Samuel P. Huntington: Chosen Peoples? Gods, Nations, and Rulers—Religion and Nation in International Politics

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In March of 2002, a Harvard Academy research team received a grant for the project “Religion in Global Politics”. The aim of the research was to provide a systematic, broad, and comparative analysis of the impact on global politics of religious beliefs and organizations. The project was led by the veteran Harvard scholar Samuel P. Huntington. The result of his research into the link between religion and national identity and the question how they influence international relations was never finished or published. From the available unfinished manuscripts and various draft papers from the Harvard University Archives Samuel P. Huntington Personal Archive, the article tries to establish the content of Huntington’s probably last article while also providing the missing references for the first time and attempts to put the writing in its context within the author’s oeuvre.

Keywords: clash of civilizations, religions, nationality, Islam, Christianity

In March of 2002, a Harvard Academy research team received a grant for the project “Religion in Global Politics”. The aim of the research was to provide a systematic, broad, and comparative analysis of the impact on global politics of religious beliefs and organizations. Contribution was provided by members of the Harvard faculty amongst them Samuel P. Huntington, chairman of the Harvard Academy and Albert J. Weather head III University Professor.

The project linked five field related studies that examined the relationship of religious belief to political activity, such as national identity and political legitimacy, civil war and terrorism, the transition to democratic rights and regimes, conflict reduction, and issues related to the establishment of international order. The conducted research resulted in several monographs, three books, and a number of articles published in policy-making as well as academic journals.

As the draft version of the writing, together with some handwritten notes and emails, shows that Samuel P. Huntington was conducting a research in the field of religions in the context of the above mentioned project. In his works in the nineties he mentioned several times that, in his perception, a large religious revival was taking place that significantly influenced international relations. For this very reason he intended to study how human faith influenced international relations in the course of history and what consequences this impact can have in our world today. As several draft, unfinished and incomplete versions of this study are available in the Samuel P. Huntington personal archive, 1905-2008 at Harvard University this article is trying to explore these accessible files and try to establish what Huntington might want to assert in his probably last, never completed article.

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His writings and news clippings related to the two speeches he gave on the topic in circa 1999 (“Religious Persecution and Religious Relevance in Today’s World”) and in 2004 (“Chosen Peoples? Religions, National Identities, and Political Legitimacy”) are to be found in Box 88 of the archive. The draft version of his planned article with the final title “Chosen Peoples, Gods, Nations and Rulers” is dated between July 2004 and October 2005. They are in five different folders in Box 23 and Box 116 of the archive (Huntington, 2002-2005; 2004-2005a; 2004-2005b; 2005a; 2005b).

In one of the documents, most probably originally a grant application written before the summer of 2002, Huntington talks about the originally planned research and its proposed outcome, a possibly a 75-100 pages monograph till the end of the 2002/2003 academic year as a result. In a later message possibly written to his class (Huntington, 2004-2005a), he already referred to only 40-45 pages, and possibly to distinct pieces. In the available files, there is no information concerning the fact why the project was not finished or published or why it did not reach the originally targeted length.

To establish the proper order of the manuscript poses a certain difficulty and is not absolutely obvious because the numbering is misleading. Earlier and later draft versions are mixed so page numbering is not at all reliable. Sometimes it seems that different manuscripts were put among the pages of the article, not to mention the fact that the author’s corrections with his handwriting are not always entirely legible.

The proposed title of the article follows the speech of 2004 on the influence of religious faith, national identity, and national antagonisms as a large part of the manuscript being the text of this speech but the corrections dated for 23rd of August 2005 obviously modified this text significantly.

In a note, dated not before the 25th of October 2005, Huntington asks the participants of a class, most probably in the 3006 Government course, as some comments of a departmental colleague (dated 11/09/2005) are attached to the folder, to add their observations regarding the draft version of the article. In the note the veteran scholar admits that the article is far from ready and probably too long for a journal article because important parts were not finalized. He suggests the writing might need to be cut into two parts but he would like to ask for the comments of the readers in the question (Huntington, 2004-2005a).

It might be important to note that Huntington in his articles and also in his unpublished autobiographical book several times details his way of writing. He liked to work with undergraduate student, as in an interview he remarks graduate ones are already adjust their opinion according to the audience expectations, but undergraduates are fun to work with because of their honest criticism and original ideas. So the above mentioned possibility based on his note in the archive folder might very well be the truth and he did ask his students’ opinion about this piece as he had done so in the past in connection with other writings.

In the article Huntington seems to be willing to follow the logical pattern to construct his arguments he always used in so many books and journal articles. In the first few pages he gives the logical structure of the piece, mentioning the main points he wishes to cover and the final conclusion he intends to arrive at and then provides the detailed reasoning step by step to support his views.

From the topic it is obvious that the author remained at the subject of his probably most well-known and still most debated article which he then later extended into a book, *The Clash of Civilizations?* published in 1993 (Huntington, 1993) and the book version in 1996 (Huntington, 1996a). The theory was conceived in an era when the sudden collapse of the Soviet-Union created an unforeseen atmosphere. With the end of the ideological opposition between world powers, the USA and USSR, as only one major superpower with its worldview remained in the international arena several leading intellectuals expressed their views that the

victory in the political and the accompanying economic contention automatically brought about the world wide adoption and complete acceptance of western value system (political, financial, moral etc.), thus a new period of peace, “golden age” had dawned on firstly the west than through them on mankind.

Huntington was one of those realists¹ who contradicted these too “rosy” theories saying that the world certainly changed but it would mean new and unexpected challenges. He saw instead of a new golden age, a general crisis of identity among the nations that people were trying to answer in the traditional way. “The processes of economic modernization and social change throughout the world are separating people from long-standing local identities. They also weaken the nation state as a source of identity” (Huntington, 1993, p. 26). So ultimately it is an identity crisis that precipitates the change.

For this reason, people recognize themselves as what means the most to them, in terms of ancestry, religion, language, culture, values, customs, and institutions. So, in a similar way they identify themselves with cultural groups, tribes, ethnic groups, religious groups, nations and at the broadest level civilizations. States and peoples who share a common heritage or culture will find it easier to cooperate and will trust one another better. So global politics will be restructured along cultural lines (Huntington, 1997c).²

He asserted that the importance of nation states and their traditional strategic aims will remain, as they will need to have access to resources, and they will have economic objectives but he highlighted that a new, before never seen realignment of countries will be observed along civilizational characteristics. So countries will define their interests in cultural terms and they will be organized into blocs reflecting cultural similarities rather than ideological patterns or contending economic systems.

Following the same logic he also predicted that the major conflicts in the post-Cold-War world would not be ideological but rather would break out between countries or group of countries that belong to different cultural background thus the conflicts will be rather civilizational. As in his 1993 article he says: “Civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and, most important, religion” (Huntington, 1993, p. 25). Later, in this ground-breaking article he already expounds that, quoting Weigel (Weigel, 1991), the “unsecularization of the world”³ is a phenomenon already present at the end of the 20th century and this religious revival “provides a basis for identity and commitment that transcends national boundaries and unites civilizations”⁴.

The so often misunderstood or misinterpreted paradigm then states that with modernization the, until then bipolar, later unipolar, world is to be transformed as newly emerging regional power-center countries most probably will not follow the western cultural path but will try to go back to their own traditional roots and develop their own particular civilizational model. In other words he intended to stress that modernization does not necessarily means that technically, financially, and socially improving countries would not at all automatically accept westernization. For this reason Huntington in the closing paragraph of his seminal article

¹ In his lecture Huntington mentions other intellectuals who came to similar conclusion as him like: Max Beloff, Michael Lind, Kishore Mahbubani, etc.

² It is interesting to remark that in the presentation Huntington talks about cultures that transcend geographical frontiers and unite larger communities that share a common cultural heritage. Among the examples along Serbia, Russia, China, he mentions Hungary (27’34’’).

³ It is interesting to remark that the same Weigel wrote about Huntington’s theory in 2014: “Huntington’s original 1993 article, and the book that followed in 1996, are still worth reading, not at least because *The Clash of Civilizations* was the first book in generations in which a world-class political scientist took religion seriously as a dynamic, influential, and sometimes determining factor in world affairs” (Weigel, 2014).

⁴ Here Huntington refers to the work of Gilles Kepel (Kepel, 1991).

concludes that this new balance of power will require the “West to develop a more profound understanding of the basic religious and philosophical assumptions underlying other civilizations and the ways in which people in those civilizations see their interests” (Huntington, 1993, p. 49).

The Harvard scholar further explored the questions of civilization, though we need to remark, mostly focusing on the issues of the western civilization, in his articles from the period. In his last book, that also proved controversial⁵ as well, *Who Are We?* (Huntington, 2004b) raising the issue of American identity also dealt with the question of religion although it was not in the focus of the work. He argued⁶ that religion of the first North-American settlers, Protestantism, their spiritual commitment, and moral pledge for its teachings and values formed the American way of life that later managed to amalgamate into a nation, the millions of immigrants who chose the quickly developing republic as their new homeland in the course of the last couple of centuries.

Huntington’s major articles (the ones that are not responses to critiques) after 1993 also revolved around the different facets and aspects of identity. *The West Unique, Not Universal* (Huntington, 1996b); *The Erosion of American National Interests* (Huntington, 1997b); *After Twenty Years: The Future of the Third Wave* (Huntington, 1997a); *Robust Nationalism* (Huntington, 1999); *Religious Persecution and Religious Relevance in Today’s World* (Huntington, 2001); *Many Globalizations* (Berger & Huntington, 2003); *Dead Souls: The Denationalization of the American Elite* (Huntington, 2004a) all deal with the same question. For this reason all of these works, the above mentioned three books and the six major articles, can be regarded as the extended but still important parts of the civilizational paradigm.

As religions in Huntington’s view are of core importance in terms of defining the characteristics of civilizations in his 1993 article he already highlighted their role when outlining his paradigm for the first time as it was shown through the above quotes. So it is not surprising he wanted to clarify in a separate writing what role religions have in international relations, how they influence decision makers and decision making, and how religious beliefs inspire.

Another direct link also has to be mentioned. In 2001 Huntington published his article on religious persecution where he already dealt with the very material he was planning to focus on four years later. In this writing he already remarked: “In today world, religion has become centrally relevant to, first, the identity of states and nations, second, the legitimacy of governments, and third, the conflicts between peoples” (Abrams, 2002, p. 58).

Gods, Religions, Rulers

The five different folders contain several draft contents lists, at least three showing the evolution of the document as Huntington corrected, changed the text several times as the handwritten modifications in different colors indicate.

The 10 subtopics of the article intend to examine the relation between nationhood and religions, how they

⁵ Huntington did not look for controversies, neither panicked in case he was criticized. In his unpublished autobiographical book *The Big Picture* (Huntington, November 12, 2002), he comments that his former books, like *The Soldier and the State* (Huntington, 1957) and *Political Order in Changing Societies* (Huntington, 2006) also came under heavy scrutiny at the time of their publication but 20, 25 years later were referred to as a classic in their respective fields.

⁶ The idea that Protestantism is the incontestable ingredient of American identity as Huntington first explored in his book *Promise of Disharmony* (Huntington, 1981). Interestingly enough at the time of its publication 1981, this detail, along with the whole book, was much better received than in his last volume.

developed, how they interacted with each other. After attempting to provide a definition of human beliefs, both religious and secular, Huntington attempted to deal with the religions that always interested him the most, Christianity and Islam, and how they related to the question of nationhood in history.

Then the author wishes to provide the details of the process of secularization in Europe from the 17th century and proves that its development, contrary to previous expectations, had not continued since the end of the Cold War rather lists signs that the 21st century can expect a turning tide in this respect and easily will witness a religious revival.⁷

Among the files there is no indication why it was not published at a later time; probably further research will be needed to answer the question.

As the outline indicates, the draft manuscript (Huntington, 2004-2005a) was to cover only nine points from the proposed 10. In fact only the first six were found in their entirety; Islam: Ummah to Nation cannot be found; even earlier notes reveal very little about what the author wanted to add in this respect. The next one, America: God and Country, is practically the same little bit shortened version of what he wrote in *Who Are We?* in different chapters as it will be indicated.

The other point that was not entirely finished is the last one "Religious Dimension of America's Role in the World". To establish its intended content will be attempted according to a possibly grant application document found in another folder in Box 116 that gives relatively lengthy prompts about what the author wished to include in this section.

As it has been remarked, the article studies issues already touched upon by the author earlier but founding the topic important he wanted to explore further. Huntington finished his last book *Who Are We?* when analyzing the future prospects of the 21st century America making a statement that "religions and nationalism have gone hand in hand in history of the West" (Huntington, 2004b, p. 365).

The Question

This is the introduction of the writing that the author raises the questions he hopes to answer through the chapters going along the planned topics. In the life of a nation there are two forces, as Huntington starts the article, nationalism and religion that mean the deepest commitment everywhere in the world. Then he continues, in history leaders traditionally turned to religion to legitimize their rule and delegitimize their opponent.

The line between religious faith and national identity poses serious questions especially, as Huntington believes, the role of religion in spite of general expectation does not seem to be fading at the end of the 20th century but rather getting impetus. He intends to explore whether this religious revival shapes the antagonisms and alliances between states and whether political leaders attempt to use religion and national questions to maintain and increase their influence.

Huntington at the end of the article wishes to focus on the USA; he wants to see how American power in international affairs is influenced by these two factors, religion and nationality, how they are affected as a person, and how their foreign policy should be shaped by them.

Human Beliefs: Religious and Secular

In this section Huntington is trying to identify the reasons how religions developed. While explaining the

⁷ More or less the same is expressed by J. Fox roughly at the same time, who otherwise sharply criticized Huntington in connection with the Clash of Civilizations theory (Fox, 2006).

universality of religions for humans, he quotes the panel of leading children's doctors, research scientists, and youth service professional authors of *Hardwired to Connect* (Risk et al., 2003) who had found in their study that children are biologically "encoded" to be able to perceive moral and spiritual meanings which are needed for their healthy development. Huntington accepts it as scientific proof as well, together with the assertion that religious belief is deeply rooted in human nature. Defining exactly what religion is, he accepts Alston's nine (Edwards, 1970) points list, remarking that from which even a few can already characterize a religion, even adds a few more: (1) Religions normally have a founder who is revered as a god-like figure; (2) they have some organizational structure; (3) theological and doctrinal concepts; and (4) finally they have sacred places.

Huntington states that ideologies, which appeared around or after the Enlightenment, share the same characteristics except the belief in supernatural entities. Bring the example of Marxism referring to Moses Hess, an important figure of German socialism and someone who greatly influenced Marx. Hess wanted to copy Christian heaven but here on earth. Huntington summarizes his conclusion, probably surprisingly: "Political and economic ideologies are secular religions; religions are non-secular ideologies" (Huntington, 2002-2005). Here Huntington uses a topic and approach very similar to the one he had dealt with in his book *Who Are We?* (Huntington, 2004b, p. 103) when detailing the four aspects of the civil religion in the USA.

In the following, he analyses religions according to universality or particularity, whether they address a given particular group or intend to attract all. Originally a belief system characterized a specific community providing it transcendent reassurance, moral guidance and outsiders were excluded. He states, probably not entirely truthfully as Buddhism precedes it with several centuries, even the Judaist tradition knows of *goyim* who got converted, that Christianity was the first universal religion.

After describing what religion is, the definition of a nation is offered by the veteran scholar. He believes that in case a group identifies itself as a nation, controls a territory, is capable, or would be capable of establishing a state, and they share an identity, history, cultural legacy, language and religion, they can be called a nation. A nation should be distinguished from a communal group of people that share some of these characteristics because they can exercise political power over themselves.

Christianity, Islam, and Nationhood

In this section Huntington underlines the uncompromisingly universal aspect of Christianity that became a "path-breaking claim" in the setting of the Roman Empire. He believes Islam is even more universal but there is a fundamental difference in their approach. Accepting the reasoning of Lamin Sannah, he believes that "Scriptural translation...is the vintage mark of Christianity, whereas for Islam universal adherence to a nontranslatable Arabic Qur'an remains its characteristic feature" (Sanneh, 2015, p. 211). He shares Sannah's opinion also in the respect that Islam's success was partly due to the "perpetuation of the sacred Arabic" (Sanneh, 2015, p. 213).

Huntington believes that the literacy gap between Christian and Muslim societies can be attributed to the fact that Christian scriptures already from the beginning were translated to vernacular languages and thus contributed to the conversion of various peoples as their evangelization was conducted in their mother tongue. On the other hand in Islam the conquered communities had to accept the holy language along with the conquerors. These differences lead to the dissimilarities between the two religions in connection with nationhood. Christianity is multinational in its universalism, while Islam is non-national or even antinational.

Further on the history of Christianity is analyzed; how it became from a relatively unknown Jewish heretic sect into an imperial religion less than 300 years later and served the purposes of the “imperium” is till the collapse of the western part but continues this service in the east in the form of the Orthodox Church. In the meanwhile the papacy emerged in the west as the principal institution which was able to exceed the influence of the Holy Roman Empire. In short, the author states, Christianity became the synonym of (Western)-Europe.

A common Christian identity was expressed by the west, when being threatened by the expansion of Islam rose and started a holy war to liberate their Holy Land. Huntington agrees with Cox that by 1300s Europeans were able to define themselves in connection with a *Respublica Christiana*, “a religious-cultural entity to which no specific political institution corresponded, but which was nonetheless intersubjectively real” (Cox, 1992, p. 159). Huntington continues to investigate the development and he believes Europe by the 17th and 18th century became a community of Christian princes whose personal ambitions were constrained by only the common standards (Morgenthau, 1967).

Huntington goes on linking the conversion of Constantine, in 313, as the ruler of his empire with the birth of Christian nations when their ruler accepted Christian baptism thus extending this new identity to their realm and “subordinating the national church to the will of the national leader” (Hastings, 1997).

Several medieval king’s and ruler’s baptism is given, Armenia starting the line⁸, then several others including the Polish Miesko, and Prince Vladimir of Kiev.

In his earlier works Huntington devoted a lot of attention to the birth of Protestantism from a different aspect (Huntington, 1981, p. 149); now he calls this Christian church the cement that held England together with Wales and Scotland and which became the symbol of patriotism also in Sweden while Catholicism gave the identity of France and Spain (Hayes, 2016). So as he emphasizes, in the second half of the early modern period, religion and nationality merged which meant that dissenters were regarded as disloyal subjects.

Secularization and Religious Revival

Huntington agrees with Rodney Stark (Stark, 2006) that the role of religion in human affairs was first challenged by British thinkers and publicists in the late 17th century. Then he goes on explaining the theorists of the Enlightenment predicted that religion as a source of understanding of human understanding would soon fade and disappear entirely since science was going to uncover all secrets and thus disclose religions’ fables and myths. The modern era was thought to be without doubt the period of secularization.

Huntington distinguishes five points that are used to support the prediction concerning the final victory of secular world view. First, western societies increasingly became secularist form decision making to science. Second, the public role of religion became less and less important; third, the legitimacy of rulers did not depend any more on the sanctions of religious authorities. Fourth, people frequented church services more scarcely. The last point mentioned is the decline of religious thinking: People regard religion, God, and everything related to the transcendent less important.

Although secularization started in Europe, thanks to the effects of European imperialism, knowledge, technology, and values on the elites of the entire non-European world is much further reaching. Till around the end of the 20th century, the author continues, social and economic modernization seemed to be going to the direction of secularization, and even empirical evidence seemed to support this view. Nonetheless, new, and

⁸ Huntington’s wife was from an Armenian family.

surprising evidence began to emerge in the last decade of the 2nd millennium that seemed to indicate religion was not going to disappear after all. As Huntington states it was almost global since all continents but Europe manifested these signs.

Interestingly enough, Huntington here quotes Gill Kepel's book *La Revanche de Dieu* (Kepel, 1991) just as he refers to it in two of his earlier works: the *Clash of Civilizations?* and *Who Are We?* With other similar references that he uses, their frequent recurrence might support the thesis that he was in fact writing just one treatise on civilizational issues and the possible future that awaits the west at the turn of the millennium addressing its various facets from different angles.

Huntington, when talking about the religious resurgence, identifies a few reasons that contributed to its emergence. First, people generally need some form of implicit or explicit set of beliefs that provides a transcendental framework to the various aspects of their lives. Nonetheless, in the 18th century, religious beliefs began to lose to secular ideologies which became more and more popular. By the end of the 20th century though, some of these ideologies came to be entirely discredited and abandoned or lost their appeal due to their overt universality and blandness like liberal democracy so their character as a faith was lost so in the spiritual vacuum people returned to religion as a source of morality. As Huntington puts it, this religious revival can be regarded as return to normality.

The second point why religions became popular again is the fact that thanks to urbanization a large proportion of the rural population headed to big cities who because of the great changes were trying to find spiritual support in their insecurities, so they returned to their religious roots.

The third reason according to the author was modern democratic political practice. Politicians trying to motivate to vote tried to call on different groups, among others ethnic and religious ones so they encouraged voters to separate themselves into ethnically and religiously homogenous groups.

In spite of the present religious revival that is confirmed by other authors and publications (Wallis & Carter, 2008) independently from Huntington, the American scholar emphasizes its temporal nature. He thinks that it is caused by modernization and democratization but in the future in case people will be able to satisfy their emotional and spiritual needs the will fade and receive a different form.

This remark shows Huntington true disposition towards religions, Protestantism, as he was often accused of Christian fundamentalism. In his autobiographical work *The Big Picture* that was published only in Japan in Japanese but never in English, as it seems from some letters of his publisher due to property issues, he talks about his worldview. Although he repeatedly calls himself a child of Niebuhr, the famous Protestant preacher and realist writer at the time and after of the 2nd World War, and he regarded American Episcopalian Church close to him, he never confessed any affiliation to any denomination as a committed member (Huntington, November 12, 2002).

Components of National Identity

Huntington seeks to examine the mechanisms that help to construct a nation. He compares the German concept that is linguistic and cultural but was defined by a law in 1913 as based on ancestry while the French is rather cultural, granting French identity to those immigrants who agreed to assimilate.⁹

Huntington believes that national identity might change due to the changes in its components just as

⁹ The reference to German and French identity can be found in Huntington, 2004b, p. 32.

religion. In the course of the 16th and 17th religion was vital in Europe. Then the religious wars created homogeneity and established churches on the continent. Nonetheless, the next two centuries saw the importance of believes in the transcendent decrease and nationality was more and more linked to language. Governments were all over Europe who were promoting institutions that enforced the official national language and forced non authenticated versions of dialects and forms of cultural identity to move toward extinction. At the same time minority communities began to request recognition and independent statehood.

Huntington also adds that with the two major revolutions, American and French, an ideological component was also supplemented peoples' perception of nationality. He brings examples from the American, French, Japanese, etc. history, how their approach to national identity became established by the early 20th century. Russia's new source of identity after the Russian Revolution, in contrast, became communistic ideology. Later communism encompassed several other Eastern-European countries as well but it often came to be just one component of their national identity.

Religions and Nations Today

In this chapter Huntington explains that in his view religion and nationality are linked in three ways in our world. First, there are a lot of countries that are homogenous religiously, but there are primary and secondary religions that can be found there. He gives a list how primary and secondary beliefs can be varied. His list though is not entirely ready, even the text explaining it has not been finalized, the proportions of the religions are given in two countries only, but the names of the countries are missing. It seems as if he was still looking for justification for the theory, nonetheless a typically "Huntingtonian" conclusion is drawn: "a high correspondence exists between nationality and religion. For most people their passport tells you their god" (Huntington, 2002-2005). Elsewhere in a previous version of the article he adds that it is true only outside the Muslim world.

The second way according to the Harvard scholar is that religious commitment and nationalism go together. He asserts that religious commitment of people correlates with their patriotic feelings. "Religious countries are nationalist countries". To prove the statement he refers to a graph that shows a clear relation between being proud of one's nationality and religious commitments from the research of Ronald Inglehart and Marita Carballo (1997) who found that different cultural zones can be distinguished and there exists a huge difference in values in different cultural zones.¹⁰

Third, the author continues, several countries' presence is still markedly defined by their founding religion in spite of the fact that they might have lost affiliation or faith in that religion. He enumerates, the example of Holland, the USA, and Sweden where although they are highly secularized, protestant values are still respected such as hard work, morality, equality, etc.

Huntington seems to agree with Gaines M. Foster (Foster, 1996) claiming that religion and national identity need to be in harmony otherwise cognitive dissonance might develop. This dissonance is especially problematic in case of a religious minority in a country where the religion is different from the one that had shaped the country's identity. He continues denoting Inglehart's (Inglehart, 1998) other research, the values of e.g.: Dutch or American Catholics more similar to the ones of their protestant compatriots than other Catholics elsewhere.

¹⁰ Huntington uses the same chart in Huntington, 2004b, p. 366.

Huntington concludes that political leaders might attempt to alter their countries' religious identity, as required by their political ambitions. He mentions the example of Estonia, where after the collapse of the Soviet Union the politicians tried to strengthen the Lutheran past in the already largely secularized country just in order to redefine their identity and make it a Scandinavian country, although Finland and Sweden their closest Scandinavian neighbors have also lost most of their Lutheran heritage. Huntington finally emphasizes the inseparable link between religion and identity.

Europe: Religious Vacuum, Muslim Challenge

Huntington in this chapter which is dated on 29th of October, so a few days later than the previous sections (Huntington, 2002-2005), intends to deal with the spiritual climate of the old continent. He explains that European countries having lost their Christianity to secular ideologies like liberalism, conservatism, communism, fascism, etc., later lost their deep commitment to these as well. What is left is a kind of humanitarianism that embodies consensus but not commitment. He adds a chart (Schmitt & Scholz, 2002) to the manuscript that details the decline in church attendance in the European Union between 1970 and 1999.

While other continents, Huntington continues, witnessed a spiritual revival at the end of the 20th century and religions started again to influence people's life, in Europe the tendency of secularization continued, creating a religious vacuum. He observes that in the long run such vacuum is not sustainably according to the historical evidence mentioning a few signs of such spiritual ventures in Europe but he warns that further responses will be shaped by the actual trends and ideological climate so he underlines the possibility of the rise of an anti-American movement since the USA is the center of global power structure as European youth will react against this vacuum.

Nonetheless, a more concrete attempt to fill this spiritual vacuum, according to the author, logically will come from Islam which interacts with Europe on several levels. He distinguishes two main directions of Islamic influence, first of all Muslim immigration, then the intensified relations with the Islamic world, both have their deep impact in the European countries individually and their community, the European Union. He believes the given countries need to decide they are secular, Catholic, Protestant, or multi-religious, just as collectively the EU needs to decide about its religious identity, whether its secular, Christian, or multi-religious. 15 years after this question it can be stated that the issue has been decided and the EU identifies itself as secular.¹¹

He goes on describing religious identity issues which, in some cases, might have concrete consequences, like demographic, social, and economic; at other times they have very far reaching effects on individual and collective identities without political or practical significance. Then he brings the well-known example of the preamble of the EU constitution which after a long debate omitted any reference to Christianity thus most probably, as Huntington assumes, impacting the community of European Christians and their religious identity.

After this situation of France is analyzed which, he believes, most significantly shows the symptoms of the above mentioned spiritual vacuum and significant Islamic presence in its culture. According to Huntington for the French, their culture, history, tradition, and values are all very important except religion. The origins of the secularism, this *laïcité* is to be found in the revolution that explicitly wanted to serve all ties between the executive power and the Catholic Church. Huntington quotes Tim King who states that the French believes in

¹¹ Only a few countries, like Hungary are against the tide and identify themselves as a Christian country <https://edition.cnn.com/videos/world/2018/10/03/hungary-peter-szijarto-amanpour.cnn>.

laïcité just as if it was a religion which “has become a religion in itself, with its own dogma and intolerance” (King, 2003).

Nonetheless, Huntington believes this structure has been challenged by the Muslim community in France, who in 2005 represented approximately eight percent of the country’s population. Their religious commitment and practice, sometimes their adherence to the teaching of the Koran or the sharia, have been regarded by some French as threat to their traditional identity as the quoted official Bernard Stasi, former education minister and head of a presidential 20-member commission that recommended the law to ban religious symbolism in school says it: “There are indisputably Muslims or ... groups seeking to test the resistance of the republic, that bear a grudge against the values of the republic, that want France to no longer be France” (2019)¹².

In the following Huntington details how finally the law banning headscarves was accepted by both houses of the legislation and endorsed by the overwhelming majority of the French public. Religious groups, Catholics, Protestants, but even Sikhs along with the U.S. State Department together with the Archbishop of Canterbury expressed their concerns in connection with “a secular environment that looks at religion not only with suspicion or incomprehension but with fear” (France-Presse, 2003). So as the author concludes this Islamic challenge instigated an answer from the French establishment being supported by the majority of the people that redefined secular French religion.

Huntington considers that Muslims challenge the existing spiritual vacuum in Italy as well. In this country the proportion of Muslims is much lower than in their neighbor state but the general fear against their threat is strong. Huntington reminds the readers to the event in 2001 when a teacher removed the crucifix from a classroom as it might offend Muslim students. In the author’s report the answer was loud and unanimous and united the Italian society as the principal quoted by Huntington is quite telling: “Muslims, should know when they come here that this is a Catholic state” (Henneberger, 2001). He concludes that being Italian is virtually equals being Catholic, and then continues that for them the crucifix is a national symbol just like the Stars and Stripes for Americans.

Huntington continues with the next episode of the Italian drama when a judge ordered a school to remove the cross after the complaint of a Muslim woman. The fury reports the veteran Harvard scientist of the whole society was unanimous. He quotes Giuseppe Vacca, a former member of the Parliament for the Communist Party whose anger is like from a Don Camillo story: “I don’t know of a higher symbol in the world than Christ’s cross” (“Defending the Public Display of the Crucifix”, 2003).

Huntington next refers to the first event when the EU as a whole was going to face the issue whether the continent’s identity is secular or religious. The convention drafting the European Union’s constitution first made a clear reference in the text about God and Christian heritage among other cultural impacting factors but later this allusion was dropped. Christian church leaders like Pope John Paul II and others lobbied to urge drafters to make “a clear reference to God and Christian faith” (Mudrov, 2016, p. 6)¹³.

At the final vote two opposing parties emerged, one that supported that God and Christianity should be mentioned and another who rejected the idea. Finally a preamble was accepted that mentioned Europe’s humanist inheritance but made no mention of God or Christianity. Huntington as a conclusion quotes a French delegate “We don’t like God” (Woodward, 2003).

¹² Huntington quotes the sentence but it was not possible to establish the exact location from where. The same quote has been found and referred to: <http://archive.thedailystar.net/2004/02/25/d402251504115.htm> (last accessed on January 27th, 2019).

¹³ Huntington gives no indication what was the source of this quote. Other authors also quote it e.g., Mudrov, 2016, p. 6.

The second event affected as a whole the religious identity of the EU mentioned by the author is the EU accession of Turkey. The Turkish candidature was accepted only in 1999 but, as Huntington rightfully reports, in 2002 the European Commission refused to set a date for starting the negotiations with the country. Till the writing of the article altogether 13 states have joined the EU since the Turks applied in 1987.¹⁴

Huntington mentions a few reasons that might have contributed to the derailment of the process: human rights, poverty, migration etc.; nonetheless he believes the real reason behind the rejection, as the 13 countries were all Christian in Huntington's consideration, is based on Turkey's different majority religion. To support his view he quotes Pope John Paul II's subtle comment on the Turkish accession to the EU: "common European house" was built with "the cement of that extraordinary religious, cultural and spiritual heritage that has made Europe great down the centuries" (Sciolino, 2002). Huntington adds another less subtle quote from Archbishop Christodoulos: "The barbarians cannot enter the family of Christians because we cannot live together" (Grigoriadis, 2009, p. 54).

As Huntington reports in the process all German governing party leaders and state officials, in spite of their close ties with Turkey, opposed the Turkish membership. The former French president, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, was even aggressive when talking about the accession: It would mean "the end of the European Union"¹⁵.

Huntington finds this hostility surprising because, in his view, Turkey and France share a lot in common; they both define themselves as secular in spite their population identify themselves as adherents to Muslim, or Catholic religions. As the author concludes although there are some similarities in the way, both states try to define themselves as secular; for the ex-French president the difference between Islam and Christianity is more important.

Islam: Ummah Versus Nation

Unfortunately this chapter is entirely missing from the manuscript. Nonetheless some ideas can be reconstructed from the author's notes made almost exactly one year prior to the draft version with the title "24 August 2004 Monica Workshop" (Huntington, 2004-2005a).

From the rather dense notes it can be deduced that Huntington believed a stronger religious commitment.

America: God and Country

Huntington at the end of the article reaches the topics that really interest him how the two factors nation and religion influence American life and how the USA international relations should reflect the conclusions. Unfortunately the available fragments do not add much new to the ideas already developed and detailed in *Who We Are?* He lists four points that are crucial in connection with American national identity as in his book published in 2004.

First, Americans are very patriotic. Huntington to prove his argument uses the same quotes he already utilized in his book *Who Are We?* He mentions again the three World Values Surveys (Huntington, 2004b, p. 214) that found that Americans are extremely proud of their country; in fact they came out as first in this respect (Inglehart et al., 2014). He also recycles the quotation from Russell Dalton already used in *Who Are We?* (p. 276).

¹⁴ Today, January 29, 2019, 16 chapters have been opened and one has been closed from the necessary 35.

¹⁵ The exact quote cannot be identified; the same words are quoted by *The Independent* (Castle, 2002).

Second, he explains that Americans are amongst the most religious people in the world. To reason his point he uses pages 86-87 of his book *Who Are We?* from the chapter "Religion and Christianity" also using some of the references as well.

Third, he connects the level of American religiosity with patriotism as in his view the correlation exists because of American history just as he did in *Who Are We?* (pp. 64-66). In the new continent Reformation created new societies which had entirely religious purpose. For this reason in the 17th and 18th century Americans determined identity according to the Bible. He asserts that for Americans commitment in faith and national identity cannot be separated.

Fourth, Huntington refers to the Great Awakenings, he identified a number of periods of American history when religious issues received more focus and spiritual commitments became stronger for people, so much that social and political institutions were affected as a result. Huntington believes that the movement around year 2000 is the fifth such awakening when politicians were encouraged to speak openly about their religious views in the election process (Huntington, 2004b, pp. 75-80).

Huntington in his notes dated from 2004 makes reference to America as a fundamentally Christian country, as it has been confirmed by several presidents and the Supreme Court, which has lost a great deal of its commitment due to secularization. Nonetheless, he believes the religious revival is significantly changing the climate, which he proves his theory with the fact that the country is the target of Islam extremism because it is a Christian Country.

Religious Dimension of America's Role in the World and Implications for Policy

To establish the last section the previously mentioned workshop notes need to be used in the attempt to establish what Huntington might be preparing to include in this topic. He, first of all, underlines that the significance of the current religious revival on national identity and political legitimacy can be contentious and can have various effects on the whole society. So national governments and international institutions need realize the possible religious aspect of their actions and the way they exercise power. He believes broad guidelines need to be worked out urgently in this respect that are acceptable to all actors, governments, international organizations, and religious movements in the same way.

Huntington believes that major religions on several points share common values and they have mutual aims in this respect differing from 20th century ideologies. As the continuation of some modest forms of cooperation a global council of religions should be formed which could promote these common goals.

The author thinks that all these ties between religion and legitimacy should have implications for their international policy. He poses the question how much USA should promote the objective of free religious practice in case it might challenge the nationality of given countries and the rule of their leaders. He also asks whether the USA has a special responsibility towards Christians in the world and it is their task to provide protection for them against any form of discrimination and persecution.

In connection with the previous issue he also wonders what role of religious organizations should have that can have an impact on American foreign policy, e.g., what influence Jewish and Evangelical groups should have on the way the USA deals with the issues of the Middle East. In a very similar question he tries to address the issue if religious aid organizations should be supported on a governmental level especially they should be given higher priority than other religiously non-affiliated institutions.

The last question raised in the notes seems to be the most sensitive and has the longest consequences in terms of American foreign politics as Huntington is attempting to explore the possibility of cooperation of moderate Muslim governments, of at least to secure their neutrality against extremist Islamist movements and groups.

Conclusions

Huntington's last article contains a lot of details the author had used in his earlier articles as it has been presented. He also "recycled" a number of statistics and other references sometimes keeping their original context sometimes changing their function he had used them for earlier. All in all, the draft article absolutely lacks the final touch and in its present format it certainly cannot be listed together with other writings that fully develop one or more ideas. Nonetheless, in the work Huntington certainly formulates some interestingly new ideas, like the notion of secular religions or the approach Christianity and Islam influenced nationhood in their respective territories though they are not articulated in their full details. Certain points are mentioned but not treated or detailed in a sufficient way thus remain problematic, e.g., the issue of citizenship and the membership in a nation. In a similar way Huntington does not really clarify and distinguish the nuances why he believes the non-acceptance of immigrants in Germany or France takes place because of religious reasons and not due to racial issues.

It can also be added that some phrases that are typical to Huntington, and similar ones worked very well in his earlier works now insufficiently detailed and remain a bit to "rudimentary", and remain an overstatement to be persuasive for the readers, e.g., "For most people their passport tells you their god" or "to be Italian is to be Catholic".

In spite of all of its shortcomings the article in its still unfinished state provides interesting insight into the way of work, one of the most influential thinkers of the Cold War and post-Cold War era. "" "

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