



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Epilogue: Religion and Order in Society. The Political-Theological Challenges of our Age

Labuschagne, B.C.; Labuschagne B.C.

Citation

Labuschagne, B. C. (2004). Epilogue: Religion and Order in Society. The Political-Theological Challenges of our Age. In *Religion and Society in Times of Migration. A clash of civilizations?* (pp. 80-88). Leiden / Den Haag: Universiteit Leiden / Deltahage. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14975>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Leiden University Non-exclusive license](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14975>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).



Universiteit Leiden

Faculty of Law
Department of the Interdisciplinary Study of the Law
Section Philosophy of Law

Labuschagne, B.C. (2004). Epilogue: Religion and Order in Society. The Political-Theological Challenges of our Age. In B.C. Labuschagne (Ed.), *Religion and Society in Times of Migration. A clash of civilizations?* (Annelien Kappeyne van de Coppello lecture series, 2004) (pp.80-88). Leiden / Den Haag: Universiteit Leiden / Deltahage.



Universiteit Leiden

Religion
&
Society in Times of Migration

A clash of civilizations?

Annelien Kappeyne van de Coppello lecture series 2004

Annelien Kappeyne van de Coppello

In the fifties, Annelien Kappeyne van de Coppello studied law at Leiden University. Both during and after her studies she lived at Gerecht 10 in Leiden. This house, being taken care of by the Kappeyne Foundation, has always been in use as student housing. Kappeyne van de Coppello's political career was characterized by her strong commitment to the freedom of speech of each individual, not only during her period as a member of Parliament – de Tweede Kamer – as a representative of the VVD (1971-1981), but also during her years as Under-Secretary for 'Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid' (1982-1986). Her most important achievement in this field was the addition of an extra line in the Dutch constitution guaranteeing the integrity of the human body ('onaantastbaarheid van het menselijk lichaam'). In 1981 she was one of the champions for suffrage for non-Dutch citizens at local elections. In this she opposed to most of her fellow VVD members of parliament, which among other things resulted in her decision not to stand for parliament in that year's elections. Her open-mindedness and commitment to the emerging multi-ethnic Dutch society constitutes a source of inspiration for on-going study of today's society.



Universiteit Leiden

Religion & Society in Times of Migration

A clash of civilizations?

Annelien Kappeyne van de Coppello lecture series 2004

Dear reader,

You have just opened this fine booklet and started to read in it, maybe in order to orient or inform yourself – as an ‘outsider’, someone who did not participate in an Honours Class – what the Honours Class *Religion and Society in Times of Migration: a Clash of Civilizations?* 2004 has been about, or maybe to read back – as an ‘insider’, someone who participated as a student or a lecturer – what has been going on during all the meetings of this Honours Class. Maybe you are interested to learn something about the results of all the efforts the students took in order to complete their Honours Class successfully. Well, neither of you will be disappointed, because what you will find in this booklet, is a collection of the very essays the Honours Class-students have written during this Honours Class. The subject has been tackled from several points of view, as the reader can discover easily. But a common thread is all the more discernable: an intellectual eagerness and a true philosophical curiosity about the complexities of religion and order in society. Let these students guide you through the thornbushes of multiculturalism and the narrow, stony roads between religious pluralism and common values. And be aware that such an effort could never have been realised, were it not for the adage of Leiden University: *Praesidium Libertatis*.

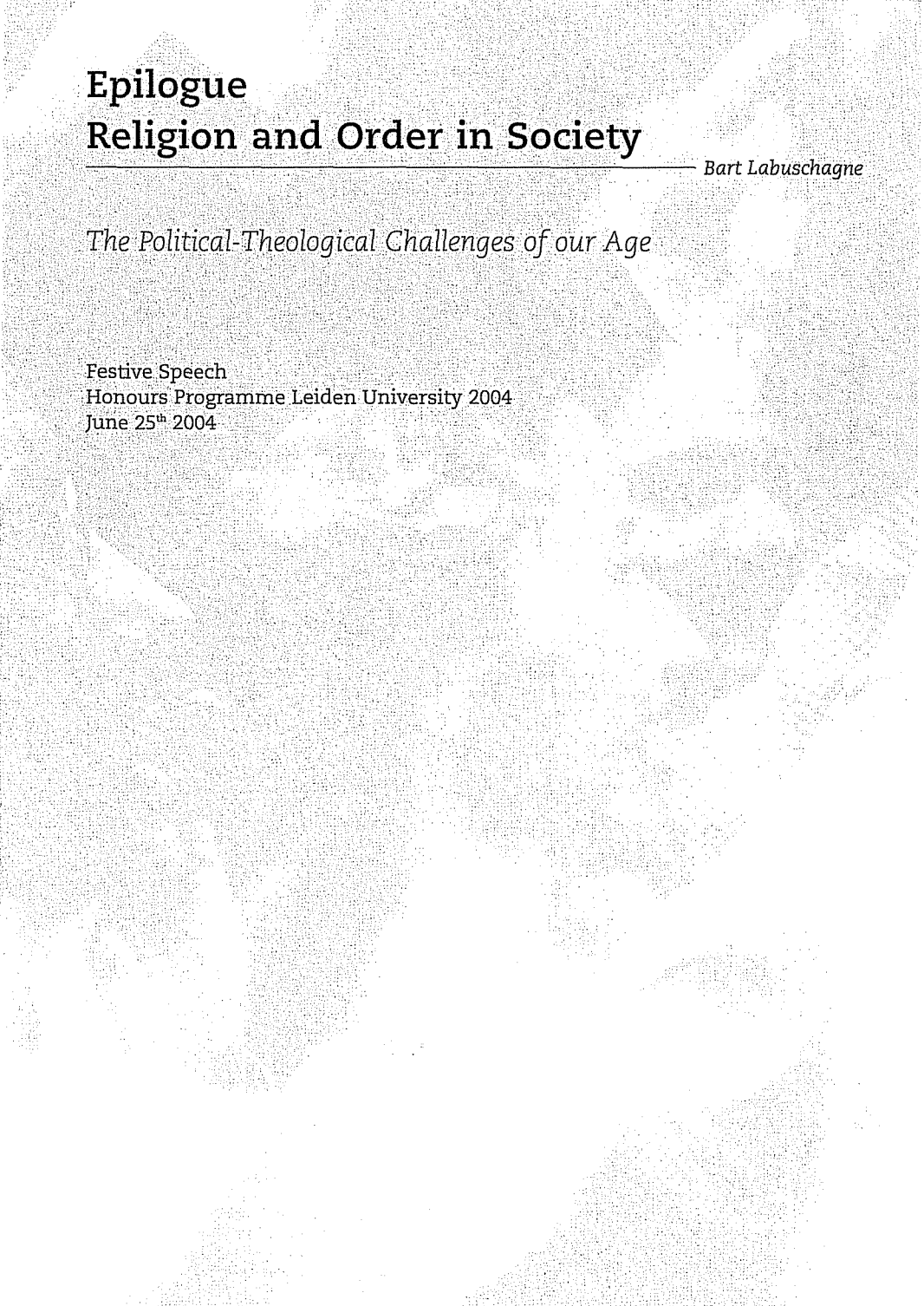
On behalf of the Organising Committee,
Dr. Bart Labuschagne
Faculty of Law

The Honours Class *Religion and Society in Times of Migration: a Clash of Civilizations?* 2004 was organised by members of the Faculties of Theology, Law and Arts of Leiden University.
Among them were Dr. Meerten ter Borg, Dr. Bart Labuschagne, and Dr. Liesbeth Schreve-Brinkman.

This booklet is printed by ‘DeltaHage grafische dienstverlening’

Contents

Religion in Times of Migration <i>An Anthology</i> , Bas Hengstmengel	4
Panta rhei <i>Immigration societies, politics and religions</i> , Sarah Spronk	10
Islam: religion or culture? <i>Does Islam transform from religion into culture when Muslims migrate to Western Europe?</i> , Cisline Basmagi	18
Tolerance or Persecution? <i>China and the Falun Gong</i> , Willem Pronk	28
Fundamentalism and Modernity <i>Survival and interrelatedness</i> , Jan-Jaap van Halem	36
Religion and Social Cohesion <i>A double-edged sword in the information age?</i> , Hetty van den Oever	46
Education and common values in a changing state <i>Alienation versus integration from nation-state to immigration-state</i> , Bob Willemsen	52
Modernity # 3 <i>The solidarity of the shaken</i> , Jeanne van Rutten	62
Respect for diversity versus fundamentalism <i>Can religions resolve conflict?</i> , Rob Doeleman	70
Epilogue Religion and Order in Society <i>The Political-Theological Challenges of our Age</i> , Bart Labuschagne	80
About the Honours Class <i>'Religion in Times of Migration, a clash of Civilisations?'</i> The organising committee	84
Bibliography	86



Epilogue
Religion and Order in Society

Bart Labuschagne

The Political-Theological Challenges of our Age

Festive Speech
Honours Programme Leiden University 2004
June 25th 2004

Austria, April 1938. A remarkable book is published in Vienna, called *Die Politischen Religionen* (*The Political Religions*). In it, National Socialism is severely, thoroughly and deeply criticised as a false, innerworldly, political religion, a movement that could only grow as a substitute for religion, in a society that had been cut off since long from its original and traditional religious and spiritual roots. Secularisation and modernization has made modern man defenseless from spiritual temptations that promised redemption and glorification in this world.

A month earlier, Austria was annexed to Germany through the notorious Anschluss. The National Socialist occupation resulted in the confiscation of the book, and printing ceased. The author of the book, Erich Voegelin, at the time of the invasion an *ausserordentlicher* professor at Vienna University, was fired from his position. The Gestapo tried to get hold of his passport, in order to prevent him from fleeing the country, but Erich Voegelin and his wife Lissy managed to escape via Switzerland to the United States of America. Voegelin was one of the many refugees from Europe, who had suffered under the Nazi regime, among such others as Leo Strauss, Hannah Arendt, Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno. This migration turned out to be a blessing in disguise. It enabled Voegelin to research and teach at several American Universities, and made it possible to create a vast and highly original work of scholarship on religion and order in society that has only very recently been re-discovered in America and Europe as well.

Migration, religion and order in society

Migration is an important phenomenon of globalization nowadays. No matter the causes of migration, be it oppression or poverty, the consequences of it are nevertheless felt everywhere. This is one of the reasons why late-modern societies in the West are increasingly multicultural and multi-religious in character. The problem of order in these societies, under pressure from divergent and even conflicting loyalties of its new citizens – heavily challenged after 9/11 and 3/11 – has caused great concern among politicians, jurists, intellectuals and academics. How can multicultural and multi-religious societies be held together under a single legal order that is also experienced as a just legal order?

The prevailing legal and political philosophy of Liberalism, with its stress on individual rights, the rule of law and separation of powers, did quite well under monocultural circumstances. This was because liberalism itself could not and need not articulate the high values from which these legal and political concepts derived. Western civilization itself was the repository of values such as humanity, solidarity, justice, mutual trust and good faith. Since the Enlightenment, however, these values were considered to be self-containing, and in not in any respect related to religion. On the contrary: religion was increasingly kept at bay and the ensuing steady process of secularisation was more or less encouraged. 'Who

needs religion? Not modern, enlightened man. Let those who cherish their Bibles or Korans keep their holy books back home. Societal order can do without any religion whatsoever.' We can still hear these voices, pleading for a strict *laïcité* in the public sphere today.

Great was therefore the confusion of this so-called modern, enlightened man, when he discovered that many of these newly immigrant citizens were indeed religiously inspired and demanded their own place under the liberal sun of the western world. At first, his reflexes were very liberal indeed: Freedom of religion should entail a Muslim's freedom to preach any kind of Jihad, great or small. Who is to decide why mosks or Muslims schools constitute a threat to liberal society? Nevertheless, soon this modern, liberal man started to entertain serious doubts. Was it after all such a good idea to stimulate a religious identity? How can adherents of such a non-Western belief be induced to believe in democracy and the rule of law? But the problem seems to be, in fact, that modern liberalism can offer very little justification for any curbing at all of a fundamental freedom for adherents of a non-western religion, also in the eyes of these believers themselves, let alone for any temptation to let them believe in the unspoken and pre-supposed values of Western society. Were these values after all indeed of a religious, maybe of a civil religious character? Suddenly, religion was discovered as a *seriously overlooked factor in late-modern societies*. We were after all indeed 'among the believers'! And what do we believe ourselves?

Voegelin revisited

Here is where Eric Voegelin comes in. His intellectual heritage may help us to understand what has been going on since centuries, and why modernity has suffered from a lack of articulation of fundamental values from which the modern state derives its legitimacy, especially under multicultural and multi-religious circumstances.

In December 1938, Eric Voegelin – who had in the meantime got a chair at Harvard University and had dropped the “h” from his name Erich, henceforth Eric, as a tribute to his new home-country – wrote a new preface to the re-edition of *Die Politischen Religionen*, to be published in Stockholm, Sweden in 1939.¹ In this preface, Voegelin responded to the criticism of Thomas Mann that he was not sufficiently critical of the Nazis, emphasizing his opposition to collectivism and stating the importance of carefully analyzing the spiritual and religious roots of totalitarianism rather than providing only a moral condemnation of such movements. Focussing on ethical condemnation alone obscured the nature of the problem, because it “diverts attention from the fact that a deeper and much more dangerous evil is hidden behind the ethically condemnable actions.”² True resistance must penetrate to the religious roots of morally abhorrent actions and ideas, which provide a much more philosophically and spiritually sound foundation for opposition than attacking the problem at the level of moral convention. “Resistance against a satanical substance that is not only morally

but also religiously evil can only be derived from an equally strong, religiously good force. One cannot fight a satanical force with morality and humanity alone.”³

The problem of National Socialism was indicative of the larger Western crisis and Voegelin's response to it was already evident in *Die Politischen Religionen*. The problem was 'the secularisation of the soul and the separation of the soul from 'its roots in religiousness'. Voegelin's work can be read as a counterpoint to that of Max Weber, whose chair in Munich Voegelin was to take in 1958, after being vacant for more than forty years after his sudden death. Weber's thesis of the 'disenchantment' of the modern world was countered by Voegelin in his thesis that modern man – who is still in need of religion – has found or created 'substitutes' for religion, and that this has led modern man completely and dangerously astray.

Voegelin's motto for future research and academic endeavour was clear: back to the spiritual and religious roots of Western civilization, in order to rediscover the historical sources from which this civilization derives its quality and strength. In short, these sources can be found both in classical antiquity, especially in Greek philosophy, and in the Judeo-Christian spiritual tradition in which an image of man – as an unique and free being – was reached that reflected the true order of the soul, as close as until now turned out possible in the history of mankind.

Conclusion

The problem of religion and order in society turns out – *pace* Voegelin – to be a problem of the order of the soul. Man's religiousness, his quest for meaning within a larger whole of which he forms an integral part, is something too important to leave it to theologians alone. Political, legal and moral philosophers must take account of man as a whole, including his spiritual and religious needs. To exclude the religious dimension of man, either out of unwillingness or mere ignorance (which is even worse) is a too dangerous an option for legal, moral and political philosophy. When philosophy – and *a fortiori* academics and intellectuals in general – cannot come to grips with this spiritual dimension of man, no solution at all will be reached for the problem of religion and order in society.

1 Re-issued by Peter J. Opitz, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, Munich 1993.

2 Quoted in: *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin, Vol 5, Modernity without Restraint*, ed. Manfred Henningsen, University of Missouri Press, Columbia / London, 2000, 'The Political Religions, Preface, p. 24.

3 *Loc. cit.*

About the Honours Class

The organising committee

'Religion in Times of Migration, a clash of Civilisations?'

The lecturers of the Honours Class

Prof.dr. Roel Meijer – University of Nijmegen, Prof.dr. Barend ter Haar – University of Leiden, Prof.dr. Sjoerd van Koningsveld – University of Leiden, Dr. Peter van Krieken – Webster University, Dr. Meerten ter Borg – University of Leiden, Prof.dr. Rolf Schieder – University of Berlin, Dr. Kutsal Yesilkagit – University of Utrecht, Mr. Wilfried Martens – Minister of State, Belgium, Dr. Afshin Ellian – University of Leiden, Prof.dr. Andrew Shanks – Universities of Leeds and Lancaster; Priest of the Church of England, Prof.dr. Peter Koslowksi – University of Witten/Herdeck, Germany.

Introduction

Today the originally Christian, Islamic and Eastern societies all over the world face the challenges of migration and globalisation, and try to strike a balance between “inclusion” of religion as a source of social cohesion and identity, and “exclusion” of religion on grounds of neutrality and tolerance. How much religion can society cope with, how less can it afford to exclude it? Multicultural Western societies are becoming more and more “post-secular”, because of a growing number of people who are inspired by religion, e.g. Islam, but also because there is a growing awareness of the religious and spiritual sources of Western identity and values. How do diverse private religions accommodate to a generally shared civil religion? Are we heading to a clash of civilizations within the West, along the lines of religion? Or is there hope for compatibility?

The programme

In these series of lectures our attention will be focussed on the origins of migration, and the ensuing processes of diversification or even fragmentation of societies. The place of religion in these processes will be a central point of attention. How religion itself transforms in these processes of migration is an important question as well. We shall look at possible ways to deal with religious diversity on the levels of society, religious organisations, social institutions, education, law, politics and the state. What values and what norms should be upheld? What is the role of the Christian, Islamic and secularist traditions? To what extent should a constitution for the European Union take these into account?

The first lectures will concentrate on the facts: what are the causes of migration, what is the role of religion in emigration-societies? What are the consequences of migration? How do non-western religions accommodate to western, modern societies? Do “multiple modernity’s” exist next to Western modernism? How can we explain fundamentalism? The first four lectures will dwell on these subjects.

The next lectures will try to analyse the possible solutions for accommodation. First, an analysis of the kind of loyalties that exist between members of a religion will be analysed. How social cohesion relates to religion, whether in private or in public spheres, is a related question. Is there a need for a kind of civil or public religion, besides particular or private religions? A question that relates religion to citizenship is education: what can (religious) education contribute to citizenship.

A further, more philosophical question will be how religious pluralism relates to the need to uphold common values in society. This leads eventually to the question of how religion relates to politics and law. All this will be analysed from the viewpoint both of values and of institutions, on the national level as well the European level.