp. 121-128.
2. **Akiner Shirin**, "Prospects for Civil Society in Tajikistan," in *Civil Society in the Muslim World: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Aryn B. Sajoo, London and New York: I. B. Tauris, 2002, p. 160.
3. African Traditional Religions – ATRs.
4. **Angela M, Lahr**, "Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945-1960: The Soul of Containment," *Journal of Church and State*, Volume: 53, Issue: 4, Autumn 2011, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 682-683.
5. **Barack Obama**, "Remarks by the President on National Security" (speech, Washington DC, White House, May 21, 2009), www.whitehouse.gov/the_press_office/Remarks-by-the-President-On-National-Security-5-2109/.
6. **Bennett, Jeffrey S.**, "The Blue Army and the Red Scare: Politics, Religion, and Cold War Paranoia", *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, Vol. 16, Issue 2-3, 2015, Taylor & Francis Ltd., Abingdon.
7. **Berkley Center**, *Mozambique: Religious Peacebuilders Broker End to Civil War*, Washington DC, Georgetown University, 2013, pp. 13-32.
8. **Carolyn M. Warner** and **Stephen G. Walker**, "Thinking About the Role of Religion in Foreign Policy: A Framework for Analysis," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 7 (2011): 125.
9. **Casey Lucius**, "Religion and the National Security Strategy," *Journal of Church and State*, Volume: 55, Issue: 1, Winter 2013, Oxford University Press, pp. 50-70.
10. **Chingono Mark**, "Religion, politics and war: Reflections on Mozambique's Civil War (1977-1992)," *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Volume: 8, Issue: 2, Mar 2014, Victoria Island, pp. 31-42.
11. **Ellis Stephen** and **Gerrie ter Haar**, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1998.
12. **Englebert Pierre** and **Kevin Dunn**, *Inside African Politics*, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2013, p. 96.
13. **Gellar Sheldon**, "Beyond Islamists and Sufi Brotherhoods: Liberal Varieties of Islam in Africa and the Struggle for Tolerance and Democracy," in *Religious Ideas and Institutions: Transitions to Democracy in Africa*, ed. FU.mond Keller and Ruth Iyob, Pretoria, South Africa: UNISA Press, 2012.
14. **Hakim Zainiddinov**, "The Changing Relationship of the Secularized State to Religion in Tajikistan," *Journal of Church and State*, Volume:55, Issue:3, Summer 2013, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 456-477.
15. **Jeffrey Haynes**, *Transnational Religions and Soft Power*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2012
16. **John Madeley**, Religion and the Modern State, in: Jeff Haynes (ed.), *The Politics of Religion*, London 2006, p. 60.
17. **Jeffrey Haynes**, "Religion, Democracy and Civil Liberties: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Ramifications," *European Political Science: EPS* Volume: 12, Issue: 2 Jun 2013 Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke pp. 171-183.
18. **Karagiannis**, "The Challenge of Radical Islam in Tajikistan," *Asia Plus*, March 2, 2010, <http://news.tj/en/news/irpt-criticizes-poll>.
19. **Kjell Å. Modeér**, "Public and Private, a Moving Border", in: Silvio Ferrari/Sabrina Pastorelli (eds.), *Religion in Public Spaces*, Farnham 2012, p. 27.
20. **Muehlenbeck Philip E.** (Ed.), *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012, p. 12.
21. **Muehlenbeck Philip E.** (Ed.), *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012, p. 158.
22. **Niyazi**, "Islam and Tajikistan's Human and Ecological Crisis" in *Civil Society in Central Asia*, ed. M. Holt Ruffin and Daniel C. Waugh, Seattle: Center for Civil Society International, 1999, pp. 189-90.
23. **Patterson, Amy S.**, "Religion and the Rise of Africa", *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Vol. 21, Issue: 1, Fall 2014, The Brown Journal of World Affairs, Providence, pp. 181-196.
24. **Philip E. Muehlenbeck** (ed.), *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2012.
25. **Ranger R.**, "Religious Movements and Politics in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Afr. Stud. Rev.* 29(2), 1986, pp. 1-69.

26. **Raymond Haberski Jr.**, *God and War: American Civil Religion since 1945*, By New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012.
27. **Roesch O.**, "Peasants, War and Tradition in Central Mozambique", paper presented at a Symposium, *Symbols of Change: Transregional Culture and Local Practice in Southern Africa*, Free University of Berlin, 1993.
28. **Robinson David**, *Muslim Societies in African History*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 3-7.
29. **Salman Rushdie's Satanic Verses** (1989), *International Herald Tribune*, 8 February. Available at: <http://www.iht.com/articles/2006/02/07/news/islam.php>, accessed 14 May 2015.
30. **Schenker, Hillel**, "Religion and the Conflict", *Palestine - Israel Journal of Politics, Economics, and Culture*, Volume: 20/21, Issue: 4/1, 2015, Middle East Publications, East Jerusalem, pp. 129-144. [...] the biggest danger we are facing at the moment is turning the national conflict between Israelis and Palestinians into a religious war between Judaism and Islam
31. **T**The Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima
32. *The Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Associations*
33. The Palestinian national movement.
34. **Yaacov Ro'i**, "Islam in the FSU-An Inevitable Impediment to Democracy?" in *Democracy and Pluralism in Muslim Eurasia*, ed. Yaacov Ro'I, London and New York: Frank Cass, 2004, p. 102.